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**Folder Title:**

Tuesday, June 1, 1999

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## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                   | DATE       | RESTRICTION |
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| 001. chart               | re: [Gulf War Sorties] (1 page) | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Staff Secretary  
Sean Maloney (Chron File (Jun 99))  
OA/Box Number: 14864

### FOLDER TITLE:

Tuesday, June 1, 1999

2016-0970-F  
rs3024

### 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]

6-1-99

Eric Von Drake  
927 Madison Avenue  
Shreveport, Louisiana 71103

Who should handle  
this?

✓  
Dan B.  
coord. w/  
counsel  
EM

May 26, 1999

Fax Number: 202-456-1210

THE WHITE HOUSE

President of the United States of America

Mr. William Jefferson Clinton

Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

It was exciting to see and experience your presents here in Louisiana. I attended Louisiana Tech University, (where you landed) and obtained a four year degree in Advertising art in 1978. After several years in the art world, God called me to the ministry in 1982. I have preached in Dr. Edward Jones church, the minister who brought forth the invocation, and other churches where Jesse Jackson was sitting.

God has worked through me in many ways and I determined that a Masters of Divinity degree would be in order. In 1990, I traveled from Dallas, Texas to Virginia Beach, Virginia to study at Pat Robertson's University, now Regents University seeking a Masters in Divinity. I had just settled a motor vehicle accident claim for over \$80,000.00 (Eighty Thousand Dollars). I left Dallas with my wife, who was pregnant. After depositing the money in the bank by cash, the bank position was that I was either drug dealer or some kind of criminal because I was black and had cash money. The secret service was called in, and agent Benny Crosby was the head of a very unpleasant experience. Although, neither Crosby nor any other agency could find any illegal act, I was locked up like an animal, my rights violated by the courts and forced into a plea.

After a thorough investigation, no agency, ATF, Internal Revenue, or FBI could establish any crime, but by now Crosby had caused a lot of man hours and they had to be justified. Crosby told me that he could just let me go, but that he was going to show me what he could do to me. I never disrespected anyone. I did cry, a lot. After loosing 40lbs of weight, broke out in a rash, and six months, I made a plea to what ever they wanted so that I could be with my wife and our first new born. The jail was fitly and I had broke down. I was released in September of 1990, after my plea, but the damage was done. We spent almost every dollar on our defense. I loss a brand new SUV that today would cost nearly \$40,000.00.

Ministry school was not possible, our new home, gone. All because of a racially motivated secret service agent who wanted to show this black family what power he had to destroy their lives, and he did. Now nearly ten years behind me I still have this problem that needs to be addressed. I have a 250-page document that goes into detail about the matter, but I know you do not have the time to read it.

What am I asking, first: To come to Washington and speak briefly with you about this matter, thereafter you may appoint a person to receive the document and talk more extensively with me about what occurred. Respectfully, I am seeking more than a pardon. I believe that when you hear and see how I was treated, my rights violated, I am asking for the following: 1) New Name and social security number (To disassociate myself from this matter forever) 2) My SUV replaced by the federal government, 3) Monetary damages for the behavior of the secret service agents (whatever you believe would be fair under the given circumstances) In other words I am requesting to be put back like I was before this horrible thing happen to us.

You know first hand what it is like to have your back up against the wall. You are the only man on the face of this earth that God has made that can help me. Witnessing your arrival on Sunday let me understand really what earthly power you have. If God leads you to help me, I shall speak of your help to me to thousands of people, for the rest of my life. I will be able to travel to Washington at any time.



In closing, I understand that you play the sax, well, I sing Sinatra, like Sinatra, maybe I will be able to sing for you one day. Please respond.

Respectfully submitted;

*Rev. Eric Von Drake*

Eric Von Drake

(318) 424-1597

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 24, 1999

copied  
Sperling  
Reed  
Jennings  
Lambrew  
Podesta

INFORMATIONAL MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Gene Sperling, Bruce Reed, Chris Jennings, and Jeanne Lambrew

SUBJECT: Medicare Policy Development Update

NEC and DPC continue to develop Medicare reform policy options for your consideration. We will soon be meeting with you to discuss these options and to receive your guidance. In the meantime, we thought that you might be interested in reviewing some of the attached background information that has been prepared for internal and, in some cases, external briefings for Members of Congress and their staffs. It addresses most, but not all, of the topics under review. As we continue to address policy issues and options, we will forward you additional information.

**Policy Development Status.** Following the conclusion the Medicare Commission and the recently-released Medicare Trustees' report, we have been working intensively to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the Breaux-Thomas reform proposal and the advantages and disadvantages of various alternatives to it. Your White House, OMB, HHS, and Treasury Medicare advisors are reviewing numerous reimbursement and structural reform concepts, drug benefit designs, and offset options to strengthen the financial status of the program and to help pay for benefit improvements. Cost estimates are being run and re-run to reflect the Trust Fund's new baseline (which is now scoring reduced savings for individual policies), new design options of interest to your advisors, and evolving reform positions of key Members of Congress, aging advocates, and health care providers. In preparation for our upcoming policy discussions, you will find:

- Tab 1 contains our Medicare "walk-through" document that is being used for Members of Congress and their staff to detail the strengths and weaknesses of both the Medicare program and the recommendations made by Senator Breaux and Congressman Thomas.
- Tab 2 includes the memo that we gave you in advance of the Senate Democratic retreat that highlights the major issues.
- Tab 3 provides an update of Congressional interest in and action on Medicare, which was produced in collaboration with Larry Stein.

Memo only

- Tab 4 encloses a background briefing document on premium support and options to inject more competition in the Medicare program. We are closely examining alternatives that meet our objectives of making Medicare more efficient and reducing costs while not undermining the traditional fee-for-service program. (Also attached is the original premium support concept article by Robert Reischauer and Henry Aaron.)
- Tab 5 provides a summary of our talking points on the use of the surplus for Medicare – in particular the common myths and our responses to them.
- Tab 6 includes detailed background information on the status of prescription drug coverage for older and disabled Americans as well as a discussion of the major moving pieces of any drug benefit design.
- Tab 7 includes some background facts on options involving beneficiary contributions to Medicare. These include the income-related Part B premium as well as fact sheets on various services for which cost sharing changes are being considered.
- Tab 8 provides specific back-up facts and trends that strongly support your contention that an increase in the eligibility age without an explicit policy that assures there is not an increase in the uninsured ill advised and flawed policy.
- Tab 9 explains the issues confronting rural beneficiaries under the Breaux-Thomas proposal -- a critically important issue in the Senate and amongst the conservative Democrats most willing to be open to broader Medicare reforms.
- Tab 10 includes your response to the March 30th, 1999 Trustees report on the status of Medicare, and our general talking points supplementing your comments. It also contains your comments responding to the Breaux-Thomas proposal and the general talking points on the topic, your State of the Union comments on Medicare, your AARP speech outlining your principles for reform, and the back-up paper that was released around the speech.

We hope that you will find this information to be useful in preparation for our upcoming meeting with you on Medicare reform options.

Reed

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN  
6-1-99

Re: School Violence

to Monte Friedman  
working in good model  
maybe should involve them.  
Re

sup - d  
Reed  
Podesta

### First, a little history and background:

The Save-A-Friend<sup>sm</sup> Hotline Program is based on Wackenhut's Silent Witness Program first introduced in 1983 to commercial clients as a method for employees to anonymously report to management their knowledge of situations such as theft, harassment, and potential workplace violence. By having the option to report incidents to a third party, employees felt freer to communicate this type of information. Currently we provide Silent Witness services to over fifty clients.

In 1996, we were approached by a large school district in Florida, Seminole County School District. Their security director, Wolfgang Halbig, had a vision that such a hotline, with proper handling by his school district, would enjoy success with the students and become extremely beneficial in a school environment. Subsequently, with its name changed to Save-A-Friend<sup>sm</sup>, five additional school districts have been added to our client list. Today over 237,000 students have access to our program!

The toll free telephone hotlines (Silent Witness and Save-A-Friend<sup>sm</sup>) are staffed by a manager, two shift supervisors and eighteen full and part time employees. These individuals have either a Bachelor of Science degree or are currently in their third or fourth year towards a degree. Bilingual employees are preferred and the lines can be answered in English, Spanish, French and Portuguese. Each applicant is subject to a thorough background investigation. When an individual is hired, specialized training commences. This training program includes material from our Silent Witness training manual, videos, and lectures. Additionally, there is extensive client specific training.

The popularity of the Save-A-Friend<sup>sm</sup> Hotline Program is in direct proportion to the effort the individual school or school district takes in promoting the program. Community involvement is also effective, as local merchants have endorsed the program by printing posters or displaying them. PTAs have been involved. Poster art contests have taken place. But, most importantly, the schools that educate their students as to the value

of Save-A-Friend<sup>sm</sup> reap the most rewards. An excellent video that can be shown to students and staff members is "Break the Code of Silence—Save a Friend." We are making this video available to all our school customers.

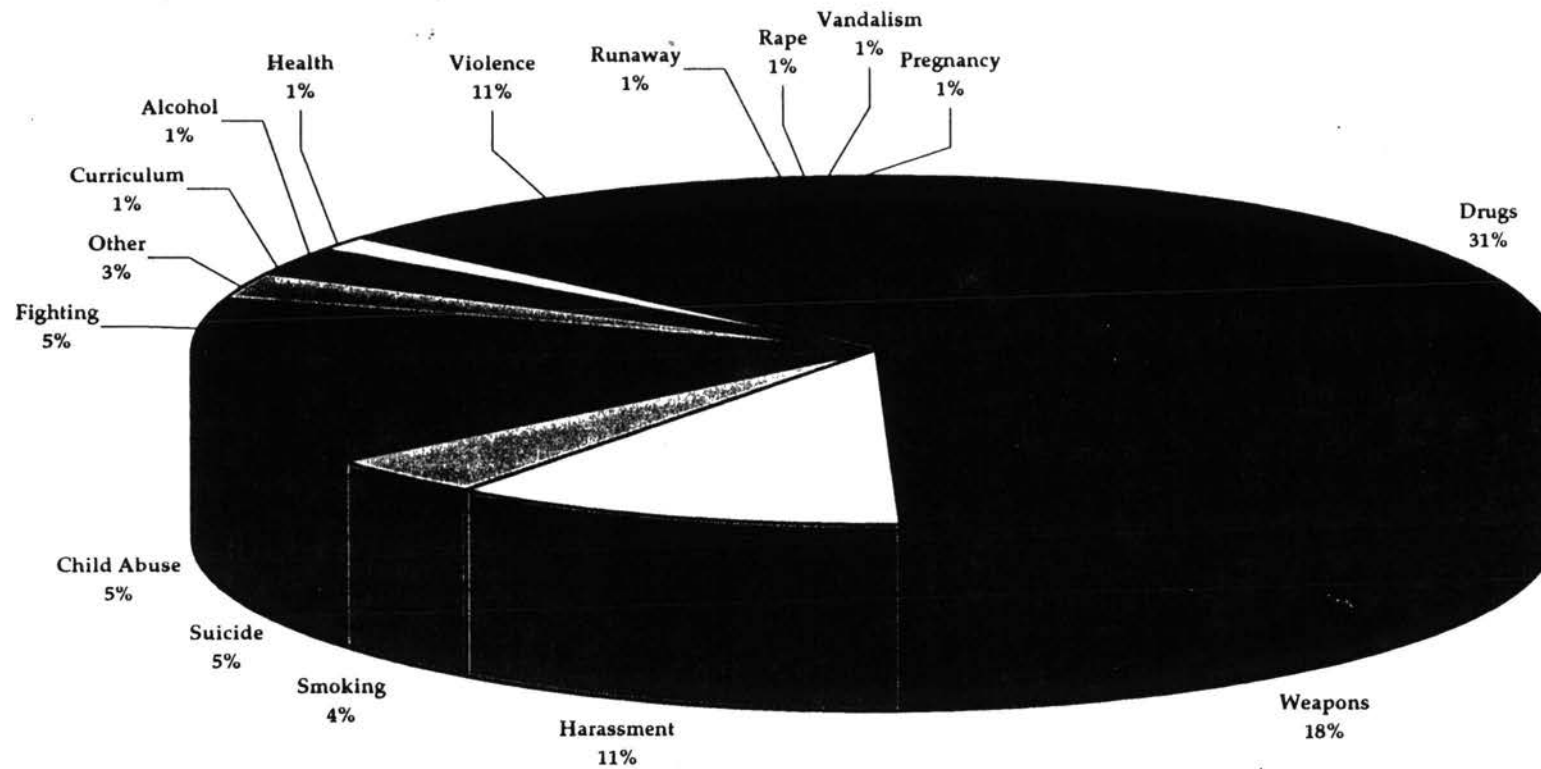
While we have been focusing on individual school districts, there certainly could be a value to pursuing the program on a national level. Today the Save-A-Friend<sup>sm</sup> Hotline Program is a conduit between student and school management. Our charter is to properly handle each call and to transfer the information to the designated school representative and/or law enforcement official by way of the pre-established procedure. To counsel students is not our function, but we do have the ability to take on this role, or partner with professional counseling organizations.

Wackenhut is well positioned to expand rapidly if Save-A-Friend<sup>sm</sup> Hotline Program could be offered on a national level.

Attachments-Chart



**SAVE A FRIEND CALLS 1998-1999**



## Overview

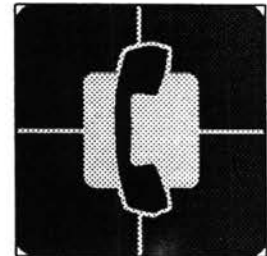
The **Save-A-Friend Hotline Program** is an exclusive program devised by The Wackenhut Corporation. It has been developed to answer the needs of educators for a practical and easily implemented solution to gathering information from students that may otherwise not be revealed.

One of the emerging beliefs is that the warning signs are usually there before a tragic outburst. Students hear things.

enables each student to anonymously participate in making his or her school a safer place. The hotline enlists the help of students who are aware of violence, weapons, drug and alcohol abuse, drug dealing, gambling, misconduct, vandalism, and theft - but who are reluctant to speak-up due to the stigma attached with "selling out" and/or the danger of retaliation.

## How it Works

The **Save-A-Friend Hotline** simply makes Wackenhut the confidential conduit between the students and you. Wackenhut's **Save-A-Friend Hotline** operators are on duty around the clock, seven days a week, including holidays. The operators are specifically trained in interviewing techniques designed to elicit as much pertinent information as possible. Basically, who, what, when, where, and why. Our program is intended to make it easy for your students to assist in pinpointing the nature, extent, and perpetrators of wrongdoing - we even have operators who are fluent in languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, and French.



The information gathered by Wackenhut is categorized on a priority or routine basis. Calls involving an imminent incident or the strong suspicion of one will be treated as a priority call. Information from these calls will be passed along immediately to whomever you designate to handle this type of call. It will be up to you to assess this information and decide how or whether, to act upon it. Those calls logged as routine, will be forwarded to the appropriate school representative on a weekly basis for review and corrective action.

It is recommended that within your school district, the number of individuals who are involved in evaluating and responding to the **Save-A-Friend Hotline** be kept to a minimum. The success of the program, and its guarantee of anonymity, will depend very heavily on the strict limitation of knowledge regarding its inner working and information it is producing.



## **Introducing the Save-A-Friend Hotline to Your School(s)**

It is extremely important that the Save-A-Friend Hotline is presented to your student body as a positive undertaking, a program that will benefit everyone. Steps recommended for launching the program are:

- A letter/e-mail to all students, teachers and parents outlining the program and explaining your reasons for initiating it. The letter will include a specific guarantee of anonymity.
- Meeting between groups of students, school officials and parent representatives to provide a forum for discussing the program, answering questions about it, and soliciting suggestions.
- Promotion and student involvement through a contest for the design of a Save-A-Friend Hotline poster.
- Maintaining high awareness of the program through the distribution of literature and other communiqué - in report cards, on bulletin boards, buses, websites, gymnasiums, cafeterias, etc.
- On-going emphasis of the Save-A-Friend Hotline to take full advantage of one of the major benefits of the program: its effect as a deterrent.

## **Value of Save-A-Friend Hotline**

Your school will be a safer place. You will be taking a proactive stance - your students, parents, teachers, administrators, and employees will all benefit from the peace of mind that is inherently found in this program.

Violence and criminal activity within the school setting should not be accepted as inevitable. Wackenhut firmly believes that this program can make a difference. The Save-A-Friend Hotline is a practical, cost effective, easily implemented program to reduce misconduct on your campus and diminish the heavy emotional and monetary costs associated with all types of crime.

For years, law enforcement agencies have successfully enlisted the public in the fight against crime by implementing neighborhood watch programs. These programs are effectively bringing down the statistics of street and neighborhood crime. The Wackenhut Corporation wants to enlist your students - the eyes and ears of the school - to do the same.

made smaller and more efficient.

### **School shooting action?**

TALLAHASSEE — The growing public concern over school safety in the wake of the Colorado shootings prompted Gov. Jeb Bush to ask lawmakers this week to take some action in the final days of the legislative session.

"We were just wondering if there's something we could do in the last days to show some sensitivity to people's angst," Bush said.

He suggested, for example, that the legislature find a way to expand the toll-free hot line sponsored by the sheriff's offices in Pinellas and Duval counties that allows student to call in anonymously if they suspect other students have carried guns onto campus or are prone to violence.

**Child abuse law needed**

## SPECIAL REPORT

### SCHOOL CRIME HOTLINES: DIFFERENT SYSTEMS, DIFFERING RESULTS

School hotlines have proliferated in the last several years in an attempt to obtain crime leads anonymously that would not otherwise be forthcoming. Programs can range from state-run or contracted systems manned by trained specialists to a simple answering machine. Costs to schools can range from basically free because of local sponsors to several thousand dollars a year. In many cases, the programs are not stand-alone efforts, but dovetail into existing or additional security plans. And, like the complexity of the hotline system and its cost, the success of a hotline or lack of success can vary.

In this report, we'll provide details on seven hotlines--five school-operated, two state-operated. You'll learn what you can expect from such a system and what you can do to improve your chances of success.

#### SEMINOLE COUNTY, FL: 'DAILY MARKETING OF HOTLINE KEY TO ITS SUCCESS'

Wolfgang Halbig, director of security for the 58,000-student Seminole County Public Schools, says school hotlines work only as well as they're promoted to students. Seminole County contracts with Wackenhut Corp. to run its hotline which began operation in 1993. "It's only as good as you market it. We've got cards that we give to every kid, but the other thing we do in every school is we have a video that's called 'Break the Code of Silence.' If you don't show that video--and if you don't teach kids responsibility and courage to pick up the phone--your hotline is going to die." Just putting up a poster about the service is inadequate, according to Halbig. "It's an ongoing marketing strategy and if you don't market it every day and if your principals don't buy in, to simply say that you have it is just not good enough. You have to get in the classroom and you have to use your resources to make this thing happen."

Halbig, who has been both a policeman and a school principal, contends that it's important to operate the system in sync with the student culture. Young people are not interested in money because they do not want to feel like snitches. They also are usually hesitant to talk if there is a police officer on the other end of the line. Anonymity and freedom from pressure are most important to student callers. Police officers are trained to probe and they'll usually keep probing to find out more, which often intimidates school-age callers, he adds.

Halbig reports that he had anticipated calls to Seminole County's hotline might include students trying to use the system for retribution against others. "What makes it so unique is whenever the agency receives a call, they write the report as a narrative, word by word. You can see whether someone is out to get someone or not. If somebody says, 'I have a friend that has a serious drug problem' and their recommendation is that they need some counseling, I don't think that's trying to get someone in trouble...It's there to open up dialogue and hopefully the kid or the student will talk to you."

Basic costs for the Wackenhut Save a Friend service range from \$3,000 a year for districts of 5,000 students or less to \$8,100 a year for districts 40,000 or more. There is a one-time \$300 charge to establish a phone line in the first year for any district. Whatever the cost, Halbig believes hotlines are worth it. Seminole County averages 12 to 15 calls a month. "Even if we get just one or two calls, it

makes a difference. It's that one call that's going to make a difference in a kid's life and you want to have the tool and the system available for that person."

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS: 'KNOWLEDGEABLE, LIVE PERSON ESSENTIAL'

Jack Nelson, coordinator for safety and security, Minneapolis Public Schools, Minneapolis, MN, also employs Wackenhut's Save A Friend service. He reports that he looked at several options before the 50,000-student district instituted its system this year. "You can keep it as simple as a recorder you flip on when you leave the office. I think you leave yourself open to a lot of different things that way. Number one, anybody in the world can come into your office and listen to what is supposed to be an anonymous confidential phone call and there's no permanent record of that. You're sort of relying on yourself to record it appropriately and I think you could miss some things in the transfer. The third thing, I think, is that people realize they're just calling in-house. I still think the anonymity part is somewhat suspect.

"Then you have the system where it's a total third entity, where they're trained in answering the phone. You get a live person trained and listening to the information. They know how to categorize, prioritize." Nelson's hotline service has the number for Minneapolis' suicide hotline and can set up a three-way phone call if necessary. "If we save one kid's life, either through a suicide prevention or some intervention on behalf of a potential gang fighter or something else, if you save one student a year, it's worth the price."

MCCRACKEN COUNTY, KY: HOTLINE SET UP AFTER SCHOOL SHOOTINGS

George Hanrahan, assistant superintendent for personnel, McCracken County Schools, Paducah, KY, says the district's system, an offshoot of the local Crimestoppers program, received 13 substantial phone calls between its establishment last September and the end of January. Three of those calls were referred to city authorities and the other 10 were in-district concerns. The McCracken district's hotline was established, with the adjacent Paducah City School District, after 15-year-old Michael Carneal killed three and wounded five in shootings at a local high school in December 1997. "There's not a lot of response. We don't know if that's good or that's bad. We think it's good. We're going to keep (the program) and we'll keep advertising it. We put signs up in our buses. They're all over the school and it may be a great deterrent; we don't know."

The local Crimestoppers program paid for installation of the line and the \$30-a-month phone charge. Calls go to an answering machine on a receptionist's desk in administrative offices. Hanrahan has the answering machine's playback code, as do the school's resource officers. "There are at least five or six people checking it constantly. We haven't let it go fallow." Hanrahan says the hotline was started as part of a 22-item security plan. He credits a delay in time due to the answering machine's lengthy introduction message with eliminating many nuisance calls. "We have some people who call and hang up before it gets to their opportunity to speak. The only outlay we have is the time our resource officers take to check the machine and that's not a problem at all."

FAYETTE COUNTY, KY SCHOOLS: INFORMERS HAVE MANY OPTIONS

The hotline program at Fayette County Schools, Lexington, KY is an addition to security programs already in place, according to John Tove, the district's director of law enforcement. "Kids have dropboxes and hotlines and voice mail. They can get in on (the) computer and leave messages, that kind of thing. The anonymous tips are

already in place in a lot of our schools." With officers in district schools since 1971, the security department has "a pretty good grapevine."

The hotline is a Crimestoppers program and is monitored at the local police station. Students can talk to the machine without talking to police. (Police) will cull the calls that don't have a great amount of significance or are not serious types of incidents. If someone has had their jacket stolen and they want to report it, they need to go through proper channels. We don't want reported crime going through there. We want tips on who did the crime, that sort of thing." Hoax calls have not been a problem, Toyé says. "The hoax calls come on 911. Kids will call that one in a heartbeat and do something silly."

#### CUMBERLAND, RI: CALLERS CAN CALL BACK TO CHECK RESULTS

Local police officers in Cumberland, RI, answer the newly established hotline for the Cumberland Schools, says Sgt. Christine Crocker, Cumberland Town Police. "It's an unrecorded line and it's answered either by the officer or the dispatcher that's inside, right in our dispatch area. We didn't want to make it impersonal. We wanted them to have a person. We give them a number that they can call back in a couple of weeks and see what the status was, what we did, so they can remain anonymous and they can check and see what came out of their call."

Cumberland, a suburban community of approximately 30,000 near Providence, has approximately 1,500 students in its high school and 600 apiece in two middle schools. Established in February, response to the hotline has been slow. "We think it's pretty good. I'm sure the students are going to be a little hesitant. I think it might take where they find out one item was reported, we investigated, something came of it, and nobody was retaliated against." The line, however, has borne some fruit already. Tips have aided a detective investigating an arson case. The Cumberland line uses an existing private line at the police station. The district's only expenditure has been \$500 to print student-designed messages posted throughout the town.

#### TWO STATEWIDE HOTLINES: CALLS FROM ANGRY PARENTS

Georgia and South Carolina both have statewide school hotlines. They differ in their structure and operation, but there are a number of parallels with local hotline programs. South Carolina's line was established three years ago after state law mandated specific school crime reporting requirements. Operated by the South Carolina Attorney General's Office, it takes information on any school-related incidents that local law enforcement agencies make an incident report on.

John Loftus, coordinator of school violence awareness, says the line is not a Crimestoppers-type line. "It's a toll-free number where people can call and obtain information related to instances of crime, where law enforcement calls to report incidents of crime, where educators or anybody can call and ask questions about state statutes. It's pretty much used as a central point for information on crimes involving schools."

Aside from law enforcement incident reports, the hotline gets 20 to 30 calls a month, Loftus says. He and his administrative assistant field calls from the hotline. He answers statutory and procedural questions, and his assistant handles crime reports. An answering machine takes calls when neither of them is available. South Carolina law enforcement agencies have reported around 3,500 incidents in 80-plus districts since the program's inception. Most officers now mail in their reports, he adds.

Loftus reports he gets a number of calls from parents, too. He says he tries to be an intermediary between parents and schools. "Of course, our office has no authority to go ahead and tell the schools to change their decision. Normally what we wind up doing is acting as a resource, pointing them in the right direction as far as whom they need to go ahead and talk to. We give them advice as to how they could appeal their decision."

Georgia's program began in August and is operated by the Georgia Department of Education. It takes tipster calls on crimes. Many of the calls, however, are from parents concerned that their child is being bullied, says Jeff Hodges, the administrative assistant who operates the program. "I field all the calls from 8 o'clock in the morning to 5 o'clock in the evening. After 5 o'clock, all calls are transferred to the Georgia Bureau of Investigation and they hold the calls until I come in the next morning."

"We usually get no more than three or four calls a day right now because basically a lot of schools don't even know about the hotline. We sent information out back in June to all the schools to let them know the hotline was up and running. We found out, in many cases, the district was as far as our information got." The Education Department is now working on posters and additional information to promote the program to schools.

The hotline is anonymous to help prevent retaliation against callers. "Most students who call are either just interested in the hotline--wanting to know what it's all about--or it will be an angry parent who can't get anything done on the school level and is calling me to see if I can call the schools and find out 'why so-and-so is picking on my kid and you won't do anything about it.'"

**For further information, contact:**

**Wolfgang Halbig, director of security, Seminole County Public Schools, 400 E. Lake Mary Blvd., Sanford, FL 32771--407/320-0442.**

**George Hanrahan, assistant superintendent for personnel, McCracken County Schools, 260 Bleich Road, Paducah, KY 42003--502/554-6800.**

**Jim Taylor, manager, Silent Witness Program, Wackenhut Corp., 244 West State St., Athens, OH 45701--800/848-6120.**

**John Toye, director of law enforcement, Fayette County Schools, 701 East Main, Lexington, KY 40502--606/281-0100.**

**Anthony Silva, police chief, Sgt. Christine Crocker or Officer Jim Wilbour, Cumberland Town Police Department, 1380 Diamond Hill Road, Cumberland, RI 02864--401/333-2500.**

**Jack Nelson, coordinator of safety and security, Minneapolis Public Schools, 807 NE Broadway St., Minneapolis, MN 55413--612/627-2232. E-mail: jnelson@mpls.k12.mn.us**

**John Loftus, coordinator for school violence awareness, South Carolina Attorney General, PO Box 11549, Columbia, SC 29211-1549--888/662-8559 or 803/734-7135.**

**Jeff Hodges, administrative assistant, Georgia Department of Education, 1852 Twin Towers East, Atlanta, GA 30334-5040--404/463-7891.**



## **SAFE SCHOOLS**

In recent weeks, we have received numerous inquiries from individual school districts due to the recent crises around the country. We have determined that individual school districts acting on their own will result in an ineffective hodge-podge of programs.

Considerable thought was given to a cost effective and productive method to address this national problem. Unquestionably, a federal program is the answer. The following briefly covers:

- Needs
- Purpose
- Company Experience
- Plan
- Staffing Plan
- Tracking and Computerization
- Advertising and Communications
- Startup and Implementation

Information is a key element in reducing assaults in our public school system.

Timely information identifying problems can preempt future disasters.

Broad based information that deal with the root causes of issues that can eventually materialize into violence include:

- Harassment
- Physical
- Mental
- Sexual
- Student on student
- Student on teacher
- Teacher on Student

Intake information regarding weapons on school property:

- Guns
- Knives
- Bombs
- Etc.

- Verbal Threats
- Conspiracies
- Assaults

As a bonus, the program will be designed with the ability to gather information regarding:

- Vandalism
- Threat
- Sabotage
- Any issue that subverts the good order of the school system

In the United States there are approximately 89,000 schools, 16,000 school districts, 45,000,000 students (in which  $\frac{1}{2}$  fall between grades 6-12), 2,600,000 teachers. The number of support personnel is unknown.

The federal government's objective to reduce crime and major incidents in the school system must be directed to gathering detailed information regarding these potential problems. Merely adding hundreds or thousands of uniformed security officers to the schools will have a tremendous financial impact without the desired results.

The implementation of a hot line (Silent Witness Program) is virtually guaranteed to reduce incidents of violence through a preemptive effort. The objective is to provide a national program integrating all the local school boards, school management, campus police and local police departments.

Each school district will appoint a designee for the purpose of acting as a funnel distributing the information to proper authorities. This individual will be responsible for back reporting to the server for the purpose of communicating results and recordkeeping.

The program is designed to identify potential problems facing each school system.

The program will provide quarterly reports and annual summaries to the U.S. Government for statistical purposes. These reports will be useful in quantifying the value of the program. It is our judgment that this will be a cost effective and productive solution for the public.

## **Experience**

The Wackenhut Corporation has a similar program called "The Silent Witness Program." This program was designed specifically and industry and was conceived in 1983. Our first client was Winn Dixie Stores. The program currently has:

Number of clients: Over 70 clients at multiple locations  
(i.e., Rainbow Stores is the parent company. We service over 13 subsidiaries, containing multiple locations)

Number of calls per year: 28,564

Percentages of reports are as follows:

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Failure to perform security checks | 36% |
| Employee Complaints/Concerns       | 24% |
| - Harassment                       | 12% |
| - Drug Use                         | 5%  |
| - Theft                            | 3%  |
| - Wrongful Termination             | 3%  |
| - Threat of Violence               | 1%  |
| Fraud                              | 17% |
| Customer Complaints                | 9%  |
| Catalogue Requests                 | 6%  |
| Redirected Calls                   | 5%  |
| Other                              | 3%  |

## **Plan/Staffing**

- Establish a service separate from the Silent Witness Program designed exclusively for school systems.
- Design posters and wallet cards for students, teachers, and other school personnel that include program information, as well as the 800 number to call.
- Establish a reward program plus guaranteed anonymity for all callers (if requested.)

- Design a software program for information gathering from callers that will also serve to gather vital statistics for quarterly and annual reporting.
- Obtain permission from callers to allow local officials further interview if necessary.
- Obtain as many public service announcements as possible to reach the public.
- Design and print posters and wallet cards for students, teachers, and other school personnel to promote the program.

### **Staffing and Startup**

- Establish suitable space to house the program.
- Estimated time for implementation – four to five months. This includes establishing physical plant, furnishing, and implementation of 800 lines, computerizing and identifying all school districts, locations and phone numbers.
- Identifying a coordinator at each school district.
- Design a computerized intake form and report.
- Recruiting and training all personnel.
- Design all policies and procedures.
- Design posters and wallet cards for the program.
- Develop a delivery system to the school districts for distribution to the schools. The alternative is that the U.S. Government can produce and distribute all materials.
- Establish an email system to all schools and districts.

The staffing estimates are:

- Eight to twelve intake officers per shift, seven days, twenty-four hours a day
- One software computer designer
- Ten state coordinators
- One criminal psychologist
- One forensic psychologist
- Five intake supervisors
- One supervisor for coordinators
- One executive administrator
- Seven secretaries
- Two file clerks
- One senior vice president

### **Staffing Requirement – Credentials**

- Intake Officers – Former police, former dispatchers, former 911 dispatchers, former school resource officers

- Managers and Coordinators – former law enforcement, detective or supervisor
- Senior Vice President – former police executive or school police chief.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Cesar Gustavo Lopez Moreno

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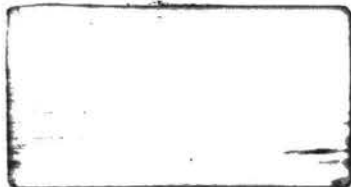
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Could I talk to you?  
(956) 343-5835  
(88) 17-68-90

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## Staked out

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-1-99

Good economics ought to stop the poor getting poorer even as rich people get richer. Three new books offer advice on providing more stake in society

FOR many Americans, the idea that their political economy is in crisis must seem preposterous. The "long boom" and the technology-driven "new economy" are proof that the American model is delivering the goods more effectively than at any time since the golden years of the 1950s. It is thus a brave book that argues that all is far from well. And it is doubly brave to argue, at a time when most forms of welfare spending are under challenge, that the rat gnawing at the vitals of the American economy is growing inequality.

The assertion of Bruce Ackerman and Ann Alstott, two law professors at Yale University, is that recent economic success hardly touches most Americans. Since 1979, they say, 97% of the increase in incomes has gone to the top 20% of families. The poor are poorer; the middle-class majority does little better than tread water. Getting on for 40% of the wealth in America is owned by the top 1% compared with 13% less than 25 years ago. What worries the authors is not so much these particular outcomes as the growing inequality of opportunity that underlies it. America, they believe, is a society in which nearly everybody pays lip-service to the idea of equality of opportunity. But the young person who today enters the labour market without capital or expensively gathered university qualifications has very limited life choices.

Unless something radical is done to restore meaning to the promise of equality of opportunity, America will have fundamentally changed as a society, argue Mr Ackerman and Ms Alstott. Their book is devoted to making the case for a single bold solution. They advocate that on reaching 21, every American who has gained a high-school diploma should receive a sum of \$80,000—the average price of a four-year college education—paid for by means of a 2% wealth tax. Those not inclined to go to college would still have a range of choices unavailable to them now—the ability to put a deposit down on a house, or to pay for vocational training, a business idea, child care or any number of liberating possibilities including just gaining a little extra income from investing the cash.

There are many attractive aspects to this scheme. It is not based on grandiose social engineering or compulsion (other than that which is involved in imposing any new tax). As the authors say: "Our plan seeks justice by rooting it in capitalism's pre-eminent value: the importance of private property. It points the way to a society that is more democratic, more productive,

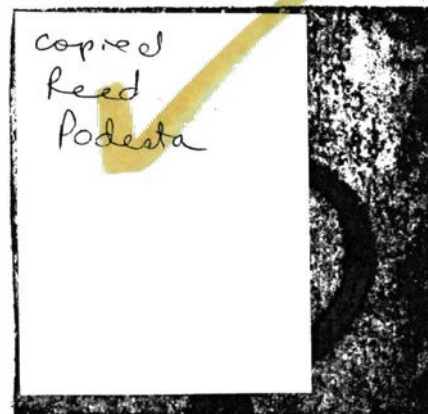
and more free." Not only would the majority almost certainly use the money carefully, the authors argue, the knowledge in their youth that it was coming their way would, they believe, profoundly affect most people's view of the future and how to prepare for it, with benefits for all.

Inevitably, the argument comes under most strain when the authors discuss how the stakes should be paid for. A wealth tax appeals to them because it is disparities in wealth rather than income that most determine how the scales are weighted for succeeding generations. Wealth taxes are quite common in other OECD countries, but rarely so all-embracing as would be needed to raise a sum that is nearly equivalent to the entire American defence budget. All wealth above \$80,000 would be liable, the authors say, including primary homes, shares and pensions—items which in most countries with a wealth tax are exempt. Farmers and owners of small businesses would also receive no relief.

Although the problem of the cash-poor with illiquid wealth is tackled head on, the authors become increasingly removed from political reality in their efforts to explain how everybody would be made to pay. One only has to look at the outrage caused by local authorities in Britain clawing back the costs of long-term nursing from the estates of the elderly to see how this would play out. If the state were to take a lien on the home of every retired middle-class couple who had paid off their mortgage after years of thrift, there would be a revolution.

Perhaps a better idea would be to bring the price Americans pay for gasoline nearer the OECD norm. That would be much less progressive than a wealth tax, but far easier to administer. Mind you, that too is politically hyper-sensitive.

Despite this flaw, "The Stakeholder Society" is an important book. The problem of inequality, in which the returns increasingly go to the best educated and most



privileged is real and growing. Although better resourced and managed publicly funded schools would help, for the most part conventional welfarism has little to offer. Rooted in an idea of what it means to be both a citizen and a free individual, this is an approach to achieving a fairer society that tries, and largely succeeds, in working with the grain of liberalism.

No such attempt at reconciliation is made by the British champion of stakeholding, Will Hutton, in his latest collection of essays, nor by his arch-critic, Patrick Minford. Mr Hutton, it will be remembered, achieved a quite remarkable and, to some, rather baffling sales success with "The State We're In". Published in 1995, it seemed perfectly to catch the Zeitgeist. Vehement in its denunciation of Thatcherism and all its works, it nonetheless appeared modern in its apparent rejection of old Labourism, nationalisation and the bastardised Keynesianism that led to the stagflation of the 1970s.

The central theme of that book, which is further developed in "The Stakeholding Society", was that the political economy of Britain had suffered from ideological extremes that the economies of continental Europe had largely avoided. The exemplar was Germany with its apparently efficient manufacturing industry, farsighted managers, understanding bankers, responsible unions, superb education system, generous welfare state, confident regions and consensus-seeking politicians. By comparison, Britain was an economic slum. Patrick Minford is unashamedly triumphalist about what he sees as the reinvention of the British economy on market principles after the 1979 election and the spread of the same ideas across much of the rest of the world. Despite the opportunistic title of his book, there is not much indication that Professor Minford is interested in stakeholding, even as an idea to attack. Messrs Hutton and Minford will please anyone whose prejudices broadly align with their own. But if you want to be challenged both morally and intellectually, Bruce Ackerman and Ann Alstott do a much better job.

**THE STAKEHOLDER SOCIETY.** By Bruce Ackerman and Ann Alstott. Yale; 288 pages; £16.95 and \$26.

**THE STAKEHOLDING SOCIETY: WRITINGS ON POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.** By Will Hutton. Blackwells; 288 pages; \$59.95. Polity; £45.

**MARKETS NOT STAKES: THE TRIUMPH OF CAPITALISM AND THE STAKEHOLDER FALLACY.** By Patrick Minford. Trafalgar Square; \$40; 242 pages. Orion Business Books; £20



## War on the web

Samuel (The  
Fry - interesting  
PK)

### A guide to following the war in Yugoslavia on the Internet

WE HAVE had birth on the net and sex on the net; now we have war on the net. As NATO planes bomb the former Yugoslavia, American government websites display what is destroyed. The Yugoslav government ripostes with numbers of planes shot down, targets missed and civilians killed. Albanian websites chronicle the flood of Kosovar refugees. Serb ones list atrocities by Kosovar terrorists. All of this against a backdrop of interactive maps, living histories, bile-filled bulletin boards and eye-witness e-mails. This is the first web war.

The Americans lead NATO's efforts on the web, as they do in the air. The State Department's clearly designed website ([www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/kosovo\\_hp.html](http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/kosovo_hp.html)) is the best place to follow the official version of the war, as well as the rapid evolution of American policy towards Yugoslavia. NATO's site ([www.nato.int](http://www.nato.int)) offers detail on the military operations (including before-and-after photos of bomb targets) and transcripts of NATO press conferences. Britain's contribution is more modest, although a combined effort from the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence ([www.mod.uk/news/kosovo](http://www.mod.uk/news/kosovo)) provides a British perspective on the war.

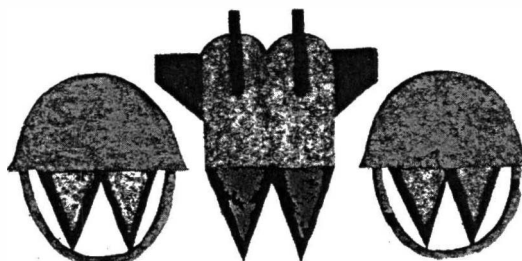
The Yugoslavs are fighting back in earnest. Official websites are surprisingly slick. Serbia's Ministry of Information ([www.serbia-info.com/news](http://www.serbia-info.com/news)) fills you in on setbacks that NATO may be reluctant to own up to, as well as palpable fabrications. It reads well, the site is well organised and the English is almost impeccable. *Borba* ([www.borba.co.yu/daily.html](http://www.borba.co.yu/daily.html)), an English-language daily published by the Yugoslav government, offers a similarly slanted view. But it does so less successfully because it reads more like an official mouthpiece.

The central government's website ([www.gov.yu/kosovo\\_facts/index.html](http://www.gov.yu/kosovo_facts/index.html)) explains the Serbian view of the history of Kosovo and includes detailed maps of the province. It "exposes" a propaganda campaign by the western media against Serbia ([www.gov.yu/mediawar](http://www.gov.yu/mediawar)) and accuses the West of historical "revisionism". And it chronicles Albanian terrorism against Serbs in Kosovo ([www.gov.yu/terrorism](http://www.gov.yu/terrorism)), complete with gruesome pictures of alleged atrocities.

Also pro-Serb, but independent of the

Milosevic government, *Serbia Now!* ([www.sn-ol.com/news](http://www.sn-ol.com/news)) offers a more nuanced view of the news. But its bulletin board contains this alleged contribution from a British soldier: "Serbia is the new Nazi state in Europe. The SAS is already with you and very soon now we will be coming to join them. Bone Crusher, Special Boat Section, Royal Marines."

The highly partisan Serbian Network ([www.srpska-mreza.com](http://www.srpska-mreza.com)) flashes wanted posters for Bill Clinton and other Serb hate figures such as Robin Cook, Britain's foreign secretary. It also displays a NATO logo that turns into a Nazi swastika. It is sponsored by America's Serbian Home Shopping Centre, which is selling bed covers emblazoned with the Serbian coat of arms



to support the war effort. Another pro-Serb site is [www.kosovo.com](http://www.kosovo.com), which is run by Canadians.

Two American sites also offer a pro-Serb slant. Criticism of the war from academic intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky and Edward Said are cited on [www.beograd.com](http://www.beograd.com), which contains links to a wide range of international coverage. At the Common Dreams site ([www.commondreams.org/kosovo/kosovo.htm](http://www.commondreams.org/kosovo/kosovo.htm)), you can get a left-wing American perspective. It is more anti-war than pro-Serb, and it also includes handy links to a range of news sources.

Until it was shut down on April 2nd, Belgrade's Radio B92 ([www.b92.net](http://www.b92.net)), provided an invaluable independent Yugoslav voice, complete with live radio reports over the net. A site in the Netherlands ([helpb92.xs4all.nl](http://helpb92.xs4all.nl)) is co-ordinating the international support campaign for Radio B92. Also alas now closed is Kosovo's Radio 21 ([www.radio21.net/english/headlines.htm](http://www.radio21.net/english/headlines.htm)), which gave a Kosovar Albanian perspective. Free radio survives in Montenegro, Serbia's increasingly reluctant junior partner in what remains of Yugoslavia. Radio Antena M ([www.antenam.org](http://www.antenam.org)) can be heard, though getting the

connection is frequently quite difficult.

Unsurprisingly, news direct from Kosovo is hard to come by. Eerily, many sites, such as [www.kosova.com](http://www.kosova.com), stopped updating on March 24th, the day NATO's bombing campaign began. But the Kosovo Crisis Centre ([www.alb-net.com/index.htm](http://www.alb-net.com/index.htm)) is a good source of information on the situation with refugees, and offers news in Albanian for those seeking to locate relatives. It also prints letters of support from around the world. The Kosova Press site ([www.kosova-press.com](http://www.kosova-press.com)) does a good job of collating Albanian sources on the war. The website of the Kosovo Liberation Army ([www.geocities.com/MotorCity/Track/4165/klaz.html](http://www.geocities.com/MotorCity/Track/4165/klaz.html)) is still up and running, complete with its ominous music but it appears not to have been updated for a long time. A Croat journalist, Mario

Profaca, runs a nasty and tasteless anti-Serb site ([mprofaca.cro.net/mainmenu.html](http://mprofaca.cro.net/mainmenu.html)), a helpful and timely reminder that chauvinism is not an exclusively Serbian vice.

Most television networks are covering the war on the web too. CNN's website ([www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/1998/10/kosovo](http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/1998/10/kosovo)) is first-rate. As well as up-to-the-minute news, it includes interactive maps, e-mails from Kosovo and a message board for readers. Also excellent is the BBC's site ([news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/special\\_report/1998/kosovo](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/special_report/1998/kosovo)), which offers World Service news in Serbian, Albanian and Macedonian, video clips and comprehensive coverage from BBC journalists. MSNBC also has a good site ([www.msnbc.com/news/kosovo\\_Front.asp](http://www.msnbc.com/news/kosovo_Front.asp)).

For a broader and more considered perspective, the Institute for War and Peace Reporting ([www.iwpr.net](http://www.iwpr.net)), a London-based charity, offers outstanding coverage and analysis in English, Serbian and Albanian of a broad range of topics related to the war, filed by reporters on the ground. One article suggests Muslims in the Sandzak region of Serbia fear they may be the next victims of ethnic cleansing; another reports on the Kosovan refugees in Skopje, the Macedonian capital. It also offers free subscriptions to regular e-mail reports.

Coverage of Kosovo on the web is a godsend for news junkies and—the archives permitting—for future historians as well. It is also a vital source for anyone who wants to understand this agonising war by hearing directly what the participants are saying.



6-1-99

derstood the need to push matters forward, set deadlines, and above all to set the key deadline that forced them to confront the stark realities and consequences of failure, in the last frantic days of negotiations.

His intervention when David Trimble found unacceptable the "strand two" proposals agreed by the British and Irish governments. Copied  
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ough he does hat the early was vital in ublicans on ie Ahern re- process was of terrorist ll's negotiat- a temporis- print the let- Mr Trimble, ould "begin ue has resur- faced to jeopardise the whole process. This makes the point that if the IRA does not want to disarm, then it runs the risk of carrying on the killing process well into the next century. And the key element in Mr Mitchell's tactics, locking all sides so far into talks that they did not want to get out (or felt it would be counter-productive if they did get out), cannot be regarded as successful until this continually postponed issue is resolved once and for all.

Mr Mitchell's account is complex, but enlivened by his eye for detail and his sketches of his encounters with the protagonists—British, Irish and American. Bill Clinton emerges with credit. And there is an unforgettable description of Mr Ahern wandering the streets of his native Dublin late at night and resolving to change his mind and modify his original stance on "strand two". Mr Mitchell himself experienced deep personal and family crises during the protracted negotiations, but he always put duty first. In so choosing he may yet have removed or at least weakened the iron law of Northern Ireland politics: that things have got to get better before they get worse.

## Peacemakers 2

## Parallel lines

TOUCHING PEACE: FROM THE OSLO ACCORD TO A FINAL AGREEMENT. By Yossi Beilin. Weidenfeld; 304 pages; £25



FEW people have worked harder for an Israeli-Palestinian peace than Yossi Beilin, a potential foreign minister should Labour win Israel's election on May 17th. An advocate of secret talks running parallel to official

negotiations, he got the Oslo track going (at a Tandoori restaurant in Tel Aviv) and then saw the process through to the famous Rabin-Arafat handshake on the White House lawn. Sadly, that handshake aroused unfulfilled expectations.

The Israeli peacemakers' mistake, he writes in "Touching Peace", was to believe that the Oslo peace accord absolved them of the need to continue moulding public understanding. They assumed that the benefits of the peace process—the lifting of the Arab embargo, rising living standards, receding prospects of war—would speak for themselves. Instead, too many Israelis linked the peace process with the rising threat of terrorism, and in May 1996 they voted for Binyamin Netanyahu, who believed, and probably still believes, the whole Oslo process to have been a mistake.

So, for the past three years, all has been stuck. A few of the planned interim measures have gone through—Israel's partial withdrawal from Hebron, for instance—but there has been no progress at all on the permanent Israeli-Palestinian solution that should have been in place by now. Behind

## Human rights *Study - Reg - PK* More than paper

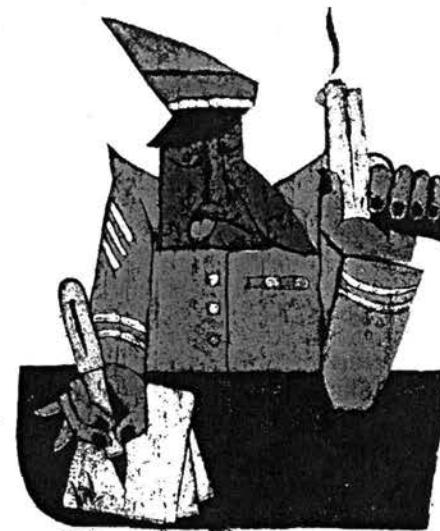
CAN international law curb the excesses of governments or tame the ferocity of war? After 50 years of trying, the question is, at best, still open. On December 10th 1948 the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), from which dozens of treaties have flowed. On August 12th 1949 the four Geneva Conventions covering the rules of war were agreed. Every government has signed the conventions, and most have signed the various human-rights treaties requiring them to treat their own citizens with decency.

And yet savagery continues in both war and peace. Mass graves have become a regular feature of the nationalistic wars and ethnic conflicts of the 1990s. They are appearing again in Kosovo. A third of the world's governments continue to practise torture regularly. The latest annual reports from Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, the world's two most prominent human-rights groups, are a depressing chronicle of violence and repression. "For most people the rights in the UDHR are little more than a paper promise," declares Amnesty's report.

The 50th anniversaries of the UDHR and the Geneva Conventions have produced as much soul-searching as celebration among human-rights activists. Self-styled political realists have always scoffed at the idea that international law will ever amount to much. The only guarantor of peace is military might, realists argue, overlooking the awk-

ward fact that balance-of-power politics have still produced two devastating world wars and innumerable regional conflicts. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of a growing body of human-rights law with continuing abuses and atrocities is an equally awkward fact. Human-rights supporters have reacted in various ways to this. For many it has only made them more indignant. Amnesty and Human Rights Watch relentlessly harass governments—documenting and publicising abuses and campaigning for still more international laws.

Yves Beigbeder takes a different approach. His excellent one-volume guide to the history of modern war-crimes trials attempts to explain why they have so rarely



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succeeded, though he remains undaunted. A secretary at the Nuremberg war-crimes tribunal and then an international civil servant, Mr Beigbeder is still a true believer. Perpetrators of war crimes can be prosecuted and sentenced by independent and fair tribunals, he argues, if the political will exists to make it happen.

Others who profess to support the idea of human rights in principle are beginning to question whether the effort to establish a legal regime based on them is misconceived. The collection of essays edited by Tony Evans is subtitled "a reappraisal"; it would be more accurate to call it a barrage of criticism. The authors make some telling points. As they claim, human-rights treaties are often poorly drafted and over-ambitious. Many contradict each other, or other basic documents of international law, such as the United Nations Charter. How is national sovereignty to be reconciled with legally enforceable individual rights? How are cultural rights to be reconciled with the rights to free speech and religion? The United States, sceptics point out, invokes international law to bludgeon political opponents but brushes aside any criticism of its own record or that of its friends. If even the world's sole superpower—which sees itself as a beacon of freedom—behaves in this way, what chance is there that other countries will ever be constrained by international law?

Other critics, not represented in Mr Evans's volume, have lambasted efforts to hold international trials as selective and unfair. Can it really be justice to drag alleged war criminals in Bosnia or Rwanda before international tribunals while those who have committed atrocities in Chechnya, Sri Lanka or a dozen other countries get off scot free? Why arrest frail old Augusto Pinochet, Chile's former dictator, fighting his extradition from Britain to Spain, while the leaders of the Khmers Rouges, who killed so many more, enjoy a comfortable retirement?

The weakness of such criticisms is not their content—which supporters of international law ought to heed—but the spirit in which they are made. None of the critics in Mr Evans's book, and few of those who have written in a similar vein elsewhere, propose alternatives. Theirs is a counsel of despair. It is also premature.

Efforts to apply international law are in their infancy. Although the UDHR and the Geneva Conventions were signed some 50 years ago, most of the period since has been spent in the time-consuming, cumbersome business of formulating and winning agreement for new international laws from scores of countries. That the results are frequently vague or contradictory is hardly surprising. Even national legislatures regularly pass poorly drafted laws which later have to be revised. The tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda, set up in 1993 and 1994, are the first attempts to hold international trials of war

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH: WORLD REPORT, 1999. *Human Rights Watch*; 520 pages; \$25 and £17.95.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT, 1998. *Amnesty International*; 395 pages; \$20 and £18.99.

JUDGING WAR CRIMINALS: THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE. By Yves Beigbeder. *St Martin's*; 248 pages; \$65. *Macmillan*; £42.50.

HUMAN RIGHTS FIFTY YEARS ON: A REAPPRAISAL. Edited by Tony Evans. *St Martin's*; 256 pages; \$69.95. *Manchester University Press*; £40

criminals since the Nuremberg and Tokyo war-crimes trials, and they have yet to complete their work. The permanent international criminal court agreed upon by diplomats at a UN conference last June is still three-to-five years away.

The international legal system is rudimentary. And at its heart it is still hampered by the UN Security Council, a compromise institution reflecting the political priorities

and cold-war rivalries of the post-war years. Russian and Chinese opposition to giving a council mandate to NATO's bombing of Serbia has meant that, paradoxically, not only are Mr Milosevic's attacks on civilians in Kosovo illegal, but so are NATO's attempts to stop him.

Moreover, in rushing to condemn international law for its obvious inadequacies, critics overlook the long evolution that the established legal systems of western countries required. In much of Europe and America, laws were not enforced on a regular basis, and courts did not dispense justice fairly or consistently to any but the better-off until well into this century. Even today, most crimes in rich countries go unpunished. Nevertheless, the rule of law prevails and provides most citizens with a sense of security, basic fairness and redress. Extending the same benefits to the billions who live in poorer and less stable countries is the primary aim of international human rights law. That is an ambitious goal. However, as law's eventual success in the developed world suggests, it would be wrong to dismiss it as Utopian.

## Democracy

# A citizen's primer

ON DEMOCRACY. By Robert Dahl. *Yale University Press*; 224 pages; \$20 and £14.95

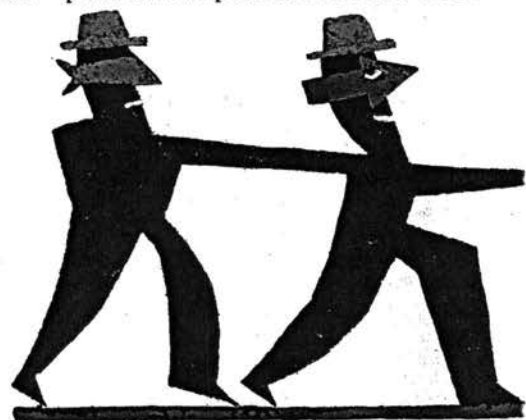
ROBERT DAHL, professor of political science at Yale University, has written a fine little book on his favourite subject, aimed as much at the general reader as at the student of politics. It would be easy to criticise such a work—barely 200 pages long, yet sketching the meaning of democracy, the history of democracy, the forms of democracy and the prospects for democracy—on the grounds that it failed to go into this or that in the detail which is required. But that would also be tiresome: brevity and simplicity are the whole point of such a book.

The right tests to set are, first, whether (despite this feat of compression) the casual reader who goes on to read nothing else about the subject has been enlightened or misled; and, second, whether that same reader will have been encouraged and even equipped to go on and read more broadly. A primer that leaves its readers feeling that they know all they need to, or is so boring that it kills the initial interest, has failed at least as badly as one that is plain wrong.

Measured against either standard, "On Democracy" is a great success. After a terse historical sketch, the book follows a pattern. Each part poses what seems a simple

question. "What is democracy?" "Why democracy?" And so on. These questions are then shown to be not as simple as you might suppose. Nonetheless, in each case, a good (albeit provisional and openly incomplete) answer is developed. Newcomers feel they are making progress—as indeed they are. At the same time, they are shown that there is a lot more to say, and are guided (in end notes) to other sources. The balance between instruction and invitation to delve deeper is skilfully struck.

The centre of the book, in both senses, is an account of the many varieties of democracy as it actually exists. Mr Dahl explains that the political institutions of real-





# MOREOVER

*Blind  
Feb - 99*

## The cruel and ever more unusual punishment

**Most major democracies, and dozens of other countries, have abolished the death penalty. Why is the United States such a defiant exception?**

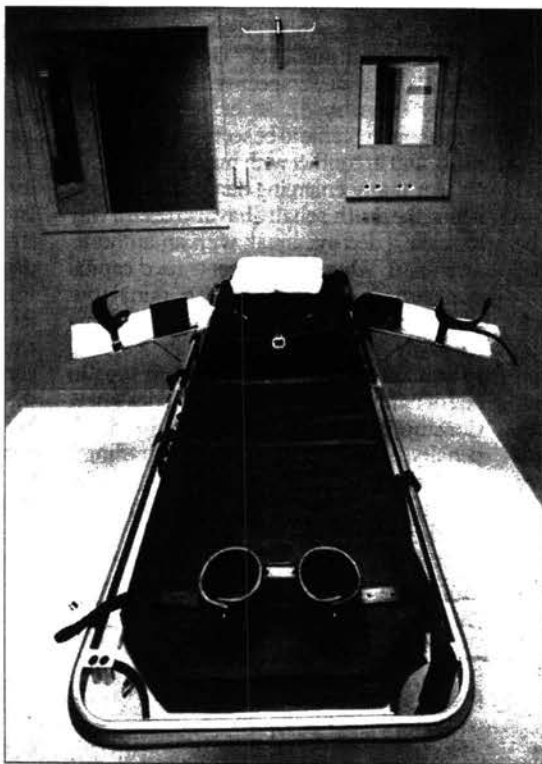
**I**N VIRGINIA, on April 20th, Arthur Ray Jenkins was put to death with a lethal injection. Lawyers for this 29-year-old man had acknowledged his guilt but argued that after years of physical and sexual abuse he was mentally incapable. Jenkins had spent a decade in juvenile institutions and was placed on anti-psychotic drugs when he was 13. Soon after release from jail in 1990, without supervision or medication, he committed two murders.

In Japan, Tsuda Akira, Ida Masamichi and Nishio Tatsuaki had spent between ten and 20 years under sentence of death. For most of that time, the three convicted murderers had lived in solitary confinement and enjoyed only limited contact with the outside world. Then suddenly on November 19th of last year, their cell doors swung open and they were led out and hanged. Their families and lawyers received no prior warning. If past practice is any guide, the men themselves were not told until the day of their execution. As part of a new "open" policy, the Japanese government made a public announcement of the hangings, but refused to confirm the names of the executed men.

These two examples of present-day punishment are striking for many reasons—and, in a world of ethnic massacres and school shootings, easy to overlook. But perhaps the single most striking thing about them is their rarity. Capital punishment has been abolished by all the big democracies except the United States, Japan and India. A growing number of emerging democracies in Eastern Europe, Africa and Latin America have also abandoned it. For large parts of the world, capital punishment is now treated as barbaric and unjustified even for the very worst criminals.

In historical terms, this is a startling change. Ever since Cesare Beccaria, an Italian philosopher and reformer, proposed an end to the death penalty in a celebrated study "On Crimes and Punishments" in 1764, it has been a topic of continual and of-

ten acrimonious debate. Death-penalty opponents originally considered their cause as a twin to that other great Enlightenment project, the abolition of slavery, and efforts to end both age-old practices ran at first in parallel. Yet winning agreement to abolish the death penalty proved more difficult than stamping out slavery. Even many liberal re-



formers who loathed slavery found the death penalty acceptable under the right circumstances. And, unlike slavery, the death penalty has generally enjoyed widespread public support, as it continues to do today.

Despite this, in the past three decades the international movement to abolish the death penalty has scored the kind of victories which slavery opponents took much longer to achieve more than a century ago. As recently as 1965, only 12 countries had completely abolished the death penalty, while a further 11 had abolished it for ordi-

nary crimes in peacetime. According to Amnesty International, a human-rights group which monitors the death penalty worldwide and has long campaigned for its abolition, 68 countries have done away with it for all crimes and 14 for ordinary crimes, while another 23 have ended it in practice—either having executed no one for at least ten years or having made an international commitment to suspend further executions.

At 105, the number of countries which have ended capital punishment in law or practice now exceeds the 90 that retain it, and most of these have moratoriums on executions. A few countries account now for most executions. Of 1,625 executions in 1998 recorded by Amnesty (whose figures are considered the most reliable), 80% were in China (1,067), Congo (100), the United States (68), and Iran (66).

Amnesty believes that the true totals for China, Congo and Iran are higher than those reported. These numbers do not, of course, include thousands of citizens killed yearly by the police or militias in government repressions of one kind or another. Yet the open employment of judicially sanctioned execution as a matter of public policy is different from the use of military terror and death squads, practices which even the harshest regimes usually feel ashamed enough about to deny. Last year only 37 of the 90 death-penalty countries reported carrying out legal executions.

The death penalty remains most entrenched in East Asia. China alone regularly accounts for more executions than the rest of the world combined, and applies it to a wide range of crimes beyond murder. Its enthusiasm for the death penalty finds an echo in other East Asian countries, which apply it to drug smugglers and rapists as well as to murderers. The Philippines recently became one of the few countries to restore the death penalty after abolition. This year it

held its first execution in 23 years. Most Islamic countries in the Middle East also retain the death penalty, although they execute relatively few people. In addition, some Caribbean countries such as Jamaica and Trinidad remain determined to retain it despite international pressure to abandon it or restrict its use.

For much of the rest of the world, however, capital punishment has become anathema. European countries have been among the most thoroughgoing of the abolitionists. All 15 members of the European

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Rec'd  
Podesta*



Union have themselves done away with the death penalty, and the EU now has an official policy of promoting its abolition throughout the world. Since 1995 the 41-member Council of Europe, a looser grouping of countries which often serves as a stepping stone for those aspiring to join the EU, has made an end to capital punishment a non-negotiable condition of membership. This has acted as a powerful spur to countries in Eastern Europe, most of whom have got rid of their death-penalty laws in the past few years. The Council's parliamentary assembly has threatened to suspend Ukraine if it succumbs to popular pressure to execute Anatoly Onuprienko, who is accused of murdering 52 people. To meet the Council's requirements, the Russian government has promised to abolish the death penalty, although it has yet to win ratification of this pledge from a reluctant Duma. On February 2nd, the Russian Constitutional Court issued a judicial order imposing a suspension of capital-sentencing throughout the country.

The death penalty is also more and more suspect in international law. Many defendants at the Nuremberg and Tokyo war-crimes trials were hanged. That would not be thinkable today: death cannot be imposed by the Yugoslav and Rwandan war crimes tribunals even for the worst atrocities. If a new permanent international criminal court is set up in the next few years, as many including this newspaper hope, it too will be able to punish the guilty only with prison, not with death.

Abolition is called for in three international treaties—optional protocols to the European and American conventions on human rights, and to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. More than three dozen countries have signed at least one of these protocols, making it more difficult for them now to return to capital punishment. Application of the death penalty is also condemned by various bodies of the United Nations. Only last month, for the third year in a row, the annual meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva passed a resolution calling for its restriction and eventual abolition.

The abolitionists' success, after nearly two centuries of trying, has occurred everywhere despite apparent public backing for the death penalty. "I can't think of one country which has abolished it with majority support," says Peter Hodgkinson, director of the Centre for Capital Punishment Studies in London. Elected politicians rarely defy the voters in this way. Why have they done so on a topic as emotive as the death penalty?

### Ineffective, outdated and wrong

There seems to be a variety of reasons. In Western Europe, Canada and Australia political elites apparently lost faith in the death penalty as a just or effective crime-fighting tool. High-profile miscarriages of justice persuaded many judges, lawyers and politicians that courts, no matter how careful, could never avoid executing some innocent people. The risk seemed too grave for a punishment of dubious value. "In most western countries the death penalty had come to be inflicted relatively rarely, and there was always a great deal of public concern about any particular decision," explains Roger Hood, a professor of criminology at Oxford University and author of "The Death Penalty: A Worldwide Perspective" (Oxford University Press; 1996). As he sees it, capital punishment "came to be seen as an anachronism, and in conflict with human rights."

For many emerging democracies, abolishing the death penalty has also been a way to make a decisive break with an authoritarian past, when governments used capital punishment not just to punish criminals but to get rid of political opponents, as China currently seems to be doing in Xinjiang against the province's Muslims. In 1995 in one of its first judgments, South Africa's new Constitutional Court abolished the death penalty as "cruel, inhuman and degrading".

If, despite the polls, politicians and judges were gambling that popular support for the death penalty was troubled or half-hearted, they seem to have won their bet. With a few exceptions, public reaction to abolition has been muted and pressure to restore capital punishment weak. Even in South Africa, where a soaring crime rate has produced a noisy pro-restoration campaign,

backed by opposition parties, the government has adamantly, and so far successfully, refused to consider such a move.

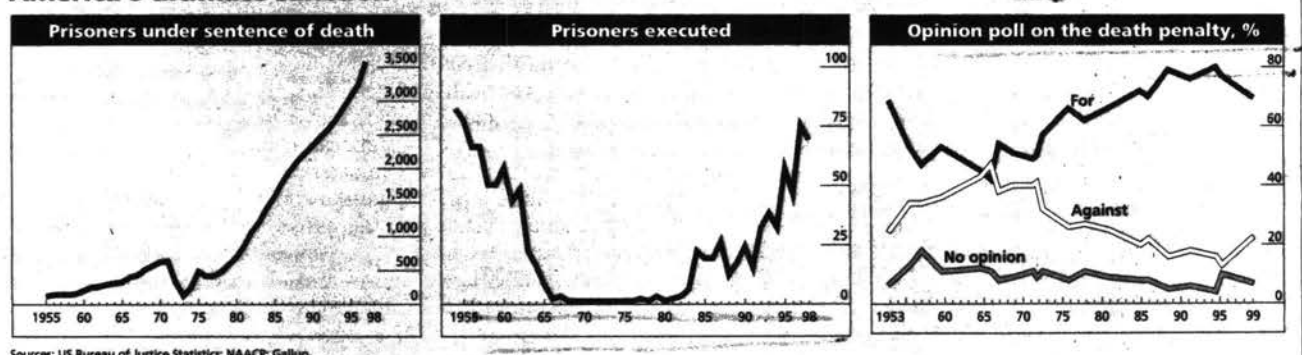
The most glaring exception to the emerging international consensus on the death penalty is the United States. As other western democracies have condemned and abandoned it, America has defended it with increasing vigour. America has even refused to stop executing those convicted as juveniles or the mentally retarded, restrictions which are accepted by many other governments. Why is the world's richest, and arguably greatest, democracy so out of step?

One answer may indeed be that America is, in many ways, so deeply democratic. Far more public officials—including police chiefs, prosecutors and judges—are directly elected in the United States than in Europe. To voters alarmed about crime, and with an appetite for retribution, the death penalty has become a litmus-test which few candidates, national or local, dare to fail. In 1992, during his party's New Hampshire primary, Bill Clinton, then Arkansas governor but soon-to-be the Democratic presidential nominee, pointedly refused to halt the execution of a man with brain damage.

Nevertheless, the current enthusiasm of Americans for the death penalty remains something of a puzzle. It cannot, as many Europeans might imagine, be explained as a legacy of the country's frontier past. In the late 18th century, American states began restricting the use of the death penalty to first-degree murder while most European countries were still hanging people for a wide variety of crimes. And the state of Michigan, closely followed by Rhode Island and Wisconsin, led the way in completely abolishing the death penalty in 1846, almost 20 years before Portugal became the first European state to do so. Yet though pressure for abolition built up in America before the Civil War—and again briefly after the second world war—it has dropped sharply since. Today 38 states, the federal government and the American armed forces apply the death penalty. And for most of the past 30 years, according to opinion polls, public support for the death penalty has risen.

More is known about the application of

### America's ultimate sanction





the death penalty in America than anywhere else. Nearly all academic research on the subject has been directed at America's experience. The results are perplexing.

The commonest, and most commonsensical, argument for the death penalty is that it deters murder. But numerous studies have failed to establish that execution deters better than a long prison term. Not only has the United States the highest murder rate in the industrialised world, but murder rates there are highest in southern states, where most executions occur. Many subtler studies have analysed murder rates in neighbouring states with and without the death penalty, before and after high-profile executions or before and after the death penalty's abolition or reintroduction. None has found good evidence for deterrence.

In certain ways this is not so surprising. Consider the statistics for the ten years to 1993. About 22,000 criminal homicides were recorded annually in the United States during these years. Of these, only 2,000-4,000 cases were egregious enough to qualify for the death penalty and, on average, 250 actually resulted in a death sentence. And, during these years, only 22 people, on average, were executed annually. So the chances of a killer being caught, prosecuted, convicted and then executed during this period were about one in a thousand. Given these odds, and the vagaries of the criminal justice system, a killer has to be very unlucky indeed to end up being executed.

The number of executions has increased since 1994 to 68 last year, and may reach 100 this year, but that does not shorten the odds by much and hardly alters the argument. Moreover, by law the death penalty is supposed to be reserved for perpetrators of the worst sorts of murder, criminals who have killed repeatedly or committed appallingly violent crimes. But these are the people least likely to be rational enough to calculate the consequences of their acts, or to be deterred by the prospect of execution. For the death penalty to be an effective deterrent, America would probably have to execute hundreds, even thousands, every year, not a few dozen. The probability that many more innocent people would also be executed would have to be weighed against the benefits of deterrence. A minority of death-penalty supporters might not mind. But could the majority of Americans stomach it?

Probably not. When probed, the American public's support for the death penalty appears wide, but not very deep. Although 70-80% of Americans regularly tell pollsters they favour capital punishment, few actually apply it when given the chance. Juries impose the death penalty in only about 10% of capital cases, and this despite the fact that American capital juries are always "death qualified"—meaning that death-penalty opponents are barred from hearing the case.

Numerous polls have found that sup-



Condemned to death but innocent

port for the death penalty drops by 20-30 percentage points if life imprisonment without parole is offered by way of alternative, as it must be in 22 death-penalty states. A poll in 1997 for *Time* magazine confirmed that 74% of respondents supported the death penalty, but also found that 52% did not believe that it deters people from committing crimes and 60% did not agree that the desire for vengeance held by a victim's relatives was a good enough reason for putting a murderer to death. A 1995 poll of 386 police chiefs commissioned by the Death Penalty Information Centre, a research group, found that two-thirds did not agree that the death penalty reduced homicide or served as a useful tool of law enforcement. Over 80% thought that murderers did not think about punishment before killing. Nevertheless, a majority of these police chiefs, like a majority of the public, still said they favoured the death penalty. For many Americans, capital punishment seems more a symbol of society's indignation at the evil in its midst than a fair or useful weapon against crime.

#### At the expense of justice

If symbol it is, it has proven a costly one. Because it is irrevocable, and because taking someone's life even in the interests of justice is such a heavy step, America's judiciary has struggled for decades to apply it fairly and consistently, and largely failed. The subject has tormented the Supreme Court. Death-penalty jurisprudence has become abstrusely complicated as a divided court has flip-flopped over how much discretion to allow judges and juries in capital cases. In 1972 the court found that existing death penalty statutes breached the constitution's eighth amendment because death sentences were being applied so arbitrarily that they were "cruel and unusual in the same sense that being struck by lightning is cruel and unusual." All outstanding death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment.

In 1976, after that short lull, the court allowed executions to proceed again under re-

drafted state statutes. Since then it has frequently changed the rules, most recently restricting appeal avenues so as to shorten the time between conviction and execution, now averaging almost ten years. Even so, researchers still find inequities in how the death penalty is applied. Avoiding a death sentence depends a lot on having a good lawyer. Not surprisingly, rich, well-educated murderers rarely get a capital sentence. And the risk of executing the innocent remains very real. Since 1973, 78 people have been released from death row after evidence of their innocence emerged.

The attempt to apply the death penalty fairly has exhausted even some of its staunchest supporters on the bench. After retiring from the Supreme Court, Lewis Powell, the author of a landmark 1987 decision upholding Georgia's death penalty even in the face of an undisputed statistical study showing racial bias in its application, said that he regretted the decision and backed abolition.

Harry Blackmun, one of Powell's colleagues, was even more eloquent. In a 1994 dissent near the end of his career he wrote:

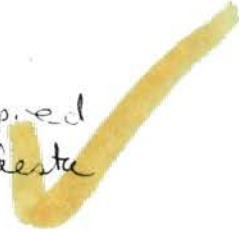
From this day forward, I no longer shall tinker with the machinery of death. For more than 20 years I have endeavoured...along with the majority of this court, to develop procedural and substantive rules that would lend more than the mere appearance of fairness to the death penalty endeavour. Rather than continue to coddle the court's delusion that the desired level of fairness has been achieved...I feel morally and intellectually obligated simply to concede that the death penalty experiment has failed.

America's stubborn retention of the death penalty is usually seen as the abolitionist movement's greatest defeat. And yet in the long term it may prove to be one of its greatest assets. If even America, with its complex legal guarantees and elaborate court system, cannot apply the death penalty fairly or avoid condemning the innocent, then do executions have a place in any society which values justice?

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# Energy Official Faults Lawmakers on Spying

By HELEN DEWAR  
Washington Post Staff Writer

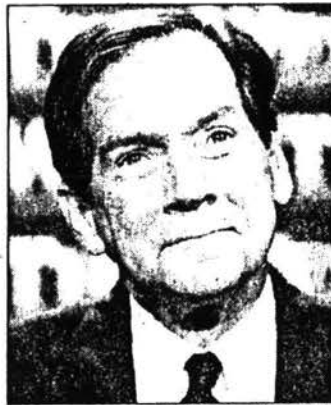
The Energy Department's counterintelligence director yesterday fired back at congressional critics of the administration's handling of the nation's nuclear security, charging that key figures on Capitol Hill share blame for any lapses.

The accusation from Edward J. Curran, a longtime FBI official now serving in the department's top anti-espionage post, came as Energy Secretary Bill Richardson said he "most likely" will fire some officials at the department and its laboratories as a result of China's reported theft of nuclear secrets from the labs.

"There are individuals at the Department of Energy and the labs that, in my judgment, did not do their jobs," Richardson said on "Fox News Sunday."

There were "communications breakdowns... incompetent acts... Security was not considered important," he said on NBC's "Meet the Press." It was not, however, a case of "anything nefarious," he said.

Curran's attack on congressional critics drew a rebuttal from Senate intelligence committee Chairman Richard C. Shelby (R-Ala.) and a rebuke from Sen. Robert G. Torricelli (D-N.J.), who said he thought the accusation was "inappropriate." All three ap-



BY TERRY ASHE—ABC VIA REUTERS  
**Energy Department counterintelligence director Edward J. Curran says he warned of spying.**

peared on ABC's "This Week."

Curran accused Shelby of failing to attend briefings on some of "our most sensitive [counterintelligence] cases" or to respond to a 1997 report with 26 specific recommendations for security improvements that was prompted by reports of spying by China at the labs. "His staff wouldn't even accept our briefings," Curran said. Instead, they would "get up and walk away," he added.

Curran also said he gave a report showing "very specific targeting of our cybernetworks within DOE by intelligence services" to the staff of Sen. Frank H. Murkowski (R-Ala-

ka), chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, along with a request for \$12.5 million to start dealing with the problem. "That was rejected," he said. "I did not get that money."

Curran also defended Attorney General Janet Reno against criticism for failing to get a warrant to get into the computer of espionage suspect Wen Ho Lee, who worked at the Los Alamos National Laboratory. He said the government could not obtain warrants because officials could not satisfy the legal "probable cause" requirements.

"They're governed by statutes," Curran said of law enforcement officials. "If Congress doesn't like this, then they should change the law."

Shelby, who followed Curran on the ABC show, said that the Energy Department official was "out of bounds on some areas" and that the intelligence committee approved funds and issued a directive to tighten security at the nuclear labs, only to be "basically... ignored" by the Energy Department.

Shelby conceded that he has not been to all the committee's briefings but said that he had attended nearly all hearings, including some where Curran testified. "Mr. Curran knows better," said Torricelli, who has been among the sharpest Democratic critics of the administration's handling of nuclear lab security. "I thought his

comments... were entirely inappropriate, particularly for someone in law enforcement now entrusted on a bipartisan basis to deal with this problem."

Congress is "also wanting" in its handling of the problem, Torricelli added. "I wish there were some crisis in this town... we could deal with without the acrimony of partisan politics."

Richardson did not say how many department officials would be fired or who they were but indicated that they would not include current lab directors. "In the past, the lab culture did resist some of the counterintelligence upgrades, but this crew that we have now generally have been enormously supportive, helpful," he said.

Appearing with Rep. Christopher Cox (R-Calif.), chairman of the committee that issued a report last week on the nuclear thefts, Richardson agreed with Cox that the espionage was serious but cautioned that the extent of the damage is unknown.

But they disagreed over whether the labs are still penetrated by agents. "I believe that we have taken such strong steps that right now I don't believe there's penetration," said Richardson. Cox said: "Because we have not apprehended the people who have been able to penetrate the labs over a period of many years, we have to assume they're still there."

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the United States. But he wouldn't be a leading candidate for president."

Romer's unusually early offensive against Bush who has not even formally declared his candidacy yet underscores the extent to which Democrats expect to be facing the Texas governor in next year's presidential race.

Looking at Romer's remarks through that lens, Karen Hughes, Bush's communications director, dismissed them as a sign of Democratic anxiety. "The chairman of the DNC is very worried that Gov. Bush will be the next Republican nominee, because he knows that if he (is), Gov. Bush will be the next president," she said.

Romer acknowledged he made his comments now because Bush has emerged as "such a clear front-runner" and is poised for his first campaign swings later next month, first to Iowa and New Hampshire, then to a wider list of states, including California.

"I just think everybody in Iowa and New Hampshire and New York and California need to begin to focus on the real questions," said Romer, a former governor of Colorado. "The real question is having the name George W. Bush isn't going to get you there; it is do you have the leadership, the experience, the issues."

For months, national polls have shown Bush, 52, holding a commanding lead in the Republican presidential primary and a double-digit advantage over Vice President Al Gore in early tests of sentiment for next year's general election. But Bush has remained in Texas and has kept a low profile in most national debates while focusing on the state legislative session that is scheduled to conclude Monday.

Previewing what are likely to become common Democratic refrains as Bush finally steps onto the campaign trail, Romer criticized the Texas governor along two principal lines. First, he questioned whether Bush whose sole service in public office has been the five years he has served as Texas governor since 1994 has sufficient experience to serve as "leader of the free world," as Romer put it.

"Somebody who has just been a governor for five years, you have to ask some tough questions: Is this the kind of experience that qualifies you to run and occupy (the presidency) and lead?" he said.

Second, Romer accused Bush of ducking a series of controversial recent issues. Romer cited three examples: Bush's ambiguous initial comments on Kosovo and his refusal to support legislation in the Texas House to punish hate crimes and require background checks at gun shows even though, in both cases, he has said he has supported the concept.

"Time and time again, he has just stood back and said 'I'll let others decide, I don't have a position,'" Romer charged. "That's not a very reassuring record."

On Kosovo, Bush initially supported military action only in heavily qualified terms, although he later endorsed the use of ground troops, if necessary to win the conflict.

On hate crimes, Bush's position was oblique. He said he opposed including homosexuals as a protected category under hate crime legislation, but he never took a public position on the actual bill under consideration. After passing the state House with gays included, the hate crimes bill died in the state Senate two weeks ago in a dispute over the gay issue.

On guns, Bush endorsed the concept of requiring background checks for purchases at gun shows only after a state House committee had killed a bill to require them in Texas. Later he refused to try to resuscitate the bill, saying he objected to the way it implemented the checks.

Despite his criticisms on these particular issues, Romer acknowledged that he "has not had a chance to look in a detailed way at (Bush's) record in Texas." Rather, he said, he was observing "those things that jump out of that to a national scale."

But Bush's aides said the overall record shows the governor has repeatedly demonstrated his ability to lead his state and move his priorities through the Legislature.

He outlines his agenda and doesn't get distracted by the issue du jour," Hughes said. "If Gov. Bush had not pushed a bold agenda of tax cuts in 1997 and 1999, the money would all have been spent on new government programs. Had he not campaigned on specific welfare reforms in 1994, they never would have been enacted; had he not campaigned on tort reform, it would not have happened."

Over the weekend, Bush was able to put more entries on his achievement list, as he reached agreement with state House and Senate negotiators on a \$3.8 billion package to fund schools and cut taxes.

## More and More Buses Using Alternative Fuels By Marla Cone

Los Angeles Times

Soot-belching buses seem as symbolic of city life as crime and traffic. But gradually, they are vanishing from America's streets.

Cleaner-burning natural gas has become so popular with transit agencies that experts predict diesel buses will be virtually eliminated within a dozen years in many urban areas. One of every five new buses ordered in the United States is powered by alternative fuels.

Diesel buses are "on their last gasp," said Rick Hittinger, a general manager at the Los Angeles-based Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which operates the world's largest fleet of alternative-fuel buses.

Replacing diesel in trucks is a problem in part because of the lack of fueling stations that sell alternative fuels, such as natural gas. But urban buses return home to a central spot to fuel and stay within a local area, making them ideal for new technologies.

Of the 2,100-bus fleet in Los Angeles, 591 are fueled by compressed natural gas, or CNG, which puts out about half the carcinogenic particles and smog-forming gases of a brand-new diesel bus. The MTA has ordered 764 more, which are expected to arrive within two years.

The transition, however, "is not cheap and it's not easy," Hittinger said.

In 1993, Houston's Metropolitan Transit Authority was the first to try liquefied natural gas, or LNG, buses. Unfortunately, the engines had serious defects the gas valves stuck, so the cylinders burned out.

It was a painful lesson about the cost of being a pioneer of new technologies. Recent models have been vastly improved, and the agency recently purchased more, said Richard Rotenberry, supervisor of alternative fuels for the Houston agency.

In Los Angeles, the MTA also learned the hard way about experimenting with buses. It tried methanol, but such severe mechanical defects developed that the buses had to be pulled off the road and replaced with diesels.

The new CNG engines are much more reliable than methanol, but require more maintenance than diesels, MTA officials say.

The price tag for natural gas buses also remains a big obstacle: at around \$330,000 each, they cost \$30,000 to \$50,000 more than a diesel. The fuel is more expensive too, and requires building new fueling stations. Much of the extra cost, however, is subsidized by state and local funds set aside for smog control. Other types of buses are being tried, including ones that run on a combination of electricity and diesel. But the most impressive ones emit no pollution at all. Three experimental fuel cell buses, made by Ballard Power Systems, are serving passengers in Chicago. At \$1.5 million each, however, they may not be practical for years.

## What Comes After Diesels?

Los Angeles Times

Engineers predict new fuels will dominate the effort to clean up diesels. One of the most promising new technologies is a fuel called Fischer-Tropsch. Made from natural gas that is converted into a liquid, it

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 28, 1999

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NSC WW DeskINFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *SB*

SUBJECT: Gulf War Sorties

You asked about the number of sorties flown in the Gulf War. The attached chart from the final report to Congress on the war shows the breakdown of sorties by date and type (US forces versus Allied aircraft).

|                                    |               |
|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Total number of sorties:           | over 112,000* |
| Total number of aircraft involved: | 2,780         |

The total number of sorties NATO has flown so far in Kosovo and the FRY is 27,800 (as of Day 66).

\* most precise number available

## Attachment

Tab A Sorties Chart from the Final Report to Congress on the Conduct of the Gulf War

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
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| 001. chart | re: [Gulf War Sorties] (1 page) | 00/00/0000 | P1/b(1) |
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### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Staff Secretary  
Sean Maloney (Chron File (Jun 99))  
OA/Box Number: 14864

### FOLDER TITLE:

Tuesday, June 1, 1999

2016-0970-F

rs3024

### 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]



6-1-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

Tab A: Pg 1 of cover memo + Tab A:  
HRC/Verveer/Podesta

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID GOODFR

SUBJECT: Recent Information

Tab C: Pg 1 of cover memo + Tab C:  
Podesta/Ruff

Tab D: memo at Tab D only:  
Podesta/Berger/NSC WW Desk

We are forwarding the following r

(A) **Reed memo on strategy for**

Eli Segal and Sarah Brown  
recommendations on immediate

campaign (i.e., finding an  
executive director, since Eli doesn't want to do it; naming a board of directors; drafting a  
prospectus; and formally organizing under an existing non-profit) in time for the  
campaign to be up and running when school starts; Bruce will continue to look for new  
commitments from organizations that took part in the summit (e.g., FTC/DOJ study on  
marketing of violence; nationwide teacher-training effort through NEA and others).

(B) **Sec. Glickman memo on prospects for farm economy in 2000** -- Sec. Glickman reports  
that he expects continued financial problems through 2000; prospects for livestock  
probably will improve due to reduced production; crop farmers will continue to endure  
financial stress, perhaps impacting the presidential campaign; exports probably will  
decline for the third consecutive year; continued low prices and income could further  
reduce land values, probably leading to another credit crunch next spring. *Please see  
memo for summary of major commodity markets.*

(C) **Tenet letter on anti-Semitism in CIA, via Chuck** -- Regarding recent media reports of  
alleged anti-Semitism affecting CIA employees and persons in the CIA clearance process,  
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training. Chuck says CIA's General Counsel briefed him and NSC staff about the  
specific case referred to in Tenet's letter; he will continue to stay in touch with CIA on  
this matter.

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reports that there were over 112,000 sorties flown during the Gulf War by 2,780 aircraft;  
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6-1-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 29, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID GOODFRIEND

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (A) **Reed memo on strategy for national campaign on youth violence** -- Bruce says that Eli Segal and Sarah Brown are heading an informal steering committee to make recommendations on immediate organizational steps for the campaign (*i.e.*, finding an executive director, since Eli doesn't want to do it; naming a board of directors; drafting a prospectus; and formally organizing under an existing non-profit) in time for the campaign to be up and running when school starts; Bruce will continue to look for new commitments from organizations that took part in the summit (*e.g.*, FTC/DOJ study on marketing of violence; nationwide teacher-training effort through NEA and others).
- (B) **Sec. Glickman memo on prospects for farm economy in 2000** -- Sec. Glickman reports that he expects continued financial problems through 2000; prospects for livestock probably will improve due to reduced production; crop farmers will continue to endure financial stress, perhaps impacting the presidential campaign; exports probably will decline for the third consecutive year; continued low prices and income could further reduce land values, probably leading to another credit crunch next spring. *Please see memo for summary of major commodity markets.*
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-1-99

May 27, 1999

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

CHARLES F.C. RUFT

SUBJECT:

Letter from George Tenet Concerning Allegations  
of Anti-Semitism in CIA's Security Clearance  
Process

Attached is a letter from George Tenet noting recent media allegations of systemic discrimination against Jewish employees in the security clearance process at CIA, and recounting the steps he has taken to examine the allegations.

George convened an independent panel to assess the allegations. The panel found no evidence of anti-Semitism, but did find instances of insensitivity. The CIA has asked the Anti-Defamation League to assist in providing ongoing training to its employees to address this concern.

CIA's General Counsel has briefed me and NSC staff about the specific case of the CIA attorney to which George refers in his letter. We will remain in touch with the CIA about the progress of that matter.

Attachment

Tab A May 7, 1999 Letter from George Tenet

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff



THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

7 May 1999

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

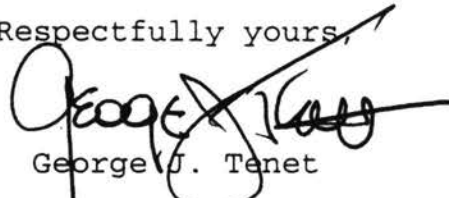
Dear Mr. President:

Within the past couple of weeks, there have been allegations made in the media that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has engaged in a pattern of anti-Semitism against Jewish employees at CIA and Jewish employees in other agencies screened by the CIA for security clearances. Although I take charges of this kind very seriously, I wish to reiterate what has always been my position. I will not tolerate anti-Semitism, or any other form of discrimination at CIA. Anti-Semitism is repugnant to me and to all that our Agency and country stand for. Consistent with this, it is my belief that the CIA has not engaged in anti-Semitic practices.

The charge of anti-Semitism was first made by a CIA contract employee who was hired to serve as an attorney in our Office of General Counsel. While I had no reason to believe these allegations were true, I convened a group of distinguished Americans to examine the facts of this case and a small number of others involving Jewish-Americans. The group was composed of Admiral William Crowe, Eli Jacobs, Professor Henry Rosovsky, Nicole Seligman, and Judge William Webster. Based on its review of the facts, the group reported to me that it found no evidence of anti-Semitism but did find a small number of instances of insensitivity. In order to address this issue, I approached the Anti-Defamation League last year and sought their assistance in providing ongoing training to CIA personnel to enhance sensitivity and ensure that prejudice would find no home here at CIA in any form. That training is underway.

Again, I want to assure you that the CIA does not and will not tolerate discrimination in any form.

Respectfully yours,

  
George J. Tenet

6-1-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

Tab A: pg 1 of cover memo + Tab A:  
HRC / Verreen / Podesta

Tab C: pg 1 of cover memo + Tab C:  
Podesta / Ruff

Tab D: memo at Tab D only:  
Podesta / Berger / NSC WW Desk

MEMORANDUM FOR THE

FROM: DAVID GOOD

SUBJECT: Recent Informa

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**(A) Reed memo on strate;**

Eli Segal and Sarah Br

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-1-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 29, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID GOODFRIEND

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

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*ca. RTD/duwain*  
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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Copied  
HRC  
Verveer  
Podesta

May 26, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed

SUBJECT: National Campaign on Youth Violence

This memo outlines our strategy for getting the national campaign up and running, and for taking additional steps to build on the success of the youth violence summit.

**I. Organization**

Over the last two weeks, we have had several discussions with Eli Segal and Sarah Brown to review their experiences with the Welfare-to-Work Partnership and the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, and work through the mechanics and structure of this new campaign.

As an interim step, Eli and Pam Eakes have agreed to head a small, informal steering committee of summit participants that will lead the search for an executive director and board of directors. This group will oversee the most immediate organizational steps:

1. **Executive Director:** This campaign will never really take off until we can hand it over to the right person outside the White House who can work full-time raising money and organizing. Several names have been mentioned – Michael Berman, Sam Brown, Ricki Seidman, Eli Segal. But apart from Eli, who doesn't want the job right now, no consensus candidate has emerged.
2. **Board of Directors:** Several people at the summit would be logical board members – Drew Altman of Kaiser, Pam Eakes, Steve Case, Gloria Estefan. But these decisions must be made carefully: The board needs to reflect the different sectors represented at the summit, have a common understanding of the campaign's mission, and be able to take the lead in raising money. (The teen pregnancy campaign relies on its board primarily for fundraising, and set up advisory task forces on the media, best practices, and grassroots efforts as a way to involve a broader range of experts and activists.)
3. **Prospectus:** Because a campaign like this could go in many different directions, we should make some choices at the outset. We are writing a draft prospectus that will give you and the First Lady a chance to mull over those issues, and that eventually



will serve as a mission statement for the organization and an entrée to foundations. The prospectus will spell out the guiding principles of the organization, the rationale for the campaign, an agenda for the first year, and measurable goals for the long term.

4. **Non-Profit Status:** One of the first steps the campaign needs to take is to formally organize under an existing non-profit (possibly the Kaiser Foundation or Mothers Against Violence), so that it can begin receiving contributions.

We have asked Eli and Pam to help us make recommendations to you in all these areas in the next 30-60 days, so that the organization can be up and running when school resumes in the fall. In the meantime, we are following up with every summit participant through phone calls, photos, and a letter from you thanking them for their involvement and seeking their continued support. We also are firming up commitments to the campaign that several major organizations (YWCA, AMA, Nat. Assn. of Elementary School Principals) made before the summit. Scores of other organizations have written the White House with offers to help the national campaign; we are sending them letters as well, and pursuing those that have the most promise.

## **II. Communications Strategy**

To maintain the momentum of this effort, we will continue to look for new commitments from organizations that took part in the summit, additional actions you can take on your own, and new sectors you can challenge:

1. **Federal Trade Commission / Justice Department study:** Unless the Justice Department backs away from providing the funds, next Tuesday you can announce a joint FTC-DOJ study of whether the movie, recording, and videogame industries live up to their own systems of self-regulation, and to what extent those industries market violence to young people.
2. **Nationwide effort to train teachers to identify troubled youth:** We are working with the NEA and other education groups on a nationwide teacher training campaign. We're still working out the details, but we hope to be able to announce at the Mental Health Conference that Education, Justice, and these organizations would sponsor a series of teleconferences this summer with experts on identifying and helping troubled youth. The Education Department would then make videotapes of the sessions available to every school district before school resumes. In addition, we may be able to join in NEA's announcement of a school safety network that will provide satellite dishes, donated by a company in Littleton, to 1,000 school districts around the country.
3. **Other challenges:** We are working with the Vice President's office to see whether we can persuade a group of retailers to agree to strengthen enforcement of the videogame ratings system by refusing to sell adult-rated software to children. We would like to reach a similar agreement with Blockbuster and other videostores, but

have not gained a foothold yet. We will continue to press the National Alliance of Theater Owners to go along with your challenge to card under-age moviegoers. We have found a few people in the entertainment community who like your challenge not to market guns in ads or previews, but no big names yet. If any new commitments pan out in time, you and First Lady can announce them in your *Good Morning America* interview on June 4<sup>th</sup>.



JESSE HELMS, NORTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/1/99

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8275

# UNITED STATES SENATE

## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

### FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE: May 28, 1999TO: The PresidentADDRESSEE'S FAX NUMBER: (904) 225-2091  
(904) 225-2073ADDRESSEE'S PHONE NUMBER: (904) 225-3100FROM: Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr.  
Via Dr. Michael HaltzelSENDER'S FAX NUMBER: (202) 228-4148SENDER'S PHONE NUMBER: (202) 224-4475NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE): 5COMMENTS: Memo attached

6/1/99

Should we send to  
Legislative Affairs?

cc: Berger Yes ☒ No ☐

## PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

To: The President  
From: Joe Biden  
Subject: Kosovo  
Date: May 28, 1999

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: MI DATE: 7/2/18  
296-0972-f

Mr. President, thank you for returning my call last night. I was sorry to have to interrupt your vacation. I would like to summarize what I said in our telephone conversation.

### 1. COMMITMENT TO WINNING IN YUGOSLAVIA / DEFINITION OF "WINNING" AND OF "NEGOTIATIONS"

I think it is very important now, after Milošević's indictment, to reiterate that the United States and NATO remain committed to winning in Kosovo. There simply is no substitute for victory. It is important to define both what "winning" and "negotiations" mean. "Winning" means the acceptance by Serbia of NATO's basic conditions:

- \* withdrawal of all VJ, MUP, and Serbian paramilitary forces from Kosovo;
- \* allowing the return of all refugees and internally displaced persons to their homes in Kosovo;
- \* deployment in Kosovo of a heavily armed international force with NATO at its core to guarantee the safety of the returnees;
- \* establishment of an internationally directed interim

- 2 -

administration for Kosovo;

- \* resumption of a political process toward the establishment of an interim political framework providing for substantial self-government for Kosovo.

**"Negotiations" does not mean discussing possible compromises to the basic five conditions stated above, but rather only discussing the modalities of implementing these conditions. There should be no compromises on the substance of the conditions.**

## **2. RAPID DEPLOYMENT OF PEACEKEEPING TROOPS TO THE REGION**

I think, as I expect you do, that this is the time to push very hard to bring this war to a successful conclusion. The air campaign has picked up, and we should further intensify it.

In addition, I feel strongly that NATO's ACTPLAN adopted this week, in which the alliance committed to having 50,000 troops prepared to go into Kosovo to guarantee the safety of the refugees when the Serbs withdraw, is a very important first step. To the extent that you can move our NATO allies to agree to the number of their peacekeeping forces and to place them into the area as quickly as possible, all the better. For example, it is my understanding the British have committed approximately 12,000 additional troops to the peacekeeping force.

A rapid deployment will, I believe, speed up the Serbs' willingness to withdraw from Kosovo. If, however, Milošević does not yield to the bombing campaign, and you and our allies conclude that an invasion is necessary, then the deployed NATO peacekeeping troops can be used as the spearhead of a larger invasion force.

- 3 -

### **3. RETURN OF REFUGEES / RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF CIVILIAN CONTROL**

**Mr. President, I know from your experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that you realize the return of refugees and re-establishment of civilian control are difficult undertakings. Right now, my colleagues in Congress, the American people, and even our allies, are waiting for NATO to articulate a plan for these processes. Personally, I believe that the OSCE should play the lead role, with the U.N. and the European Union also involved. Whatever organizational priorities you choose, it is very important that you and NATO appear to have thought this through and to be already in the planning stages.**

### **4. AID TO THE FRONTLINE STATES, RECONSTRUCTION OF KOSOVO, AND POSSIBLY OF SERBIA**

**Mr. President, I cannot emphasize too strongly that if my Senatorial colleagues believed that you were planning for the United States to shoulder even a quarter of the burden of reconstruction of Kosovo, they would be inclined to withdraw their support for the current military operation. Therefore, I believe it is imperative for you to state that whatever economic assistance goes to the frontline states, Kosovo, or a post-Milošević Serbia, the overwhelming bulk of it will come from the Europeans, particularly the EU. Mr. President, I'm talking a 90:10 ratio, not a NATO formulation of 25:75.**

**Then, Mr. President, I would distinguish and prioritize among the recipients: first must come aid to the frontline states; then reconstruction of Kosovo after the Serbs withdraw, concurrent with aid to the democratic Djukanović government in Montenegro; and finally, assistance to Serbia only when it has changed its government and has moved toward a pluralistic democracy.**

**Mr. President, I realize that some of what I have suggested is already underway, but I think it is very important that you lay out --**



- 4 -

possibly at your Air Force Academy speech – a coherent strategy for Yugoslavia and the frontline states in order to demonstrate that this is not an *ad hoc* operation (which I know it's not).

Mr. President, you may not agree with all that I have set forth, but I hope that you will see the political wisdom in it, in particular of demonstrating to the American people and to a skittish Congress that you are resolute, in charge, and have thought through not only the war, but also the peace. The impression of a lack of resolve and organization, and of indecision, would be our undoing and would undercut your ability to succeed.

As King Abdullah of Jordan recently said, NATO must win in Yugoslavia. If NATO wins, Iraq will not be a problem; if it doesn't win, Iraq will be a menace.

I am ready to help you in any way I can. As I have said to you in the past, you must follow your instincts; you're always right.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
6-1-99  
**THE BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS**  
**CLARK COUNTY, OHIO**

P.O. Box 2639  
50 East Columbia Street  
Springfield, Ohio 45501-2639  
Telephone: (937) 328-2405 Fax: (937) 328-4588

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**ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR** Jeff Johnson  
**PERSONNEL DIRECTOR** Cathy Balas  
**CLERK TO THE BOARD** Shelley White

**JOHN DETRICK JAMES E. SHEEHAN ROGER D. TACKETT**

The Honorable William J. Clinton, President  
United States of America  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, DC. 20500

*William J. Clinton*  
*May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1999*

Dear Mr. President,

I am honored to join you today at the White House as we remember our fallen veterans and all our men and women in uniform around the world.

I proudly served in the United States Marine Corps. in Vietnam and later served as one of your state-wide Co-Chairs for Veterans in your last Presidential Campaign here in Ohio.

I would like to take this opportunity to bring to your attention three important federal endeavors in Clark County and the region:

- The 178<sup>th</sup> Fighter Squadron and its related missions play a strategic role in our nation's defense. Located at the Springfield Air National Guard Base, the base employs over 1000 personnel and has participated in many diverse support missions around the world ...including standby for action in Kosovo. The continued funding and federal support of the Air National Guard Base here in Springfield is integral to our defense system.
- Likewise, Wright-Patterson AFB, serves as home to over 20,000 service and civilian personnel. With missions ranging from Acquisition and Logistics Management to Aeronautical Research, Wright-Patterson will lead the way for the future defense of our nation; it also needs the continued support of your Administration
- N • An important economic development initiative that will improve the vitality of our region is the continued federal funding for the Route 68 By-Pass around the City of Urbana, Ohio.

In all, I would be pleased if you were to visit the Clark County/ Springfield area again with an eye toward visiting the nations largest truck manufacturing facility ...Navistar and its new state-of-the-art stamping plant.

Sincerely,

*Roger D. Tackett*  
Roger D. Tackett, Vice President

6/1/99  
After you have seen,  
we will send to  
Beckhardt.

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Ibama  
NSC W/D  
Benger  
Podesta  
Beckhardt  
(original for response)

*Carl*



THE GUN LOBBY UNDER FIRE • GEARING UP FOR IOWA

# U.S. News & World Report

MAY 31, 1995



*Sandy  
When I awarded  
the medal I don't think  
I knew his story -  
I think I missed the  
the family's real  
apology - Pic*

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Berger*

## A Soldier's Story

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when he  
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to expose

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
5-31-99



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www.usnews.com





Eddie Carter in  
1936, age 20,  
en route to the  
Spanish Civil War



# A Soldier's Story

BY JOSEPH L. GALLOWAY

LONG AFTER EDDIE CARTER DIED, the U.S. Army and a grateful nation awarded him America's highest honor for heroism in combat. That was two years ago, and it seemed at the time that an old wrong had finally been righted. It had, but not entirely. Because there was still a mystery about how his country had treated

Staff Sgt. Edward A. Carter Jr. About how a battlefield hero could be broken by the country he served, then banished from his beloved military career like a bum. About why.

Now, at last, the mystery is ended, the puzzle complete. And if the picture it reveals is not entirely new, it reminds again how a nation

consumed by paranoia and misspent passion can consume in turn even those who have loved and served it best. Until just days ago, this much was known about Sergeant Carter's case: Despite his certified record of heroism killing Nazis on the battlefields of Germany, the Army—on the basis of secret charges of disloyalty that had no basis in fact—denied Carter the right to continue serving his country in uniform. There was no hearing. No explanation. No appeal. Just a cold stone wall. It happened in a very different America, in an America just entering the deep freeze of the cold war, a country where patriots and political hacks pursued homegrown Communists, real and imagined, with the passion of avenging angels.

It was not a good time and place to be Eddie Carter. Besides his race, Carter had lived an outsized life. He had been raised in strange lands, fought in foreign armies. China? The Spanish Civil War? Such entries on his résumé raised questions among the Commie hunters. But at such a time and place, such questions—with no answers, no evidence of wrongdoing, and despite his distinguished Army service—had the power to wound and wound fatally. Banned from the service, Eddie Carter fought on for years, asking only that he be allowed to pursue his love of soldiering. But the soldier's



## WE APOLOGIZE—Among all the other fine words, those Eddie Carter's kin needed to hear most were never uttered.

country said no. Eddie Carter was crushed, his heart broken. In 1963, he died in Los Angeles. He was 47 years old.

Clearly, a terrible wrong had been done. But Eddie Carter was not alone in that. Two years ago, when President Clinton presented the Medal of Honor to Carter's family, he bestowed the same belated honor on six other African-American soldiers whose service in World War II distinguished them as heroes.

But Carter's story was different. Unlike the families of the other veterans who received the medal from the president, Eddie Carter's two sons and a daughter-in-law he never knew were angry. There were fine words of encomium throughout the White House ceremony. But the words Eddie Carter's kin needed to hear most were never uttered: *We apologize*. Ed-

family to leave the secrets of the past buried in the past. Allene Carter would hear none of it. Eddie Carter's life was destroyed by secrets and lies. Only in their exposure could healing begin.

But exposure, as any detective can tell you, takes time. Slowly, painstakingly, paying her own way and working in state and national archives on her vacations from her job as a nighttime 911 supervisor in Los Angeles, Allene Carter assembled the pieces one by one. From a trunk she found in a storage locker she unearthed Eddie Carter's letters. Seeking answers, he had written to the Army, the Department of Defense, the White House. He pleaded with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union to champion his cause. From the letters emerges a picture of pain and bewilderment. What dark force had caused his banishment?

The answers were slow in coming. Then, just last month, Allene Carter finally got what she'd been waiting for: 57 pages of documents that constituted the newly declassified counterintelligence file the Army had assembled on Eddie Carter. The contents were breathtaking. The Army opened its file on Carter in 1942, when he first enlisted. It was updated like clockwork right up until he was denied re-enlistment, in the fall of 1949. Carter, it seems, was watched like a cat. His commanders in every unit he served in filed secret reports on him. No detail was unworthy of mention. The magazines he read are noted with care: *Popular Science* and *Popular Mechanics*. So, too, the club he joined: the Masons. There are interviews with neighbors and landlords. With bosses on every job he ever had. Even Carter's father was interrogated.



Carter's daughter-in-law, Allene, pressed for the truth about the war hero she had never met. The question of injustice burned. But she also wanted to fill in the silences in a family that had been torn apart by what happened to Sergeant Carter.

ward Carter III, the eldest, recalls the memory vividly. "Honor without honor," he says, summing up the moment.

### THE SEARCH

Which is why the story didn't stop there. Eddie Carter's family wanted to know the truth. They wanted to know it even if it burned like lye. And they wanted America to know it, too. Edward III's wife, Allene, knew the old soldier only from his cards, letters, and family photos. But in her drive to remove the stain from her father-in-law's name she allowed herself no rest. There were blizzards of demands for records. For hidden files. Using the Freedom of Information Act, she peppered the Army and the FBI for answers. It was a lonely crusade. Friends and government officials urged the

### THE FILE

A summary of the Carter case dated June 4, 1943, listed the following "adverse information" about Sergeant Carter:

1. "Subject reportedly was a member of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, having served for 2½ years with said Brigade in Spain." True enough, as far as the notation went. A born soldier, Carter had joined the brigade and fought with distinction with it in the Spanish Civil War.
2. "Potentially adverse—Subject is seemingly potentially capable of having connections with subversive activities due to the fact that he spent his early years (until 1938) in the Orient and has a speaking knowledge of Hindustani and Mandarin Chinese." More true facts—albeit ones unilluminated by any context. Carter's parents were missionaries, and he was raised by them as a young man in China.

Twice, the record reflects, well-meaning men tried to abort the witch hunt. "In view of absence of any adverse information as result of completed investigation," an entry dated 1943







states, "it is recommended that case be closed and authority be granted Unit Commander to mark Subject's service record: 'Not considered potentially subversive. . . . ' Recommend case be closed." The recommendation went nowhere. At the end of the Carter file is a single sheet of paper, on Army letterhead, from the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Intelligence. The letter refers to Sergeant Carter and states: "ALLEGATION: Communist Party suspect. SOURCE: 6th Army." Then this: "Information on the allegation is not reflected in the files of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Department of the Army." Despite all the Army's compulsive snooping and file making, in other words, there wasn't a single damning fact about Carter. Only that letter's allegation. It was dated Dec. 4, 1950. Carter had been refused re-enlistment more than a year earlier.

There is irony in that. Carter's fight for justice began in September 1949, after he was told he would not be permitted to re-enlist. Had he seen that piece of paper, he would have known the charge against him. Herbert M. Levy, then a young lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union who took on Carter's case, explains why: "The pronounced national hysteria about communism," he says, doomed Carter's cause. To truly understand, he suggests, a passing knowledge of Kafka is useful. "This was completely indecent," Levy, now 76, says. "But we were on the path to hysteria. It was guilt by association. It was un-American, but it was being done by the House Un-American Activities Committee."

## THE BEGINNING

To best understand Eddie Carter's story, it helps to start at the beginning. Carter was born in Los Angeles on May 26, 1916, on a brief visit home by his parents, the Rev. E. A. Carter, a traveling missionary, and Mary Carter, a native of



Calcutta. The Carters took their young son back to Calcutta, where he attended grade school. The elder Carter then resettled the family in Shanghai, where young Eddie attended a military school. After his father divorced his mother and married a German national, Eddie ran away from home and joined the Chinese Nationalist Army fighting the Japanese. The father got the son back by revealing the young man's age: He wasn't yet 18.

—But Carter wasn't home for long. After hitching a ride on a merchant ship to Manila, he tried to enlist in the U.S. Army but was rebuffed. So he worked his way to Europe on another merchant ship and joined the Spanish Loyalists in their fight against Gen. Francisco Franco's fascists. Carter's name appears on the roster of the American volunteer unit that fought in Spain, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Carter spent 2½ years in Spain, often in fierce combat. Once he was captured

## WITH THE LOYALISTS

### Finding a fight in Spain

The year was 1936. Americans were still mired in the Great Depression and in no mood to hear about the troubles of others, especially those an ocean away. But in Europe, fascist political movements were taking hold in Germany, Italy, and Spain—where Gen. Francisco Franco was marching his forces toward Madrid, then ruled by a social-

ist government. In the midst of these grim circumstances, a group of 2,800 Americans, calling themselves the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, joined the Republic's fight against Franco's rapidly encroaching troops. Franco, meanwhile, had the aid of the Italians and Nazis, who virtually obliterated the Spanish town of Guernica, later memorialized by Pi-



The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, on the march in Spain, 1938





From left, Carter in training in 1942; teaching California National Guard troops in 1947; receiving his Distinguished Service Cross medal in Los Angeles in 1946 at an American Legion meeting

and held by Franco's forces. Somehow he escaped. At the end, in early 1938, Carter was among the Loyalists in the mountains when the line broke and those who could fled across the border to France. Carter, by all accounts, didn't take up the Loyalist cause out of any particular political bent. He threw in with them for the same reason he joined the Chinese Army: He loved a good fight.

## SIGNING UP

**A**fter Spain, Carter caught a boat to America. In 1940, he met and began courting Mildred Hoover, the widowed daughter of a well-known black family that kept a boarding house in Los Angeles. On Sept. 26, 1941, Carter enlisted in the Army and was shipped to Camp Wolters, Texas, where he baffled instructors who couldn't understand how a raw re-

cruit shot near-perfect scores with five different weapons. From Texas, Carter was shipped to Fort Benning, Ga. Less than a year later he was promoted to staff sergeant.

Combat billets for black soldiers were scarce. Army leadership subscribed to a policy that black troops couldn't be relied on in combat and were best used as service troops in engineering, transportation, or stevedore outfits. So, despite his previous combat service, Carter was assigned as a mess sergeant in the 3535 Quartermaster Truck Company. In 1942, Mildred joined him in Georgia where they were married. In two years, she gave him two sons, Edward III and William, in addition to the two children she had by a previous marriage.

The domestic bliss didn't last long. On Nov. 13, 1944, Carter and his truck company arrived in Europe and were assigned to transporting supplies to the fighting forces. For three months straight, Carter began every day by volunteering for combat. No luck. By late February of 1945, however, things had changed. The Battle of the Bulge had

cut through the Army's infantry ranks like a scythe. Reinforcements were needed desperately. Army brass appealed for volunteers among black troops.

Carter was among the first chosen. Like the other 2,600 black volunteers, he was forced to give up his rank and become a private. Carter stripped off his sergeant stripes and awaited assignment. It didn't take long. The 7th Army sent Lt. Russell Blair to collect a platoon of black volunteers. Carter caught his eye immediately. "Eddie Carter was an outstanding soldier," Blair remembers. "He was always neat and soldierly. There was no malarkey about him. He soldiered 24 hours a day. He was one of the best ones. You bet."

Things moved fast. Carter's unit was organized into the 1st Provisional Company, assigned to the 12th Armored Division, then assigned again to the 56th Armored Infantry Battalion. "They gave us some six-by-six trucks, three jeeps, a command

casso in a dramatically tragic painting.

Noble though their intentions may have been, there was a catch, which would haunt the Lincoln Brigade's veterans for decades: It was organized by, and took many of its recruits from, the Communist Party in America. And, ultimately, some 70 percent of the Brigade's members identified themselves as such, many simply because "it was the only way for many of them to get into the fight," says Peter Car-

roll, chairman of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives. Carroll notes that at the time U.S. passports had been invalidated for travel to Spain—and that the only way in for most Americans was through France, where Communists helped them sneak over the Pyrenees mountains at night into Spain.

**Green soldiers.** Having made the treacherous border crossing—many died in falls from the steep cliffs at night—new recruits found themselves part

of a ragtag, diverse (unlike the U.S. Army at the time, the Brigade was integrated) group, many of whom had never before even fired a weapon. The Loyalists were eventually defeated and suffered heavy casualties: 300,000 Spaniards died along with 750 of the Americans who came to fight with them.

The controversy over who, or what, was behind the Abraham Lincoln Brigade continues to this day. While many of the company's rank-and-file

members (and most of its leadership) were surely sympathetic to communism, many Brigade supporters were merely antifascists, foreshadowing the position of the U.S. government. And some considered their actions nothing short of heroic. Among the brigade's most passionate supporters: novelist Ernest Hemingway, who once said of them, "No man ever entered the earth more honorably than those who died in Spain."

—James Morrow



## EDDIE CARTER shows how a country consumed by paranoia can ... consume those who have served and loved it best.

halftrack and a maintenance halftrack," Blair says. "And that's what we fought our war out of." Floyd Vanderhoff, the company commander, and Blair, the executive officer, made two decisions right off the bat. They gave Carter his staff sergeant stripes back. Then they made him a squad leader of Infantry.

### TO FIGHT

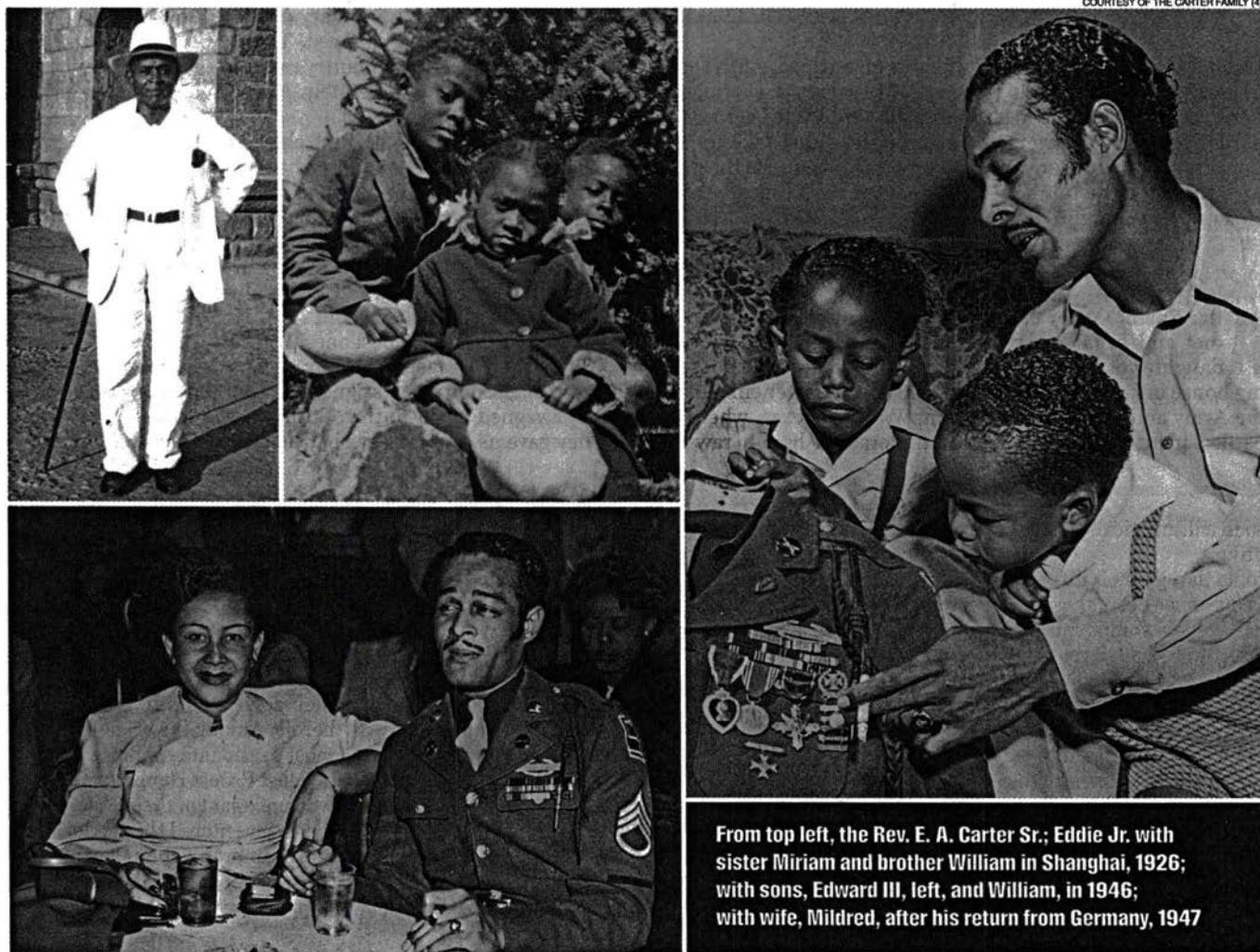
The fighting was at hand. The 12th Armored Division was detached to Gen. George Patton's 3rd Army, and Old Blood and Guts was salivating at the prospect of beating Field Marshal Bernard Law Montgomery across the Rhine and punching a hole through the heart of Nazi Germany. Carter was ready. It was the 23rd day of March 1945, and the 12th Armored was on a dash toward the city of Speyer. There was a bridge over the Rhine there, still intact. The 714th Tank Battalion was rolling at the point, Eddie Carter and the other black volunteers clinging to the backs of the 714th's rumbling Shermans. Suddenly, German antitank rockets were screaming through the air. Machine-gun fire crackled.

Carter and his squad took cover. Ahead was a big warehouse. That's where the rocket fire was coming from. From the road embankment he'd dived behind, Carter surveyed the scene: the warehouse and open ground, maybe 150 yards, between it and him. The warehouse had to be taken. Carter volunteered. He would lead a three-man patrol. Clambering over the embankment, Carter saw one of his men cut down instantly. He ordered the other two to turn back. Before they could reach the embankment, one was killed, the other wounded. Carter ran on alone. Before he reached the berm surrounding the warehouse, he'd taken five bullets and three pieces of shrapnel. He crawled the last few yards, blood and dirt staining his fatigues.

For two hours, Carter waited. Finally, convinced he was dead, an eight-man patrol came out to make sure. Waiting for his moment, Carter opened up with his .45-caliber Thompson submachine gun. Within seconds, six Germans were dead. Carter took the other two prisoner. Using the two as human shields, he marched back across the open field to his company.

Russel Blair couldn't believe his eyes. From an observation post he'd established on the second floor of a brewery, he

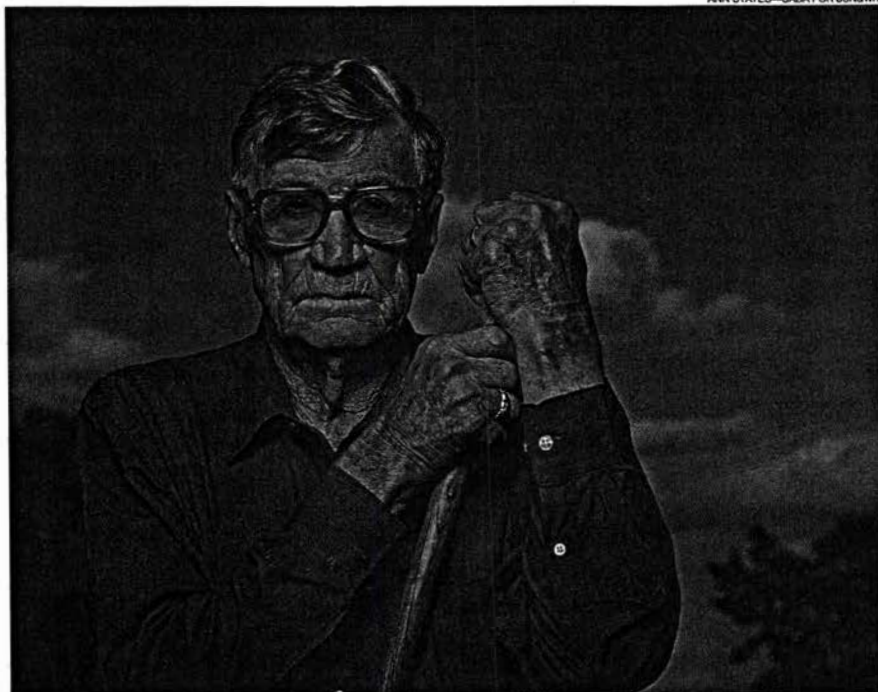
COURTESY OF THE CARTER FAMILY (4)



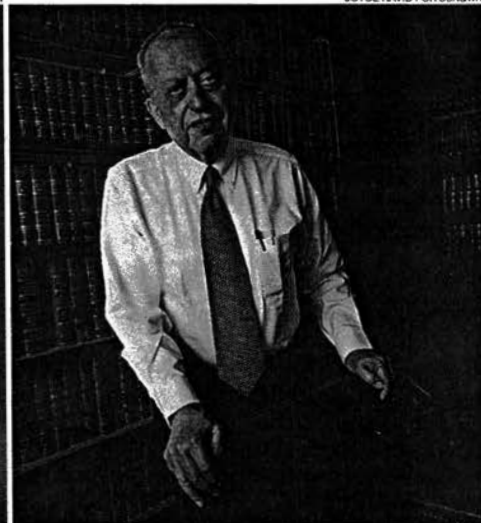
From top left, the Rev. E. A. Carter Sr.; Eddie Jr. with sister Miriam and brother William in Shanghai, 1926; with sons, Edward III, left, and William, in 1946; with wife, Mildred, after his return from Germany, 1947



## A BORN SOLDIER, Carter fought in Spain for the same reason he fought for the Chinese: He loved a good fight.



ANN STATES—SABA FOR US&amp;WR



JOYCE RAVID FOR US&amp;WR

Carter's commanding officer, Russ Blair (left) remembers a true hero; attorney Herbert Levy blames a "pronounced national hysteria about communism."

watched Carter and the two Nazis cross the road. Blair wanted Carter evacuated to a medic's tent so his wounds could be treated. Carter refused. Instead, he climbed the stairs to the observation post and pointed out several German machine-gun nests. Then he turned his prisoners over for interrogation. Utilizing Carter's information, Blair's company cleared the road to Speyer. The city was taken in two days.

Less than a month later, Carter reported back to Blair, ready for duty. A few days after that Blair got a telegram from the Army hospital in the rear, reporting that Carter was missing, apparently gone AWOL from the hospital. "We sent word to them that it was OK," Blair says. "We told them Eddie was back with us and everything was all right."

With Carter, too. In a letter home, he wrote: "Well, I am on my way back up to the front. I'll be darn glad to get back; back into the fight. . . . Mil, I am in good health except for these bullet holes pain me at times. Maybe I shouldn't have talked my way out of the hospital so soon. The hospital was OK except for the four walls that just about drove me crazy."

Carter soldiered on to the end of the war in Germany. In July of 1945, Captain Blair, now commanding Provisional Company 1, signed a recommendation that Carter be awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the nation's second-highest decoration for valor in combat. The DSC was approved, one of only nine awarded to black soldiers for heroism during the war.

### BACK HOME

In 1946, Carter was back in Los Angeles. He and Mildred were sought-after guests not only in black society but white society, too. One of the many invitations they accepted was to a "Welcome Home, Joe" dinner. The headliners were Frank

Sinatra and Ingrid Bergman. The chairman for the event was Harpo Marx. The dinner was organized by the American Youth for Democracy, a left-wing political group. One of the sponsors was screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, who would later be blacklisted in the movie industry for refusing to answer questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Trouble, already, was in the air.

Carter, meanwhile, made a stab at business, leasing out a wartime landing craft for movie-promotion stunts and fishing trips. But the business went bust and the war-hero scene was fading. Carter decided it was time to get back in uniform. The Army snapped him up for a three-year tour at his old rank. Not long after that, he was promoted to sergeant first class. Things, it seemed, were looking up. The brass chose Carter and two other senior noncommissioned officers to train and organize a new all-black National Guard engineer unit in Southern California. Carter was back in his element.

Almost from the moment he re-enlisted, however, the old questions were raised again. Army counterintelligence investigators came to interview Carter. A series of weekly Army intelligence summaries from 1945 to 1946 show how concerned intelligence agencies were with black communities. One document dated Jan. 5, 1946, looked at the "racial situation" and said, "Tension continues; no major incidents." It ranked two "sensitive areas" on the West Coast. One was Los Angeles: "Rated as sensitive because of the heavy concentration of Negro workers, unrest in the Los Angeles Harbor area, and current government contract cutbacks."

Then there was that dinner. An Army intelligence summary dated Jan. 12, 1946, noted that an informer was present and stated: "Quotation of embittered World War II veterans honored at the recent Welcome Home Joe dinner sponsored by



the American Youth for Democracy (CP organization) as denouncing the 'so-called democracy for which they fought' and saying that they have returned 'to find America more prejudiced than before, and intolerance at an all-time new high.'

**Re-enlistment refused.** Carter paid no heed. He was proud of his role in training the new all-black engineer company. Near the end of his three-year tour, he was transferred from Los Angeles to Fort Lewis, Wash. His family moved north with him. There was no sign of anything wrong until Sept. 21, 1949, when Carter's enlistment ended. When he announced his intention to re-enlist for another tour, Carter's commanders said no. He would not be allowed to re-enlist, they said, without the specific permission of the adjutant general of the Army. Carter was stunned. He paid his own way to Washington and turned up on the steps of the adjutant general's office to ask why he couldn't re-enlist. He got nowhere.

Now he was angry. He turned to the NAACP. It bombarded the Army with letters and telegrams. But it got nowhere, either. NAACP lawyers could find no evidence that Carter was being discriminated against because of his race. Carter took his case to the ACLU and staff lawyer Herbert Levy.

In a letter dictated by Carter to his wife, Mildred, Carter told Levy, "I have always been loyal and faithful to the land of my birth. Sir, if I were guilty of being a traitor to my country, would I have traveled at my own expense to the Department of the Army requesting permission to re-enlist? I need help. I ask for justice. This could not be democracy. There must be some mistake."

By May of 1950, Carter's spirits were low. In another letter to Levy, Carter said he was enclosing his DSC medal and asked that the next time Levy visited the White House he give it back to President Truman. "In my country's hour of need, I was in the front lines with a submachine gun in my fist. My reward? A stab in the back. So far I have lost two jobs after word passed around that I had been kicked out of the Army because I was a Communist."



The memories are a mixture—pride, anger, and sadness. Carter's widow, Mildred, with sons William (center) and Edward III. Now, at last, there is a sense of vindication.

Levy tried everything. On May 16, 1950, he wrote Defense Secretary Lewis Johnson: "All that Mr. Carter asks is that he be given a statement of the charges against him and a full hearing on these charges. We join in his request. . . . We feel sure that you will agree with us that a man who has served his country so well is at least entitled to a hearing." This letter, like all others, bounced back to the adjutant general of the Army, Maj. Gen. Edward F. Witsell. He answered Levy's letter. "A complete and comprehensive review of Mr. Carter's records has been made by competent Department of the Army agencies," Witsell wrote, "and it has been determined that his re-enlistment cannot be authorized."

In a private letter to another ACLU attorney, Levy wrote, on Nov. 29, 1950, that an officer in the adjutant general's office told him that the Army had "turned down Carter purely on the basis of a directive to do so from the Central Intelligence Agency, which itself did not disclose the reasons to the adjutant general." No evidence of any CIA directive in the Carter case has surfaced in the papers released to the Carter family.

Herbert Levy was 26 years old when he took on the Carter case. "We never found the reason he was suspect," Levy says

## SPY WARS

### Recalling Reds under the bed

**W**hat was it all about, this anti-Communist hysteria that ended Eddie Carter's military career in 1949 and hurt so many others? Did America just go crazy? Could it all have been prevented?

The first thing to be said is that in the 1930s and 1940s there were Communist spies in important positions in American government. They did pass information to their paymasters in the Soviet Union. And

they did do the United States an awful lot of harm.

One of the worst, of course, was Alger Hiss. A young congressman named Richard Nixon confronted Hiss before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948, three years after he left government. Hiss was convicted of perjury in 1950 and served time in prison. Another was Julius Rosenberg, executed with his wife, Ethel, in 1953 after they

were convicted of stealing atom bomb secrets.

For years many denied the guilt of Hiss and the Rosenbergs, but it was confirmed beyond any doubt by two sources only recently made available. One was the VENONA documents, transcripts of deciphered Soviet cables, opened by the U.S. government in 1995 at the urging of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. A virtual king's ransom of top-secret bombshells and bangles, the haul is described in *Venona* by John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr. The other confirming

source was the KGB archive documents made available between 1993 and 1995 to Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev and recounted in their book *The Haunted Wood*.

**Accusations.** By 1948 almost all the known Soviet agents had left the U.S. government. But the public airing of the issue of Communists in government was only beginning. Abroad, the Communist threat was growing more menacing each year: the Berlin blockade in 1948, the Soviet atom bomb and the Communist victory in China in 1949, the attack on



now, 50 years later. "The only two things there were his involvement with the Spanish Loyalists and the Youth for Democracy dinner. If you were associated with a group like that, you were suspected of being a sympathizer, or a 'Pinko.' Apparently this thing just took on a life of its own."

In Tacoma, Wash., Carter got work as a vulcanizer in a tire plant. He and Mildred started breeding registered dogs to keep food on the table and the rent paid. In the summer of 1954, in answer to one of Carter's letters, Levy said, "Frankly, in view of the obvious scare thrown into the Army by the McCarthy mess, I am even less hopeful than I was in my last letter to you of April 7, 1953, in which I expressed pessimism but would not concede defeat." In response to Carter's request, the ACLU lawyer returned the DSC medal, which he had not given Harry Truman, plus copies of all Carter's records and papers.

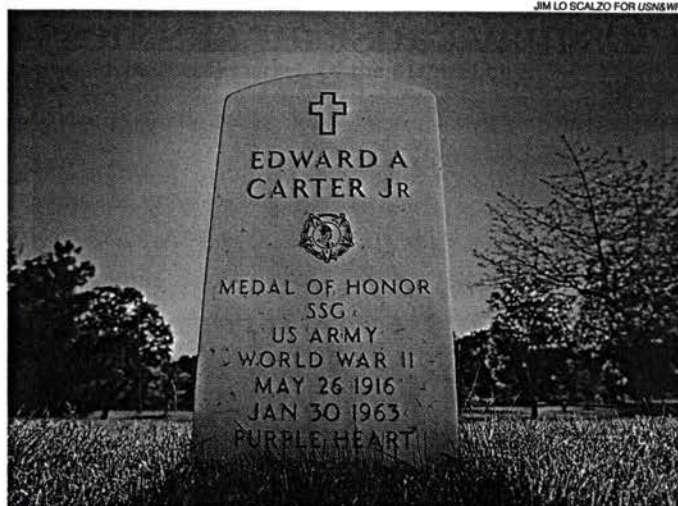
In 1955, Mildred and the children moved back to Los Angeles. Carter followed a few months later. He got work as a vulcanizer at another tire factory, in the Los Angeles area. It was hot, dirty work, just one more blow on top of the one he had already suffered in having to move back into his wife's home. Carter began drinking. By 1958 a family friend, a physician, wrote to Herbert Levy's successor at the ACLU asking if perhaps the climate in America had changed enough so that Eddie Carter might be allowed to re-enlist. The doctor noted that it would help Eddie and his family, too. The ACLU replied that it saw no reason to believe that the Army would now be willing to change its mind.

Late in 1962, Carter was diagnosed with lung cancer. He

died on Jan. 30, 1963, and was buried in the National Cemetery in Los Angeles. That might have been the end, except for a study undertaken by the U.S. Army in 1995-1996 to determine why no black soldiers in World War II had received a Medal of Honor. The study focused on the nine black soldiers, including Edward Allen Carter Jr., who had earned the DSC. A special Army Awards Board panel determined that seven of those DSC recipients, Carter included, should have their awards upgraded to the highest combat award, the Medal of Honor.

**Seeking answers.** All of this was enough for Allene Carter to swing into action. "There were silences in this family that I didn't understand, and Eddie Carter and what happened to him was always at the heart of the silence," Allene Carter says. "When Mildred moved in with us, and all she could talk about was Eddie, and I found the trunk in storage, it seemed like the right time to begin to find some answers to all the questions."

Most of the answers are spread on the record, thanks to Allene Carter's bulldog tenacity ("I come from the South Side of Chicago; this is not some soft California person you are dealing with."). What happened to Eddie Carter Jr. should never have happened in a democratic nation. What happened to him wouldn't have happened a few years earlier or even a few years later. If the U.S. Army and the United States government would like to say "We're sorry; we apologize for what happened to Eddie Carter," the Carter family says it is ready to listen and ready to forgive. And maybe a long-dead hero who now sleeps in Arlington National Cemetery will rest a bit easier.



The body of Staff Sgt. Carter rests now beneath a white marble marker on the gentle slopes of Arlington National Cemetery, honored in death by the Army that had spurned him in life.



"Tail gunner" Joe McCarthy

South Korea in 1950. "Too much was happening to expect something like a measured judgment," writes Moynihan

in *Secrecy*. "Instead, we began to accuse one another." The most vocal and obsessed accuser was Sen. Joseph McCarthy, the intemperate former Pentagon "tail gunner" with the preoccupation for lists. McCarthy had been uninterested in the spy issue until after he told a women's club in Wheeling, W.Va., in 1950 that he had a list in his hand of 205 Communist agents in the State Department.

There was no list, and there

were no agents. But there were congressional investigating committees looking for "Reds"—McCarthy ended up charging the Army with promoting a pro-Communist dentist in Fort Dix, N.J.—and there were bureaucracies charged with internal security. The anti-Communists with the most perceptive picture of the movement were liberals and labor leaders who had fought Communists in their organizations, young men like Hubert Humphrey, Walter Reuther, and Ronald Reagan. But many of the investigators were utter-

ly ignorant and ready to believe that someone was a Communist if they were caught reading a book by Dostoyevsky. Anything that might find its way into an FBI file—second-hand gossip, foreign travel, nonconformism of any kind—could end your career, without appeal, as it ended Eddie Carter's. Communists in government did great harm to America, and it was worthwhile to get them out of positions where they could do damage. But the hysteria that followed did harm to America, too. —Michael Barone



BY JOHN LEO

*Podesta (Read) wants about ruin?*

# The feds strike back

THE PRESIDENT HAS S

5-31-99



**N**on-Asian minorities tend to score lower on standardized tests used for college admissions than do Asian-Americans and whites. The obvious answer to this gap is better schools in minority neighborhoods and better study habits. But the Clinton administration has a quicker fix: Let's just declare the tests invalid.

The draft of a new "resource guide" by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights says that "the use of any educational test which has a significant disparate impact on members of any particular race, national origin, or sex is discriminatory" unless the school using the test can prove otherwise. That makes almost all educational tests suspect. Specifically, the department is warning that the SAT and ACT tests are presumed to be invalid if they are a significant basis for college admissions and financial-aid decisions that fail to produce proportional representation by race and gender.

The department says the guide is merely a useful "synthesis of settled law," but it is surely one of the four or five most amazing positions taken by the Clinton administration. As usual, the administration acted with a stunning lack of candor and straightforwardness: no public announcement, a ho-hum pretense that staking out a radical position is just business as usual, word casually passed to colleges that they have just four workdays to respond (lengthened until the end of the summer after protests).

The *Chronicle of Higher Education* Web site says that officials are "reeling" from the announcement. No wonder. It's an attempt to decapitate traditional assessments of merit at a single stroke and push the colleges to accept large numbers of applicants who are well below their standards. The department is in effect saying that colleges using standardized tests can expect to be called in for long and grueling interrogations that most of us would call harassment. Terry Pell of the Center for Individual Rights calls this "an extralegal form of bureaucratic terrorism."

**War of attrition.** Sample questions from the draft guidelines: Has the school developed its own evidence that the procedure is valid? What is the form of evidence? Who conducted the study and how recently was it done? For what use was the test or assessment procedure validated? Answer these and the department will offer dozens more to wear you down.

The intent seems to be to bully schools into dropping tests, or at least de-emphasizing them. That would be the only sure way to avoid the legal costs, the withering interrogations, and the threat of losing federal funding. Turning more and more

to subjective admissions criteria—essays, extracurricular activities, "life experiences"—would allow more minorities to gain admission over higher-scoring Asians and whites. But only a dishonest use of subjective factors is likely to change the numbers a lot. And subjectivity would open the schools to more litigation and federal complaints over bias, not less. The education department would surely be back in the face of the colleges asking for an explanation of subjective standards that don't produce rough racial quotas.

The text is vague about how much impact a test must have to be regarded as suspect. All it must do is to "contribute to a disproportionate denial of an educational benefit or opportunity."

People who intend to bully like to use vague and broad language so that the victim will surely be guilty of something.

Does the administration really think this plan will fly? Maybe the idea is to provide cover for colleges to back away from standards and toward more affirmative action while saying that they are being forced to do so under federal pressure. Not all colleges are "reeling" at the prospect of more racial preferences.

Perhaps the real intent is to soften up the public and the courts for heavier doses of disparate-impact theory. The text opens the door to using the theory to rearrange every aspect of education, from professors' grades, final exams, and the racial makeup of faculty to the new standards being set for public schools in many states. All cutoffs of test scores would surely be depicted as grossly unfair: A college that requires a 1300 score would

have to explain why a student with a 1290 score couldn't expect to succeed at the institution. Control of these matters would pass from schools and local governments to the courts and the federal bureaucracy.

Then again, the obvious is true: In Democratic administrations, the posts of civil rights chief at the Education and Justice departments are the two key outposts of the cultural left in Washington. These jobs, currently held by Norma Cantú and Bill Lann Lee, are conceived as platforms to pursue (mostly behind the scenes) a heavy ideological agenda built around race and gender preferences and proportional representation. The president speaks like a moderate and plays to majority opinion, but the two appointees reliably head in a different direction, mostly unnoticed. In this case, it's important for the Republicans to wake up and hold congressional hearings on what the Clinton administration really has in mind for our schools.



From the administration: the pretense that staking out a radical position is business as usual



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEC

5-31-99

Mindy E. Myers

05/24/99 01:33:53 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Betty W. Currie/WHO/EOP

cc: Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP, Charles M. Brain/WHO/EOP, Broderick Johnson/WHO/EOP

Subject: Rep. Carolyn McCarthy

Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-NY) would like to talk to the POTUS today regarding gun legislation. She will be in her DC office after 3:00pm (225-5516). Ideally, she would like to talk to the POTUS before 5:30pm when she goes into a House Democratic Leadership mtg. Thx.

Poenta / Richetti / Stein

She doesn't agree with  
the leadership strategy -  
think if they can win up  
GOP vote, should go for  
union - should discuss

ITC

copied  
cos  
Richetti  
stein

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
5-31-99

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 25, 1999

## MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT (via John Podesta)

From: Charles F.C. Ruff, Bruce Lindsey, Charles Burson, Melanne Verneer,  
Mark Childress, Eldie Acheson, Sarah Wilson, and Eric Angel

Subject: Judicial Nominations Decision Memorandum

copied  
Ruff  
Lindsey  
Burson  
Verneer  
Childress  
Acheson  
Wilson  
Angel  
Podesta

This memorandum seeks your final approval to nominate three federal district court candidates, and notifies you that we are ready to nominate the three appellate court candidates profiled below.

I. Request for Approval of U.S. District Court Nominations

**William Joseph Haynes, Jr., Middle District of Tennessee**

William Joseph Haynes, Jr., a 50-year-old African American male, has served as a United States Magistrate Judge for the Middle District of Tennessee since 1984. He received his B.A. in 1970 from the College of St. Thomas, and his J.D. in 1973 from Vanderbilt University School of Law. Prior to his appointment as a Magistrate Judge, Haynes was a sole practitioner in Nashville in 1984. He has also served in the Tennessee Attorney General's Office in several positions: Deputy Attorney General (1978-84); Senior Assistant Attorney General (1977-78); and Assistant Attorney General (1973-77). In addition, Haynes has served as an adjunct professor at Vanderbilt Law School.

The ABA has preliminarily rated Haynes "well qualified" for this appointment, and his FBI file is complete. The Attorney General has recommended his appointment. He was recommended for this appointment by the Vice President, and Senator Thompson supports his nomination. We recommend his nomination.

       Approve

       Disapprove

**Patricia A. Coan, District of Colorado**

Patricia A. Coan, a 54-year-old Caucasian female, has served as a United States Magistrate Judge for the District of Colorado since 1996. She received her B.S.N. in 1967 from Georgetown University and her J.D. in 1981 from the University of Denver College of Law. Prior to her appointment as a Magistrate Judge, Coan was a partner with the law firm Waltz, D'Antuono and Coan (1995-96) and Coan and Collyar (1994-95). She previously worked as a

sole practitioner (1995-96; 1985-94), and as an associate with Bauer and Buescher (1983-85) and with Hornbein, MacDonald, Fattor and Buckley (1981-83).

The ABA has unanimously rated Coan "qualified" for this appointment, and her FBI file is complete. She was recommended for this appointment by former Governor Romer's Judicial Selection Commission, which included Representatives Skaggs and DeGette. Senator Allard is not likely to return his blue slip for Coan or for anyone else on the Democratic delegation's list. However, we do not want to leave the vacancy open without a nominee. The urgent need to have this vacancy filled has received significant media attention. The District of Colorado currently ranks 79<sup>th</sup> out of 94 judicial districts in the country in terms of the number of civil cases more than three years old. Coan's nomination will make it clear that we are trying to address the needs of the judicial district, and that Allard is blocking a qualified woman's candidacy. Late in the vetting process for Coan, the Attorney General of Colorado recommended Christine Arguello, an Hispanic woman who serves as an assistant Attorney General and who previously worked at Denver's Holland and Hart as an appellate litigator. (Arguello did not make it through the Democratic commission.) Given the investment of the Colorado Democrats in their commission process, combined with the unlikelihood that Allard will approve Arguello, it does not make sense to substitute Arguello for Coan for the district court vacancy. The Attorney General of the United States has recommended Patricia Coan's nomination. We also recommend her nomination.

☒ Approve

☐ Disapprove

#### **Fredric D. Woocher, Central District of California**

Fredric D. Woocher, a 48-year-old Caucasian male, has been a partner at the Santa Monica firm of Strumwasser and Woocher since 1991. He received his B.A. in 1972 from Yale University, his M.A. in 1975 from Stanford University, his Ph.D. in 1977 from Stanford University, and his J.D. in 1978 from Stanford Law School. Woocher has served as Special Counsel to the Attorney General of California (1988-90); Communications Director and Legal Counsel for Taxpayers to Limit Campaign Spending (1988); staff attorney for the Center for Law in the Public Interest (1981-88); Project Consultant for the San Francisco Foundation (1981); and Staff Assistant to Secretary of Defense Harold Brown (1980-81). Following law school, Woocher clerked for United States Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. (1979-80) and Judge David L. Bazelon of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit (1978-79).

The ABA has unanimously rated Woocher "well qualified" for this appointment, and his FBI file is complete. He was recommended for this appointment by Senator Boxer. Woocher has litigated a number of high profile cases on behalf of Democratic politicians and progressive causes. He gained some notoriety representing Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez in her successful effort to retain her congressional seat, after her election was challenged by former Representative Robert Dornan. Woocher's progressive background may make his confirmation difficult, but he has the support of some Republicans. Despite the potential difficulty in



~~confirming~~ Woocher, you have traditionally deferred to Democratic Senators regarding district court nominations, and Woocher is clearly well qualified for the position. The Attorney General ~~has recommended~~ Woocher's appointment. We also recommend his nomination.

       Approve

       Disapprove

## II. Notification of U.S. Court of Appeals Nominations

You have previously approved the following three individuals to fill circuit court vacancies. Their ABA and FBI investigations are almost complete. Once these investigations are finished, we will proceed with the following three nominations.

### **Maryanne Trump Barry, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit (New Jersey)**

Maryanne Trump Barry, a 62-year-old Caucasian female, has been a United States District Judge for the District of New Jersey since 1983. She received her B.A. in 1958 from Mount Holyoke College, her M.A. in 1962 from Columbia University, and her J.D. in 1974 from Hofstra University School of Law. Prior to her appointment as a U.S. District Judge in 1983, Barry had worked for nine years in the Office of the U.S. Attorney in New Jersey, serving in a variety of capacities including: Assistant U.S. Attorney of the Civil Division (1974-75), Deputy Chief of the Appeals Division (1976-77), Chief of the Appeals Division (1977-82), Executive Assistant U.S. Attorney (1981-82), and First Assistant U.S. Attorney (1981-83). As a U.S. District Judge, Barry served as the Chair of the Criminal Law Committee of the Judicial Conference (1994-96).

The ABA has preliminarily rated Barry "well qualified" for this appointment. Barry's FBI file is in the process of being updated. Both Senators Torricelli and Lautenberg recommended Barry. When Barry's file is complete, we will move forward with her nomination for the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit.

### **James E. Duffy, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (Hawaii)**

James E. Duffy, a 56-year-old Caucasian man, has been a partner in the Honolulu law firm of Fujiyama, Duffy & Fujiyama since 1975. Although born and educated on the mainland, Duffy has been a litigator in Hawaii for his entire legal career. He received both his B.A. from the College of St. Thomas and his J.D. from Marquette University Law School in 1968. Upon graduation from law school, Duffy moved to Hawaii and entered private practice, first as an associate at Cobb & Gould (1968-71), then as an associate at Chuck & Fujiyama (1972-74). In 1975, Wallace Fujiyama, a top Hawaii trial lawyer, asked Duffy to become a partner in the newly-created law firm of Fujiyama, Duffy & Fujiyama.

Although the ABA review is not yet complete, we are confident that the ABA will rate Duffy at least "qualified" for this appointment. Duffy's FBI file is complete. He is supported by

Senator Inouye and Senator Akaka. When Duffy's ABA review is formalized, we will move forward with his nomination to the U.S Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

**Charles R. Wilson, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit (Florida)**

Charles R. Wilson, a 44-year-old African American man, has served as United States Attorney for the Middle District of Florida since 1994. Wilson attended the University of Notre Dame for both college and law school, receiving his B.A. in 1976 and his J.D. in 1979. Shortly after graduating from law school, Wilson served as a law clerk for Judge Joseph W. Hatchett, who had recently integrated what was then the Fifth (and is now the Eleventh) Circuit. Two decades later, Wilson is being nominated to fill the vacancy created by Judge Hatchett's retirement. After his clerkship with Judge Hatchett, Wilson worked briefly for the Hillsborough County Attorney's Office, followed by five years as a solo practitioner. In November 1986, Governor (now Senator) Bob Graham appointed Wilson to serve as a state county judge. In May 1990, Wilson was selected to be a United States Magistrate Judge for the Middle District of Florida. Wilson had served as a Magistrate Judge for more than four years when you appointed him to be United States Attorney.

The ABA has preliminarily rated Wilson "well qualified" for this appointment. His FBI file is complete. Wilson will have the support of both Senator Bob Graham and Senator Connie Mack. We are prepared to move forward with his nomination to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit.

President's List

NY YANKEES MLB CHAMPIONSHIP - Thursday JUN 10 1999 - 4:30 PM White House - Business - East Visitors Entrance

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THE PRESIDENT

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

Accepts and No Responses

A **Hon. David Aaron**  
Under Secretary for International Trade, U.S. Department of Commerce  
Washington, DC

**Hon. (Rep.) Gary L. Ackerman**  
D-New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Ms. Karen R. Adler**  
Strook and Strook and Lavan  
New York, NY

**Hon. Roger C. Altman**  
Founding Partner, Evercore Partners, Inc.  
New York, NY

A **Ms. Lisa Anastos**  
Attorney, Kirkland & Ellis  
New York, NY

**Ms. Peggy Anastos**  
President, Anastos Agency  
Paterson, NJ

**Hon. Carmen Arroyo**  
Assemblywoman  
Bronx, NY

**Mr. Alfredo Assad**  
President, Promesa Enterprises, Inc.  
New York, NY

**Mr. Alec Baldwin**  
Actor  
New York, NY

**Hon. Dominic J. Baranello**  
Chair, Democratic National Committee, New York

**Dr. Christopher Barley**  
Administrative Personnel, EOS Music, Inc.

**Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Benefield**  
President, Nissan USA  
Murfreesboro, TN

**Mr. Eric A. Berman**  
Research Analyst, Democratic National Com  
Washington, DC

**Mrs. Amalia Betanzos**  
President and CEO, Wildcat Services Corporat

**Mr. Ralph Blackmun**  
Century Council  
Washington, DC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
5-31-99

F111

Made sure we are  
New York Times Staff  
Cabinet (Economic, Social)  
any big baseball fans  
(eg. Bernie) - also showed  
give Sen. Doolittle chance to  
see a Hall of Fame - ~~not~~  
we should have GOP House  
members too

6/1/99

Should we send to Scheduling?

Yes ☐  
No ☒

Send Office?  
Yes ☒  
No ☐

For Office



REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**Accepts and No Responses**

- A **Mr. Robert B. Blancato**  
Partner, Matz, Blancato & Associates  
Washington, DC
- A **Mr. David Bloom**  
Special Assistant to the Chief of Staff, Department of the Treasury  
Washington, DC

**Hon. (Rep.) Sherwood L. Boehlert**  
R-New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bone**  
Managing Partner, Wyatt Tarrant & Combs  
Nashville, TN

**Mr. Francisco L. Borges**  
Managing Director of Public Finance, FGIC  
New York, NY

**Hon. Michael F. Bragman**  
Assemblyman  
North Syracuse, New

**Hon. Carol M. Browner**  
Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Joe Bruno**  
Senate President Pro Tem, State of New York

**Ms. Shelby Bryan**

**Mr. Tonio Burgos**  
President, Tonio Burgos & Associates  
New York, NY

**Mr. Robert Burkett**  
Gilman Foundation  
New York, NY

**Reverend Calvin Butts**  
Pastor, Greater Abyssinian Church  
New York, NY

**Mr. Ervin Carcamo**  
NCLR  
Washington, DC

**Mr. John Catsimitides**

- A **Ms. Mabel Chabbott**

**Mr. Leon Charney**

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**Accepts and No Responses**

**Mr. Kenneth Chennault**  
American Express

**Hon. Martin Connor**  
Senate Minority Leader  
Albany, NY

**Hon. Joseph Crowley**  
New York, U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Alvin Cruz**  
NCLR

**Hon. and Mrs. Mario M. Cuomo**  
(former Governor of New York), Willkie, Farr & Gallagher  
New York, NY

**Mr Bill DeBlasio**  
Regional Representative, U.S. Dept of Housing and Urban Development  
New York, NY

**Hon. Ruben Diaz**  
Assemblyman, State of New York

**Mr. Tom DiNapoli**

A **Mr. Bill Dinkelacker**  
Office of Economic Policy, Department of the Treasury

**Hon. David N. Dinkins**  
New York, NY

A **Mr. Thomas J. Downey**  
Downey, Chandler Inc.  
Washington, DC

A **Ms. Suleika Cabrera Drinane**  
Institute for Puerto Rican/Hispanic Elderly  
New York, NY

**Mr. Richard A. Eisinger**  
Senior Executive Officer, Social Security Administration  
Washington, D.C.

**Hon. (Rep.) Eliot L. Engel**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Ms. Janice Enright**  
Ickes-Enright Group

**Honorable Arthur O. Eve**  
Deputy Assembly Speaker, New York State Assembly  
Buffalo, NY

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**Accepts and No Responses**

A

**Mr. Eric Eve**

Director, Bell Atlantic Corporation  
Washington, DC

**Mr. William Fant**

Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Tax Policy, Department of the Treasury

**Hon. Herman D. Farrell**

National Commander, New York Democratic Party  
New York, NY

**Ms. Toni Faye**

Vice President, Time Warner Inc.  
New York, NY

**Mr. Don Fehr**

Major League Baseball Players Association, Executive Director

**Hon. Fernando Ferrer**

Borough President of the Bronx  
Bronx, NY

**Ms. Virginia Fields**

Manhattan Borough President, The City of New York  
New York, NY

**Mr. Juan Figueroa**

President, Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund  
New York, NY

**Hon. (Rep.) Floyd H. Flake**

D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Felipe M. Floresca**

Employment Training and Assistance

**Dr. James A. Forbes**

Pastor, Riverside Church  
New York, NY

**Hon. (Rep.) Michael P. Forbes**

R/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Hon. (Rep.) Vito Fossella**

R-New York, U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Timothy Fry**

Rubin, Balis  
New York, NY

**Mrs. Irasema Garza**

Secretary of the National Administrative Office, Department of Labor  
Washington, DC



REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**Accepts and No Responses**

**Rabbi Manachem D. Genack**  
New York, NY

**Hon. (Rep) Benjamin Gilman**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Ms. Maria E. Girone**  
Executive Director, Puerto Rican Family Institute  
New York, NY

**Hon. (Mayor) Rudolph Giuliani**  
Mayor, New York City  
New York, NY

**Mr. T.J. Glauthier**  
Deputy Secretary, Department of Energy

A **Ms. Judi A. Gold**  
Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Transportation  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Jeffrey Goldstein**  
North Korea Desk Officer, Dept. of State

**Mr. Thomas Golisano**

**Honorable Efrain Gonzalez**  
State Senator, Office of State Senator Efrain Gonzalez, Jr.  
Bronx, NY

A **Mr. Richard F. Goodstein**  
Principal, Law Offices of Richard F. Goodstein, Esq.  
Washington, DC  
**Guest: Mr. Joshua C. Goodstein**

**Mr. Dennis T. Gorski**  
County Executive, County of Erie  
Buffalo, NY

**Mr. Richard A. Grasso**  
Chairman and CEO, New York Stock Exchange  
New York, NY

**Hon. Mark J. Green**  
Public Advocate, The Public Advocate's Office  
New York, NY

A **Ms. Alison Greene**  
Regional Director, Region II (New York), U.S. Department of Health and Human Services  
New York, NY

**Mr. Larry Greenwald**  
Stroock, Stroock & Lavan  
New York, NY

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
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**Accepts and No Responses**

A **Mr. Charles Greinsky**  
New York Civilian Compliant Board

**Mr. Christino Griego**  
National Council of La Raza

**Mr. Sonny Hall**  
International President, Transport Workers Union of America  
New York, NY

**Mr. John Hambor**  
Director, Office of Microeconomic Policy, Department of the Treasury  
Washington, DC

**Dr. Margaret A. Hamburg**  
Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Health and Human Services  
Washington, DC

**The Honorable Alan G. Hevesi**  
Comptroller, New York City  
New York, NY

A **Mr. Franklin A. Hill**  
Wheat Union First

**Hon. Maurice D. Hinchey**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Ms. Rowena Holloway**  
Assistant to Robert Boorstin, Senior Advisor to the Secretary, Department of the Treasury

**Ms. Judith H. Hope**  
Administrator, NYS Democratic Committee  
East Hampton, NY

**Hon. Amo Houghton**  
R-New York, United States House of Representatives

**Mr. Robert F. Housman**  
Assistant Director of Strategic Planning, Office of National Drug Control Policy  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Dennis Hughes**  
President, New York AFL-CIO  
NY

**Mr. Andrew D. Hyman**  
Acting Director, Intergovernmental Affairs, Department of Health and Human Services  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Harold Ickes**  
Partner, Ickes-Enright Group  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Larry Irving**  
Assistant Secretary for Telecommunications and Information Administration, Department of Commerce  
Washington, DC

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
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**Accepts and No Responses**

**Mr. Josh Isay**

**Hon. Gerald D. Jennings**  
Mayor, City of Albany  
Albany, NY

**Ms. Judith Johnson**  
Acting Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, Department of Education  
Washington, DC

**Hon. William A. Johnson**  
Mayor, City of Rochester  
Rochester, NY

**Ms. Elaine R. Jones**  
Director, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund  
Washington, DC

**Mr. and Mrs. Chaim S. Kaminetsky**  
President, National Council of Young Israel  
New York, NY

**Ms. Suri Kasirer**  
President, Kasirer Consulting, Co.  
New York, NY

**Hon. (Rep.) Sue W. Kelly**  
R/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Hon. (Rep.) Peter T. King**  
R/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Dr. Richard D. Klausner**  
Director, National Cancer Institute, Department of Health and Human Services

**Mr. Ed Koch**  
New York, NY

A **Ms. Sarah S. Kovner**  
Special Assistant to the Secretary, U.S. Department of Health & Human Services  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Orin S. Kramer**  
General Partner, Kramer Spellman, L.P.  
Fort Lee, NJ

A **Mr. Daniel T. Kully**  
Executive Director, Laguens, Hamburger, Stone  
Washington, DC

**Hon. (Rep.) John J. LaFalce**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC



REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
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**Accepts and No Responses**

**Mr. Rafael Lantigua**  
Dominican American Alliance

**Hon. (Rep.) Rick A. Lazio**  
R/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Daniel Levinson**  
Court TV

**Honorable Guillermo Linares**  
New York City Council  
New York, NY

**Mr. Harley Lippman**  
Genesis  
New York, NY

**Ms. Jackie M. Lowey**  
Deputy Chief Staff, Department of Transportation  
Washington, DC

**Hon. (Rep.) Nita H. Lowey**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Mr. and Mrs. Peter Lowy**  
Co-President, Westfield Corporation, Inc.  
Los Angeles, CA

**Honorable James R. Lyons**  
Under Secretary for Natural Resources and Environment, USDA  
Washington, DC

A **Hon. (Rep.) Carolyn B. Maloney**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Thomas J. Manton**  
Washington, DC

A **Ms. Marsha Martin**  
Special Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Anthony M. Masiello**  
Mayor, City of Buffalo  
Buffalo, NY

**Hon. (Rep.) Carolyn McCarthy**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Patrick McClain**  
Smith Kline Beecham  
Washington, DC

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
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**Accepts and No Responses**

**Hon. (Rep.) John M. McHugh**  
R/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**The Honorable Brian O. McLaughlin**  
President, NY City Central Labor Council  
New York, NY

**Hon. Michael McNulty**  
Washington, DC

**Dr. Richard Medley and Mrs. Maureen Murroy**  
Chairman, Medley Global Advisors, L.L.C.  
New York, NY

**Hon. (Rep.) Gregory Meeks**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Olga A. Mendez**  
New York State Senate  
New York, NY

**Dr. David Michaels**  
Assistant Secretary for Environment Safety and Health, Department of Energy

**Mr. Michael Miller**  
Executive Director, Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater New York  
New York, NY

A **Mr. Manuel Mirabal**  
President, National Puerto Rican Coalition  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Guy Molinari**  
President, Borough of Staten Island

**Hon. (Sen.) Daniel Patrick Moynihan**  
D-New York, United States Senate  
Washington, DC

**Hon. (Rep.) Jerrold Nadler**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Ms. Harriet Nahum**

**Hon. Clarence Norman**  
Deputy Majority Leader, State of New York

**Mr. Thomas Ognibene**  
Council Minority Leader, City of New York

A **Mr. Nicholas Olonge**  
Order Sons of Italy  
**Guest: Mr. Dominick J. Olonge**

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
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**Accepts and No Responses**

**Hon. (Rep.) Major R. Owens**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Gov. George E. Pataki**  
Governor (R), State of New York  
Albany, NY

**Honorable David Paterson**  
New York, NY

A **Ms. Valerie Personick**  
Senior Economist, Department of the Treasury  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Paul Piccigallo**  
Order Sons of Italy

**Dr. Philip R. Piccigallo**  
National Executive Director, Order Sons of Italy in America  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Steve Pigeon**  
Nixon Hargrave Devans & Doyle  
Buffalo, NY

**Mr. Carlos P. Portes**  
President, The C.P. Portes Group  
New York, NY

**Mr. Kenneth Prewitt**  
Census Bureau Director, Department of Commerce

**Mr. Hugh B. Price**  
President, National Urban League  
New York, NY

**Hon.(Rep) Jack Quinn**  
R/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Roberto Ramarez**  
Assemblyman, State of New York

**Hon. Charles B. Rangel**  
Washington, DC

**Ms. Judith Rapfogel**

**Mr. William Rapfogel**  
New York, NY

**Mr. Steve Rattner and Mrs. Maureen White Ratner**  
Lazard Freres & Comapny  
New York, NY



REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**Accepts and No Responses**

**Dr. and Mrs. Irwin Redlener**

Professor of Pediatrics, Albert Einstein College of Medicine  
New York, NY

**Hon. Louise Reynolds**

New York, United States House of Representatives

**Hon. Rep. Thomas Reynolds**

United States House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Bill Richardson**

Secretary, Department of Energy  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Dennis Rivera**

President, 1199 National Health and Human Service Employees Union  
New York, NY

A

**Mr. Eric Cesar Rodriguez**

Senior Policy Analyst, National Council of La Raza

**Mr. Bert Rosen**

Smith Kline Beecham  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Jack Rosen**

Chairman, Continental Health Affiliates  
Englewood Cliffs, NJ

**Mr. Larry Rosenthal**

Wheat & Associates

**Mr. Steven Stuart Rosenthal**

Political Director, The American Federation of Labor and Congress Industrial Organization  
Washington, DC

**Ms. Laura Ross**

New York, NY

**Mr. Melvin Salberg**

President, American Zionist Movement  
New York, NY

**Mr. Lee Saunders**

DC 37 Trustee, AFSCME  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Mike Savage**

United States Department of Housing and Urban Development  
Washington, DC

**Hon. (Sen.) Charles E. Schumer**

D/New York, United States Senate  
Washington, DC

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**Accepts and No Responses**

**Mr. Bernard L. Schwartz**

Chairman of the Board and CEO, Loral Corporation  
New York, NY

**Hon. (Rep.) Jose E. Serrano**

D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Donna E. Shalala**

Secretary of Health & Human Services, Department of Health & Human Services (HHS)  
Washington, DC

**Reverend Al Sharpton**

Brooklyn, NY

**Maestro Jonathan B. Sheffer**

Conductor and Artistic Director, Eos Orchestra  
New York, NY

**Hon. Claire C. Shulman**

President, Queens Borough  
Kew Gardens, NY

**Mr. Stanley Saxe Shuman**

Executive Vice President, Allen and Company, Inc.  
New York, NY

**The Honorable Sheldon Silver**

Speaker of the New York State Assembly, State of New York  
Albany, NY

**Hon.(Rep.) Louise M. Slaughter**

D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Ms. Marva Small**

Vice President of Public Affairs, Nickelodeon  
New York, NY

**Ms. Marva Smalls**

Executive Vice President of Public Affairs, Nickelodeon  
New York, NY

**Mr. Jay T. Snyder**

HBJ Partners  
New York, NY

**Mr. Jeffrey B. Soref**

President, Soref Associates, Inc.  
New York, NY

**Mr. Kevin Spacey**

Actor  
Beverly Hills, CA

**Hon. Andrew Spano**

County Executive, Westchester County, New York

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**Accepts and No Responses**

**Mr. Carl Spielvogel and Dr. Barbaralee Spielvogel**  
Chairman and CEO, United Auto Group, Inc.  
New York, NY

**Mr. Aaron Sterling**

**Mr. Kenneth Sunshine**  
PR Consultant, Ken Sunshine Consultants, Inc.  
New York, NY

**Mr. Percy Sutton**  
New York, NY

**Hon. John Sweeney**  
New York, U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Richard J. Tarplin**  
Assistant Secretary of Legislation, Department of Health & Human Services  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Jeffrey Taveras**  
Public School Student and Participant, ONDCP Kids and Sport Initiative  
Queens, NY  
**Guest: Master Abel Joely "A.J." Taveras**

**Mr. Joseph Thompson**  
Under Secretary for Benefits, Department of Veterans Affairs  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Kevin Thurm**  
Deputy Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services  
Washington, DC

**Mr. James Tisch**  
President, UJA Foundation of New York  
New York, NY  
**Guest: Ms. Merryl H. Tisch**

**Mr. Andrew Tobias**  
Officer, Democratic National Committee  
New York, NY

**Hon. Edolphus "Ed" Towns**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Hon. Peter Vallone**  
Speaker of the Council, New York City Council  
New York, NY

**Dr. Harold E. Varmus**  
Director, National Institutes of Health, Department of Health and Human Services  
Rockville, MD

**Hon. (Rep.) Nydia M. Velazquez**  
D/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC



REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**Accepts and No Responses**

**Hon. James T. Walsh**

R/New York, House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Bruce Wasserstein**

Chairman, Wasserstein Perella & Co., Inc.  
New York, NY

**Mr. Sanford I. Weill**

Chairman and Co-CEO, Citigroup  
New York, NY

**Hon. (Rep.) Anthony Weiner**

Brooklyn City Council, Congressman-elect  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Randi Weingarten**

President, UFT

**Mr. Harvey Weinstein**

Chairman Emeritus, Miramax Films  
New York, NY

**Mr. Perry Weitz**

A **Mr. Daniel Wexler**

**Hon. (Mr.) Alan Wheat**

Wheat & Associates  
Washington, DC

**Mr. Howard Wolfson**

Chief of Staff for Rep. Nita Lowey

A **Ms. Laura Jane Wood**

Coordinator of the America Reads Federal Work-Study Program, Department of Education

A **Honorable Keith L.T. Wright**

Chairman, African American and Puerto Rican Caucus, State of New York

**Mr. Robert P. Zimmerman**

President, Zimmerman/Edelson Inc.  
Great Neck, NY

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**Regrets**

- R     **Ms. Yolanda Harris Caraway**  
President and CEO, The Caraway Group  
Washington, DC
- R     **Lt. Gov. Mary Donohue**  
Lieutenant Governor, State of New York
- R     **Honorable John J. Faso**  
Assembly Minority Leader  
Coxsackie, NY
- R     **Hon. Howard Golden**  
President, Borough of Brooklyn  
Brooklyn, NY
- R     **Hon. Robert Mallett**  
Deputy Secretary, Department of Commerce  
Washington, DC
- R     **Mr. Jay Mazur**  
President, Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees  
New York, NY
- R     **Mr. Carl McCall**  
State Comptroller, Office of the State Comptroller  
New York, NY
- R     **Ms. Harriet Rabb**  
General Counsel, Department of Health and Human Services  
Washington, DC
- R     **Hon. Eliot Spitzer**  
Attorney General, State of New York  
New York, NY
- R     **Ms. Susan Thomases**
- R     **Mr. Jonathan M. Tisch**  
President & CEO, Loews Hotels  
New York, NY

REPORT DATE: May 27, 1999  
REPORT TIME: 9:25 AM

**TOTAL COUNTS**

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Number of Accepts:            | 28  |
| Number of Regrets:            | 11  |
| Number of No Responses:       | 199 |
| Number of Unknown Guests:     | 2   |
| Number of Expected Attendees: | 229 |



# THE SENATE

I checked the ones  
I think should get  
invited to one soon before  
leave - some of these not checked or may need to wait to move  
5/25/99

|   |                         |      |                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                     |
|---|-------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | ABRAHAM, Spenser        | R/MI |                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 6/98 Korea SD                                                                                                                   |
|   | AKAKA, Daniel K.        | D/HI | Governmental Affairs Committee/ International Security                                                                                                                   | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 6/98 Korea SD                                                                         |
|   | ALLARD, Wayne           | R/CO |                                                                                                                                                                          | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                           |
| ✓ | ASHCROFT, John          | R/MO |                                                                                                                                                                          | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                           |
|   | BAUCUS, Max             | D/MT |                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD                                                                                             |
| ✓ | BAYH, Evan              | D/IN |                                                                                                                                                                          | (R) 4/97 Canada SD                                                                                                                  |
|   | BENNETT, Robert F.      | R/UT |                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 10/95 Mexico SD                                                                                                                 |
|   | BIDEN, Joseph R., Jr.   | D/DE | Ranking Minority Leader, Senate Foreign Relations Committee,<br>International Economic Policy, Export & Trade Promotion; Co-chairman,<br>International Narcotics Control | (R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(R) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(A) 2/96 France SD |
| ✓ | BINGAMAN, Jeff          | D/NM |                                                                                                                                                                          | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                                          |
| ✓ | BOND, Christopher (Kit) | R/MO |                                                                                                                                                                          | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                           |
|   | BOXER, Barbara          | D/CA |                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(R) 10/95 Mexico SD                                                                      |
| ✓ | BREAUX, John            | D/LA |                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 2/96 France SD                                                                                                                  |
| ✓ | BROWNBACK, Sam          | R/KS |                                                                                                                                                                          | No Official/ State Dinners                                                                                                          |
|   | BRYAN, Richard H.       | D/NV |                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 1/99 Argentina SD                                                                                                               |

Send to Leg Affairs? + SOCIAL UFC.

Yes ✓  
No \_\_\_\_\_

cc: Podesta

|   |                             |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                          |
|---|-----------------------------|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | BUNNING, James              | R/KY |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | No Official/ State Dinner                                                                                |
| ✓ | BURNS, Conrad               | R/MT | Chairman, Military Construction on Appropriations Committee; Chairman, Communications on Commerce, Science and Transportation                                                                                                                                                                                 | No Official/ State Dinner                                                                                |
| ✓ | BYRD, Robert C.             | D/WV |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | (R) 2/95 Blair OD                                                                                        |
|   | CAMPBELL,<br>Ben Nighthorse | R/CO |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | (R) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                           |
| ✓ | CHAFEE, John H.             | R/RI |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 7/95 Korea SD                                                                   |
| ✓ | CLELAND, Max                | D/GA |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                                    |
|   | COCHRAN, Thad               | R/MS |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | (R) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(A) 6/98 Korea SD                                      |
| ✓ | COLLINS, Susan M.           | R/ME | Chairwoman, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on the Governmental Affairs Committee; Member, Labor and Human Resources Committee; Member, Aging Committee; Deputy Majority Whip                                                                                                                        | (R) 4/97 Canada OD                                                                                       |
| ✓ | CONRAD, Kent                | D/ND | Finance Committee/International Trade                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | (A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                                                                                   |
| ✓ | COVERDELL, Paul             | R/GA | Member, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee, W. Hemisphere Subcommittee on Narcotics and Terrorism                                                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(R) 4/95 Brazil SD                                                                  |
|   | CRAIG, Larry E.             | R/ID | Chairman, Forests and Public Land Management Subcommittee on Energy and Natural Resources Committee; Member, Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee; Member, Appropriations Committee; Member, Veterans' Affairs Committee; Member, Aging Committee                                                    | No Official/ State Dinner                                                                                |
|   | CRAPO, Mike                 | R/ID |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | No Official/State Dinner                                                                                 |
| ✓ | DASCHLE, Tom                | D/SD | Senate Minority Leader, Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry Committee; Member, Select Intelligence Committee; Chairman, Senate Democratic Conference; Chairman, Senate Democratic Policy Committee; Chairman, Democratic Steering & Coordination Committee; Senate Co-Chairman, Vietnam Era Veteran in Congress | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 2/95 Germany OD |
| ✓ | DEWINE, Mike                | R/OH |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | (A) 2/97 Chile SD                                                                                        |

|   |                      |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |  |                                                                                                                                                            |
|---|----------------------|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | DODD, Christopher J. | D/CT | Member, Foreign Relations Committee, Ranking Minority Member, Security Subcommittee on the Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Committee; Ranking Minority Member, Western Hemisphere, Peace Corps, Narcotics & Terrorism Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee; Ranking Minority Member, Children & Families Subcommittee of the Labor & Human Resources Committee |  | (A) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(A) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(A) 2/95 Germany OD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD<br>(A) 4/95 Brazil SD |
| ✓ | DOMENICI, Pete V.    | R/NM |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |  | (R) 2/96 France SD<br>(R) 4/96 Italy SD<br>(R) 5/98 Italy OD                                                                                               |
| ✓ | DORGAN, Bryon L.     | D/ND | Co-Chairman, Democratic Policy Committee                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |  | (A) 1/99 Argentina SD                                                                                                                                      |
| ✓ | DURBIN, Richard J.   | D/IL | active supporter of NATO enlargement                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |  | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(R) 5/98 Italy OD                                                                  |
| ✓ | EDWARDS, John        | D/NC |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |  | No Official/State Dinner                                                                                                                                   |
|   | ENZI, Michael B.     | R/WY | Member, Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Committee; Member, Labor and Human Resources Committee; Member, Small Business Committee; Member, Aging Committee                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                                                                                                                   |
| ✓ | FEINGOLD, Russell D. | D/WI | Member of the Budget Committee; Ranking Minority Member, Foreign Relations Committee/African Affairs; Ranking Minority Member, Judiciary Committee/Constitution, Federalism and Property Rights                                                                                                                                                                            |  | (R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                                                                                                                                     |
|   | FEINSTEIN, Dianne    | D/CA |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |  | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(A) 3/95 Morocco SD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD                                                                    |
| ✓ | FITZGERALD, Peter    | R/IL |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |  | No Official/State Dinner                                                                                                                                   |
| ✓ | FRIST, Bill          | R/TN | Member, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman, Science, Technology and Space Subcommittee of the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee; Chairman, Public Health and Safety Subcommittee of the Labor and Human Resources Committee; Member, Budget Committee; Member, Small Business Committee                                                                     |  | (R) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(R) 9/98 Czech Rep.                                                                                                               |



|   |                      |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  |                                                                                                                                                              |
|---|----------------------|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | GORDON, Slade        | R/WA |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  | No Official/State Dinner                                                                                                                                     |
| ✓ | GRAHAM, D. Robert    | D/FL | Member, Select Committee on Intelligence                                                                                                                                                            |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(A) 4/95 Brazil SD                                                                                             |
| ✓ | GRAMM, Phil          | R/TX |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  | No Official/State Dinner                                                                                                                                     |
|   | GRAMS, Rod           | R/MN |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  | No Official/State Dinner                                                                                                                                     |
| ✓ | GRASSLEY, Charles E. | R/IA |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  | (A) 6/98 Korea SD                                                                                                                                            |
| ✓ | GREGG, Judd          | R/NH |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  | No Official/State Dinner                                                                                                                                     |
| ✓ | HAGEL, Chuck         | R/NE | Chairman, International Economic policy, Export and Trade promotion Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee; Member, Senate NATO Observer Group; very helpful on many foreign policy issues |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                                                                                             |
|   | HARKIN, Tom          | D/IA |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 6/98 Korea SD<br>(A) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(R) 3/95 Morocco SD<br>(A) 9/94 Yeltsin SD                                                  |
| ✓ | HATCH, Orrin G.      | R/UT |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  | (R) 1/99 Argentina SD                                                                                                                                        |
|   | HELMS, Jesse         | R/NC | Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Member, Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry Committee; Member, Rules & Administration Committee                                                         |  | (R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(A) 2/95 Germany OD<br>(R) 11/94 Ukraine SD<br>(A) 3/95 Morocco SD |
| ✓ | HOLLINGS, Ernest F.  | D/SC |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  | (A) 3/95 Morocco SD                                                                                                                                          |
| ✓ | HUTCHINSON, Tim      | R/AR |                                                                                                                                                                                                     |  | No Official/ State Dinner                                                                                                                                    |

|   |                       |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |  |                                                                                                                                  |
|---|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | HUTCHISON, Kay Bailey | R/TX | Chairman, Surface Transportation & Merchant Marine Subcommittee of the Commerce, Science & Transportation Committee; Member, Appropriations Committee; Member, Rules & Administration Committee; Deputy Majority Whip                                                                             |  | No Official/ State Dinner                                                                                                        |
|   | INHOFE, James M.      | R/OK |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |  | No Official/State Dinner                                                                                                         |
|   | INOUE, Daniel K.      | D/HI | Appropriations Committee/ Foreign Operations, Congressional Asian Pacific Caucus                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(R) 11/94 Ukraine SD<br>(A) 6/94 Japan SD                                          |
| ✓ | JEFFORDS, James M.    | R/VT |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |  | (R) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(R) 10/94 Mandela SD                                                               |
| ✓ | JOHNSON, Tim          | D/SD |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |  | (A) 1/99 Argentina SD                                                                                                            |
|   | KENNEDY, Edward M.    | D/MA | Ranking Minority Member, Sea Power Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee; Ranking Minority Member, Immigration Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee; Ranking Minority Member, Labor, Human Resources Committee                                                                          |  | (A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(A) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(A) 10/94 Mandela SD                                                                 |
| ✓ | KERREY, J. Robert     | D/NE | Vice-Chairman, Select Intelligence Committee; Ranking Minority member, Production & Price Competitiveness Subcommittee of the Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry Committee; Member, Finance Committee; Chairman, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee                                          |  | (A) 2/98 Blair OD                                                                                                                |
|   | KERRY, John F.        | D/MA | Member, Foreign Relations Committee; Member, Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs Committee; Member, Commerce, Science & Transportation Committee; Ranking Minority Member, Small Business Committee; Member, Select Intelligence Committee, Chairman, Democratic Steering and Coordination Committee |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(A) 4/95 Brazil SD<br>(R) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(A) 10/94 Mandela SD |
| ✓ | KOHL, Herbert H.      | D/WI | Ranking Minority of the Appropriations Committee and Judiciary Committee                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                                                                                  |
| ✓ | LANDRIEU, Mary        | D/LA | Supporter of many foreign policy issues                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |  | (R) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(A) 2/96 France SD                                                                                          |

|   |                          |      |                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                             |
|---|--------------------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | LAUTENBERG, Frank        | D/NJ |                                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                  |
|   | LEAHY, Patrick J.        | D/VT | Ranking minority Member, Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations; Ranking minority Member, Judiciary Committee                                                                 | (A) 5/98 Italy OD<br>(A) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(A) 11/94 Ukraine SD<br>(A) 9/94 Yeltsin SD                     |
| ✓ | LEVIN, Carl              | D/MI | Ranking Minority Member; Armed Services Committee; Member, Senate NATO Observer Group; very helpful on NATO Expansion                                                                    | (R) 4/96 Italy SD<br>(A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                                                                 |
| ✓ | LIEBERMAN, Joseph I.     | D/CT | Member, Armed Services Committee; Member, Senate NATO Observer Group; very helpful on NATO Expansion                                                                                     | (R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(R) 3/95 Morocco SD                                                               |
| ✓ | LINCOLN, Blanche Lampert | D/AR |                                                                                                                                                                                          | (R) 1/99 Argentina SD                                                                                       |
|   | LOTT, Trent              | R/MS | Senate Majority Leader, Member, Commerce, Science & Transportation Committee; Member, Finance Committee; Member, Rules & Administration Committee; Member, Select Intelligence Committee | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD |
|   | LUGAR, Richard G.        | R/IN | Member, Foreign Relations Committee; helpful on many foreign policy issues and key supporter of NATO Expansion and Central & Eastern Europe assistance                                   | (A) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 11/94 UkraineSD                |
| ✓ | MACK, Connie             | R/FL |                                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(R) 4/95 Brazil SD                                                                   |
| ✓ | MCCAIN, John             | R/AZ |                                                                                                                                                                                          | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                                       |
| ✓ | MCCONNELL, Mitch         | R/KY | Chair, Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations                                                                                                                                 | (A) 11/94 Ukraine SD                                                                                        |
| ✓ | MIKULSKI, Barbara A.     | D/MD | Member, Senate Appropriations Committee; Member, Senate NATO Observer Group                                                                                                              | (R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(R) 6/98 Korea SD                                                                 |
| ✓ | MOYNIHAN, Daniel P.      | D/NY |                                                                                                                                                                                          | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD                                                                                         |
| ✓ | MURKOWSKI, Frank         | R/AK |                                                                                                                                                                                          | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                   |



|   |                                  |          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  |                                                                                   |
|---|----------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | MURRAY, Patty                    | D/<br>WA |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | (R) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(A) 2/96 France SD<br>(R) 6/96 Ireland SD                    |
|   | NICKLES, Don                     | R/OK     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | <b>No Official/State Dinner</b>                                                   |
| ✓ | REED, Jack                       | D/RI     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | (R) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(A) 5/98 Italy OD                                            |
| ✓ | REID, Harry                      | D/NV     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | (A) 1/99 Argentina SD                                                             |
| ✓ | ROBB, Charles S.                 | D/VA     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | (A) 2/96 France SD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>Guest of Lady Bird Jol                |
| ✓ | ROBERTS, Pat                     | R/KS     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | <b>No Official/State Dinner</b>                                                   |
|   | ROCKEFELLER,<br>John D. (Jay) IV | D/WV     | Finance Committee/International Trade; Chairman Democratic Technology<br>and Communications Committee                                                                                                                       |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 6/94 Japan SD |
|   | ROTH, William V., Jr.            | R/DE     | Chairman, Senate Finance Committee; Chairman, Senate NATO Observer<br>Group; key supporter on NATO Expansion                                                                                                                |  | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                                       |
|   | SANTORUM, Rick                   | R/PA     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | <b>No Official/State Dinner</b>                                                   |
| ✓ | SARBANES, Paul S.                | D/MD     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | (R) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(A) 5/96 Greece SD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD                    |
| ✓ | SCHUMER, Charles E.              | D/NY     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 4/99 China OD<br>(R) 2/99 Ghana SD                       |
|   | SESSIONS, Jeff                   | R/AL     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |  | <b>No Official/State Dinner</b>                                                   |
| ✓ | SHELBY, Richard C.               | R/AL     | Chairman, Select Intelligence Committee; Chairman, Transportation and<br>Related Agencies Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee; Member,<br>Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee; Member, Aging<br>Committee |  | <b>No Official /State Dinner</b>                                                  |

|   |                       |      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                   |
|---|-----------------------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | SMITH, Gordon H.      | R/OR | Chairman, European Affairs Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee; Member, Senate NATO Observer Group                                                                                                                      | (A) 5/98 Prodi OD<br>(R) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(R) 4/96 Italy SD                       |
|   | SMITH, Robert C.      | R/NH |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | No Official/State Dinners                                                         |
| ✓ | SNOWE, Olympia J.     | R/ME |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(A) 4/97 Canada OD<br>(A) 5/96 Greece SD                     |
| ✓ | SPECTER, Arlen        | R/PA | Chairman, Veterans' Affairs Committee; Chairman, Labor, Health and Human Services, Education and Related Agencies Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee; Member, Governmental Affairs Committee; Member, Judiciary Committee | No Official /State Dinners                                                        |
| ✓ | STEVENS, Ted          | R/AK | Chairman, Senate appropriations Committee; Vice Chairman, joint Library Committee; Member, Commerce, Science & Transportation Committee; Member, Rules and Administration Committee                                                 | (A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(R) 5/98 Prodi OD<br>(A) 11/94 Ukraine SD               |
| ✓ | THOMAS, Craig         | R/WY | Chairman, East Asian & Pacific Affairs                                                                                                                                                                                              | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD                                           |
| ✓ | THOMPSON, Fred        | R/TN | Chairman, Governmental Affairs Committee; Member, Judiciary Committee                                                                                                                                                               | No Official /State Dinners                                                        |
| ✓ | THURMOND, Strom       | R/SC |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | (A) 2/95 Germany OD                                                               |
|   | TORRICELLI, Robert G. | D/NJ |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 5/98 Prodi OD<br>(A) 4/96 Italy SD<br>(R) 4/95 Brazil SD |
| ✓ | VOINOVICH, George V.  | R/OH |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | No Official/State Dinners                                                         |
| ✓ | WARNER, John          | R/VA |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | (R) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(A) 2/98 Blair OD                                            |
| ✓ | WELLSTONE, Paul David | D/MN |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | (R) 1/99 Argentina SD                                                             |
| ✓ | WYDEN, Ron            | D/OR |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | (A) 6/98 Korea SD                                                                 |

## THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

|   |                     |              |                                                                                  |                                        |
|---|---------------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
|   | ABERCROMBIE, Neil   | D/HI<br>1st  |                                                                                  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD                      |
| ✓ | ACKERMAN, Gary L.   | D/NY,<br>5th | Ranking Minority Member, International Relations Western Hemisphere Subcommittee | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD                  |
|   | ADERHOLT, Robert B. | R/AL<br>4th  |                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners              |
|   | ALLEN, Thomas H.    | D/ME<br>1st  |                                                                                  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD                      |
| ✓ | ANDREWS, Robert E.  | D/NJ<br>1st  |                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners              |
| ✓ | ARCHER, Bill        | R/TX<br>7th  |                                                                                  | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD |
|   | ARMEY, Dick         | R/TX<br>26th |                                                                                  | (R) 2/95 Germany OD                    |
|   | BACHUS, Spencer T.  | R/AL<br>6th  |                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners              |
| ✓ | BAIRD, Brian        | D/WA<br>3rd  |                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners              |
|   | BAKER, Richard      | R/LA<br>6th  |                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners              |
|   | BALDACCI, John E.   | D/ME<br>2nd  |                                                                                  | (A) 5/98 Prodi OD                      |
| ✓ | BALDWIN, Tammy      | D/WI<br>2nd  |                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners              |



|   |                     |              |                                                                                                                  |                                                                                        |
|---|---------------------|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | BALLENGER, Cass     | R/NC<br>10th |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |
| ✓ | BARCIA, James A.    | D/MI<br>5th  |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |
|   | BARR, Bob           | R/GA<br>7th  |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |
|   | BARRETT, William E. | R/NE<br>3rd  |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |
| ✓ | BARRETT, Thomas M.  | D/WI<br>5th  |                                                                                                                  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD                                                                      |
|   | BARTLETT, Roscoe G. | R/MD<br>6th  |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |
|   | BARTON, Joe         | R/Tx<br>6th  |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |
|   | BASS, Charles F.    | R/NH<br>2nd  |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |
|   | BATEMAN, Herbert H. | R/VA<br>1st  |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |
| / | BECERRA, Xavier     | D/CA<br>30th |                                                                                                                  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD                      |
| ✓ | BENTSEN, Ken        | D/TX<br>25th |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |
|   | BEREUTER, Douglas   | R/NE<br>1st  | Member, International Relations Committee; key supporter of NATO Expansion and Central Eastern Europe assistance | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 4/99 China OD<br>(R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD |
| ✓ | BERKLEY, Shelley    | D/NV<br>1st  |                                                                                                                  | No Official/State Dinners                                                              |

|   |                          |              |                          |  |                                                               |
|---|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|--|---------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | BERMAN, Howard L.        | D/CA<br>26th | Asia & Pacific Committee |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 2/96 France SD |
| ✓ | BERRY, Marion            | D/AR<br>1st  |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
|   | BIGGERT, Judy            | R/IL<br>13th |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
|   | BILBRAY, Brian           | R/CA<br>49th |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
|   | BILIRAKIS, Michael       | R/FL<br>9th  |                          |  | (A) 5/96 Greece SD                                            |
| ✓ | BISHOP, Sanford          | D/GA<br>2nd  |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | BLAGOJEVICH, Rod R.      | D/IL<br>5th  |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | BLILEY, Tom              | R/VA<br>7th  |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | BLUMENAUER, Earl         | D/OR<br>3rd  |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
|   | BLUNT, Roy               | R/MO<br>7th  |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
|   | BOUCHER, Fredrick "Rick" | D/VA<br>9th  |                          |  | (A) 4/99 China OD<br>(R) 1/99 Argentina SD                    |
| ✓ | BOEHLERT, Sherwood       | R/NY<br>23rd |                          |  | (A) 2/96 France SD                                            |
| ✓ | BOEHNER, John A.         | R/OH<br>8th  |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | BONILLA, Henry           | R/TX<br>23rd |                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |

|   |                       |              |  |                           |
|---|-----------------------|--------------|--|---------------------------|
| ✓ | BONIOR, David E.      | D/MI<br>10th |  | (A) 4/97 Canada OD        |
|   | BONO, Mary            | R/CA<br>44th |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | BORSKI, Robert A.     | D/PA         |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | BOSWELL, Leonard L.   | D/IA<br>3rd  |  | (A) 2/96 France SD        |
| ✓ | BOUCHER, Rick         | D/VA<br>9th  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | BOYD, Allen           | D/FL<br>2nd  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | BRADY, Kevin          | R/Tx<br>8th  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | BRADY, Robert         | D/PA<br>1st  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | BROWN, Corrine        | D/FL<br>3rd  |  | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD         |
| ✓ | BROWN, George E., Jr. | D/Ca<br>42nd |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | BROWN, Sherrod        | D/Oh<br>13th |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | BRYANT, Ed            | R/TN<br>7th  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | BURR, Richard         | R/NC<br>5th  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | BURTON, Dan           | R/IN<br>6th  |  | (R) 4/95 Brazil SD        |

|   |                        |              |                                       |  |                                        |
|---|------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------|
| ✓ | BUYER, Stephen E.      | R/IN<br>5th  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
| ✓ | CALLAHAN, Sonny        | R/AL,<br>1st | Chair, Appropriations Committee       |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 6/98 Korea SD |
|   | CALVERT, Ken           | R/CA<br>43rd |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
|   | CAMP, David            | R/MI<br>4th  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
|   | CAMPBELL, Tom          | R/CA<br>43rd | International Economic Policy & Trade |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
|   | CANADY, Charles T.     | R/FL<br>12th |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
|   | CANNON, Christopher B. | R/UT<br>3rd  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
| ✓ | CAPPS, Lois            | D/CA<br>22nd |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
| ✓ | CAPUANO, Michael       | D/MA<br>8th  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
| ✓ | CARDIN, Benjamin L.    | D/MD<br>3rd  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
| ✓ | CARSON, Julia M.       | D/IN<br>10th |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
| ✓ | CASTLE, Michael N.     | R/DE         |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
|   | CHABOT, Steve          | R/OH<br>1st  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |
|   | CHAMBLISS, Saxby       | R/GA<br>8th  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners              |



|   |                           |              |  |                           |
|---|---------------------------|--------------|--|---------------------------|
|   | CHENOWETH, Helen          | R/ID<br>1st  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | CHRISTIAN-GREEN,<br>Donna | D/VI         |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | CLAY, William L. (Bill)   | D/MO<br>1st  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | CLAYTON, Eva              | D/NC<br>1st  |  | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD         |
| ✓ | CLEMENT, Bob              | D/TN<br>5th  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | CLYBURN, James E.         | D/SC<br>6th  |  | (R) 2/99 Ghana SD         |
|   | COBLE, Howard             | R/NC<br>6th  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | COBURN, Thomas A.         | R/OK<br>2nd  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | COLLINS, Cardiss (Mac)    | R/GA<br>3rd  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | COMBEST, Larry            | R/TX<br>19th |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | CONDIT, Gary A.           | D/CA<br>18th |  | (R) 4/95 Brazil SD        |
|   | CONYERS, John, Jr.        | D/MI<br>14th |  | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD         |
| ✓ | COOK, Merrill             | R/UT<br>2nd  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | COOKSEY, John             | R/LA<br>5th  |  | No Official/State Dinners |

|                                                                                   |                               |              |                                           |                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| ✓                                                                                 | COSTELLO, Jerry F.            | D/IL<br>12th |                                           | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD                        |
| ✓                                                                                 | COX, Christopher              | R/CA<br>47th |                                           | No Official/State Dinners                  |
|                                                                                   | COYNE, William J.             | D/PA<br>14th |                                           | (A) 6/98 Korea SD<br>(A) 6/96 Ireland SD   |
| ✓                                                                                 | CRAMER, Bud                   | D/AL<br>5th  |                                           | No Official/State Dinners                  |
| ✓                                                                                 | CRANE, Philip M.              | R/IL<br>8th  | Chairman/ Trade                           | (R) 2/97 Chile SD                          |
| ✓                                                                                 | CROWLEY, Joseph               | D/NY<br>7th  |                                           | No Official/State Dinners                  |
|                                                                                   | CUBIN, Barbara                | R/WY         |                                           | No Official/State Dinners                  |
|                                                                                   | CUMMINGS, Elijah E.           | D/MD<br>7th  |                                           | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD |
|  | CUNNINGHAM, Randall<br>(Duke) | D/CA<br>51st |                                           | No Official/State Dinners                  |
|                                                                                   | DANNER, Pat                   | D/MO<br>6th  | Member, International Relations Committee | (A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                     |
| ✓                                                                                 | DAVIS, Danny K.               | R/IL<br>7th  |                                           | No Official/State Dinners                  |
|                                                                                   | DAVIS, Jim                    | D/FL<br>11th |                                           | (A) 5/99 Japan OD                          |
| ✓                                                                                 | DAVIS, Thomas M.              | R/VA<br>11th |                                           | No Official/State Dinners                  |
|                                                                                   | DEAL, Nathan                  | R/GA<br>9th  |                                           | No Official/State Dinners                  |

|   |                      |               |                                                                                                                               |  |                                                             |
|---|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | DEFAZIO, Peter A.    | D/OR<br>4th   |                                                                                                                               |  | No Official/State Dinners                                   |
| ✓ | DEGETTE, Diana       | D/CO<br>1st   |                                                                                                                               |  | No Official/State Dinners                                   |
| ✓ | DELAHUNT, William    | D/MA<br>10th  |                                                                                                                               |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 4/99 China OD                      |
|   | DELAURO, Rosa        | D/CT<br>3rd   |                                                                                                                               |  | (A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(A) 5/98 Prodi OD<br>(A) 4/96 Italy SD |
|   | DELAY, Tom           | R/Tx<br>22nd  |                                                                                                                               |  | No Official/State Dinners                                   |
|   | DEMINT, James        | R/SC<br>4th   |                                                                                                                               |  | No Official/State Dinners                                   |
| ✓ | DEUTSCH, Peter       | D/FL<br>20th  |                                                                                                                               |  | No Official/State Dinners                                   |
| ✓ | DIAZ-BALART, Lincoln | R/FL,<br>21st | Member, Rules Committee                                                                                                       |  | No Official/ State Dinners                                  |
|   | DICKEY, Jay          | R/AR<br>4th   |                                                                                                                               |  | No Official/State Dinners                                   |
| ✓ | DICKS, Norman D.     | D/WA<br>6th   | Ranking Minority Member; Select Intelligence Committee; Member,<br>National Security Subcommittee of Appropriations Committee |  | (A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                                      |
| ✓ | DINGELL, John D.     | D/MI<br>16th  |                                                                                                                               |  | (A) 4/99 China OD                                           |
| ✓ | DIXON, Julian C.     | D/CA<br>32nd  |                                                                                                                               |  | No Official/State Dinners                                   |
| ✓ | DOGGETT, Lloyd       | D/TX<br>10th  |                                                                                                                               |  | No Official/State Dinners                                   |
| ✓ | DOOLEY, Calvin       | D/CA<br>28th  |                                                                                                                               |  | (A) 10/97 China SD                                          |

|   |                         |              |  |  |                                                                                    |
|---|-------------------------|--------------|--|--|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | DOOLITTLE, John T.      | R/CA<br>4th  |  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                          |
|   | DOYLE, Mike             | D/PA<br>18th |  |  | (R) 5/98 Prodi OD<br>(A) 6/96 Ireland SD                                           |
|   | DREIER, David           | R/CA<br>28th |  |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD |
|   | DUNCAN, John J., Jr.    | R/TN<br>2nd  |  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                          |
| ✓ | DUNN, Jennifer          | R/WA<br>8th  |  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                          |
|   | EDWARDS, T. Chester     | D/TX<br>11th |  |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD                                                                  |
| ✓ | EHLERS, Vernon J.       | R/MI<br>3rd  |  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                          |
|   | EHRlich, Robert L., Jr. | R/MD<br>2nd  |  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                          |
| ✓ | EMERSON, Jo Ann         | R/MO         |  |  | (A) 2/95 Germany OD                                                                |
| ✓ | ENGEL, Eliot L.         | D/NY<br>17th |  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                          |
|   | ENGLISH, Phil           | R/PA<br>21st |  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                          |
| ✓ | ESHOO, Anna G.          | D/CA<br>14th |  |  | (R) 6/98 Korea SD                                                                  |
|   | ETHERIDGE, Bob          | D/NC<br>2nd  |  |  | (A) 2/98 Blair OD                                                                  |
| ✓ | EVANS, Lane             | D/IL<br>17th |  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                          |



|   |                           |                |  |                          |
|---|---------------------------|----------------|--|--------------------------|
|   | EVERETT, Terry            | R/AL<br>2nd    |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | EWING, Thomas             | R/IL<br>15th   |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | FALEOMAVAEGA,<br>Eni F.H. | D/Am.<br>Samoa |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | FARR, Sam                 | D/CA<br>17th   |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | FATTAH, Chaka             | D/PA<br>2nd    |  | (R) 2/99 Ghana SD        |
| ✓ | FILNER, Bob               | D/CA<br>50th   |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | FLETCHER, Ernie           | R/KY<br>6th    |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | FOLEY, Mark               | R/FL<br>16th   |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | FORBES, Michael P.        | R/NY<br>1st    |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | FORD, Harold E., Jr.      | D/TN<br>10th   |  | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD        |
| ✓ | FOWLER, Tillie            | R/FL<br>4th    |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | FRANK, Barney             | D/MA<br>4th    |  | (A) 4/99 China OD        |
|   | FRANKS, Bob               | R/NJ<br>7th    |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | FRELINGHUYSEN,<br>Rodney  | R/NJ<br>11th   |  | No Official/State Dinner |

|   |               |              |                            |  |                   |
|---|---------------|--------------|----------------------------|--|-------------------|
| ✓ | FROST, Martin | D/TX<br>24th | Member of House Leadership |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD |
|---|---------------|--------------|----------------------------|--|-------------------|

|   |                      |              |                                                                                                                   |  |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|---|----------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | GALLEGLY, Elton      | R/CA<br>23rd | Chairman, International relations Western Hemisphere Subcommittee                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                                                                             |
| ✓ | GANSKE, Greg         | R/IA<br>4th  |                                                                                                                   |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                                                                             |
|   | GEJDENSON, Sam       | D/CT<br>2nd  | Ranking Minority member International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee of International Relations Committee |  | (A) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(A) 3/95 Morocco SD                                                                                                                                    |
|   | GEKAS, George W.     | R/PA<br>17th |                                                                                                                   |  | (R) 5/96 Greece SD                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|   | GEPHARDT, Richard A. | D/MO<br>3rd  | Minority Leader                                                                                                   |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(R) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 2/95 Germany OD<br>(A) 6/94 Japan SD<br>(R) 11/94 Ukraine SD<br>(A) 10/94 Mandela SD<br>(A) 9/94 Yeltsin SD<br>(A) 11/93 Korea SD |
|   | GIBBONS, Jim         | R/NV<br>2nd  |                                                                                                                   |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                                                                             |
| ✓ | GILCHREST, Wayne T.  | R/MD<br>1st  |                                                                                                                   |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                                                                             |
| ✓ | GILMOR, Paul E.      | R/OH<br>5th  |                                                                                                                   |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                                                                             |

|   | GILMAN, Benjamin A.            | R/NY<br>20th | Chairman, International Relations Committee |  | (A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(A) 6/98 Korea SD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 3/95 Morocco SD<br>(A) 2/95 Germany OD<br>(A) 9/94 Yeltsin SD |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | GONZALES, Charles<br>(Charlie) | D/TX<br>20th |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                              |
| ✓ | GOODE, Virgil H., Jr.          | D/VA<br>5th  |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                              |
|   | GOODLATTE, Robert              | R/VA<br>6th  |                                             |  | (R) 4/97 Canada OD                                                                                                                     |
| ✓ | GOODLING, William F.           | R/PA<br>19th |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                              |
| ✓ | GORDON, Bart                   | D/TN<br>6th  |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                              |
| ✓ | GOSS, Porter J.                | R/FL<br>14th |                                             |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                                                                  |
|   | GRAHAM, Lindsay                | R/SC<br>3rd  |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                              |
|   | GRANGER, Kay                   | R/TX<br>12th |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                              |
| ✓ | GREEN, Gene                    | D/TX<br>29th |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                              |
|   | GREEN, Mark                    | R/WI<br>8th  |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                              |
|   | GREENWOOD, Jim                 | R/PA<br>8th  |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                              |

|   | GUTIERREZ, Luis V. | D/IL<br>4th  |  | (A) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                                           |
|---|--------------------|--------------|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | GUTKNECHT, Gil     | R/MN<br>1st  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                       |
|   | HALL, Ralph M.     | D/TX<br>4th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                       |
| ✓ | HALL, Tony P.      | D/OH<br>3rd  |  | (A) 6/98 Korea SD                                                                                               |
|   | HANSEN, James V.   | R/UT<br>1st  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                       |
| ✓ | HASTERT, J. Dennis | R/IL<br>14th |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 4/99 China OD<br>(R) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(R) 6/96 Ireland SD |
|   | HASTINGS, Alcee L. | D/FL<br>23rd |  | (A) 4/99 China OD                                                                                               |
|   | HASTINGS, Doc      | R/WA<br>4th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                       |
|   | HAYWORTH, J.D.     | R/AZ<br>6th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                       |
|   | HAYES, Robin       | R/NC<br>8th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                       |
|   | HEFLEY, Joel       | R/CO<br>5th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                       |
|   | HERGER, Wally      | R/CA<br>2nd  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                       |



| ✓ | HILL, Baron         | D/WI<br>9th    |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|---|---------------------|----------------|--|---------------------------|
|   | HILL, Rick          | R/MT<br>at lrg |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | HILLEARY, Van       | R/TN<br>4th    |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | HILLIARD, Earl F.   | D/AL<br>7th    |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | HINCHEY, Maurice D. | D/NY<br>26th   |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | HINOJOSA, Ruben     | D/TX<br>15th   |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD     |
|   | HOBSON, David L.    | R/OH<br>7th    |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | HOEKSTRA, Peter     | R/MI<br>2nd    |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | HOEFFEL, Joseph     | D/PA<br>13th   |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | HOLDEN, Tim         | D/PA<br>6th    |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD       |
| ✓ | HOLT, Rush D.       | D/NJ<br>12th   |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | HOOLEY, Darlene     | D/OR<br>5th    |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | HORN, Steve         | R/CA<br>38th   |  | No Official/State Dinners |

|   | HOSTETTLER, John N.        | R/IN<br>8th  |                                                                                           | No Official/State Dinners                   |
|---|----------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | HOUGHTON, Amory            | R/NY<br>31st |                                                                                           | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(R) 1/99 Argentina SD  |
| ✓ | HOYER, Steny H.            | D/MD<br>5th  | Present Chair, Helinski Commission (The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe) | (R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(A) 2/98 Blair OD |
|   | HUNTER, Duncan L.          | R/CA<br>52nd |                                                                                           | No Official/State Dinners                   |
|   | HUTCHINSON, Asa            | R/AR<br>3rd  |                                                                                           | No Official/State Dinners                   |
|   | HYDE, Henry J.             | R/IL<br>6th  |                                                                                           | (A) 4/95 Brazil SD                          |
| ✓ | INSLEE, Jay                | D/WA<br>1st  |                                                                                           | No Official/State Dinners                   |
|   | ISTOOK, Ernest J.          | R/OK<br>5th  |                                                                                           | No Official/State Dinners                   |
| ✓ | JACKSON, Jesse, Jr.        | D/IL<br>2nd  |                                                                                           | (A) 10/94 Mandela OD                        |
| ✓ | JEFFERSON, William J.      | D/LA<br>2nd  |                                                                                           | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD                           |
|   | JENKINS, William L. (Bill) | R/TN<br>1st  |                                                                                           | No Official/State Dinners                   |
| ✓ | JOHN, Chris                | D/LA<br>7th  |                                                                                           | No Official/State Dinners                   |
|   | JOHNSON, Eddie Bernice     | D/TX<br>30th |                                                                                           | (A) 2/98 Blair OD                           |

| ✓ | JOHNSON, Nancy L.          | R/CT<br>6th  |                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|---|----------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------------|
|   | JOHNSON, Sam               | R/TX<br>3rd  |                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | JONES, Stephanie Tubb      | D/OH<br>11th |                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|   | JONES, Walter B.           | R/NC<br>3rd  |                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | KANJORSKI, Paul E.         | D/PA<br>11th |                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | KAPTUR, Marcy              | D/OH<br>9th  |                                                                                                                                                                          |  | (A) 4/96 Italy SD                            |
| ✓ | KASICH, John R.            | R/OH         | Chairman, Budget Committee; Member, National Security Committee                                                                                                          |  | (R) 6/98 Korea SD<br>(R) 2/98 Blair OD       |
| ✓ | KELLY, Sue                 | R/NY<br>19th |                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | KENNEDY, Patrick           | D/RI<br>1st  |                                                                                                                                                                          |  | (R) 6/96 Ireland SD                          |
|   | KILDEE, Dale E.            | D/MI<br>9th  | Ranking Minority member, Postsecondary Education, Training and Life-Long Learning Subcommittee of the Education and the Workforce Committee; Member, Resources Committee |  | (A) 1/99 Argentina SD                        |
| ✓ | KILPATRICK, Carolyn Cheeks | D/MI<br>15th | House Appropriations Committee, subcommittee-Foreign Operations & Transportation                                                                                         |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD                            |
| ✓ | KIND, Ron                  | D/WI<br>3rd  |                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | KING, Peter T.             | R/NY<br>3rd  | Vice Chairman, Asia & Pacific Committee; International Operations & Human Rights Committee                                                                               |  | (A) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(A) 6/96 Ireland SD |

|   | KINGSTON, Jack      | R/GA<br>1st  |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
|---|---------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | KLECKZA, Jerry      | D/WI<br>4th  |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | KLINK, Ron          | D/PA<br>4th  |                                           |  | (A) 5/96 Greece SD                                            |
|   | KNOLLENBERG, Joe    | R/MI<br>11th |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
|   | KOLBE, Jim          | R/AZ<br>5th  |                                           |  | (A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD<br>(A) 6/94 Japan SD |
| ✓ | KUCINICH, Dennis J. | D/OH<br>10th |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | KUYKENDALL, Steven  | D/CA<br>36th |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | LAFALCE, John J.    | D/NY<br>29th |                                           |  | (A) 4/97 Canada OD<br>(A) 4/96 Italy SD                       |
|   | LAHOOD, Ray         | R/IL<br>18th |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | LAMPSON, Nick       | D/TX<br>9th  |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | LANTOS, Tom         | D/CA<br>12th | Member, International Relations Committee |  | (A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                                        |
| ✓ | LARGENT, Steve      | R/OK<br>1st  |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |
| ✓ | LARSON, John        | D/CT<br>1st  |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinners                                     |



|   | LATHAM, Tom           | R/IA<br>5th  |                                                                                                   | No Official/State Dinner                                        |
|---|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | LATOURETTE, Steve     | R/OH<br>19th |                                                                                                   | No Official/State Dinner                                        |
|   | LAZIO, Rick A.        | R/NY<br>2nd  |                                                                                                   | (A) 4/96 Italy SD<br>(A) 5/98 Prodi OD                          |
| ✓ | LEACH, Jim            | R/IA<br>1st  |                                                                                                   | (A) 6/98 Korea SD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD                        |
|   | LEE, Barbara          | D/CA<br>9th  |                                                                                                   | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD                                               |
|   | LEE, Sheila Jackson   | D/TX<br>18th |                                                                                                   | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(A) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                     |
|   | LEVIN, Sander M.      | D/MI<br>12th |                                                                                                   | (A) 4/99 China OD                                               |
| ✓ | LEWIS, Jerry          | R/CA<br>40th |                                                                                                   | (R) 10/95 Mexico SD                                             |
|   | LEWIS, Ron            | R/KY<br>2nd  |                                                                                                   | No Official/State Dinners                                       |
| ✓ | LEWIS, John           | D/GA<br>5th  |                                                                                                   | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(A) 10/94 Mandela SD                       |
|   | LINDER, John          | R/GA<br>11th |                                                                                                   | No Official/State Dinners                                       |
| ✓ | LIPINSKI, William O.  | D/IL<br>3rd  | Ranking Minority Leader, Aviation Subcommittee on the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee | (R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD                                          |
|   | LIVINGSTON, Robert L. | R/LA<br>1st  |                                                                                                   | (A) 2/98 Blair OD<br>(R) 4/95 Brazil SD<br>(A) 11/94 Ukraine SD |

|   | LOBIONDO, Frank D.   | R/NJ<br>2nd       |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|---|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | LOFGREN, Zoe         | D/CA<br>16th      |                                                                                                                |  | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(R) 1/99 Argentina SD   |
| ✓ | LOWEY, Nita M.       | D/NY<br>18th      |                                                                                                                |  | (A) 2/97 Chile SD                            |
|   | LUCAS, Frank D.      | R/OK<br>6th       |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | LUCAS, Ken           | D/KY<br>4th       |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | LUTHER, Bill         | DFL/<br>MN<br>6th | International Economic Policy & Trade Committee;<br>DFL = Democratic Farm Labor...Minnesota's Democratic Party |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | MALONEY, Carolyn B.  | D/NY              |                                                                                                                |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD                          |
| ✓ | MALONEY, James H.    | D/CT<br>5th       |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|   | MANZULLO, Donald     | R/IL<br>16th      |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | MARKEY, Edward J.    | D/MA<br>7th       |                                                                                                                |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD                          |
| ✓ | MARTINEZ, Matthew G. | D/CA<br>31st      |                                                                                                                |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(R) 10/95 Mexico SD |
| ✓ | MASCARA, Frank       | D/PA<br>20th      |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |

|   | MATSUI, Robert T.  | D/CA<br>5th   | Trade Committee; Executive Committee/ Congressional Asian Pacific<br>Caucus |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 10/97 China SD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(A) 7/95 Korea SD<br>(A) 6/94 Japan SD<br>(A) 11/93 Korea SD |
|---|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | MCCARTHY, Carolyn  | D/NY<br>4th   |                                                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                         |
|   | MCCARTHY, Karen    | D/MO<br>5th   |                                                                             |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD                                                                                                        |
|   | MCCOLLUM, Bill     | R/FL<br>8th   |                                                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                         |
| ✓ | MCCRERY, Jim       | R D/LA<br>4th |                                                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                         |
| ✓ | MCDERMOTT, Jim     | D/WA<br>7th   | Trade Committee                                                             |  | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                                                        |
| ✓ | MCGOVERN, James P. | D/MA<br>3rd   |                                                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                         |
|   | MCHUGH, John M.    | R/NY<br>24th  |                                                                             |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD                                                                                                                               |
|   | MCINNIS, Scott     | R/CO<br>3rd   |                                                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                         |
|   | MCINTOSH, David    | R/IN<br>2nd   |                                                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                         |
| ✓ | MCINTYRE, Mike     | D/NC<br>7th   |                                                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                                                                         |

| ✓ | MCKEON, Howard P.(Buck)     | R/CA<br>25th |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | MCKINNEY, Cynthia           | D/GA<br>4t   |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |
| ✓ | MCNULTY, Michael, R.        | D/NY<br>21st |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |
|   | MEEHAN, Martin T.           | D/MA<br>5th  |                                                                                 |  | (A) 5/98 Prodi OD                                                    |
|   | MEEK, Carrie                | D/FL<br>17th |                                                                                 |  | ( ) 6/99 Hungary SD                                                  |
| ✓ | MEEKS, Gregory              | D/NY<br>6th  |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |
| ✓ | MENENDEZ, Robert            | D/NJ<br>13th | Member, International Relations Committee; Chief Deputy Whip (House Leadership) |  | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD |
|   | METCALF, Jack               | R/WA<br>2nd  |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |
|   | MICA, John L.               | R/FL<br>7th  |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |
| ✓ | MILLENDER-MCDONALD, Juanita | D/CA<br>37th |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |
| ✓ | MILLER, Dan                 | R/FL<br>13th |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |
|   | MILLER, Gary                | R/CA<br>41st |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |
| X | MILLER, George              | D/CA<br>7th  |                                                                                 |  | No Official/State Dinner                                             |



| ✓ | MINGE, David          | D/MN<br>2nd  |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                      |
|---|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | MINK, Patsy T.        | D/HI<br>2nd  | Chair, Congressional Asian & Pacific Caucus |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 6/94 Japan SD                         |
| ✓ | MOAKLEY, John Joseph  | D/MA<br>9th  |                                             |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD                                            |
|   | MOLLOHAN, Alan, B.    | D/WV<br>1st  |                                             |  | (A) 6/98 Korea SD<br>(R) 2/96 France SD<br>(A) 3/95 Morocco SD |
|   | MOORE, Dennis         | D/KS<br>3rd  |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                      |
|   | MORAN, James P.       | D/VA<br>8th  |                                             |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(A) 2/96 France SD                      |
|   | MORAN, Jerry          | R/KS<br>1st  |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                      |
| ✓ | MORELLA, Constance A. | R/MD<br>8th  |                                             |  | (R) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(A) 7/95 Korea SD                     |
| ✓ | MURTHA, John P.       | D/PA<br>12th |                                             |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(A) 11/94 Ukraine SD                    |
| ✓ | MYRICK, Sue           | R/NC<br>9th  |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                      |
|   | NADLER, Jerrold       | D/NY<br>8th  |                                             |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD                                              |
| ✓ | NAPOLITANO, Grace     | D/CA<br>34th |                                             |  | No Official/State Dinners                                      |
| ✓ | NEAL, Richard E.      | D/MA<br>2nd  |                                             |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD                                            |

|   | NETHERCUTT, George R., Jr. | R/WA<br>5th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                  |
|---|----------------------------|--------------|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | NEY, Bob                   | R/OH<br>18th |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                  |
|   | NORTHUP, Anne Meagher      | R/KY<br>3rd  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                  |
|   | NORTON, Eleanor Holmes     | D/DC         |  | (A) 4/99 China OD                                                                          |
| ✓ | NORWOOD, Charlie           | R/GA<br>10th |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                  |
|   | NUSSLE, Jim                | R/IA<br>2nd  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                  |
|   | OBERSTAR, James L.         | D/MN<br>8th  |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD                                                                          |
|   | OBEY, David                | D/WI<br>7th  |  | (R) 9/98 Czech Rep. SD<br>(A) 6/96 Ireland SD<br>(R) 4/95 Brazil SD<br>(A) 9/94 Yeltsin SD |
| ✓ | OLVER, John W.             | D/MA<br>1st  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                  |
|   | ORTIZ, Solomon P.          | D/TX<br>27th |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD                                               |
|   | OSE, Douglas               | R/CA<br>3rd  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                  |
| ✓ | OWENS, Major R.            | D/NY<br>11th |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                  |
|   | OXLEY, Michael G.          | R/OH<br>4th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                                                  |

|   | PACKARD, Ron                         | R/CA<br>48th |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------|--|----------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | PALLONE, Frank, Jr.                  | D/NJ<br>6th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | PASCRELL, William J., Jr.            | D/NJ<br>8th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|   | PASTOR, Ed                           | D/AZ<br>2nd  |  | (A) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD |
|   | PAUL, Ron                            | R/TX<br>14th |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|   | PAYNE, Donald M.                     | D/NJ<br>10th |  | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(A) 10/94 Mandela SD    |
|   | PEASE, Edward A.                     | R/IN<br>7th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|   | PELOSI, Nancy                        | D/CA<br>8th  |  | (A) 4/96 Italy SD<br>(A) 5/98 Prodi OD       |
| ✓ | PETERSON, Collin C.                  | D/MN<br>7th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|   | PETERSON, John E.                    | R/PA<br>5th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|   | PETRI, Thomas E.                     | R/WI<br>6th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
| ✓ | PHELPS, David                        | D/IL<br>19th |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |
|   | PICKERING, Charles W.<br>(Chip), Jr. | R/MS<br>3rd  |  | No Official/State Dinners                    |

| ✓ | PICKETT, Owen B.    | D/VA<br>2nd   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | No Official/State Dinners                                    |
|---|---------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | PITTS, Joseph R.    | R/PA<br>16th  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | No Official/State Dinners                                    |
|   | POMBO, Richard W.   | R/CA<br>11th  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | No Official/State Dinners                                    |
| ✓ | POMEROY, Earl       | D/ND          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | (A) 7/95 Korea SD                                            |
|   | PORTER, John Edward | R/IL,<br>10th | Chairman, Labor, Health & Human Services, Education and Related Agencies Subcommittee for the Appropriations Committee; Co-chairman, Congressional Human Rights Caucus; Co-chair, Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues; Co-chair, Congressional Caucus on Hong Kong | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(A) 6/98 Korea SD<br>(A) 2/96 France SD |
|   | PORTMAN, Rob        | R/OH<br>2nd   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | (R) 5/99 Japan OD<br>(R) 4/95 Brazil SD                      |
|   | POSHARD, Glenn      | D/IL<br>19th  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | No Official/State Dinners                                    |
| ✓ | PRICE, David E.     | D/NC<br>4th   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | No Official/State Dinners                                    |
|   | PRYCE, Deborah      | R/OH<br>15th  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | (A) 10/95 Mexico SD                                          |
|   | QUINN, Jack         | R/NY<br>30th  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD                                          |
|   | RADANOVICH, George  | R/CA<br>19th  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | No Official/State Dinners                                    |
| ✓ | RAHALL, Nick        | D/WV<br>3rd   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | No Official/State Dinners                                    |
|   | RAMSTAD, Jim        | R/MN<br>3rd   | Oversight & Trade                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | (A) 5/99 Japan OD                                            |

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|   | RANGEL, Charles B.        | D/NY<br>15th |                                           |  | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(A) 2/97 Chile SD<br>(A) 6/98 Korea SD |
|---|---------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | REGULA, Ralph             | R/OH<br>16th |                                           |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD                                                                    |
| ✓ | REYES, Silvestre          | D/TX<br>16th |                                           |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                |
|   | REYNOLDS, Thomas          | R/NY<br>27th |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                                            |
|   | RILEY, Bob                | R/AL<br>3rd  |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                                            |
| ✓ | RIVERS, Lynn              | D/MI<br>13th |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                                            |
| ✓ | RODRIGUEZ, Ciro           | D/TX<br>28th |                                           |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                |
|   | ROEMER, Tim               | D/IN<br>3rd  |                                           |  | (A) 10/97 China SD                                                                   |
|   | ROGAN, James E.           | R/CA<br>27th |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                                            |
| ✓ | ROGERS, Harold            | R/KY,<br>5th | Chairman, CJS Appropriations Subcommittee |  | (A) 3/95 Morocco SD                                                                  |
|   | ROHRABACHER, Dana         | R/CA<br>27th |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                                            |
|   | ROMERO-BARCELO,<br>Carlos | D/PR         |                                           |  | (A) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                                |
| ✓ | ROS-LEHTINEN, Ileana      | R/FL<br>18th |                                           |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                                            |

| ✓ | ROTHMAN, Steven R.     | D/NJ<br>9th  |  |  | (R) 4/99 China OD                                                     |
|---|------------------------|--------------|--|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ✓ | ROUKEMA, Marge         | R/NJ<br>5th  |  |  | (R) 4/96 Italy SD<br>(R) 5/98 Prodi OD                                |
|   | ROYBAL-ALLARD, Lucille | D/CA<br>33rd |  |  | (A) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(R) 10/98 Columbia SD<br>(A) 10/95 Mexico SD |
|   | ROYCE, Ed              | R/CA<br>39th |  |  | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD                                                     |
| ✓ | RUSH, Bobby L.         | D/IL<br>1st  |  |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                             |
|   | RYAN, Paul             | R/WI<br>1st  |  |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                             |
|   | RYUN, Jim              | R/KS<br>2nd  |  |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                             |
| ✓ | SABO, Martin Olav      | D/MN<br>5th  |  |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                             |
|   | SALMON, Matt           | R/AZ<br>1st  |  |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                             |
| ✓ | SANCHEZ, Loretta       | D/CA<br>46th |  |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                                 |
| ✓ | SANDERS, Bernard       | I/VT         |  |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                             |
| ✓ | SANDLIN, Max           | D/TX<br>1st  |  |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                             |
| ✓ | SANFORD, Mark          | R/SC<br>1st  |  |  | No Official/State Dinner:                                             |

| ✓ | SAWYER, Thomas C.       | D/OH<br>14th |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |
|---|-------------------------|--------------|--|------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | SAXTON, Jim             | R/NJ<br>3rd  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |
|   | SCARBOROUGH, Joe        | R/FL<br>1st  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |
|   | SCHAFFER, Bob           | R/CO<br>4th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |
| ✓ | SCHAKOWSKY, Janice      | D/IL<br>9th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |
|   | SCOTT, Robert C.        | D/VA<br>3rd  |  | (R) 4/99 China OD<br>(A) 2/99 Ghana SD                           |
|   | SENSENBRENNER, Jim, Jr. | R/WI<br>9th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |
| ✓ | SERRANO, Jose E.        | D/NY<br>16th |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD                                            |
|   | SESSIONS, Pete          | R/TX<br>5th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |
|   | SHADEGG, John           | R/AZ<br>4th  |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |
| ✓ | SHAW, E. Clay, Jr.      | R/FL<br>22nd |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |
| ✓ | SHAYS, Christopher      | R/CT<br>4th  |  | (R) 1/99 Argentina SD<br>(A) 7/95 Korea SD<br>(R) 4/95 Brazil SD |
| ✓ | SHERMAN, Brad           | D/CA<br>24th |  | No Official/State Dinners                                        |

|   | SHERWOOD, Donald      | R/PA<br>10th |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|---|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
|   | SHIMKUS, John M.      | R/IL<br>20th |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | SHOWS, Ronnie         | D/MS<br>4th  |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | SHUSTER, Bud          | R/PA<br>9th  |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | SIMPSON, Mike         | R/ID<br>2nd  |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | SISISKY, Norman       | D/VA,<br>9th | Member, National Security Committee                                                                                                                                                                      |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | SKEEN, Joe            | R/NM<br>2nd  |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | SKELTON, Ike          | D/MO<br>4th  | Ranking Minority Member; National Security Committee; Member, Select Intelligence Committee                                                                                                              |  | (A) 2/98 Blair OD         |
| ✓ | SLAUGHTER, Louise M.  | D/NY<br>28th |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | SMITH, Adam           | D/WA<br>9th  |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | SMITH, Christopher H. | R/NJ<br>4th  | Chairman, International Operations & Human Rights Subcommittee of the International Relations Committee; Member, Veterans' Affairs Committee; Co-chair, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe |  | No Official State Dinners |
|   | SMITH, Lamar          | R/TX<br>21st |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | SNYDER, Vic           | D/AR<br>2nd  |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |  | No Official/State Dinners |



| ✓ | SOUDER, Mark         | R/IN<br>4th  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|---|----------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| ✓ | SPENCE, Floyd        | R/SC<br>2nd  | Chairman, National Security Committee |  | (R) 2/95 Germany OD       |
| ✓ | SPRATT, John M., Jr. | D/SC<br>5th  |                                       |  | (R) 6/96 Ireland SD       |
| ✓ | STABENOW, Debbie     | D/MI<br>8th  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
| ✓ | STARK, Pete          | D/CA<br>13th |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|   | STEARNS, Cliff       | R/FL<br>6th  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|   | STENHOLM, Charles W. | D/TX<br>17th |                                       |  | (A) 7/95 Korea SD         |
| ✓ | STRICKLAND, Ted      | D/OH<br>6th  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|   | STUMP, Bob           | R/AZ<br>3rd  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
| ✓ | STUPAK, Bart         | D/MI<br>1st  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|   | SUNUNU, John E.      | R/NH<br>1st  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|   | SWEENEY, John        | R/NY<br>22nd |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | TALENT, James M.     | R/MO<br>2nd  |                                       |  | No Official/State Dinners |

|   | TANCREDO, Tom                   | R/CO<br>6th     |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------|--|--------------------------|
| ✓ | TANNER, John                    | D/TN<br>8th     |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | TAUSCHER, Ellen O.              | D/CA<br>10th    |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | TAUZIN, W.J. (Billy)            | R/LA<br>3rd     |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | TAYLOR, Charles H.              | R/NC<br>11th    |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | TAYLOR, Gene                    | D/MS<br>5th     |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | TERRY, Lee                      | R/NE<br>2nd     |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | THOMAS, William M.              | R/CA<br>21st    |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | THOMPSON, Bennie G.             | D/MS<br>2nd     |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | THOMPSON, Mike                  | D/CA<br>1st     |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | THORNBERRY, William M.<br>(Mac) | R/TX<br>13th    |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|   | THUNE, John R.                  | R/SD<br>at lrg. |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓ | THURMAN, Karen L.               | D/FL<br>5th     |  | No Official/State Dinner |

|  | TIAHRT, Todd             | R/KS<br>4th  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|--|--------------------------|--------------|--|---------------------------|
|  | TIERNEY, John F.         | D/MA<br>6th  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|  | TOOMEY, Patrick          | R/PA<br>15th |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|  | TOWNS, Edolphus          | D/NY<br>10th |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|  | TRAFICANT, James A., Jr. | D/OH<br>17th |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|  | TURNER, Jim              | D/TX<br>2nd  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|  | UDALL, Mark              | D/CO<br>2nd  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|  | UDALL, Thomas            | D/NM<br>3rd  |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|  | UNDERWOOD, Robert A.     | D/<br>Guam   |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD     |
|  | UPTON, Fred              | R/MI<br>6th  |  | (A) 2/96 France SD        |
|  | VELAQUEZ, Nydia M.       | D/NY<br>12th |  | (R) 10/98 Columbia SD     |
|  | VENTO, Bruce F.          | D/MN<br>4th  |  | (A) 4/96 Italy SD         |
|  | VISCLOSKY, Peter J.      | D/IN<br>1st  |  | No Official/State Dinners |

|                                                                                   | WALDEN, Gregory  | R/OR<br>2nd  |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------|--|--------------------------|
|  | WALSH, James T.  | R/NY<br>25th |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD      |
|                                                                                   | WAMP, Zach       | R/TN<br>3rd  |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓                                                                                 | WATERS, Maxine   | D/CA<br>35th |  | (A) 2/99 Ghana SD        |
|                                                                                   | WATKINS, Wes     | R/OK<br>3rd  |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|                                                                                   | WATT, Melvin L.  | D/NC<br>12th |  | (A) 5/99 Japan OD        |
| ✓                                                                                 | WATTS, J.C., Jr. | R/OK<br>4th  |  | No Official/State Dinner |
| ✓                                                                                 | WAXMAN, Henry A. | D/CA<br>29th |  | (A) 6/96 Ireland SD      |
| ✓                                                                                 | WEINER, Anthony  | D/NY<br>9th  |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|                                                                                   | WELDON, Curt     | R/PA<br>7th  |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|                                                                                   | WELDON, Dave     | R/FL<br>15th |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|                                                                                   | WELLER, Jerry    | R/IL<br>11th |  | No Official/State Dinner |
|                                                                                   | WEXLER, Robert   | D/FL<br>19th |  | (A) 10/98 Columbia SD    |



| ✓ | WEYGAND, Robert A. | D/RI<br>2nd  |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|---|--------------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
|   | WHITFIELD, Ed      | R/KY<br>1st  |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|   | WICKER, Roger F.   | R/MS<br>1st  |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|   | WILSON, Heather    | R/MN<br>1st  |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinner  |
|   | WISE, Bob          | R/WV<br>2nd  |                                                                                                                |  | (A) 2/95 Germany OD       |
| / | WOLF, Frank R.     | R/VA<br>10th |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | WOOLSEY, Lynn      | D/CA<br>6th  |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners |
|   | WU, David          | D/OR<br>1st  |                                                                                                                |  | (A) 4/99 China OD         |
| ✓ | WYNN, Albert R.    | D/MD<br>4th  |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners |
| ✓ | YOUNG, C.W. Bill   | R/FL         | Chairman, National Security Subcommittee of Appropriations Committee;<br>Member, Select Intelligence Committee |  | No Official State Dinners |
|   | YOUNG, Don         | R/AK         |                                                                                                                |  | No Official/State Dinners |

6-1-99

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 29, 1999

1590

→ How much over 10yr  
→ How much to 2020  
→ If we less, give to  
tax cuts

350  
150  
200

350  
50  
300

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Gene Sperling and Chris Jennings

SUBJECT: Briefing Memorandum for Medicare Meeting

On Tuesday, you will have a Medicare meeting in which we will review key elements and several packages of reforms, seeking your guidance as we develop a plan. Our goals for this plan include: (1) significant dedication of the surplus for Medicare, which will extend the life of the Medicare Trust Fund as well as reduce debt; (2) serious modernization of Medicare, including making it more competitive; (3) substantial prescription drug benefit; and (4) sufficient savings to make our prescription drug benefit fiscally responsible. These goals conform to your principles for reform articulated at the AARP in February.

Below, we describe the major elements of reform, key parameters of a prescription drug benefit, and illustrative packages. Ultimately, your primary decisions about the Medicare plan will hinge on how the prescription drug benefit is designed and financed. Packages showing options for drug benefits and financing options are shown at the end of the memo.

KEY ELEMENTS

**Modernizing Traditional Medicare.** One of the positive contributions of the Medicare Commission was to unanimously support making the traditional Medicare program more competitive (e.g., allow for more competitive pricing; greater ability to contract out for services; high-cost case management). Your Medicare advisors also unanimously agree that these policies are worth including in the plan. They save an estimated \$14 billion over 10 years.

**Competitive Managed Care Payments.** A more controversial issue is whether to allow competition to determine Medicare premiums and government payment rates. Premium support, the centerpiece of the Breaux-Thomas proposal, would set all Medicare premiums competitively, including that of the traditional program. Because it would result in a lower government contribution for traditional Medicare, the actuary projects that the traditional program premiums would rise by 10 to 20 percent, effectively driving people into managed care. Your advisors are recommending an option that is fundamentally different because it would protect the traditional

Medicare premium, assuring that competition is based on choice, not financial coercion.

Although this option does not produce as much savings as does the Breaux-Thomas premium support model (\$10 versus \$50 billion over 10 years), it would be considered structural reform since it gives incentives to encourage beneficiaries to choose low-cost plans. There is a risk, however, that base Democrats will view it as a "voucher" or something akin to Breaux-Thomas and conservative Democrats and many Republicans may think that it does not go far enough. Regardless, all of your advisors are in favor of including this proposal.

Explain  
cannot but  
it shall?

Copied  
Sperling  
Jennings  
Padista

**Income-Related Premium.** An income-related premium is a progressive form of increasing beneficiary contributions. You have supported this policy in the past (1992, 1993, and 1997) so long as it is designed well. All of your advisors recommend that it begin at \$80,000 for singles, \$100,000 for couples, which produces about \$25 billion over 10 years and affects about 2 million beneficiaries. Some are willing to go lower to avoid the use of surplus funding to help finance the drug package. *minger*

**Cost Sharing.** Changes can both make Medicare's cost sharing more rational and help fund the prescription drug benefit. The following is the list of options under review:

- Eliminate preventive cost sharing: Cost sharing can inhibit beneficiaries from using their new Medicare preventive benefits. Eliminate all cost sharing would cost \$3 billion over 10 years and is unanimously recommended by your advisors.
- Add lab 20% copay: Only lab and home health services do not have any copays, and most experts agree that a lab copay could decrease excess use (the typical 20% copay would be about \$5-10). It would save about \$9 billion over 10 years and is supported by your advisors.
- Change nursing home copay to 20% coinsurance: The nursing home benefit's current cost sharing structure is not rational. Beneficiaries pay nothing for the first 20 days, but then pay nearly \$100 per day (about 33%) for days 21-100. This proposal would apply a 20% copay (about \$60 per day) for all covered days. This helps sicker beneficiaries, but applies a new copay to short-term nursing home residents. While we aimed to make this cost neutral, it actually saves \$4 billion over 10 years. It is possible to lower the copayment to make it budget neutral.
- Index the Part B deductible to inflation: The \$100 Part B deductible has not been updated since the 1980s, and is lower than most private fee-for-service insurance plans. This proposal would simply index the current deductible to general inflation (by 2010, it would be \$135) and save about \$2 billion over 10 years. Most advisors recommend this, particularly if it eliminates the need for a home health copay. Some are willing to increase the deductible (to \$150) if it would avoid the need for surplus spending.
- Add \$5 home health copay. Most experts agree that a carefully designed home health copay can reduce excess use without harming beneficiaries. At the same time, home health users are among the most vulnerable (older, sicker); increasing this benefit's cost sharing has the appearance of being inconsistent with your long-term care initiative; and the new prospective payment system will reduce use without copays. Although a number of your advisors agree that this is good policy, they believe that it is not necessary in the context of the other beneficiary cost sharing proposals outlined above (saves \$7 billion over 10 years).



**Provider Payment Reductions.** Provider savings are difficult to find given (a) our FY 2000 budget used the limited options for the next few years; (b) the BBA of 1997 package relied heavily on providers savings; and (c) all major provider groups have launched a campaign not just against additional savings but in support of increased spending to offset the Balanced Budget Act in the near term. Even conservative Democrats like Senators Conrad, Moynihan, and Bingaman are considering "fixing" or undoing BBA '97 reductions, especially for academic health centers, rural hospitals, nursing homes, and other providers. Our goal is to have some fixes where clearly well justified while still getting some moderate new savings. As such, we are proactively seeking administrative interventions that could moderate the effects of the BBA. If we conclude that administrative actions are inadequate, targeted legislative fixes could help avoid a negative response to your proposal. However, because of the limited availability of on budget surplus dollars in 2000, finding early-year savings to offset these costs would be extremely difficult. Your advisors believe that a credible Medicare reform plan, taking into account provider constraints, could achieve about \$40 billion over 10 years (more or less depending on the degree of fixes).

**PRESCRIPTION DRUG BENEFIT.** The part of your Medicare plan that will receive the most attention is its prescription drug benefit. The base Democrats will judge your plan in large part by how generous this benefit is. Many of them have signed onto the Kennedy-Rockefeller plan, which provides for 20 percent coinsurance up to a cap, and then provides 100 percent coverage after the beneficiary has spent \$4,200 on drugs. This bill costs over \$300 billion over 10 years. On the other hand, conservative Democrats are interested in the least costly benefit that can be validated, even minimally, as meaningful. The following table shows our major options.

| PRESCRIPTION DRUG BENEFIT OPTIONS (\$ BILLIONS -- Preliminary -- Excludes State Maintenance of Effort)                                                                                                                                        |             |                |                |                |                |                |                |                 |                |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 2001        | 2002           | 2003           | 2004           | 2005           | 2006           | 2007           | 2008            | 2009           | 00-09 |
| <b>\$5,000 LIMIT</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | <u>Cap:</u> | <u>\$2,000</u> | <u>\$2,000</u> | <u>\$3,000</u> | <u>\$4,000</u> | <u>\$5,000</u> | <u>indexed</u> |                 |                |       |
| 50% Premium                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0           | 5.6            | 10.7           | 12.5           | 15.0           | 17.3           | 19.1           | 20.6            | 22.3           | 123.0 |
| Premiums                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |             | \$24           | \$25           | \$31           | \$36           | \$41           | \$43           | \$45            | \$48           |       |
| 67% Premium                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0           | 7.4            | 14.3           | 16.7           | 19.9           | 23.0           | 25.4           | 27.5            | 29.7           | 164.1 |
| Premiums                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |             | \$16           | \$17           | \$21           | \$24           | \$27           | \$29           | \$30            | \$32           |       |
| <b>\$10,000 LIMIT *</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <u>Cap:</u> | <u>\$4,000</u> | <u>\$4,000</u> | <u>\$6,000</u> | <u>\$6,000</u> | <u>\$8,000</u> | <u>\$8,000</u> | <u>\$10,000</u> | <u>indexed</u> |       |
| 50% Premium                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0           | 7.2            | 13.8           | 15.6           | 17.2           | 19.0           | 20.8           | 22.9            | 25.1           | 141.6 |
| Premiums                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |             | \$31           | \$33           | \$38           | \$40           | \$45           | \$47           | \$51            | \$55           |       |
| 67% Premium                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0           | 9.6            | 18.4           | 20.8           | 22.9           | 25.4           | 27.8           | 30.5            | 33.5           | 188.8 |
| Premiums                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |             | \$21           | \$22           | \$25           | \$27           | \$30           | \$31           | \$34            | \$36           |       |
| <b>NO LIMIT:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <u>Cap:</u> | <u>\$2,000</u> | <u>\$3,000</u> | <u>\$3,000</u> | <u>\$4,000</u> | <u>\$5,000</u> | <u>None</u>    |                 |                |       |
| 50% Premium                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0           | 5.6            | 12.0           | 13.3           | 15.1           | 17.3           | 21.0           | 24.1            | 26.5           | 134.8 |
| Premiums                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |             | \$24           | \$30           | \$31           | \$36           | \$41           | \$51           | \$54            | \$58           |       |
| 67% Premium                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0           | 7.4            | 15.9           | 17.7           | 20.2           | 23.1           | 28.0           | 32.1            | 35.4           | 179.9 |
| Premiums                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |             | \$16           | \$20           | \$21           | \$24           | \$27           | \$34           | \$36            | \$39           |       |
| * Note: The policy with the \$10,000 cap is more expensive than the catastrophic option only because it offers more generous coverage in the early years of its design (00 to 06); the catastrophic option is more expensive in the out-years |             |                |                |                |                |                |                |                 |                |       |



All of your advisors support a policy in which we cover 50 percent of the costs of prescription drugs up to at least \$5,000. We believe that this will have a simple, clear message: if you choose to pay a modest premium, we will pay half of your prescription drug costs up to \$5,000. Another reason that your advisors support this is that every year, every beneficiary will see a benefit every time that they buy a prescription drug because there is no deductible. The two issues of difference among your advisors are how much the premium (and overall benefit) should be subsidized and whether or not there should be catastrophic coverage.

On the subsidy issue, the Medicare actuary has concluded that 50 percent is the minimum subsidy amount that is necessary to attract enough healthy beneficiaries to avoid adverse selection. Some of your advisors think that a 50 percent premium is the most that we should do because anything higher will create too large of an entitlement that will be too hard to restrain in the future. Other advisors feel, however, that unless the premium subsidy is closer to 67 percent (and under \$20 to start), the premium will be too high and the overall attractiveness of the plan could be hampered.

A second, major issue is whether the benefit is capped or covers catastrophic costs. Most policy experts believe that "true insurance" should not have caps and are concerned about capped options that leave the sickest beneficiaries unprotected. The Kennedy-Rockefeller bill, for this reason, includes catastrophic coverage. However, capped drug benefits have the advantage of constraining costs because the government's maximum spending growth is limited while the catastrophic coverage has the potential for more unconstrained growth in the out years.

**FINANCING GAP.** If all of the advisors' recommendations on key elements were adopted, there would be Medicare savings of about \$100 billion over 10 years. This is about \$30-90 billion below the cost of the drug benefits being considered. Options to fund this shortfall include one or more of the following:

- Making the drug benefit less generous. The level of the subsidy could be reduced from 67 to 50 percent, raising the premium by roughly \$10 per month. One could also reduce the benefits, but most of your advisors believe that further diminishment of the base drug coverage package would be unappealing to beneficiaries and their advocates.
- Increasing provider and/or beneficiary savings: Most of your advisors are loathe to consider additional provider and/or beneficiary savings for fear that it would undermine the political support for the package. However, some would argue that it might be advisable, at least as an initial positioning strategy, to increase these savings (primarily by maximizing the BBA extenders and minimizing the BBA fixes) to avoid using the surplus. 
- Including an additional tobacco tax: Because the tobacco tax in our budget is unlikely to be used by the Congress, an additional tobacco tax may not be viewed as a credible financing source. It is also unpopular with the House Democratic leadership. However, the Senate Finance Committee may be more supportive of the tobacco tax than the surplus as a source of funding. A \$0.50 tax (on top of your budget's \$0.55 tax) would generate about \$45 billion in revenue from 2000-09.

6-1-99

- Using the surplus: Using a portion of the surplus dedicated to Medicare solvency for prescription drugs could be justified given the tremendous drop in the Medicare baseline (\$240 billion over 10 years from 1998 to 1999). While there are credible arguments for using the surplus, it clearly has to be considered in the broader Social Security / surplus context. Some fear that without more progress on Social Security solvency, tapping any portion of the surplus for prescription drugs before the solvency of Social Security and Medicare has been addressed could strengthen the Republicans' argument for using the surplus to finance a large tax cut.

**ILLUSTRATIVE PACKAGES.** On the following page, you will find illustrative options that show combinations of drug benefits and additional offsets. Every option includes our recommended "base policy" which reflects the preliminary recommendations of your advisors. It assumes that each drug benefit design has a zero deductible and a 50 percent copayment. The elements of the drug benefit options that affect its cost are: (1) the degree to which it is subsidized (and therefore what the premium would be) and (2) the level to which the benefit is capped or alternatively, whether it provides for any catastrophic protection. It is likely that we will use some version of these options to help focus our discussion with you during the Tuesday Medicare reform meeting.

No-Use  
Want - Target  
to ALC Reform  
Substantive

| <b>OPTION 1:<br/>No Additional Financing</b> | <b>OPTION 2:<br/>Additional Tobacco Tax</b> | <b>OPTION 3:<br/>Surplus</b>          |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>Base:</b>                                 | <b>Base:</b>                                | <b>Base:</b>                          |
| Competition -10                              | Competition -10                             | Competition -10                       |
| Modernize Medicare -14                       | Modernize Medicare -14                      | Modernize Medicare -14                |
| Income-Related Premium (\$80/100) -25        | Income-Related Premium (\$80/100) -25       | Income-Related Premium (\$80/100) -25 |
| Cost Sharing                                 | Cost Sharing                                | Cost Sharing                          |
| Preventive buy-down +3                       | Preventive buy-down +3                      | Preventive buy-down +3                |
| Lab 20% coinsurance -9                       | Lab 20% coinsurance -9                      | Lab 20% coinsurance -9                |
| Nursing home 20% -5                          | Nursing home 20% -5                         | Nursing home 20% -5                   |
| Indexing Deductible -1                       | Indexing Deductible -1                      | Indexing Deductible -1                |
| Provider Savings -40                         | Provider Savings -40                        | Provider Savings -40                  |
| <b>Subtotal: -100</b>                        | <b>Subtotal: -100</b>                       | <b>Subtotal: -100</b>                 |
| <b>Additions:</b>                            | <b>Additions:</b>                           | <b>Additions:</b>                     |
| Income-Related Premium (\$60/90) -7          | Tobacco Tax -45                             | Surplus -90                           |
| More Provider Cuts -7                        | Income-Related Premium (\$60/90) -7         |                                       |
| Raise Deductible to \$150 and index -10      |                                             |                                       |
| <b>Subtotal: -24</b>                         | <b>Subtotal: -52</b>                        |                                       |
| <b>Drug Benefit:</b>                         | <b>Drug Benefit:</b>                        | <b>Drug Benefit:</b>                  |
| \$5,000 Limit +123                           | \$5,000 Limit +164                          | \$5,000 Limit +154                    |
| 50% Premium: \$24/\$48*                      | 67% Premium: \$16/\$32*                     | 67% Premium: \$16/\$32*               |
|                                              | \$10,000 Limit +142                         | \$10,000 Limit +189                   |
|                                              | 50% Premium: \$31/\$55*                     | 67% Premium: \$21/\$36*               |
|                                              | No Dollar Limit +135                        | No Dollar Limit +180                  |
|                                              | 50% Premium: \$24/\$58*                     | 67% Premium: \$16/\$39*               |
| State MOE -5                                 | State MOE -5                                | State MOE -5                          |
| <b>TOTAL ** -6</b>                           | <b>TOTAL ** +7-22</b>                       | <b>TOTAL ** -6-30</b>                 |

\*Monthly premiums in 2002 and 2009. Part B premium is \$57 / \$95 in 2002 / 2009.

\*\* This amount is a necessary "cushion" pending final cost estimates. Drug estimates assume about \$5 billion in savings from state maintenance of effort.

NOTE: The policy with the \$10,000 cap is more expensive than the catastrophic option only because it offers more generous coverage in the early years (00 to 06); the catastrophic option is more expensive in the out-years.



# REVISED

99 MAY 31 AM 10:45

| OPTION 1:<br>No Additional Financing |             | OPTION 2:<br>Additional Tobacco Tax |              | OPTION 3:<br>Surplus    |              |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| <b>Base:</b>                         |             | <b>Base:</b>                        |              | <b>Base:</b>            |              |
| Competition                          | -10         | Competition                         | -10          | Competition             | -10          |
| Modernize Medicare                   | -14         | Modernize Medicare                  | -14          | Modernize Medicare      | -14          |
| Income-Related                       |             | Income-Related                      |              | Income-Related          |              |
| Premium (\$80/100)                   | -25         | Premium (\$80/100)                  | -25          | Premium (\$80/100)      | -25          |
| Cost Sharing                         |             | Cost Sharing                        |              | Cost Sharing            |              |
| Preventive buy-down                  | +3          | Preventive buy-down                 | +3           | Preventive buy-down     | +3           |
| Lab 20% coinsurance                  | -9          | Lab 20% coinsurance                 | -9           | Lab 20% coinsurance     | -9           |
| Nursing home 20%                     | -5          | Nursing home 20%                    | -5           | Nursing home 20%        | -5           |
| Indexing Deductible                  | -1          | Indexing Deductible                 | -1           | Indexing Deductible     | -1           |
| Provider Savings                     | -40         | Provider Savings                    | -40          | Provider Savings        | -40          |
| <b>Subtotal:</b>                     | <b>-100</b> | <b>Subtotal:</b>                    | <b>-100</b>  | <b>Subtotal:</b>        | <b>-100</b>  |
| <b>Additions:</b>                    |             | <b>Additions:</b>                   |              | <b>Additions:</b>       |              |
| Income-Related                       |             | Tobacco Tax                         | -45          | Surplus                 | -90          |
| Premium (\$60/90)                    | -7          | Income-Related                      |              |                         |              |
| More Provider Cuts                   | -7          | Premium (\$60/90)                   | -7           |                         |              |
| Raise Deductible to \$150 and index  | -10         |                                     |              |                         |              |
| <b>Subtotal:</b>                     | <b>-24</b>  | <b>Subtotal:</b>                    | <b>-52</b>   |                         |              |
| <b>Drug Benefit:</b>                 |             | <b>Drug Benefit:</b>                |              | <b>Drug Benefit:</b>    |              |
| \$5,000 Limit                        | +123        | \$5,000 Limit                       | +164         | \$5,000 Limit           | +164         |
| 50% Premium: \$24/\$48*              |             | 67% Premium: \$16/\$32*             |              | 67% Premium: \$16/\$32* |              |
|                                      |             | \$10,000 Limit                      | +142         | \$10,000 Limit          | +189         |
|                                      |             | 50% Premium: \$31/\$55*             |              | 67% Premium: \$21/\$36* |              |
|                                      |             | No Dollar Limit                     | +135         | No Dollar Limit         | +180         |
|                                      |             | 50% Premium: \$24/\$58*             |              | 67% Premium: \$16/\$39* |              |
| State MOE                            | -5          | State MOE                           | -5           | State MOE               | -5           |
| <b>TOTAL **</b>                      | <b>-6</b>   | <b>TOTAL **</b>                     | <b>+7-22</b> | <b>TOTAL **</b>         | <b>-6-31</b> |

\*Monthly premiums in 2002 and 2009. Part B premium is \$57 / \$95 in 2002 / 2009.

\*\* This amount is a necessary "cushion" pending final cost estimates.

Drug estimates assume about \$5 billion in savings from state maintenance of effort.

NOTE: The policy with the \$10,000 cap is more expensive than the catastrophic option only because it offers more generous coverage in the early years (00 to 06); the catastrophic option is more expensive in the out-years.



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*Staff Sec.*

JUN 1 1999

ROBERT C. COMPTON  
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ROGER W. LANDES  
ROBIN J. CARROLL  
TED BOTNER

JERRI L. AGERTON - PARALEGAL

\*BOARD RECOGNIZED  
SPECIALIST IN TAX LAW

Client No. 1000-1

May 21, 1999

President Bill Clinton  
White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Mr. President:

Will you please be so kind as to refer this letter to the proper official who can advise me as to the procedures involved in requesting a Presidential Pardon?

This will be appreciated.

As always, I wish you the very best.

Take care.

6-1-99

*To Burkhardt for reply?*  
Yes ☒ No ☐

*RC*

Robert C. Compton

*B.*

RCC/kr

pc: Bill Prewett

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20500X2000



CPT&H 1000-1