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(800) 722-3885
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July 14, 1999

7-19-99

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Jennings
Podesta
Smith

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As a home care provider serving Iowa and Illinois Medicare Beneficiaries, I am writing to spark your interest in an idea that would save Medicare dollars and improve the quality of life for Medicare recipients.

Allowing home antibiotic infusion therapy to be a covered home health benefit, Medicare beneficiaries could have their homes as a choice in where they receive this service. Many Medicare beneficiaries request to receive antibiotic infusion therapy at home but must stay in the hospital or nursing home to get antibiotic infusion therapy covered by Medicare. This means many days of institutionalization just to receive the drug therapy. The other alternative is outpatient coverage, which causes many exhausting trips to the hospital or physician's office in a single day for a homebound patient.

Cost savings can be established with active patient teaching and computerized infusion pumps in the home setting. Most private insurance plans and HMO plans recognize the significant cost savings that can be realized by covering IV medications in the home. When Medicare Primary patients are covered under an HMO plan or have a secondary insurance plan, they are encouraged to utilize early hospital discharge.

I am requesting an opportunity to speak with you about the idea of a home antibiotic infusion therapy pilot project for Medicare beneficiaries.

Thank you for your time. Someday home antibiotic infusion therapy may be a choice you would want for yourself or your family. Please contact me at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Renee Rand

Renee Rand
Operations Manager
Option Care of the Quad Cities

cc: Senator Tom Harkin

JCAHO Accredited

optioncare

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Moline, IL
61265

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Renee Rand, R.N., MSHA
Vice President,
Operations Manager

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C. Jennings
As looking
Dr. Harkin - Dr.

7-19-99

7/19/99

After you have seen,
we will send to
Berkhardt -

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20500

C. and

7-19-99

July 16th, 1999

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for a grant program that you initiated almost 6 years ago. I teach art at Truman Elementary in Cedar Rapids, and serve on the Technology committee. In the 97-98 school year we applied for and receive a grant from the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund. We received just under \$50,000.00 to use for computers, software and training to study the life of our namesake, Harry S. Truman. In the 98-99 year we applied for the second phase of the grant, and just received another 25,000.00. This has allowed us to do wonderful things in our building. The student's knowledge of computers, web sites, and software has greatly improved. They have really enjoyed using e-mail with pen-pals from Independence, Mo. It would be nice if this kind of money was available to all schools, all the time, but as a taxpayer, I appreciate that this money is available to schools and teachers with strong ideas and a willingness to apply for a grant. It's a great way to reward the "drive for excellence". In 97-98 we were the only school in CR to receive this grant, but because of our success, more schools in our town applied and now this year, I know of three "winners" in our district. In my opinion, this is an excellent way to help schools and teachers. Thank you for your continued support of education.

Marty Riley Brown
Truman Elementary School
441 West Post Rd. NW
Cedar Rapids, Ia 52405

7/19/99

After you have seen,
we will send to
Podesta -

copied
Smith
Podesta

Carl

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-19-99

Do you
cc him letter to CTS

President Clinton
from
Marty Brown
Cedar Rapids School Teacher

July 14, 1999

Dear Mr. President,

7-19-99

copied
POTUS

I have for some time wanted to sit down and write to you to express my thanks for attending my Farewell party in the mess and for giving me the wonderful fountain pen with which I am writing to you now. Your presence and the gift meant much to me and for that I want you to know I am extremely grateful.

Yet, I truly grapple with an adequate way to express my profound gratitude for entrusting in me a role in representing you, your esteemed office, and the White House over the past two years. As I hope you know, I believe in you and our Administration and feel fortunate that I could use my skills to enable you and those with whom we work to serve the American people. My sense of thankfulness to you will remain with me throughout my life.

I am also deeply moved, as is my mother who fled Cologne Germany in 1939 and I believe--as is my father--my father who passed away three years ago and fled Vienna, Austria in 1939, that you have named me to the U.S. Memorial Holocaust Commission. This is, for me, a position of great significance and one for which I proudly carry the moral obligation of those many in my family who did not survive the Nazi tyranny.

7-19-99

After you have seen,
we will send to
Berckhardt?

C.

and of those whose stories must never be forgotten.

Mr. President, I have never written to you before, but I want you to know how proud I am of what you have accomplished for our country. Thank you for permitting me to serve; and thank you for enabling me to continue to serve.

I hope you know I am always available to assist you and Mrs. Clinton.

I wish you and our nation the best of fortune for the remainder of your term and in the decades thereafter. I humbly but sincerely hope we will remain in touch.

Most respectfully,

Lanny



LANNY A. BREUER

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reply

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7-19-99



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BOARD OF EDUCATION
CITY OF LOS ANGELES

July 8, 1999

7/19/99
Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ✓

No _____

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20510

Dear President Clinton:

I start by thanking you for taking time out of your most busy schedule to visit Locke High School and the Watts community. I truly appreciate your commitment to public education and I know your leadership will provide increasing opportunities for young people during the remainder of your administration.

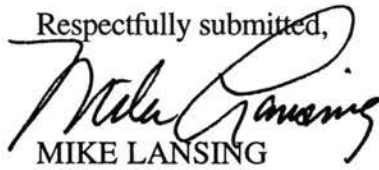
I ask you to truly consider the expansion of federal funding for urban school districts. Our needs are much more numerous and serious than the vast majority of suburban and rural areas. This is a fact. I appreciate your support of 30,000 additional teachers for our nation, and I ask you to consider the funding of **20,000 additional "school" administrators**. We are in dire need of counselors, deans, instructional leaders, assistant principals and the like if we are to truly assist the children in our charge. I know that as you travel across this country, everyone is asking you for "more"--all I can ask is for you to consider my plea.

The enclosed letter to the editor better explains the great need for additional school support. I have included it for your review.

For seventeen years I was a teacher, coach and school administrator at "private" elementary, middle and high schools. I left to become a Boys and Girls Club director so that we could provide the additional after-school educational programs our inner-city youth need. We have built a separate counseling, tutorial, reading and computer centers at our site, and we provide supplemental educational assistance to over 1,000 boys and girls annually. We built all of these facilities and programs because our schools did and still do not have the resources to reach all children. I ran for the School Board in the hope that I can effect even greater change and assistance within the Los Angeles Unified School District. I state all of this because I want you to know that I have the same commitment to our children as yourself, and with your continuing help we can provide even greater opportunities for our inner-city youth. Additional school site administrators would be a great addition to our increased commitment to public education.

President William Jefferson Clinton
Page 2
July 8, 1999

Thank you so very much, Mr. President, for your dedication to education and for your consideration of my appeal. If I can ever be of assistance to you and your educational goals, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Respectfully submitted,

MIKE LANSING
Board Member
Seventh District

ML:cm

Enclosure

c: Honorable Richard Riley, Secretary of Education
Ron Prescott, Deputy Superintendent of Government and Public Affairs

Principals

■ Re "Principal: A Tougher Job, Fewer Takers," June 23: Since 1993, I have been the principal at Third Street School in Los Angeles. I am the only administrator at a school with 850 students and 80 staff members. LAUSD doesn't assign assistant principals to elementary schools with fewer than 950 students. The national norm is approximately 350 students, and the state average is about 550 students.

I too have been working longer hours and weekends to get caught up with heaps of paperwork. Six years ago, when I started, I attributed the often seven-day workweeks to my being new. However, after six years of becoming a more efficient administrator, I still find my workload to be even larger. The personal life I had hoped to regain is now a distant memory.

Sometimes I say to myself, "Stop whining and start leading. You knew what you were committing yourself to." Still, I can't forget that I do not have enough time to perform my primary mission: providing instructional leadership. Juggling operational work, numerous meetings, heaps of paperwork and instructional leadership has grown to be a daunting task.

Amid all its other important concerns, LAUSD would best serve students by devising a strategy that would free principals to do their real task, improving instruction for all students. Please lower the assistant principal norm so many principals can devote more of their time to the students.

SUZIE K. OH
Los Angeles

MIKE LANSING

LOS ANGELES CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

P.O. BOX 3307

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90051



THE HONORABLE WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

7-19-99

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Tussling Over Tobacco Money, Forgetting the Victims

By Judy Jarvis

MY lung cancer was diagnosed last November after I'd felt unusually tired for a few weeks and had been fighting what I thought was just a cold. No, I don't smoke; nor do many thousands of people who are found to have this disease each year. But I stand to benefit from the same kind of medical research that would help someone with a three-pack-a-day habit.

Because some people get diseases like mine from smoking, the tobacco companies were forced to settle with our state governments for a whop-

Judy Jarvis is the host of a nationally syndicated radio show.

ping \$246 billion — almost the same amount the American military spends each year.

The money was supposed to pay the states back for all the cash they've spent over the years treating sick smokers. But state and Federal taxes on tobacco, already in place, have provided more than enough money to cover these costs all along. Was it the tobacco companies' fault that politicians chose to spend this money on roads and bridges?

A compassionate but naïve person would expect the states to use their \$246 billion windfall to try to prevent more people from suffering and dying from cancer, emphysema or other smoking-related illnesses. If this is blood money, why not try to stop the bleeding?

Ah, but the greedy deal makers in our state capitals have other plans for the money. No, I'm not talking about anti-smoking campaigns, al-

though almost all the states are spending at least a token amount on those. I'm talking about construction projects. Paying bills. New nonmedi-

As states carve up the jackpot, cancer goes unchallenged.

cal programs.

For example: Rhode Island might spend a chunk on reducing its car tax; Connecticut, its property tax. Michigan is looking to finance college scholarships and water projects and wants to renovate the state morgue. In North Dakota they want the money for state employee sala-

ries ("payroll demands"), in Oklahoma it's teacher retirement funds and in Alabama it's a prison for juveniles.

Most of this spending would be fine if it came out of state tax revenue, but the states sued the tobacco companies claiming that they wanted to help sick smokers and, by accident of illness, me. This money should not be poured into general funds. It should help prevent and cure disease.

When the legal battles were going on to try to get the tobacco industry to cough up this money, I spoke out against the idea that the companies owed anything, since smokers make their own choices about whether to risk their health by lighting up. I couldn't stand the hypocrisy of politicians who blamed the industry while taking any and all taxes from the sale of tobacco, not to mention the generous political contributions from tobacco companies. Just who is more

addicted, I asked, the smokers or the politicians?

I still don't believe it's right to blame the industry for what is essentially a life-style choice. I always thought the anti-tobacco lawsuits were about money; now I know they are.

Every day I read about another state battling over how to spend its share, and every day I grow angrier because most proposals have nothing to do with preventing or curing lung cancer or any other smoking-related disease. After eight weeks in the hospital, the amputation of my left leg, the trials of continuing chemotherapy, to say nothing of the emotional toll the diagnosis has taken on family and friends, I want to see this tobacco money better spent.

A. M. Rosenthal is on vacation.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-19-99

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Blind
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H.M.O.'s Will Drop 327,000 Medicare Patients, U.S. Says

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON, July 15 — The Clinton Administration said today that 327,000 Medicare beneficiaries would be dropped next year by health maintenance organizations that are pulling out of the Medicare program or reducing the areas they serve.

The number is higher than initial estimates by spokesmen for the managed-care industry, who said two weeks ago that at least 250,000 people would be dropped.

The actual numbers, reported today by the Department of Health and Human Services, show thousands of people forced out of Medicare H.M.O.'s in various states, including 39,000 in New York, 31,000 in Arizona, 29,000 in Florida, 34,000 in Louisiana and 32,000 in Texas. About 9,000 people in Connecticut and 6,000 in New Jersey will also be affected.

While many of these people may be able to join other H.M.O.'s, the experience of being dropped by a health plan can be unnerving for elderly and disabled people, who must hastily figure out how to meet their medical needs.

The Government data indicate that more than 10 percent of all Medicare beneficiaries in H.M.O.'s

have been or will be dropped by their health plans in 1999 or 2000.

About 407,000 beneficiaries were forced out of Medicare H.M.O.'s this year, because of decisions announced by managed-care plans in late 1998. Thus, in two years, 734,000 people will have been dropped.

About 6.2 million of the 39 million Medicare beneficiaries are in H.M.O.'s. They join because they are generally protected against catastrophic costs and they usually receive extra benefits, like prescription drugs. Many H.M.O.'s said earlier this month that they intended to increase premiums or cut benefits for elderly subscribers next year.

When an H.M.O. pulls out of Medicare, it is normally barred from the program for five years. Forty-one of the 305 Medicare H.M.O.'s are pulling out of the program next year, and 58 will reduce their service areas.

People dropped from Medicare H.M.O.'s can buy certain types of private health insurance to fill gaps in the original fee-for-service program. But Michael Hash, deputy administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration, which runs Medicare, said there was no guarantee that they could get insurance covering prescription drugs.

Of the 327,000 people being dropped by H.M.O.'s next year, 79,000 live in areas where no other managed-care plans are available to them.

Mr. Hash rejected the argument of H.M.O.'s that say they are not paid enough by Medicare. He said the Administration would oppose efforts in Congress to restore Medicare money cut from H.M.O.'s.

Karen M. Ignagni, president of the American Association of Health Plans, which represents H.M.O.'s, said today's announcement confirmed that Medicare's managed-

care program was "in crisis." H.M.O.'s want to continue serving Medicare beneficiaries, Ms. Ignagni said, but often find that they cannot afford to do so.

Mr. Hash said some health plans were trying to scare beneficiaries by talking about a crisis in Medicare's H.M.O. program.

Susan M. Pisano, a spokeswoman for the American Association of Health Plans, said: "I don't know what the scare tactics are. If people believe that disruption to the lives of 700,000 people is not a crisis, we don't know what it takes."

Pact Reached in West Coast Dock Dispute

SAN FRANCISCO, July 15 (Reuters) — The union representing Pacific Coast port and dock workers agreed today on terms for a new contract, ending weeks of tense negotiations that had seen traffic slow to a crawl at some of the nation's busiest ports.

"We are pleased to have reached an agreement," said James Spinosa, chief negotiator for the International Longshore and Warehouse Union.

The terms of the three-year contract were not to be made public until final ratification by the union, which represents 10,000 workers.

Joseph Miniace, president of the maritime association, said the deal would smooth operations at West Coast ports, which handle more than 50 percent of all the cargo coming into the United States on container ships, which is expected to be worth \$285 billion this year.

Handwritten notes:
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SOUTH FLORIDA • TUESDAY • JULY 13, 1999 • SUN-SENT

Daily Digest



NEW CITIZENS: Sergei Khrushchev and his wife, Valentina Golenko, take the oath of citizenship on Monday. AP photo/Paul Connors

Russians have come; Khrushchev a Yank

Sergei Khrushchev waved an American flag after becoming a U.S. citizen, almost 40 years after his father, Nikita, told Richard Nixon that "in passing you by, we will wave to you."

NATION, 3A

Bush trip explores trade with Mexico

The biggest overseas business trip in Florida history opened Monday with Gov. Jeb Bush advocating sharply expanded trade between Florida and Mexico.

BUSINESS, 1D

Building standards commission budes

The Florida Building Commission took steps on Monday to allow South Florida to keep higher construction standards in a proposed building code. The board will have to do more to please Broward and Miami-Dade County officials.

LOCAL, 2B

Debate under way on patients' rights

At the heart of a U.S. Senate debate is whether a patient's doctor or insurance company should control the delivery of medical care.

NATION, 3A

Schnellenberger named FAU coach

Former University of Miami coach Howard Schnellenberger will be the first head coach of Florida Atlantic University's fledgling football program.

SPORTS, 1C

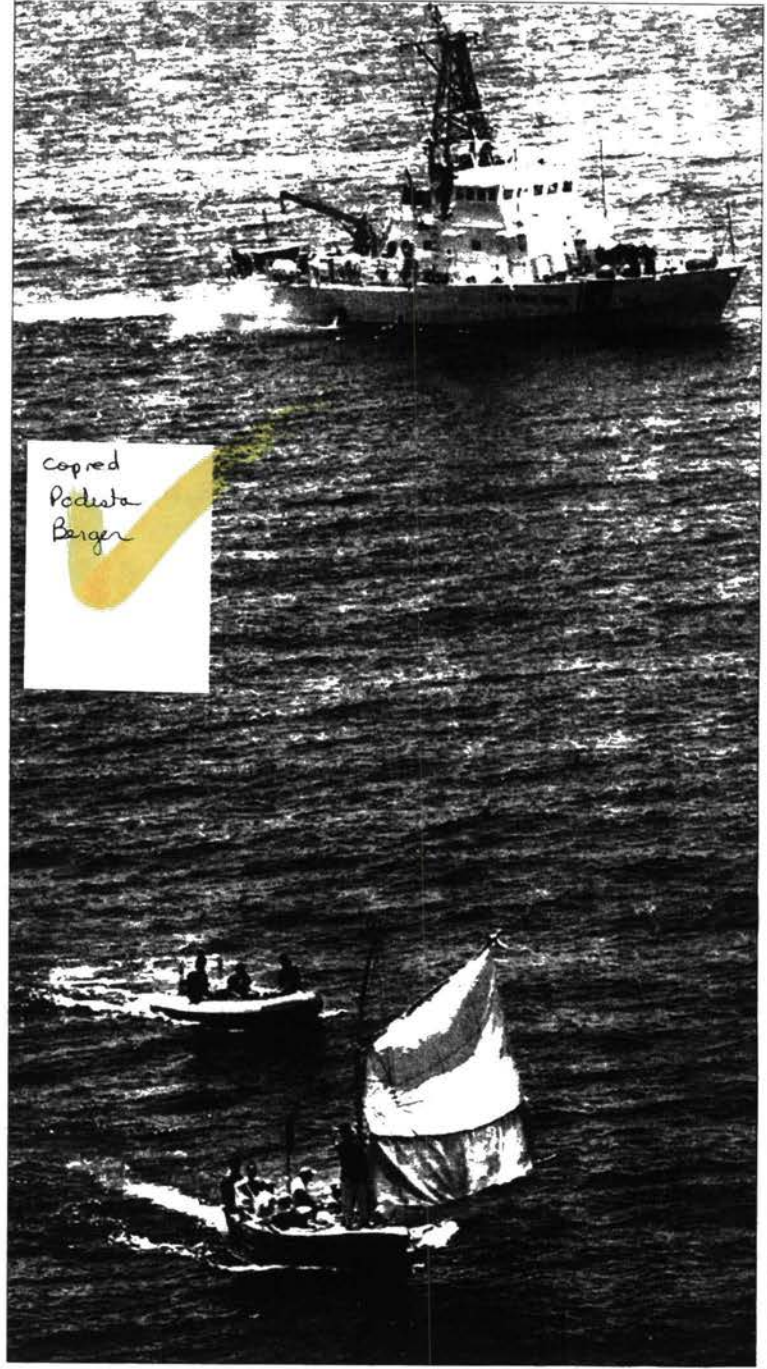
Buffy TV episode will air tonight

Postponed for 12 weeks because of concerns about high school violence after the Columbine tragedy, the season-ender of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* is filled with bloodletting that is clearly of the fantasy variety.

LIFESTYLE, 1E

BATTLE OF WILLS

A third standoff



THEY DIDN'T MAKE IT: A Coast Guard cutter and an inflatable boat follow a small Cuban boat powered by an outboard motor as it heads toward Miami, about 30 miles away. Staff photo/Lou Toman

16 boaters intercepted; U.S. to return them to Cuba

By LUISA YANEZ and JAY WEAVER
 MIAMI BUREAU

Coast Guard.
 The Cubans threatened to douse the boat with what appeared to be gasoline, signaling they would set it afire if not allowed to continue on to South

Clinton's visit to Miami today.
 Some Cuban exiles, angered over two previous incidents in which one woman drowned and others were mistreated, are expected to stage demonstrations

For the third time in two weeks, a boatload of Cubans trying to reach South Florida locked in a

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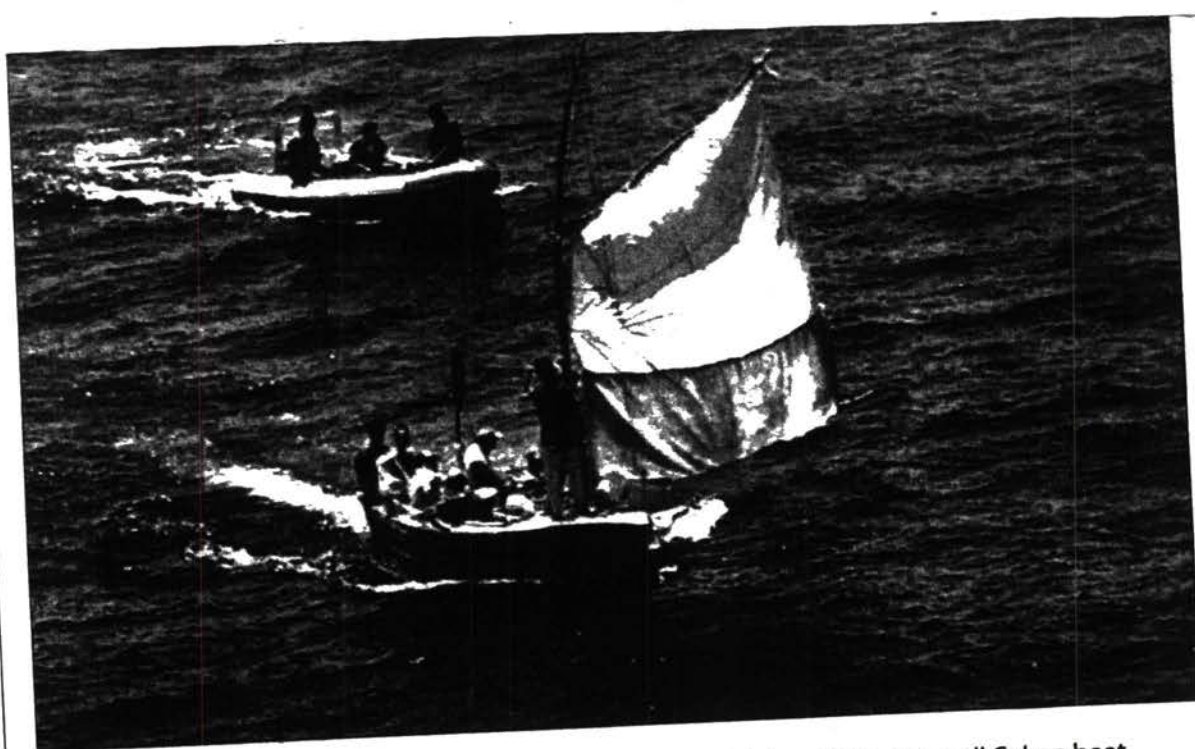
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THEY DIDN'T MAKE IT: A Coast Guard cutter and an inflatable boat follow a small Cuban boat powered by an outboard motor as it heads toward Miami, about 30 miles away. Staff photo/Lou Toman

16 boaters intercepted; U.S. to return them to Cuba

By **LUISA YANEZ and JAY WEAVER**
MIAMI BUREAU

For the third time in two weeks, a boatload of Cubans trying to reach South Florida locked in a battle of wills with the U.S. Coast Guard in waters near Miami.

The standoff Monday lasted more than four hours as the Coast Guard patiently trailed and negotiated with the refugees on a motorized 16-foot boat.

On board were 13 men and three women, many in tattered clothes, set on making it to land as they angrily waved away the

Coast Guard.

The Cubans threatened to douse the boat with what appeared to be gasoline, signaling they would set it afire if not allowed to continue on to South Florida.

The incident ended peacefully about 3 p.m., with the boaters agreeing to be loaded onto a Coast Guard cutter for their trip back to Cuba.

Under U.S. policy, they would have been allowed to stay had they made it to land.

The latest showdown at sea came on the eve of President Bill

Clinton's visit to Miami today.

Some Cuban exiles, angered over two previous incidents in which one woman drowned and others were mistreated, are expected to stage demonstrations. They say the Clinton administration's migration policy creates a cat-and-mouse game between the Coast Guard and Cubans.

"We believe that the underlying factor to be blamed for these tragic and confusing episodes is the current U.S. policy towards Cuba, which has the Coast Guard caught

■ **CUBANS** continues on 8A



Pairs to leg

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By **SCOTT GOLD**
STAFF WRITER

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"Say 'I do.'"

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Broward C

Trapped at South Pole, scientist must a

Woman to do biopsy of lump

By **DENISE GRADY**
THE NEW YORK TIMES

Winter temperatures at the Scott-Amundsen research station at the South Pole average 80 degrees below zero Fahrenheit, and it is pitch dark nearly 24 hours a day.

People who sign on to work there understand that they will not see home for a long time: From February to October, planes cannot even land.

But an Air Force jet came close on Sunday, dipping low over the base at 2 a.m. to drop medical supplies for a woman, trapped there for the winter, who had discovered a lump in her breast and needed treatment.

Her plight turns out to be even

more complex than initial reports suggested. The woman herself is the only medical doctor at the station, according to a cancer expert who was consulted in her case and who spoke to *The New York Times* on condition of anonymity.

Therefore, the patient must act as her own doctor, performing a biopsy on herself and, if the lump is malignant, administering any needed treatment, which might include chemotherapy.

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FROM PAGE ONE

Guard intercepts 16 boaters

CUBANS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1A

in the middle," said Ramon Saul Sánchez, leader of the Cuban exile group Democracy Movement.

The root of the problem is the administration's mid-1990s migration accord with Cuba, a pact that aimed to prevent a repeat of the exodus of Cubans of past years.

After more than 30,000 Cubans set off in makeshift rafts and boats across the Florida Straits in the summer of 1994, U.S. officials agreed to set a policy allowing Cubans to apply for 20,000 U.S. visas a year.

But, there was a tradeoff struck between Washington and Cuba, adversaries for four decades.

In spring 1995, federal officials cut a deal with Cuban President Fidel Castro that said any Cubans picked up at sea would be returned to the island, as long as Cuba did not harass them. Those who made it to U.S. shores could stay.

The "wet-foot, dry-foot" policy seemed to work until 1998, when a rising number of Cubans set off for U.S. shores because of Cuba's dire economy and repressive regime. Nearly 1,000 have been intercepted at sea by the Coast Guard this year, almost as many as in all of last year.

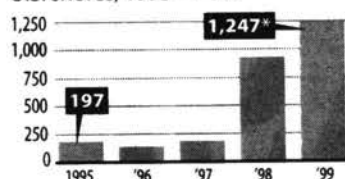
Lisandro Pérez, director of the Cuban Research Institute at Florida International University, disapproves of the U.S. policy toward Cuban boaters. "It's totally ludicrous," said Pérez, a sociology professor. "This whole idea that you have to step on U.S. shore to stay, and that if you're a few feet off shore in the water, you can't stay, makes no sense."

The interdiction controversy erupted on June 29, when a group of six Cubans on a rowboat near Surfside were surrounded by a Coast Guard boat, which turned water hoses on the men and fired pepper spray in their faces. Television cameras captured the afternoon drama.

Then, Friday night, a boatful of Cubans collided with a Coast Guard cutter off Broward County. The Cuban boat sank, spilling its 12

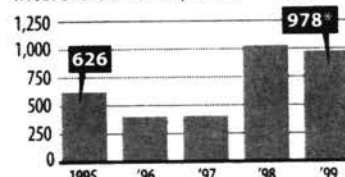
Cuban arrivals

Number of Cubans who made it to U.S. shores, 1995 — '99.



* As of July 3

Number of Cubans who were interdicted at sea, 1995 — '99.



* As of July 12

SOURCES: U.S. Border Patrol; U.S. Coast Guard

Staff graphic

passengers into the dark waters. One woman drowned.

The survivors were taken to the U.S. Navy base at Guantanamo Bay.

The collision was an accident, but there were other incidents where force was used, according to a partial list of use of incident reports released by the Coast Guard. Between 1997 and 1999, fire hoses were used three times during interdiction efforts off South Florida.

But during Monday's incident, as television cameras again captured the showdown, the Coast Guard seemed to handle the Cubans with kid gloves.

Instead of trying to block their passage, officers tried to talk them into giving up.

The drama unfolded shortly before 11 a.m. when the boat was sighted by a catamaran, about 25 miles east of Key Biscayne. The wooden boat, propelled by an outboard motor and a homemade sail, moved slowly but steadily toward land.

When a Coast Guard utility boat came alongside, the Cubans adamantly shook their heads and screamed to the guardsmen to stay back.

One clutched a yellow, plastic jug and signaled that it was gaso-

CLASHES AT SEA

Recent confrontations between Cuban boaters and the U.S. Coast Guard:

Monday: A group of 16 Cubans is interdicted after four hours of negotiating with the Coast Guard. During that period, the Cubans threatened to set their motorized boat on fire, but finally surrendered and were taken back to Cuba.

July 10: A boat carrying Cubans collided with a Coast Guard cutter in the waters off Broward County, spilling the passengers into the dark waters. One woman drowns. Eleven survivors were returned to Cuba.

June 29: Six Cubans tried to swim to shore in Surfside, but four were stopped. Coast Guard officers used water hoses against the men and sprayed them with pepper spray. All were allowed to stay after exiles in Miami protested their rough treatment.

June 13: Twelve Cubans on a small boat sighted 48 miles southeast of Miami refused to stop. The Coast Guard said the refugees began to throw trash at them and brandished knives. The Coast Guard finally used a fire hose to stop them, then sent them back to Cuba.

SOURCE: THE U.S. COAST GUARD

line.

He made motions that he would spill it and set the boat on fire if the Coast Guard stopped them from reaching shore.

For four hours, the guardsmen negotiated with the Cubans.

"We talked and talked to them until they stopped," said Coast Guard Petty Officer Scott Carr.

The Coast Guard bristled at the suggestion that they handled Monday's standoff more diplomatically in light of recent bad publicity and the presence once again of television cameras capturing them at work.

"We handle each case differently. Negotiating is what was required in this instance and that's what was done," Carr said.

Luisa Yanez can be reached at lyanez@sun-sentinel.com or at 305-810-5007.

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FLEEING CUBA: Would-be immigrants to the United States signal to news helicopters that flew to the scene Monday off the Miami-Dade County coast.

AL DIAZ / Herald Staff

Rafter: I'll set boat afire

But Cubans finally yield after Coast Guard waits

By YVES COLON
Herald Staff Writer

In a fit of desperation, a Cuban migrant grabbed a yellow can of diesel fuel and splashed its contents all over his boat on Monday, threatening to set himself and 15 others on fire if the Coast Guard kept them from reaching Florida's shores.

Coast Guard crews in two inflatable rafts quickly backed off and spent five hours negotiating with the Cubans as they floated 26 miles off Cape Florida, trying to make it to dry land, as TV helicopters hovered overhead.

"The crew could smell the fuel, it was so strong," said Petty Officer Jeff Murphy, a Coast Guard spokesman. "After he doused the vessel, it became clear they were serious."

Monday's confrontation was the latest in an extraordinary month of off-shore encounters between the Coast Guard and Cuban immigrants. Six per-

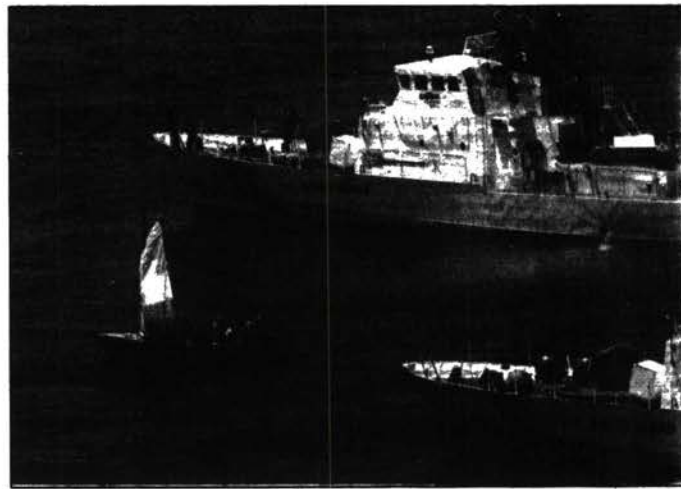
■ **HAITIANS LAND:** Three migrants say they paid smugglers for trip, 4B.
■ **INS POLICY:** Some migrants with criminal records could be set free, 1B.

sistent men encircled June 29 off Surfside were allowed to stay after two swam ashore, but a woman in another group died Friday when their boat collided with a Coast Guard vessel.

The latest standoff ended peacefully Monday afternoon when the migrants agreed to give up their attempt to make it to dry land in the United States, and climbed onto a cutter. Two of them had become sick from the diesel fumes, Murphy said, and were treated on board.

U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service officers will interview the

PLEASE SEE STANDOFF, 6A



AL DIAZ / Herald Staff

CONFRONTATION: Coast Guard cutters wait near a small boat from Cuba with 16 people aboard. One man doused the little boat with fuel and threatened to light it.

South Pole anal crisis

rapped for the winter at a
needing treatment for a
more complex than initial

only medical doctor at the
expert who was consulted



Beyond Art Deco

Preservation movement embraces '50s designs

By PETER WHORISKEY
Herald Architecture Writer

The Royal York Hotel, built in the heyday of 1950s Miami Beach, has inexplicably conical columns, a corrugated stucco pattern that strines the building with lines of light and

*The buildings are old enough
to redevelop but too young for
historic designation*

Drama unfolds off the coast

Cuban uses fire threat in standoff

STANDOFF, FROM 1A

13 men and three women before deciding whether any or all should be returned to Cuba.

Monday's confrontation began around 10 a.m., after the crew of a sailboat radioed the Cubans' location. At one time, five television helicopters spiraled above, broadcasting the scene to South Florida viewers for hours. The Coast Guard cutter Baranof was the first to show up, launching an inflatable boat with several crewmen who approached the wooden boat. Another cutter, the Vashon, reached the scene a short time later.

The wooden boat, with a crude mast and an outboard engine, kept its bow pointed toward Miami. During the first hours of the confrontation, the Coast Guard's inflatable would approach the Cubans' boat, then trailed off.

"We didn't want to rush this," Murphy said. "There was no time limit. We wanted to make sure everything was safe. We didn't want anyone to be startled."

Two hours into the standoff, the man threatened to harm himself and the passengers if the Coast Guard did not back off.

The two sides kept talking. Near the end, Murphy said, Coast Guard officials said they needed to put an end to the incident. By that time, they had traveled nearly nine miles together, only 17 miles from shore.

The Cubans still seemed strong in their resolve, Murphy said.

Crew members approached the Cubans again and told them they would spray foam on the boat to eliminate the threat of an explosion.

"We asked them if they wanted to come on board and they did," Murphy said. "It became a health hazard because two of them became sick."

Monday's confrontation comes three days after a boat of Cuban migrants struggling to evade capture met a Coast Guard cutter in a deadly collision off Hillsboro Inlet Friday night, throwing all 12 refugees into the ocean. One woman drowned.

Before the accident, the Coast Guard says, the migrants fought efforts to apprehend them by throwing debris at the cutter and using a machete to cut a rope that the guardsmen fed into their propeller.

Miami Cuban groups on Monday asked federal authorities permission to interview the 11 survivors of a collision Saturday between a Coast Guard cutter and a small boat.

"So far, we've heard only the Coast Guard version," said Luis Figueroa, president of Cuban Unity. "That is why we're asking the federal authorities to permit our lawyers to go to Guantanamo and listen to the survivors' version."

For the past two weeks, the spotlight has been directed at the Coast Guard's attempts to intercept a surging tide of migrants. In the Surfside incident, Coast Guardsmen used pepper spray and a fire hose against six Cubans



CAUTIOUS APPROACH: A Coast Guard inflatable boat moves near the boat carrying 13 men and three women from Cuba.

AL DIAZ / Herald Staff



EXITING CUBA ILLEGALLY

Cubans are heading for South Florida by the hundreds every month, boosting illegal immigration to the highest levels since 1994.

ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT LANDINGS

	No. of incidents involving Cubans coming ashore	Total no. of Cubans
December	24	229
January 1999	20	240
February	12	91
March	23	129
April	22	278
May	33	255
June	38	254
July	13	129

INTERDICTIONS AT SEA BY U.S. COAST GUARD

1993	2,882
1994	38,560
1995	519
1996	411
1997	240
1998	1,188
1999*	951

SOURCE: U.S. Border Patrol; U.S. Coast Guard

* Through June 30

L071399

The Herald

who were attempting to reach shore in Surfside last month. That incident was captured live on television, sparking protests throughout Miami.

It also prompted a report on the use of force by the Coast Guard showing that migrants were becoming increasingly aggressive when the Coast Guard thwarted their efforts to reach the United States. In some instances, migrants had used knives and machetes against crew members.

Through Monday, the Coast Guard has intercepted 951 Cubans this year. Under U.S. immigration policy, Cubans are allowed to stay here if they reach dry land, but are sent back if they are picked up at sea.

In addition to the 16 people on the raft, Coast Guard vessels stopped 18 other Cubans on two other boats Monday — six near Islamorada and 12 near Long Key.

Coast Guard cutters patrolling the Florida Straits have seen

increasing numbers of Cubans trying to enter the United States illegally. The average influx of 40 or so rafters a month has shot up to 200 a month recently, Murphy said.

"We're seeing big numbers again," he said. "Can't explain why."

El Nuevo Herald staff writer Fernando Almanzar contributed to this report.

email: ycolon@herald.com

TO: President Bill Clinton
From: Russell Means
Subject: Leonard Peltier
Date: July 7, 1999

99 JUL 19 02:42

This letter
Needs response
as per Maria E.

through
Hoff

This petition is asking you to
Commute Leonard Peltier's prison
sentence to time served and release
him from prison to a life long parole.

The political disadvantages are:

1.) Conservatives will be charged
over his release, however, the life long
parole conditions should nullify them
somewhat.

2.) Retired F.B.I. agents will
be angered.

The political advantages are:

1.) Liberals and moderates in
Congress and from throughout the
United States will applaud you.

2.) Leonard is recognized by
Amnesty International and all other
Human Rights Organizations abroad as
the number one political prisoner of
the United States government. Therefore
the international community including
the Canadian parliament and the European
parliament will applaud you.

3.) Senator John McCain will
continue to be your ally.

Thank you and may the Great Mystery
continue to guide the paths of you and your
loved ones.

Russell Means

7/19/99

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Sunday / Sun
Fry -
Be

Copied
Banger
Steinberg
Podolski

No Russian Spoken Here

By Anatol Lieven

The very day that Latvia's new President, Vaira Vike-Freiberga, was sworn in last week, she faced a harsh test requiring considerable moral courage. That day, the Latvian Parliament passed by an overwhelming majority a measure that not only would have virtually banished the Russian language from public life in Latvia, but would have introduced severe restrictions into the private sphere as well.

The measure seeks to reverse the large-scale Russification of Latvian public life under Soviet rule — which is entirely natural. But, as so often in these cases, it goes too far in the other direction and seeks to impose changes by essentially authoritarian means, against the wishes of a large part of the population.

Besides being wrong in itself because it discriminates against the 40 percent or so of the country's residents who are Russian speakers, the measure, if passed, would inevitably lead to another crisis between Latvia and Moscow. This would be especially sad since in recent months relations between them have experienced a real improvement.

Moves like these by the Baltic

Anatol Lieven, of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, is the author of "Ukraine and Russia: A Fraternal Rivalry."

States help explain why Russia reacts with such anger to suggestions that these states might be invited to join NATO. And if the United States is serious about keeping the door open to NATO membership for these countries while not destroying the West's relationship with Russia, it has a special duty to help prevent such legislation. Russia was very useful to the West in bringing about Slobodan Milosevic's capitulation during the war in Kosovo — and in return we should at least prevent gratuitous provocations.

The worst aspect of the language measure is that it would extend the power of the state deep into the private sphere. For example, private businesses would be required to provide a translation into Latvian for any internal discussion if even one participant requested it.

Western diplomats say Latvian officials have quietly told them that this rule would not be applied to Western businesses, only to ones owned by ethnic Russians — which of course would only make the discrimination even more glaring and offensive. In the sphere of education, the intention is effectively to eliminate Russian from secondary schools, which has already happened in the universities. In fact, what is particularly irritating about this bill is that it is largely gratuitous — numerous effective measures to protect and extend the use of the Latvian language have been in place for several years.

Several of these moves have been in complete violation of promises made to the Russian minority during Latvia's struggle for independence from

1989 to 1991. These promises helped encourage a large part of the Russian population in Latvia to vote for independence in the 1991 referendum — an important factor that led to an overwhelming majority for independence and allowed the Latvian leaders to claim that they were engaged not in a nationalist movement but a "multi-

Latvia's risky offensive against an ethnic minority.

ethnic struggle for democracy."

Unfortunately, after achieving independence, the great majority of Latvian politicians forgot these promises and what should have been a glorious and inspiring memory of democratic solidarity across ethnic lines.

After an agonized pause, President Freiberga on Wednesday bravely refused to sign the language measure in its present form and sent it back to Parliament. Her decision came after intense pressure from the European Union, the Council of Europe and, more discreetly, the United States — pressure that needs to continue.

Even given this pressure, the President's decision took courage. The new language bill was supported (or at least acquiesced in) by every one of the ethnic Latvian political parties. Only the 16-member "Raromny

Bloc," representing the Russian-speaking minorities, voted against it.

The Parliament's vote reflects a continuing tendency among many ethnic Latvians to regard the Russian minority as potential enemies. This feeling is perhaps understandable given Latvia's sufferings under Soviet rule, but it simply does not reflect current realities. Indeed, most younger Russians in Latvia would be entirely loyal Latvians, if the Latvian state would appeal to their loyalty instead of continually insulting them.

Last autumn, Latvia won international praise for passing legislation that finally gave those non-Latvians (mostly Russians) who moved to Latvia under Soviet rule the chance to gain citizenship if they could learn the Latvian language and show an understanding of Latvia's Constitution and history.

The new rules were, however, passed in a referendum by the slimmest of majorities (52 percent) — so slim, in fact, that it was clear that a substantial majority of ethnic Latvians had voted against the measure. It passed only thanks to the votes of those Russian-speakers who already have citizenship because their ancestors lived in Latvia before the Soviet occupation of 1940.

All this raises the real danger that when the Latvian Parliament reconvenes in late August it will override the President's veto (which it can do by a simple majority) and pass the measure, either unchanged or in a slightly less offensive form, rather than seriously liberalizing it or — even better — dropping it altogether. This

would be a tragedy from every point of view, and the United States and the Europeans should continue to do everything possible to prevent it.

After passing the new citizenship rules last year and introducing numerous highly successful reforms, Latvia stood an excellent chance of being invited to begin talks on joining the European Union at the organization's summit meeting in Helsinki toward the end of the year.

European representatives have made very clear that the language law would be a strong barrier to this. Latvia would thus compromise its own dearest ambition of full membership in Western institutions. And what will give Latvia real long-term security against any future threat from Russia is real integration into the West, not restrictions on Latvia's Russians.

Even if this motivation were unwise, the Latvian approach to the Russian minority would still be profoundly mistaken. Apart from anything else, as more and more local Russians become citizens, there is a strong likelihood that they will go on voting for Russian parties.

If, as now, the Latvian parties go on refusing to make coalitions with these parties, sooner or later parliamentary government will become impossible. The moderate Latvian parties are aware of this and stress their desire to attract Russian voters — but how can they possibly do so if they themselves vote for measures like the language law?

THE PRESIDENT'S SEE

7-19-99

How the U.S. Can Bolster Reform in Iran

By PATRICK CLAWSON

Student demonstrations in Iran this week have exposed the unpopularity of the Islamic Republic, which, among other problems, imposes medieval restrictions on women and has presided over the halving of the average Iranian's income. The question for the U.S. is how best to support the forces of change.

European governments have responded to the demonstrations by rushing to President Mohammad Khatami's support. "We believe that the willingness for openness and for reforms expressed by President Khatami deserves support," said a spokesman for the French foreign ministry. That is exactly the wrong approach, for two reasons. First, the West should support principles, not individuals. We support freedom of expression, a value to which Mr. Khatami is less than wholeheartedly committed. On Tuesday he threatened that "deviations will be repressed with force and determination."

Second, Mr. Khatami's agenda is not to bring Iran back into the modern world. His goal, instead, is to strengthen the Islamic Republic through reforms that would restore its popularity. His planned reforms, if he succeeds in carrying them out, would make life better for Iranians but would do little to change the aggressive policies that threaten U.S. interests. In fact, under Mr. Khatami, Iran has kept up its arms deliveries to radical groups like Lebanon's Hezbollah that seek to undermine the Middle East peace process.

Most worryingly, Iran under Mr. Khatami has accelerated its missile program. In July 1998 Iran tested a missile with the range to hit Tel Aviv, and it is working on a multistage missile. The 1998 Rumsfeld Commission report warned that Iran may have an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of hitting America within five years. Such an ICBM would carry a weapon of mass destruction, most probably a nuclear warhead.

The Clinton administration has been under strong congressional pressure to do something about Iranian proliferation, and specifically to raise with Moscow the role of Russian scientists in the Iranian missile program. The Kremlin has done little about the matter. Washington has imposed sanctions on a few Russian firms, but it has resisted measures designed to penalize Moscow for failing to enforce the agreements it has signed which forbid such proliferation activity.

Tough measures against Iranian proliferation have been slandered by critics as a policy designed to isolate Iran. Nothing

could be further from the truth. Washington wants a dialogue with the Iranian government, if for no other reason than to explain U.S. concerns. It is Tehran that refuses to talk: Iran is the only country in the world that refuses to have diplomatic relations with the U.S. Iran's mullahs also ban satellite dishes to stop Iranians from receiving American television shows and make impossible the sale in Iran of most U.S. books and videos.

In a January 1998 CNN interview, Mr. Khatami called for "a dialogue of civilizations." What hypocrisy. His government refuses to allow more than a few hundred Americans a year to go to Iran, while in 1997, 1,463 Iranian students studied at U.S. universities and 21,000 Iranians visited

U.S. fashions, that means fewer dollars it has to spend on arms.

The most attractive economic opportunities Iran offers U.S. business are investment in oil and gas. Unfortunately, any such investment would translate directly into more revenue for the Tehran regime—money that would allow more arms purchases and quicker proliferation. Reducing the Iranian government's revenue and its access to loans has been the main way that the U.S. has been able to contain the Iranian threat to American security. After the imposition of sanctions, Iran had to curtail its arms buildup to less than half the pace it had planned. With a few more billion dollars a year, Iran would be able to accelerate its missile and nuclear programs and acquire more sophisticated armaments, with which it could threaten the security of the Strait of Hormuz. Keeping sanctions on oil and gas investment is therefore a national security necessity.

The protesting students in Iran represent the future; the mullahs chanting "death to America," the past. Change will come to Iran, either through the evolutionary reform process Mr. Khatami favors or through a more thoroughgoing and rapid change as the students want. Someday the U.S. will be able to lift all its restrictions on business with Iran. That day will come sooner if the U.S. government vigorously supports the forces of change by reaching out to the Iranian people while keeping tight restrictions on the Iranian government.

Mr. Clawson is director of research at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.



Protesting in Tehran: U.S. should back the Iranian people, not the government.

America. More Iranians could come if Iran allowed the U.S. to post in Tehran diplomats who could process visa applications, operating if necessary under the flag of the Swiss, who represent U.S. interests in Iran.

Iranian propaganda has been relatively successful at blaming the impasse on U.S. concerns about terrorism and illegal immigration—which are in fact relatively minor obstructions. The Clinton administration has been too apologetic about those U.S. rules. Instead, it should seize every available opportunity to criticize Iran's restrictions on the free flow of ideas and of people. Americans need to show the Iranian people that we are on their side in their battle to open up Iran.

At the same time the U.S. should do more to open up to the Iranian people. There are some real opportunities to advance U.S. political goals through trade. U.S. rules allow tourism and trade in informational materials. But more could be done. Iranians suffer from the dead hand of government firms and shadowy revolutionary foundations, which together control 30% of the Iranian economy. The U.S. could show its support for the private sector by relaxing restrictions on trade with private firms while putting a total ban on trade with state and revolutionary firms. Going even further, the U.S. might lift restrictions on exports of consumer goods. If Iran spends its foreign exchange on the in-

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

FRIDAY, JULY 16, 1999

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7-19-99

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau

AI

BUSH'S TAKE in campaign donations includes big sums from accounting firms.

Employees of Arthur Andersen, Ernst & Young, PricewaterhouseCoopers and KPMG contributed a total of over \$250,000 in the past three months, new reports show. Gore took in \$65,000 from the same accounting firms. The vice president grabs nearly \$600,000 in Texas Gov. Bush's state in the second quarter, still far below Bush's \$7.7 million take there.

Bush gets donations from 650 people listed as "CEO," vs. Gore's 129. Executives of Global Crossing, the hot telecom firm, split between the two. Officials at Gore's alma mater, Harvard, chip in \$11,000. Yale's Bush, with a Harvard M.B.A., gets \$4,500 from there. Gore donors include actors Cherry Chase and Billy Dee Williams, while Bush counts Chuck Norris. One Gore donor's employer: the government of Brazil.

A total of 188 Gore donors are "not employed"; Bush reports no gifts with that status.

PROTESTS ROIL a plan to ease poor nations' debt by selling gold.

Clinicians are shocked by reaction to a proposed sale of 10 million ounces of the International Monetary Fund's gold reserves. The gold-mining industry persuades Ghana, South Africa, the Congressional Black Caucus and lawmakers from gold-producing states to oppose the sale. Treasury chief Summers decides to push ahead this year anyhow.

The World Gold Council, an industry group, tries to recruit developing countries that are both gold producers and deep in debt. Nicaragua, with \$6 billion in foreign debt, is willing to risk lower gold prices in exchange for debt relief. "If that's the way it has to be done, so be it," says its U.S. ambassador.

CONSERVATIVE RIVALS push for ways to slow the Bush juggernaut.

"I'm going to try to be in his face as much as I can for the good of the party," says Gary Bauer. He meets with anti-abortion forces in Georgia and tomorrow in California will attack "the Bush-Gore policy on China." In Iowa, Steve Forbes says Bush "is in danger of sounding just like a tax-and-spend big-government liberal."

Former Vice President Quayle "refuses to concede the nomination to the Washington establishment," says a spokesman. Social conservative Ralph Reed, now a strategist close to Bush, concedes "a rip tide of disenchantment on the right." But he says Bush has support from religious-right leaders like Jerry Falwell.

GOP conservatives say continued pressure will constrain Bush from considering an abortion-rights running mate.

GIULIANI SCRAMBLES for a meeting when Israeli leader Barak visits New York this weekend after Barak dined last night with potential Senate rival Hillary Clinton. The New York mayor is "a friend of Israel," an Israeli consulate spokesman says, but as of last night he couldn't be squeezed in.

BUDGET BATTLES escalate within the Pentagon. Senior Army officials may ask for as many as 50,000 more troops, an increase of more than 10%. Air Force officials will seek more precision-guided munitions and also may ask for a bigger share of the overall Pentagon budget.

GAY INTELLECTUALS form the Independent Gay Forum to promote "third way" policies that differ from the right and the left. Associates include the Brookings Institution's Jonathan Rauch, the Manhattan Institute's Walter Olson and the Cato Institute's David Boaz.

SORRY LOTT-GOP Sen. McCain plans a filibuster next week to try to force the Senate to take up his campaign-finance overhaul bill. Senate leader Lott called McCain this week to apologize for TV comments Lott made suggesting McCain's presidential fund-raising contradicts his rhetoric.

GRAPES OF CLOUD: Policy makers head for a free confab in Napa Valley.

FCC Chairman William Kennard and a dozen members of a House telecommunications panel plan to attend the telecom conference this weekend in California. The Cato Institute think tank, aided by high-tech companies, will pick up the tab at a 250-acre resort. Executives from the TV networks, the Baby Bells and Silicon Valley will take part.

A spokesman for GOP Rep. Tauzin, who heads the House panel, cites one goal: to "get people away from the politically charged environment in Washington" and remind adversaries "they can be friends." Tauzin wants some talks to focus on FCC overhaul—a topic that has fueled angry exchanges between Kennard and lawmakers.

On tomorrow's schedule: Dinner at nearby Pin Mele Winery, with five issues including a 1998 Pinot Noir dessert wine.

MINOR MEMOS: Photo-op of the day: The headline on a press release from North Carolina's senior senator reads: "Hetms to meet with Castro's bodyguard" (who recently defected). . . . In a global survey by former Fed Vice Chairman Alan Blinder, central bankers rank "duty to be open and truthful with public" as the least important reason for trying to build credibility. . . . The construction industry sends reporters toy construction vehicles as part of a "Demolish the Death Tax" push against the estate tax, which it says hurts family-owned companies.

—RONALD G. SHAFER

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

FRIDAY, JULY 16, 1999

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7/18/99

Will Human Chains And Zapatistas Greet The WTO in Seattle?

Globalization Foes Plan to Hit
November Trade Event;
'Make Love, Not Profit'

By HELENE COOPER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
SEATTLE — Mike Dolan is mobilizing
against globalization.

Descending in a flurry of leaflets on
a meeting of the People of Color Against
AIDS Network, he
gives the activists a
quick speech about
the evils of drug-
company greed and
global trade. But
Mr. Dolan can't
stay long. He still
has to hit a gather-
ing of representa-
tives from Friends
of the Earth,
Women's Interna-
tional League for
Peace and Freedom
and a group against
hazardous-waste dumping called Toxics.

During a three-week blitz of Seat-
tle, Mr. Dolan, field director of Global
Trade Watch — an offshoot of Ralph
Nader's consumer group Public Citizen
that is the scourge of free-traders the world
over — meets with just about every activist
in town, from eco-warriors to carpenters
opposing unchecked capitalism.

Not even the clergy is exempt. Mr.
Dolan is especially effective during a quick
meeting with the Rev. Kathryn James of
downtown Seattle's massive First United
Methodist Church. After asking Mr. Dolan
to "help me to know what it is," that is the
root of so much dissent, Ms. James enthu-
siastically agrees to pitch in. "We can get
involved," she says. "It would be a
wonderful ecumenical effort if we could get
all the different churches to — what was
it? — mobilize against globalization."

The focus of Mr. Dolan's frenzy is
the World Trade Organization — the Ge-
neva-based supreme court of international
trade — which is coming to Seattle in No-
vember for the biggest trade gathering
ever held on U.S. soil. About 5,000 dele-
gates from 150 countries will descend on
this city to launch a new round of global
trade talks — hence to be known as the
Seattle Round. Like the Uruguay Round
began in 1986 and the Tokyo Round started
in 1973, the Seattle Round will look to slash
tariffs, abolish subsidies and open up
investment for companies seeking to get
into global markets.

Leaving a Legacy

"One hundred years from now," Sen.
Patty Murray of Washington recently
enthused at a dress-rehearsal trade confer-
ence leading up to the WTO event, "our
grandchildren will be talking about the
Seattle Round."

If Mr. Dolan has his way, future
generations will be talking all right, but it
won't be about tariff cuts. "Those faceless
bureaucrats are leaving Geneva and
they'll be met with a protest by the
Puget," he says. "We're going to have
marches and demonstrations and press
conferences and seminars. It's going to be
a massive mobilization against globaliza-
tion."

As Mr. Dolan and others like him
see it, the Seattle gathering is the ultimate
chance to stem a tide of international
corporate greed that is destroying the
environment, sending developing coun-
tries deeper into poverty and generally
running amok. "The World Trade Organi-
zation represents a model of international
commercial relations that benefit a very
narrow range of civil society: transna-



Mike Dolan

Continued From First Page

national corporations," he says.
With President Clinton, Vice President
Al Gore and a host of foreign dignitaries ex-
pected to come, the free-trade foes say this
is their moment to strike a blow.

By all accounts, demonstrators will out-
number trade envoys from the 150 coun-
tries in attendance. The list of angry pro-
testers keeps growing: Steelworkers, livid
that both President Clinton and Congress
refused to endorse a bill putting quotas on
steel imports last month, have already re-
served 1,000 hotel rooms in nearby Tacoma
and Bellevue to help house the thousands
who plan to make the trip. Longshoremen
say they are bringing 2,000 to 5,000.

Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth
activists are leading the environmental
brigades. Labor representatives from In-
dependent anticapitalists from Germany,
and AIDS activists from New York are all
making plans to, among other things,
form a human chain around the Washing-
ton State Trade & Convention Center in
downtown Seattle, where the WTO confer-

ence will be held. There are even whispers
among the free-trade foes that the Zapatis-
tas, southern Mexico's peasant-based rebel
group, are coming by caravan.

International trade bureaucrats and
lawyers are already bracing themselves.
"We're going to get some real blood and
gusts," says Washington, D.C., trade econ-
omist Gary Hufbauer.

Protestors have already held one test
run: Last month, as leaders from the
Group of Eight industrial nations were
meeting in Cologne, Germany, rioters
there and in London and New York staged
a synchronized Carnival Against Capital-
ism. London's financial district was the
hardest hit: About 4,000 protesters, some
with signs reading "Make Love, Not
Profit," set off smoke bombs, smashed
windows and spray-painted graffiti on the
Bank of England. After an invasion of riot-
ers, the London International Financial
Futures and Options Exchange abandoned
after-hours trading and evacuated 400 of
its staff.

Many activists say Seattle will see a

much bigger riotous. Indeed, one group,
aptly called Ruckus, already is planning
training sessions to demonstrate tactics
for blockades and other forms of civil dis-
obedience.

Seattle police officers say they are pre-
pared for whatever happens. "We have ac-
cess to pepper spray," says Officer Car-
men Best, a spokeswoman for the depart-
ment. The police department has set up a
WTO planning commission, which is coor-
dinating with the U.S. Secret Service, the
Federal Bureau of Investigation, the State
Department, Federal Emergency Manage-
ment Agency, the Bureau of Alcohol, To-
bacco and Firearms, and numerous other
law-enforcement types. Officer Best says
Seattle's aim is to let protesters exercise
their right to free speech, but notes, point-
edly, "Our SWAT team is flexible."

As it happens, the protesters already
have the Seattle City Council and King
County Council on their side. Known for
their environmental bent, both govern-
ment groups recently voted unanimously
to make the city a "MAI-Free Zone," es-
sentially to prohibit the WTO from reaching
any Multilateral Agreements on Invest-
ment during the November gathering.
While the move is largely symbolic, city
and county council members have been
busy working with the protesters.

At a recent lunch at a Pioneer Square
Italian restaurant, Mr. Dolan and four
council members held a strategy session.
King County Councilman Brian Der-
dowski, the Republican who championed
the MAI-Free Zone proposal, is particu-
larly excited. "If there are police officers
walking around, then there should be
elected officials in the street standing with
the people," he says.

Mr. Dardowski frets over how to get
folks from his affluent conservative dis-
trict on Seattle's East Side to join with the
mostly left-leaning protesters. "We need a
diversity of protests," he says. One possi-
bility offered by his staffer, Maria Cain:
Get buttoned-down David Kortzen, author
of the antiglobalization bestseller "When
Corporations Rule the World," to speak to
conservatives. "He fits the image they can
accept," Ms. Cain says.

She is on a roll now. "If we can help the
people in the suburbs to understand why
people are p— off, causing a ruckus in
Seattle, maybe they'll come join," she
says. "Maybe we could close I-90. That
way, they can walk into Seattle—the East
Side people. These people aren't going to
drive into town when all these demonstra-
tions are going on."

For Mr. Dolan, this is all sweet music,
though he doesn't take much time to savor
it before dashing off to his next stop, to
close a deal on office space that his group
can use during the WTO gathering.

"This is nice," Mr. Dolan says, as he
surveys the neighborhood from in front of
the office—a storefront in downtown Seat-
tle next to a Haricy-Davidson shop. "It's a
stone's throw, figuratively speaking, from
the trade and convention center."

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Podesta

7-19-99

Drug Makers Fault the Details Of Clinton Medicare Proposal

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON, July 15 — Top executives of the pharmaceutical industry said today that they shared President Clinton's goal of increasing Medicare beneficiaries' access to prescription drugs, but for the first time they criticized specific features of his proposal. In particular, they said they feared that it could lead to price controls.

The executives drafted plans for lobbying and advertising at a meeting of the board of the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, a trade group for the industry.

After the meeting, Gordon M. Binder, chairman of the association and chief executive of Amgen Inc., said: "All seniors should have access to our medicines, and we hope something can be done by Congress and the President this year. But it should be done in the right way, not the wrong way, or else it could discourage the development of new medicines."

The association represents more than 100 companies, and 28 participated in today's meeting. People who attended said the board had discussed plans for a \$30 million advertising campaign and had reviewed two sample television commercials. Possible themes for the campaign include "no price controls" and "we don't want the Government in our medicine cabinet."

Drug companies said they wanted to be seen as constructive and did not want to be vilified by the President and Hillary Rodham Clinton, both of whom in 1993 accused the industry of price-gouging. But the executives acknowledged that the industry did not have an alternative to Mr. Clinton's proposal.

Alan F. Holmer, president of the association, said drug makers had many "questions and concerns" about the President's plan, under which the Government would pay half the drug costs incurred by a Medicare beneficiary, with the maximum annual Federal payment rising gradually, to \$2,500 in 2008.

"We are greatly concerned that the proposal, as currently structured, would inevitably lead to limits on access to medicines," Mr. Holmer said. "Under this proposal, the Federal Health Care Financing Administration would become the largest drug purchaser in the world. The history of Medicare and H.C.F.A. is

that policy makers start with unrealistically low cost estimates. Then, having promised seniors a new benefit, the Government limits access to treatments — in this case, medicines — and imposes price controls in order to pay for it."

Chris Jennings, a White House aide, said there was no basis for the industry's concern. "The President's proposal has no price controls," Mr. Jennings said. "And there's no intention to inject price controls."

A drug company lobbyist who attended today's meeting conceded that "on its face, it's hard to find the price controls" in the President's plan. Rather than overtly regulating drug prices, he noted, the Government would hire private companies to manage drug benefits for the elderly and disabled.

But if the costs exceed estimates — as has often happened in the Medicare program — the Government "will take it out of our hide," the lobbyist said, by cutting payments for drugs.

Mr. Holmer asserted that the President's proposal "would subsidize the rich at taxpayers' expense," since taxes paid by workers with low and moderate incomes would help pay for prescription drug benefits for wealthy retirees.

Drug company executives said they also worried that the new benefit proposed by Mr. Clinton would supplant drug coverage now provided to retirees through the voluntary efforts of employers.

"To discourage employers from abandoning those efforts," Mr. Holmer said, "the President would reimburse employers for most of their current costs — a massive Federal outlay, but no better coverage for seniors."

At its meeting, the pharmaceutical association reaffirmed that its goal was to "improve coverage of prescription drugs through the private sector," including Medicare health maintenance organizations, "rather than the traditional Medicare fee-for-service program."

The industry is searching for the best mechanism to achieve that goal, and is struggling with the question of whether the Government should guarantee drug coverage for all Medicare beneficiaries or just for the neediest ones.

Clinton Tells Colorado Youths He'll Stand Fast on Gun Control

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

WASHINGTON, July 15 — President Clinton said today that he would veto the juvenile-justice bill if it emerged from Congress with provisions that weakened existing gun controls.

"I will not in any way, shape or form countenance a weakening of the law," Mr. Clinton declared at the White House, standing in front of 80 students from Colorado — 6 of them from Columbine High School in Littleton — who are in Washington to lobby Congress for gun controls included in the Senate version of the bill.

The President noted that the Senate legislation also included a weakening provision, eliminating background checks on people who retrieve their guns from pawnshops.

Even as he issued his veto threat, though, he said that he was not fully aware of what else was in the bill and that "the Attorney General has to give me a briefing on it before I can make a final decision."

The juvenile-justice bill as adopted by the Senate would impose a number of new gun controls, including an expansion of background checks on purchasers and a ban on the import of high-capacity ammunition clips. The House version provides no controls, and the students are lobbying for the Senate provisions to be included in whatever bill emerges from a conference committee.

The President spoke today after meeting privately with the students at the White House. The students, organized by a gun-control group that sprung up in Colorado after the

killings at Columbine High in April, have proved to be an unusual lobbying force. Most lobbyists come to Washington begging for a moment with lawmakers, which both sides generally like to keep private. These young lobbyists, in contrast, have been sought out by politicians.

This afternoon Vice President Al Gore, who has made school shootings a focal point of his Presidential campaign, went to the Capitol, where he and Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House Democratic leader, posed with them. The youths also met with Colorado's senior House delegation, its two Senators and more than two dozen other lawmakers they had identified as swing votes on gun control.

Jody Gold, an Internet consultant who is one of the group's chaplains, said the students had discussed

said the students had discussed with President Clinton how to keep Congress focused on gun control now that Columbine had faded from the news. The President's advice to the students, Mr. Gold said, was to expand their numbers in Colorado, create similar groups in other states and return next year.

But despite Democrats' continuing pessimism that meaningful gun control will be enacted this year, Mr. Clinton said it was not too late for Congress to heed the students' message.

"Don't forget Lubyron," he urged Congress. "Don't allow the victims of Columbine to have died in vain. Don't forget the 13 children who die every day from gun violence. Many, many, many of them can be saved. We must not lose the urgency of our mission."

The New York Times

FRIDAY, JULY 16, 1999

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THE PDS FMT WAS SEEN
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Growing No. of College Students
To be Teachers

NATIONAL

1 New York Times

July 11, 1999

Despite Low Prestige and Pay, More Answer the Call to Teach

By MARY B. W. TABOR

After years of shying away from the field, a growing number of college students, including those from elite liberal arts colleges, now say they want to be schoolteachers.

Just over 10 percent of all freshmen say they want to teach in elementary or secondary schools, according to a new survey by the Cooperative Institutional Research Program at the University of California at Los Angeles. The percentages, for 1998, the latest year available, are the highest since the early 1970's and nearly twice what they were at their low point, in 1982.

Students at some of the nation's top universities, like Harvard and Princeton, are also showing a growing interest.

Education and policy experts say these numbers reflect a shift in attitudes about teaching — from a career plagued by low pay and low prestige to a career that is attracting smart and altruistic people.

Interest in teaching, the experts say, is being fueled by students' search for meaningful work, concern about the plight of at-risk children and a response to the national call for teachers with degrees in academic subjects, as well as in education.

"I'm seeing a significant shift toward education, toward government and public policy and community action type work," said Maureen Tobin, director of the career development center at Kenyon College, the oldest private liberal arts college in Ohio, where about 20 percent of the class of 1998 planned to become teachers.

The U.C.L.A. survey, first conducted in 1966, polls 300,000 freshmen at over 600 American colleges and universities each year about their lives and interests, including what they want to do after graduating.

The survey does not necessarily reflect actual career choices, which may change after freshman year. Still, other signs of renewed interest in teaching are

appearing as well.

Applications to many of the nation's top graduate schools of education, which can also include programs in counseling, human development or psychology, are on the rise. While the number of students graduating from medical schools, law schools and business schools has dropped or held steady in recent years, the number of students earning degrees in education has increased, the National Center for Education Statistics said.

The number of bachelor's and master's degrees in education rose 31 percent from 1986 to 1996 (the last year available), compared with 22 percent in other fields.

Recruiters at some teacher-placement organizations say applicant pools are steady or growing. Teach for America, for example, says it has recorded a strong increase in applications in recent years, especially from schools like Spelman College, Cornell University, the University of Michigan, Stanford University and Princeton. Last fall, Teach for America, which recruits college graduates to teach in low-income districts for a minimum of two years, received applications from 3,025 people for 500 positions, up from 2,745 applicants the year before.

"We've certainly noticed over the past two years that there is an increase in interest from college students," said Wendy Kopp, president of Teach for America.

"Part of that can be attributed to the fact that we have become more sophisticated in our recruiting efforts. But there is also a mood on college campuses right now that is conducive to people being interested in teaching. People are looking for ways to assume a significant challenge and to make a difference right out of college."

In response to the growing interest in improving the quality of teachers, many top liberal arts colleges are setting up or revitalizing teacher education programs.

These programs, which provide the necessary coursework to get a teaching degree or certification, have seen a surge in enrollment as well.

At Princeton University, for example, the number of students enrolled in its teacher preparation program has risen to 25 from 5 since 1990. (The high was in 1975, when 77 students were enrolled.)

In the last 10 years, the number of students in Colby College's education and human development program has doubled, to almost 100, said Mark Tappan, who directs the program with his wife, Lyn Mikel Brown.

And Bennington College's teacher education program has grown to 24 students from 2 since its inception two years ago. The program allows students to obtain both a bachelor's degree in liberal arts and a master's in education in five years.

Rosalind A. Hoffa, an associate dean at Amherst College and director of its career center, has been watching interest in teaching grow on her campus as well.

In early 1998, after years of refusing to give credits for teacher education courses taken at nearby Mount Holyoke College, Amherst reversed itself. Ms. Hoffa said. The college is now formally helping students earn teaching credentials through the Holyoke program. To date, 35 students have asked to participate.

Many liberal arts colleges do not offer the necessary coursework and student teaching experience required by most states for certification. As a result, many graduate schools of education are reporting growing numbers of applications from new college graduates with liberal arts degrees.

Harvard's Graduate School of Education, for one, has reported a 34 percent increase in applications since 1990, said Roland Hencé, a university spokesman.

The number of applications to the teacher education programs at Columbia

Sunday

over 10%

UCPA Study

(1998) Reason 590

* *

39. The New York Times

07/11/99 Section: Week in Review Desk; Section 4; Page 5, Column 1

Putting Private Education to the Test

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

FOR many parents in urban America, agonizing over whether to send their children to public or private schools has become a ritual fraught with concerns about money and fears that a public-school education is a sentence to a life of second-class opportunities.

Many parents think private schools do a better job, an assumption that has grown into a powerful movement for tax vouchers to help children leave the public schools.

But hard evidence comparing the performance of public and nonpublic schools has proved elusive. This month, however, New York State released test scores on a new fourth-grade reading and writing test that provided a rare basis for side-by-side comparison, and the results were surprising. There were only modest differences in the performance of private schools—mainly Catholic ones—and public schools.

The comparison is far from perfect. For one thing, the test was new and controversial. Some schools drilled students for months, even during holidays, while others did little to prepare. The test was optional for private schools, and many of them opted out—including nearly all the elite ones in New York City—making generalizations about private school performance especially dangerous.

Still, there was general agreement among educators that the results present a challenge to the conventional wisdom about public and private education.

Statewide, 53 percent of private-school students passed the test, compared to 48 percent of public-school students. In New York City the gap was wider: 44 percent of private school students passed, as against 33 percent of those in public school.

But when students with learning or behavioral problems are excluded, the scores rise for public schools. (The public schools have far more of these special education students: 50,519 fourth-graders statewide compared with a mere 647 in private school, according to the state statistics.) Excluding special education, 55 percent of students private schools statewide passed the test, and 52

percent of those in public school. In New York City, 45 percent of students in private school passed the test, and 37 percent of those in public school.

The new test was administered to 29,000 fourth-graders in 1,024 private schools, 74 percent of private schools statewide. Ninety-nine percent of the Catholic schools, 686 of them, administered the test. The next highest participation was among Jewish schools—104 of them, or 61 percent, gave the test. Sixty nondenominational schools, or 34 percent, participated.

Public-school advocates say the scores show that public schools have been unfairly maligned. "The parochial schools didn't shine at all," said Seymour C. Fliegel, a senior fellow at the Center for Educational Innovation, a research group that supports public schools in New York City.

Even some voucher advocates acknowledge that the test shows that private schools are no panacea. "The private schools really ought to be doing a whole lot better than they're doing by taking advantage of their freedom to do things differently, and by delivering a superior product," said Chester E. Finn Jr., a former Reagan Administration official now at the Manhattan Institute.

MR. FINN suggests that the dirty little secret behind the new data is that almost everyone in the education world, whether in public or private school, is the captive of the same fads, philosophies, and materials disseminated by teaching colleges and textbook companies.

"The curriculum of a fourth-grade math class in a private school is often very close to the curriculum of a fourth-grade math class in a public school, complete with all the same vulnerabilities, the same goofiness, often the same textbook and the same teacher beliefs about what's important," Mr. Finn said.

There have been some previous studies comparing public and Catholic schools, notably one by the sociologist James S. Coleman in 1981 and another by a New York State commission in 1994. Both concluded that Catholic schools do better, but questions were raised about their methodologies.

The new test, administered for the first time this year, required students to read long passages of fiction and nonfiction, and to write essays about what they had read. It was preceded by months of feverish cramming and hand-wringing from both teachers and parents, who feared it was too difficult, and perhaps even inappropriate for 9-year-olds. It was scored in four levels, roughly corresponding to minimally skilled, below standard, proficient and superior, although the state did not endorse any labels.

The results gave ammunition to people who think Catholic schools serve disadvantaged students better than public schools. The private schools, both religious and independent, had just half as many students at the bottom level, or 8 percent, compared to 16 percent for public schools, excluding special education. Joseph P. Viteritti, research director of the Wagner School at New York University, said this proved that "fewer kids fall between the cracks" in private school. But another explanation, said Mr. Fliegel, is that the most disadvantaged students may be the least able or motivated to go to private schools.

AT the high end, though, public schools did at least as well as private ones. Statewide, 5 percent of private school students and 5.6 percent of public school students, excluding those in special education, scored in the top category; in New York City, the numbers are 3 percent for private and 3.5 percent for public.

Some individual Catholic schools excelled. At St. Jerome's in the South Bronx, 29 percent of the students passed the test, ahead of all but one surrounding public school. Nearby Catholic schools did much worse, with St. Pius V, for instance, having only 11 percent passing. St. Jerome's is one of New York City's poorest parishes, where income averages \$5,000 per person, said the Rev. John O. Grange, the parish priest. Some students are the children of poor, illiterate Mexican immigrants, on scholarship. But Father Grange said most of the students are slightly better off than those in nearby public schools. Tuition is \$2,000

41
Reading Test - NAEP
4th, 8th, 12th
(1/2 grade level - 4 yrs)

B. Hood
Test is
N.Y.

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7-19-99

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

July 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lawrence H. Summers *LS*
SUBJECT: New Markets: Report on Visit to Harlem, USA and New York BusinessLINC

*Copied
Spelling
Peterson*

Harlem

Last Thursday, I visited Harlem, USA, a major retail and entertainment center under construction at 125th Street and Frederick Douglass Boulevard which has been supported by the New York Empowerment Zone, Chase Manhattan Bank (as part of its CRA-related activities), and other investors. I learned the following, striking – to me – facts:

- Within one square mile of this shopping center is a population of 360,000: more than Cincinnati, our 45th largest city. Upper Manhattan as a whole is the size of Seattle, the 22nd largest.
- There is no shopping mall in Harlem or – until recently – a major supermarket. Nor, I was told, has there been any major retail construction in Harlem since World War II.
- The Harlem, USA project has been associated with some general economic revival. The mall is 80% leased and its major corporate tenants – never before represented in Harlem – will pay rents more than twice as high as rents in the area before the mall was built. Local land prices have risen up to five-fold in the last 5 years (as much as technology stocks), and developers have had trouble purchasing even vacant lots.
- The mall – which will open before Christmas – was built with financing of \$65 million, including an \$11 million subordinated loan from the Empowerment Zone. It will generate around \$180 million in retail sales. According to one study, 60 percent of retail spending leaves the community – equal to almost \$1 billion annually. And it should produce approximately \$15 million in New York City sales tax collections. In other words, the public sector will be paid back in nine months of tax collections.
- Roughly 600 new jobs are expected to come out of the project, and mall tenants have agreed to allot 75 percent of slots to local residents. In 1990 – the most recent date for which the local rate has been calculated – Harlem's unemployment rate was 18.6%, three times the national average.

In short, Harlem right now appears to be a real emerging market, in the sense that capital is trying to get in rather than out. Indeed, at my press conference an observer contrasted

Harlem and all its new construction activity with the "poor and depressed" areas that you were visiting on your New Markets tour – underestimating both Harlem's continued needs and the economic potential of these other communities.

New York and BusinessLINC

We announced the formation of a local New York City BusinessLINC coalition at a roundtable with David Rockefeller, Henry Kravis, the new Chase CEO Bill Harrison and other corporate and community leaders. I was struck by the importance that both the financiers and those who had been in community development for many years put on equity investment, and on providing new market businesses with the opportunity to network with mainstream businesses and obtain business advice and information on market opportunities. Indeed, several people said that access to markets and expertise is sometimes more critical than access to capital, even if capital remains an important barrier for some.

I was impressed with the number of stories about mainline finance – from banks and other institutions – going into minority-owned and inner city businesses. Investments in one Hispanic entrepreneur's internet start-up had paid off nearly fifty to one, and people were rushing to get in to the next round. (Of course, most inner city businesses will not be able to come close to meeting the expected rates of return that venture capital firms demand but the story was an encouraging one.)

Conclusions

The challenge for us in spurring capital access is to catalyze private sector lending and investment in projects that are profitable but also would not have taken place without the public sector's intervention. Given the unmet demand for equity finance, I believe that the New Markets Initiative is properly focused on equity investment and technical assistance to new businesses, along with access to credit. The real test of what we are doing with the New Markets Initiative will be whether we can sustain the flow of capital and the business connections that are now being made when the next downturn comes.

Next Steps

We are working with the NEC and your scheduling office to set up an event for you to announce that Peter Bijur, CEO of Texaco, has agreed to chair a National BusinessLINC Coalition under the auspices of the Business Roundtable. We will also announce the formation of several local BusinessLINC coalitions, building on our announcement last Thursday of the formation of the New York City coalition. We are also actively seeking congressional co-sponsors for the New Markets Tax Credit, which we hope will be introduced soon in Congress. We also need to reach out broadly to the business community, both about the business opportunities in new markets and about how the New Markets Initiative, if enacted, would catalyze more private sector investment in these markets.

cc: The Vice President; The First Lady; Secretary Cuomo; Gene Sperling.

In Perspective

Published by William Holchak, 311 Tophill, San Antonio, TX 78209 (210)826-4627

San Antonio is home of the NBA World Champion Spurs

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JULY, 1999

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE IDS LITTLE GEORGE

There is no logical explanation for the wildly favorable reception which some of the public and the majority of news media have given to Little George Bush, the newly-anointed Republican nominee for President. But the Editor did some quick research, and found the perfect paradigm for this phenomenon in literature. It is found in a short story by the early American writer, Nathaniel Hawthorne.

The tale is titled "Feathertop", and it tells of a mischievous witch, Mother Rigby, who lived in 17th Century Massachusetts (not far, incidentally, from the Bushes' ancestral home in Connecticut). Mother Rigby decided to test her powers and see if she could pass off her scarecrow, Feathertop, as "a fine gentleman of the period". She dressed him in the best suit of clothes and taught him 100 cant phrases which she felt would enable him to converse nicely with the citizenry. She commented on her handiwork, "I've made many a puppet since I've been a witch, but this is the finest of them all." She then sent Feathertop into the nearby town to woo the daughter of the area's most wealthy and powerful merchant.

The genial scarecrow fooled everyone with his fine clothes and his 100-phrase vocabulary. Marriage plans were in the air until Feathertop unwittingly stepped in front of a mirror of truth. Listen to Hawthorne's description of the downfall of the hapless scarecrow:

"Feathertop looked toward the mirror and there beheld, not the glittering mockery of his outside show, but a picture of the sordid patchwork of his real composition, stripped of all witchcraft."

Little George Bush has his 100 cant phrases and a fine wardrobe. So far, he has managed to fool the Republican electorate and the hoard of astute reporters who follow him about. But we expectantly await the moment when he will be forced to go beyond his 100 phrases and give us details of his proposed solutions for the nation's problems - - the moment when he steps in front of the mirror of truth and, like the hapless Feathertop, reveals "the sordid patchwork of his real composition, stripped of all witchcraft".

As the song says, "That'll be the day!"

CHIMP OUTSCORES TV PUNDITS ON KOSOVO!

It's been a month now since Milosevic agreed to NATO's terms and pulled his troops out of Kosovo. Many TV commentators and some print columnists haven't yet admitted that they were wrong in blasting President Clinton's leadership in that conflict. But the truth has come forth in a few places, as noted below.

June 23 Lehrer Newshour - Terence Smith

"The 78 days of fighting in the Balkans produced an endless stream of forecasts from the chattering class. The air war's success and the arrival in Kosovo of NATO peacekeepers has had many members of the predictive media dining on their own words." He stated that the June issue of BRILL'S CONTENT tested the pundits' accuracy against that of Chippy the Chimp, who batted .500, which he noted was a better percentage than those registered by Fred Barnes and George Will.

Tony Snow, Host of Fox News Sunday

"I was wrong about air power. You were right, Mister President. One of the problems we face in journalism is that we too seldom confess to our errors even though we who are practicing journalists understand the shortcomings of the craft. Consumers extract it by saying, 'I'm going to look somewhere else; these guys are dopes; I'll try to find somebody who at least seems to know what they're talking about.' "

Jeff Greenfield, Senior Analyst for CNN

(Explaining why TV pundits make predictions): "It's the least intellectually-taxing question that somebody can ask - - one of the least intellectually-taxing answers somebody can give - - and one of the least-challenging discussions for an audience - - you're not actually talking about history, culture, facts; you're talking about what one of my wise law school professors used to call 'breezy speculation', or the initials thereof. And in an era when there's more and more talk on cable, the cheapest thing you can do on television is to bring people into a studio and have them talk, and the easiest kind of talk is to say what's

(Continued on Page 2)

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Mr. President:

Have you

seen Lewis?

Thank you

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going to happen."

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"The more you do this kind of lip-flapping, the less time there is for something that might be called information and analysis. But increasingly, as we've seen, more and more journalists participate in the equivalent of verbal food fights and gong shows, I think the public treats it with the same seriousness as they treat five guys in the back of the firehouse or barbershop gabbing about who's going to win the NBA title."

Bill Kristol, Publisher of the conservative WEEKLY STANDARD

(Commenting on ABC-TV's Sunday Morning Show, "This Week")

"Clinton won, and there's no use carping about that -- the Republicans came out badly. They were cackling on the Hill that 'this is Bill Clinton's war.' Great! So now it's Bill Clinton's victory." (June 6)

"Sure, it's a success. Foreign policy experts, if you read the paper this morning, just can't get over carping and complaining. They didn't predict that this would work out well. They hate to admit that this has worked out well. It's a victory for the U.S. It's a victory for NATO. U.S.-Russian relations are not destroyed." (June 13)

Perhaps PERSPECTIVE can be forgiven a bit of crowing over the accuracy of our forecast in the May issue. "If the President and NATO should follow the advice of the TV pundits and the retired generals, we would be into another VietNam-type situation with body bags and ever-lengthening casualty lists. But if they ignore the criticism of these towering intellects and continue the air war, Milosevic will be forced to the negotiating table for a diplomatic settlement. When that happens, Bill Clinton will have earned a place in history as the first leader to have successfully used the new technology and strategy of aerial warfare to achieve a diplomatic end without the use of ground troops. And peace will have a chance in the Balkans."

TOUCHE! to Sam Donaldson, Cokie Roberts, Chris Matthews, John Gibson, Bill O'Reilly, Tim Russert and the rest of the chattering class of TV pundits who have once again been proven wrong in their predictions about Bill Clinton.

LEGACY - HILLARY - THE NEXT MASSACRE - AND MORE

BILL CLINTON'S LEGACY - The TV pundits -- whose combined IQ barely equals the collective intelligence of the second grade at Sabinal (TX) Elementary School -- speculate endlessly on this subject. PERSPECTIVE herewith gives them the answer to this burning question. When the standard encyclopedia biography of the Prez is written, it will mention favorably, in order: (1) His liquidation of the massive annual deficits piled up by the Reagan/Bush administrations and creation of an annual surplus; (2) The Clinton boom, unparalleled in U.S. peace-time history; (3) Reduction in national and local crime rates; (4) First President in history to successfully use the new technology of air warfare to achieve a diplomatic end without the use of ground troops; (5) The President who preserved Social Security and Medicare through his prudent fiscal policies; (6) His hard-fought battles for stronger gun controls and against the use of tobacco; (7) His unsuccessful effort to bring about universal health insurance for all Americans, followed by attempts to improve national health care on an incremental basis.

Along about paragraph 8, the biography will read: "His private sexual conduct was made the subject of a costly, super-politicized probe by an independent counsel which resulted in questionable impeachment charges being brought by the Republican House of Representatives. The Senate refused to convict the President, and the law which provided for appointing independent counsels was allowed to expire".

WISE COUNSEL FROM JERRY FORD - The mad men of the GOP who run the House of Representatives these days would do well to read and re-read a June column by David Broder in which he told of comments by Jerry Ford on the current situation. Excerpts included these comments: "Tip O'Neill and I used to fight like cats and dogs on the floor of the House on legitimate issue differences, and then go out and have a beer." -- "Newt came by to see me in California, and I said 'Newt, the tradition is the Speaker is the Speaker of the House -- all 435 members -- and he's not the party leader'. But he clashed with Clinton and the Democrats pretty strongly. They had those terrible, terrible days when the government was shut down." -- Broder wrote that Ford sent a message to his party: "We'll never win the White House if we rely on the extreme right wing for our candidate and philosophy."

HILLARY AND NEW YORK - Readers will recall that the last issue of PERSPECTIVE urged the First Lady not to run for the Senate in New York because of all the mud-slinging which the race would generate. It's obvious now that she is running, so that advice is passe'. We support her, and pass along this advice. Stop wearing pants suits on your campaign swings; they look unfeminine and will end up doing the kind of damage to your race that Lamar Alexander's red lumberjack shirt did to him in 1996. (EQUAL TIME: The Editor's wife read this and chastized him for it, saying, "That's stupid. Hillary Clinton can wear a pant suit if she wants to.")

THE NEXT MASSACRE - In 1996 the Editor wrote a novel based on the tragic personal conflicts brought about in Texas by the campaign for secession in 1860-61. So far it has been returned, unread, by 463 publishers. If you hear of a crazed killer murdering 40 or 50 book publishing executives, you'll know "who done it".

7-19-99
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1999

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Sandra Thurman, Director, Office of National AIDS Policy

SUBJECT: Update on AIDS in Africa Initiative

The Initiative: I am pleased to let you know that we have worked out the specifics of an enhanced US response to the global AIDS pandemic. We are now preparing to launch your global AIDS initiative – Joining Forces for “LIFE” – Leadership and Investment in Fighting an Epidemic. The initiative includes a two pronged strategy: (1) increasing our investment; and (2) leveraging an increased investment from our partners in this fight.

On the money side, the Administration will propose a FY2000 budget amendment to provide an additional \$100 million for the global battle against AIDS. This effort will involve USAID, HHS, and DOD, and new funding will be used for HIV prevention, AIDS care and treatment, support for children orphaned by AIDS, and infrastructure and capacity development. We are currently spending \$125 million on global AIDS, \$74 million of which goes to HIV prevention and AIDS treatment in Africa. This new investment is the largest increase in global AIDS funding at any time and from any donor. This will allow us to double our HIV prevention and AIDS treatment efforts in Africa, as well as to provide new resources to India and other areas. It is my understanding that you have already talked about this with Prime Minister Tony Blair – and we should call on other G8 members to increase their commitment as well.

The Administration will also seek other opportunities to leverage an enhanced commitment from our partners. The First Lady will host a leaders conference on global AIDS with the World Bank, UNAIDS, foundations, and others. The NSC and State Department will promote an African Leaders AIDS Summit and a Religious Leaders AIDS Summit (both of which would seriously benefit from your participation). The Department of Labor and AFL-CIO will host a meeting of union leaders and the Department of Commerce will host a meeting of business leaders. Finally, we will work with the UN who has agreed to host a children orphaned by AIDS conference on World AIDS Day 1999.

The Roll-Out: The Vice President wants to make this announcement. It is currently scheduled to be rolled-out on Monday, July 19th at 1:30pm. The roll-out will include participation by the AIDS, African American, children's, religious, and international leaders and organizations that stood with you in launching this effort on World AIDS Day (December 1, 1998). A young girl we met in Uganda who was orphaned by AIDS is coming to tell her story – and we have asked Archbishop Desmond Tutu to join us as well.

7 - 19 - 99

Reducing Mother-to-Child Transmission: As I am sure you saw yesterday, we just got great news back from Uganda where the NIH is running mother-to-child transmission trials. A new drug, nevirapine (NVP), appears to reduce HIV transmission from mother to child by 50%. This appears more effective than an abbreviated "short course" of AZT and only requires one oral dose for the mother at delivery and one dose for the baby within 72 hours. The cost of the two doses of NVP is \$4 retail. This is incredibly good news. Nevertheless, a host of additional issues remain including: will additional doses of NVP protect against HIV transmission through breastfeeding; if not, is formula available and workable; how do we reach the 80% of African women who deliver outside of a health facility or the 95% who do not know they are HIV-positive? These new funds will help to explore these issues and will enable us to begin to move forward on expanding access to this intervention.

Thank you again for your ongoing commitment to Africa and to our global battle against AIDS. This effort will surely help to save countless lives.



7-19-99

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

July 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lawrence H. Summers *LS*

SUBJECT: New Markets: Report on Visit to Harlem, USA and New York BusinessLINC

*Copied
Spesling
Podesta*

Harlem

Last Thursday, I visited Harlem, USA, a major retail and entertainment center under construction at 125th Street and Frederick Douglass Boulevard which has been supported by the New York Empowerment Zone, Chase Manhattan Bank (as part of its CRA-related activities), and other investors. I learned the following, striking – to me – facts:

- Within one square mile of this shopping center is a population of 360,000: more than Cincinnati, our 45th largest city. Upper Manhattan as a whole is the size of Seattle, the 22nd largest.
- There is no shopping mall in Harlem or – until recently – a major supermarket. Nor, I was told, has there been any major retail construction in Harlem since World War II.
- The Harlem, USA project has been associated with some general economic revival. The mall is 80% leased and its major corporate tenants – never before represented in Harlem – will pay rents more than twice as high as rents in the area before the mall was built. Local land prices have risen up to five-fold in the last 5 years (as much as technology stocks), and developers have had trouble purchasing even vacant lots.
- The mall – which will open before Christmas – was built with financing of \$65 million, including an \$11 million subordinated loan from the Empowerment Zone. It will generate around \$180 million in retail sales. According to one study, 60 percent of retail spending leaves the community – equal to almost \$1 billion annually. And it should produce approximately \$15 million in New York City sales tax collections. In other words, the public sector will be paid back in nine months of tax collections.
- Roughly 600 new jobs are expected to come out of the project, and mall tenants have agreed to allot 75 percent of slots to local residents. In 1990 – the most recent date for which the local rate has been calculated – Harlem's unemployment rate was 18.6%, three times the national average.

In short, Harlem right now appears to be a real emerging market, in the sense that capital is trying to get in rather than out. Indeed, at my press conference an observer contrasted

Harlem and all its new construction activity with the "poor and depressed" areas that you were visiting on your New Markets tour – underestimating both Harlem's continued needs and the economic potential of these other communities.

New York and BusinessLINC

We announced the formation of a local New York City BusinessLINC coalition at a roundtable with David Rockefeller, Henry Kravis, the new Chase CEO Bill Harrison and other corporate and community leaders. I was struck by the importance that both the financiers and those who had been in community development for many years put on equity investment, and on providing new market businesses with the opportunity to network with mainstream businesses and obtain business advice and information on market opportunities. Indeed, several people said that access to markets and expertise is sometimes more critical than access to capital, even if capital remains an important barrier for some.

I was impressed with the number of stories about mainline finance – from banks and other institutions – going into minority-owned and inner city businesses. Investments in one Hispanic entrepreneur's internet start-up had paid off nearly fifty to one, and people were rushing to get in to the next round. (Of course, most inner city businesses will not be able to come close to meeting the expected rates of return that venture capital firms demand but the story was an encouraging one.)

Conclusions

The challenge for us in spurring capital access is to catalyze private sector lending and investment in projects that are profitable but also would not have taken place without the public sector's intervention. Given the unmet demand for equity finance, I believe that the New Markets Initiative is properly focused on equity investment and technical assistance to new businesses, along with access to credit. The real test of what we are doing with the New Markets Initiative will be whether we can sustain the flow of capital and the business connections that are now being made when the next downturn comes.

Next Steps

We are working with the NEC and your scheduling office to set up an event for you to announce that Peter Bijur, CEO of Texaco, has agreed to chair a National BusinessLINC Coalition under the auspices of the Business Roundtable. We will also announce the formation of several local BusinessLINC coalitions, building on our announcement last Thursday of the formation of the New York City coalition. We are also actively seeking congressional co-sponsors for the New Markets Tax Credit, which we hope will be introduced soon in Congress. We also need to reach out broadly to the business community, both about the business opportunities in new markets and about how the New Markets Initiative, if enacted, would catalyze more private sector investment in these markets.

cc: The Vice President; The First Lady; Secretary Cuomo; Gene Sperling.

7-19-99

Many Bush
senior in this
Bry

Meet the Real Right-Wing Conspiracy

Poor Bob Smith thinks the secret of George W. Bush's success is an establishment Republican conspiracy to freeze out conservatives like him. If only the New Hampshire senator were that important.

The people he should really blame are William Rehnquist, John Paul Stevens and Sandra Day O'Connor.

The Supreme Court justices can't endorse the Texas governor, but they don't have to. Their advancing ages (74, 79 and 69) are endorsement enough. That all three may retire in the next president's term is one of the most crucial, if least advertised, factors in Mr. Bush's so far downhill roll to the GOP nomination.

This is also the paradox of Mr. Bush's surprisingly large support on the right. Mr. Smith said this week he's quitting the GOP because he thinks it has abandoned principle for pragmatism. But it's precisely because of principle that so many conservatives have become pragmatic this year. They feel the stakes are so large in 2000 that they can't afford to lose.

That's especially true among the social and judicial conservatives who care about the Supreme Court. One of them is Alex Acosta, who is about to embark on a 35-city tour for the Federalist Society to advertise what's at stake. "My sincere belief is that judicial selection will be the next president's most lasting legacy," he says.

One of his themes will be that eight years of Clinton appointments will have put the entire federal bench in precarious ideological balance. On the Supreme Court, conservatives hold a mere 5-4 majority on a host of culture-war questions.

Replace Chief Justice Rehnquist with any Al Gore appointee and the 1995 *Adarand* case barring racial set-asides will be overturned. And forget about further progress in limiting federal power over states, or expanding property rights and religious liberties.

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

If Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton sounds ominous, how about chief justice? Clintonites are also close to overtaking Reagan-Bush majorities on the increasingly important lower federal courts.

All of this might help the most conservative GOP candidates if any of them seemed capable of beating Al Gore. But the problem is that none of the current crop has yet convinced enough conservatives that he is Ronald Reagan circa 1979.

"The fact is you can't repeal *Roe v. Wade* without three more Supreme Court justices, and you aren't going to name those justices without winning the White House," says positively pragmatic Pat Robertson of the Christian Coalition. "Anything that is an obstacle to that needs to be thought about."

The Bush campaign has shrewdly exploited this sentiment. Conservative icon Ralph Reed privately assures everyone that Mr. Bush's Supreme Court picks will be reliable. The governor himself told Fred Barnes of the *Weekly Standard* that his favorite current justice is Antonin Scalia, the luminous Reagan appointee. That was a nifty way of tipping around his father's choice of the dreadful David Souter.

The upshot is that conservatives who care about the courts have nearly all climbed aboard the Bush Mercedes. Mr. Robertson is officially neutral. But it's striking how both he and the National Right to Life Committee defended Mr. Bush when he was attacked for saying his judges would need to pass no abortion libmus tests. "That's no different than his father or Reagan," says Right to Life's David O'Steen.

Mr. Acosta helped write the judicial chapter in Dan Quayle's new policy book but has since signed on with the Texan. "I can't think of anyone who's not backing Bush" on the legal right, he says. Libertarian legal activist Clint Bolick, who was recruited by Steve Forbes, has also joined the Bush policy team.

Even Ward Connerly endorsed Mr. Bush this month, though Mr. Bush won't return the favor by endorsing Mr. Connerly's referendums to ban racial preferences. Mr. Connerly says he hopes Mr. Bush will come around eventually and use "the tremendous goodwill" he's building up among minorities to change the quota debate. And of course make the right judicial picks.



William Rehnquist

"Except for Souter, there is nothing that George Bush did better than judges," says Mr. Bolick. Justice Clarence Thomas was a home run and President Bush's lower court picks were as conservative as the Gipper's.

On the other hand, a May 10 article in "Texas Lawyer" on George W. s Texas appointees certainly leaves room for doubt. The usually critical publication praises his judicial choices as "political moderates" whose strength is "character" not "ideology." This is what liberals like to say about Mr. Souter.

The importance of judicial politics on the right this year is an ironic tribute to liberal success. It shows how much liberals have moved the venue of modern politics away from legislatures and into the courts.

"Conservatives recognize that a lot of their gains in the last 20 years have come in the courts," says Mr. Bolick. And a lot have been denied there too. Term limits were killed despite popular support by a 5-4 court diktat. School choice could suffer the same fate in the next decade.

Alas for Bob Smith, this is the real reason so many conservatives have adopted football owner Al Davis' motto—"Just win, baby."

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Cahill
Podesta

Shuf Kan Glickman
What about new?
(How much would it
cost?) (cc: Glickman
ME)

7-19-99

Statement by Neal Smith
July 13, 1999

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Spierling
Glickman
Podesta

As so many predicted, Freedom to Farm has failed miserably. A Production and Marketing program was replaced with a Welfare for Farmers program. The time to continue hoping it will work to the advantage of U.S. producers has passed. It is time to act before more damage is done to both our economic and social fabric.

At this stage, it is not enough to only reinstate some version of the previous successful production and marketing program which had been developed over a half century. We must now dig out of the hole that has been created under Freedom to Farm. The need for that action is immediate. After that, work on a replacement of the overall law. I suggest the following immediate actions:

1. Isolate one-half of the projected carryover in a reserve which can be sold only when the price is 50% above the loan rate. That always has and will occur under a common sense new program within three years.
2. Create a temporary three year emergency CRP allowing natural cover (with weed control).
3. Return to the requirement that commodity loans on grain fall due three months before the end of the marketing year so that there is time enough in years like this to move the old crop before the new crop is coming into the elevators. That change they made in the rules will widen the basis and cause a log jam at delivery time this year.

The distribution of billions of additional dollars in direct welfare payments to farmers based on their production of corn several years ago is unfair and does not reach the broad spectrum of year 1999 and 2000 producers.

It is also time to quit dreaming that insurance will solve the farm income problem either in a temporary or long term program. In Insurance 101, we were exposed to solid reasons why a product is not insurable if either the risk covered is so small or the premiums which must be paid to cover the risk are too great for the insured to pay. When there is a loss in farm income, it is so widespread and large that if the risk is covered, neither those who suffered the losses nor those who did not suffer a loss will pay the premium necessary to pay the losses plus a loading charge.

All of the insurance schemes that have been tried have either covered too little of the risk or required a premium so large it was not salable to those who have losses less than half of the time. It is time to quit dreaming that insurance will solve this problem and to quit diverting so much money to that pipe-dream.

If the old programs had been extended, there would have been no acreage requirements for participants in 1996 and 1997. In 1998, some of the surplus would have been set aside and some acreage adjustment encouraged for 1999 either in additional CRP or rotation strips. The welfare payments made in 1996 and 1997 for which no cooperation was required would have been saved. The cost in the past four years would have been many billions of dollars less while producers received more for their 1998 crop. No one was required to participate in the old program and the only crops Iowa farmers were prohibited from growing were non-allotment tobacco and marijuana. Under the Freedom to Farm there is an additional prohibited crop, namely vegetables. There was more freedom under the old program and a safety net. A production and marketing program was replaced with a Welfare for Farmers program.

World demand always has been and always will be unpredictable. Surpluses change to shortages and vice versa by cycles. We could still have a short U.S. crop in 1999. If so, those

who sold a big 1998 crop at a loss will have too little to sell this year to off-set that loss. Without some moderating marketing program like we had prior to Freedom to Farm, the producers lose either way. Why is each generation so gullible that it must learn the hard way that foreigners cannot be depended upon every year to pay a decent price for our increased yields while we plant fence row to fence row. In an article by George Anthony in the Register, to support their fair tale this time, supporters of Freedom to Farm used the conclusions in a paper prepared by a D.C. consulting firm which was paid for by 185 agribusiness companies who make more money when there is increased volume regardless of the price paid to producers.

There is no doubt about it, action which results in broad relief is needed now.

Irene Viree/NEAL SMITH

Freedom to Farm ignores current programs

The Aug. 13 editorial ("A Farm Bill That Breaks New Ground") and the proposed Freedom to Farm Act it discussed virtually ignore most of the primary reasons for and attributes of the present farm and food programs.

The editorial correctly stated that the Freedom to Farm proposal would be the most fundamental change in farm programs since the 1930s, because it would essentially end the most important programs that have been so successful in serving the combined interests of consumers, processors, exporters, low-income people, livestock producers and retailers while emphasizing conservation and flexibility for producers.

No new farm bill could attract the sustained support needed from a broad cross section of voters if it only met the three lonely goals the editorial espouses: (1) income safety, (2) flexibility (which farmers now have) and (3) sound environmental practices. The proposal The Register praises would pay producers the same in years of good prices as in years of low prices, and that would erode the sustained support needed for farm programs.

As the editorial states, farm programs were born in the 1930s out of a need to subsidize small farmers by propping up prices; however, the farm programs were radically changed in the 1960s and 1970s to benefit a broad cross section of our economy by moderating the fluctuations in supplies and prices of basic commodities of food and fiber. Without these programs, wider fluctuations in supplies and prices are inevitable. After witnessing our worst production

year (1993) and our best (1994) back to back, that should not be doubted.

Also, world demand has become more unpredictable. What we thought was a huge surplus of corn last December has become the tightest carryover in 20 years due to a combination of bad weather and China deciding to become a major importer instead of an exporter. Supply management programs are as essential now as ever.

Surpluses change to shortages and vice versa by cycles. The pharaohs of Egypt concluded there was a seven-year cycle in Egypt at that time. We have been operating farm programs based on a five-year cycle. Since there is now a world market and our economy depends so much on exporting, it could be argued that a seven-year cycle would be appropriate. Whatever cycle is used, it would be disastrous to fail to recognize the importance of moderating the fluctuations in marketable supplies and prices in this country when 20 percent of the national economy is geared to agricultural production and we depend so heavily on agricultural exports to reduce our trade deficit.

The present farm and food programs have succeeded as evidenced by the fact that:

(1) Food in the United States costs less than 10 percent of the average income;

(2) for those who cannot even afford the low prices in the grocery store, there are food stamps and special programs for children and but for the farm programs, taxpayers would pay more for these programs;

(3) moderating the fluctuations in supplies and prices for basic commodities benefits subsidized and cash consumers, encourages overseas customers to depend on our exports, helps processors and their employees maintain a more stable level of

production and jobs, and are a great help to livestock and poultry producers and consumers who are hurt when supplies fluctuate;

(4) they help to stabilize the whole economy and avoid more extreme inflation pressures.

The editorial said the present farm "programs lock farmers into a handful of crops." That is not so. Farmers are free to raise whatever crops they desire (other

Farm programs should be adjusted to recognize changes that affect supply and demand worldwide.

than tobacco and crops used to manufacture illegal drugs).

That issue was settled in 1963. Some farmers do not have a fair acreage base and others who do simply wish to let their neighbors carry the load; but all benefit along with consumers. This year those outside the grain programs will receive the same or more income without contributing any acreage to the acreage conservation and set-aside provisions, but the program would not work if the vast majority did not comply with the voluntary program.

Set-asides have become a favorite target; but in those years in the cycle when there is a larger-than-needed carryover, it is cheaper to set aside some production acres in a conservation mode instead of producing and storing more excess and depressing the market. In other years, those acres are used for production. Payments to offset the cost of carrying reserves are and should be paid by everyone because the whole U.S. economy benefits from reducing wide fluctuations in supplies and prices.

While food costs less than 10 percent of average income and there is a program to assure that every person can secure an adequate diet, housing costs people more than 30 percent of their income. Middle-income people have difficulty accumulating enough in a lifetime to pay for housing for retirement, and millions of families do not have safe or sanitary shelter. Many inconsistent and unnecessary regulations and local ordinances contribute to the high cost of housing. It is time to quit misrepresenting and attacking farm and food programs that work so well and instead concentrate on housing and other programs that are not the huge success the farm programs have been.

Farm programs should be adjusted each five- or seven-year cycle to recognize changes that affect supply and demand worldwide.

For example, as world trade increases there is a greater need for tools to curtail dumping and assure fair competition; and the flex in shifting acres could be increased (perhaps to 25 percent) as more demand for oilseeds and alternative crops increases. That would reduce the cost of the program, but the emphasis in 1995 should be upon those kinds of changes rather than a drive toward decimating the most successful farm, food, and fiber programs in the history of the world.

The discussion should center on reaching the numerous objectives important to a broad cross section of our population rather than misrepresenting the programs as welfare programs or trying to substitute a welfare program for the supply management and food programs we have now.

NEAL SMITH, who owns a farm near Altoona, served 36 years in Congress.

7-19-99

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FYT -
Policy Review +
(agencies need to
do more on Ed - perhaps
an education tour of 2-3 days
highlighting what we don't
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7-19-99
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1 New York Times

July 11, 1999

Despite Low Prestige and Pay, More Answer the Call to Teach

By MARY B. W. TABOR

After years of shying away from the field, a growing number of college students, including those from elite liberal arts colleges, now say they want to be schoolteachers.

Just over 10 percent of all freshmen say they want to teach in elementary or secondary schools, according to a new survey by the Cooperative Institutional Research Program at the University of California at Los Angeles. The percentages, for 1998, the latest year available, are the highest since the early 1970's and nearly twice what they were at their low point, in 1982.

Students at some of the nation's top universities, like Harvard and Princeton, are also showing a growing interest.

Education and policy experts say these numbers reflect a shift in attitudes about teaching — from a career plagued by low pay and low prestige to a career that is attracting smart and altruistic people.

Interest in teaching, the experts say, is being fueled by students' search for meaningful work, concern about the plight of at-risk children and a response to the national call for teachers with degrees in academic subjects, as well as in education.

"I'm seeing a significant shift toward education, toward government and public policy and community action type work," said Maureen Tobin, director of the career development center at Kenyon College, the oldest private liberal arts college in Ohio, where about 20 percent of the class of 1998 planned to become teachers.

The U.C.L.A. survey, first conducted in 1966, polls 300,000 freshmen at over 600 American colleges and universities each year about their lives and interests, including what they want to do after graduating.

The survey does not necessarily reflect actual career choices, which may change after freshman year. Still, other signs of renewed interest in teaching are

appearing as well.

Applications to many of the nation's top graduate schools of education, which can also include programs in counseling, human development or psychology, are on the rise. While the number of students graduating from medical schools, law schools and business schools has dropped or held steady in recent years, the number of students earning degrees in education has increased, the National Center for Education Statistics said.

The number of bachelor's and master's degrees in education rose 31 percent from 1986 to 1996 (the last year available), compared with 22 percent in other fields.

Recruiters at some teacher-placement organizations say applicant pools are steady or growing. Teach for America, for example, says it has recorded a strong increase in applications in recent years, especially from schools like Spelman College, Cornell University, the University of Michigan, Stanford University and Princeton. Last fall, Teach for America, which recruits college graduates to teach in low-income districts for a minimum of two years, received applications from 3,025 people for 500 positions, up from 2,745 applicants the year before.

"We've certainly noticed over the past two years that there is an increase in interest from college students," said Wendy Kopp, president of Teach for America.

"Part of that can be attributed to the fact that we have become more sophisticated in our recruiting efforts. But there is also a mood on college campuses right now that is conducive to people being interested in teaching. People are looking for ways to assume a significant challenge and to make a difference right out of college."

In response to the growing interest in improving the quality of teachers, many top liberal arts colleges are setting up or revitalizing teacher education programs.

These programs, which provide the necessary coursework to get a teaching degree or certification, have seen a surge in enrollment as well.

At Princeton University, for example, the number of students enrolled in its teacher preparation program has risen to 25 from 5 since 1990. (The high was in 1975, when 77 students were enrolled.)

In the last 10 years, the number of students in Colby College's education and human development program has doubled, to almost 100, said Mark Tappan, who directs the program with his wife, Lyn Mikel Brown.

And Bennington College's teacher education program has grown to 24 students from 2 since its inception two years ago. The program allows students to obtain both a bachelor's degree in liberal arts and a master's in education in five years.

Rosalind A. Hoffa, an associate dean at Amherst College and director of its career center, has been watching interest in teaching grow on her campus as well.

In early 1998, after years of refusing to give credits for teacher education courses taken at nearby Mount Holyoke College, Amherst reversed itself. Ms. Hoffa said. The college is now formally helping students earn teaching credentials through the Holyoke program. To date, 35 students have asked to participate.

Many liberal arts colleges do not offer the necessary coursework and student teaching experience required by most states for certification. As a result, many graduate schools of education are reporting growing numbers of applications from new college graduates with liberal arts degrees.

Harvard's Graduate School of Education, for one, has reported a 34 percent increase in applications since 1990, said Roland Hince, a university spokesman.

The number of applications to the teacher education programs at Columbia

During No. of College Students To be Teachers

Community Colleges -

Paraprofessional Program -

Go to U of A. & A. in Center for

over 10%

UCLA Study

(1998) Reagan Yr. 59%

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39. The New York Times

07/11/99 Section: Week in Review Desk; Section 4, Page 3, Column 1

Putting Private Education to the Test

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

FOR many parents in urban America, agonizing over whether to send their children to public or private schools has become a ritual fraught with concerns about money and fears that a public-school education is a sentence to a life of second-class opportunities.

Many parents think private schools do a better job, an assumption that has grown into a powerful movement for tax vouchers to help children leave the public schools.

But hard evidence comparing the performance of public and nonpublic schools has proved elusive. This month, however, New York State released test scores on a new fourth-grade reading and writing test that provided a rare basis for side-by-side comparison, and the results were surprising. There were only modest differences in the performance of private schools — mainly Catholic ones — and public schools.

The comparison is far from perfect. For one thing, the test was new and controversial. Some schools drilled students for months, even during holidays, while others did little to prepare. The test was optional for private schools, and many of them opted out — including nearly all the elite ones in New York City — making generalizations about private school performance especially dangerous.

Still, there was general agreement among educators that the results present a challenge to the conventional wisdom about public and private education.

Statewide, 53 percent of private-school students passed the test, compared to 48 percent of public-school students. In New York City the gap was wider: 44 percent of private school students passed, as against 33 percent of those in public school.

But when students with learning or behavior problems are excluded, the scores rise for public schools. (The public schools have far more of these special education students: 30,519 fourth-graders statewide compared with a mere 647 in private school, according to the state statistics.) Excluding special education, 55 percent of students private schools statewide passed the test, and 52

percent of those in public school. In New York City, 45 percent of students in private school passed the test, and 37 percent of those in public school.

The new test was administered to 29,000 fourth-graders in 1,024 private schools, 74 percent of private schools statewide. Ninety-nine percent of the Catholic schools, 686 of them, administered the test. The next highest participation was among Jewish schools — 104 of them, or 61 percent, gave the test. Sixty nondenominational schools, or 34 percent, participated.

Public-school advocates say the scores show that public schools have been unfairly maligned. "The parochial schools didn't shine at all," said Seymour C. Fliegel, a senior fellow at the Center for Educational Innovation, a research group that supports public schools in New York City.

Even some voucher advocates acknowledge that the test shows that private schools are no panacea. "The private schools really ought to be doing a whole lot better than they're doing by taking advantage of their freedom to do things differently, and by delivering a superior product," said Chester E. Finn Jr., a former Reagan Administration official now at the Manhattan Institute.

MR. FINN suggests that the dirty little secret behind the new data is that almost everyone in the education world, whether in public or private school, is the captive of the same fads, philosophies and materials disseminated by teaching colleges and textbook companies.

"The curriculum of a fourth-grade math class in a private school is often very close to the curriculum of a fourth-grade math class in a public school, complete with all the same vulnerabilities, the same goofiness, often the same textbook and the same teacher beliefs about what's important," Mr. Finn said.

There have been some previous studies comparing public and Catholic schools, notably one by the sociologist James S. Coleman in 1981 and another by a New York State commission in 1994. Both concluded that Catholic schools do better, but questions were raised about their methodologies.

The new test, administered for the first time this year, required students to read long passages of fiction and nonfiction, and to write essays about what they had read. It was preceded by months of feverish cramming and hand-wringing from both teachers and parents, who feared it was too difficult, and perhaps even inappropriate for 9-year-olds. It was scored in four levels, roughly corresponding to minimally skilled, below standard, proficient and superior, although the state did not endorse any labels.

The results gave ammunition to people who think Catholic schools serve disadvantaged students better than public schools. The private schools, both religious and independent, had just half as many students at the bottom level, or 8 percent, compared to 16 percent for public schools, excluding special education. Joseph P. Viteritti, research director of the Wagner School at New York University, said this proved that "fewer kids fall between the cracks" in private school. But another explanation, said Mr. Fliegel, is that the most disadvantaged students may be the least able or motivated to go to private schools.

AT the high end, though, public schools did at least as well as private ones. Statewide, 5 percent of private school students and 5.6 percent of public school students, excluding those in special education, scored in the top category; in New York City, the numbers are 3 percent for private and 3.5 percent for public.

Some individual Catholic schools excelled. At St. Jerome's in the South Bronx, 29 percent of the students passed the test, ahead of all but one surrounding public school. Nearby Catholic schools did much worse, with St. Pius V, for instance, having only 11 percent passing. St. Jerome's is one of New York City's poorest parishes, where income averages \$5,000 per person, said the Rev. John O. Grange, the parish priest. Some students are the children of poor, illiterate Mexican immigrants, on scholarship. But Father Grange said most of the students are slightly better off than those in nearby public schools. Tuition is \$2,000

Sunday NY 1

4th Grade Test in N.Y.

Learning & Behavior Problems 50,519

647 55% to 52% passed private

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Reading Test - NAEP 4th, 8th, 12th (1/2 grade level - 4 yrs)

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70% of refugees
already here -

7-19-99

Winning the Peace in Kosovo

A Progress Report as of July 14, 1999

One month after the suspension of air strikes, the United States and its NATO allies continue to achieve concrete progress towards reversing Milosevic's ethnic cleansing of Kosovo. Formidable challenges to winning the peace lie ahead, but there has been important progress thus far including the safe return of expelled Kosovars, the KLA's orderly demilitarization, and Russia's cooperation on the ground. And as returning refugees begin to rebuild their lives, the Serbian people are striving to improve theirs, calling for Milosevic to resign in increasing numbers.

Humanitarian Aid Organizations Work to Make Refugee Return Safe. Over 650,000 refugees have returned to Kosovo, largely from Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, representing almost 70% of the total population that had sought refuge in neighboring states and elsewhere. The refugees are returning to find various degrees of devastation. A survey led by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 141 villages showed 64% of homes are severely damaged or destroyed and that 40% of water sources are contaminated. The survey also revealed that food is scarce in many areas: only 35% of the villages have wheat, 28% have oil, and 7% have meat. Eighty-eight percent of the villages lack functioning health facilities. Humanitarian aid organizations from all over the world, aided by a number of U.S. agencies including USAID's Disaster Assistance Response Team, are in the field distributing food, water, clothing, tents, tools and building materials, and health care supplies. The U.S. has provided over \$242 million in response to the Kosovo crisis since March 1998 and recently signed a \$1.6 million contract to field six demining teams in Kosovo to reduce the threat of land mines.

Building Democracy in Kosovo. The United Nations is moving to establish an interim administration in Kosovo. The newly appointed Special Representative for the United Nations Mission in Kosovo, Bernard Kouchner, arrived in Pristina this week with his deputy, American Jock Covey. Acting Special Representative for Kosovo Sergio Vieira de Mello met last week with Serb opposition leaders from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. De Mello detailed UN efforts to stem the exodus of Serbian people and to seek the release of kidnapped Serbs in Kosovo. Under UN supervision, the Pristina town hall recently re-opened with a mixed Albanian-Serb staff. Commitments of officers for the UN civil police force have reached almost 2,500 from 18 nations, including 450 from the U.S. There are already 172 UN police officers in place, with 1000 more expected by the end of July. More than 400 UN personnel are on the ground in Kosovo, working to create interim civil institutions, particularly local police, judiciary and other local government structures. De Mello also recently named seven legal experts to begin appointing judges as a first step to reviving the judicial system in Kosovo.

KFOR Troops Stabilize the Province. Over 33,000 Kosovo international security force (KFOR) troops from 17 nations have been deployed in Kosovo, including 5,200 American soldiers. Last week, 125 Czech troops joined KFOR. There are also an additional 9,000 troops in Macedonia under KFOR Commander General Mike Jackson's command. The troops are enforcing the peace agreement with the FRY, securing the region for returning Kosovar refugees, and protecting minority groups in the province. The deployment of Russian peacekeepers has

gone smoothly, pursuant to arrangements worked out by Defense Secretary Cohen and Minister of Defense Sergeyev last month in Helsinki.

Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) Cooperating in Demilitarization. On June 21, British KFOR Commander General Mike Jackson and KLA Commander in Chief Hashim Thaci signed a unilateral undertaking to demilitarize the KLA. Since then, the KLA has surrendered hundreds of weapons to KFOR and has established verifiable and secure weapons storage sites. Most personnel have stopped wearing uniforms or insignia now even though the deadline is not until September, and many KLA soldiers are assisting KFOR with mine clearance.

Uncovering Atrocities and Pursuing Justice. The U.S. is providing funds from the Kosovo supplemental to support the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in its efforts to gather evidence of war crimes and bring Slobodan Milosevic and several of his top aides to justice. Over sixty FBI personnel recently returned from Kosovo, where they assisted the ICTY with specific investigations relating to the Milosevic indictment as well as investigating other atrocity sites. The U.S. also recently announced rewards of up to \$5 million for information leading to the arrest or conviction of persons indicted by the ICTY.

Donors Conference Scheduled for July 28. The European Commission and the World Bank will hold a donors conference in Brussels on July 28 to provide a forum for donors to share information and formulate reconstruction plans. The UNHCR will also chair a meeting focusing on financing urgent humanitarian needs. A second donors conference is scheduled for the fall, after initial damage assessments have been completed.

Opposition to Milosevic Continues to Grow. Since the air campaign ended, a growing number of Serbs have risen in opposition to Slobodan Milosevic's oppressive rule, taking to the streets and air waves in protest. Examples of this include:

- A crowd of 20,000 people demanded the resignation of Milosevic in the southern city of Leskovac, a Milosevic former stronghold.
- An estimated 10,000 Serbs protested in a rally in Uzice organized by the Alliance for Change, a coalition of Serb opposition groups.
- The Town Assembly of Novi Sad voted to request the resignation of Milosevic and to lift the state's control over the media.
- Milosevic's staff was bombarded by stones from the angry opposition crowd after they failed to muster enough people for a public rally in his support.

The United States and its European Allies fully support the democratic opposition of Serbia. We have provided support to the government of President Milo Djukanovic of Montenegro and to independent media in Montenegro and Serbia. Representatives of the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute are currently meeting with opposition leaders to provide advice on democratic procedures and grassroots political organization. And although the U.S. will continue to provide humanitarian assistance to the Serbian people as long as necessary, we have resolved to deny economic aid and infrastructure repair until Milosevic is removed from power.

7-19-99

M. A. BERMAN CO.
433 PLAZA REAL, SUITE 355
BOCA RATON, FL 33432-3954

Member NASD & SIPC

tel: (561) 447-4800
fax: (561) 447-4850

July 14, 1999

~~The Honorable William J. Clinton~~
~~The White House~~
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20502

Dear Mr. President:

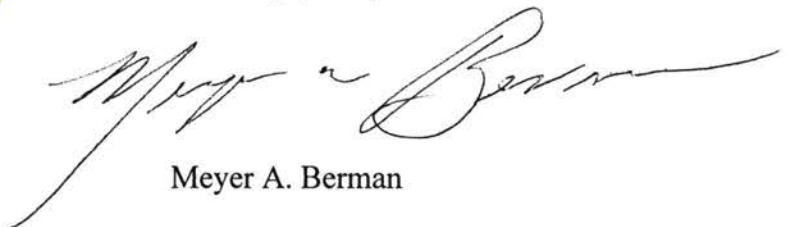
You were awesome last night.

I met Prime Minister Barak - when he was 'candidate' Barak - in Congressman Sam Gejdenson's office. Barak and Gejdenson got along well together; they understand and respect each other. I know it is difficult to invite an individual Congressman into negotiations with a Prime Minister, but, would you consider getting Congressman Gejdenson involved?

I look forward to seeing you Sunday night. I promise to brush my hair, wash my face, and behave myself.

Sincerely yours,

7-19-99


Meyer A. Berman

Send to Berkhardt?

Yes ☒
No ☐

M.A. BERMAN CO.
433 PLAZA REAL, SUITE 355
BOCA RATON, FL 33432-3954

President William J. Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

GEORGE SOROS

7-19-99

136 CANTITOE STREET
KATONAH, NEW YORK 10536

Dear President Clinton,
I think you'll like this

Jefferson

copied
Berger
NSC WWBak
Podesta

Sunny

This is good
Should do by

TO DAN
FOR T.Y.




PERSONAL VIEW GEORGE SOROS

Breaking down the borders

The vision that created the European Union should be extended to Kosovo and the rest of south-eastern Europe, helping the region to become a more open society

Slobodan Milosevic has succumbed to the military might of Nato and we can sigh with relief. To justify our intervention we must now ensure a better future not only for the people of Kosovo but for the whole region, including the rest of Yugoslavia.

We cannot go on reacting to crises as they arise, especially as our actions can have unintended adverse consequences. We must bring a positive, constructive vision to bear, the vision that has created the European Union.

The Balkans cannot be reconstructed on the basis of nation states alone. We have seen that the attempt to establish ethnic homogeneity can lead to intolerable atrocities, human suffering and destruction.

It is also impractical. Yugoslavia after the exclusion of Kosovo still has between 20 per cent and 25 per cent of non-Serb population. The only way to peace and prosperity is to create an open society in which the state plays a less dominant role and borders diminish in importance. That is the road the EU has chosen.

The idea of the open society was first proposed by Henry Bergson in his book *Two Sources of Religion and Morality* (1932). He distinguished between a tribal idea of morality and a universal idea. The former leads to a closed society; the latter to an open society. The concept was further developed by Karl Popper in his famous book *Open Society and its Enemies*, where he showed that the open society may also be threatened by universal ideas if they claim a monopoly of the truth.

But the problems of the region are best understood in terms of Bergson's formulation. We have seen a struggle between the ethnic and civic concepts of citizenship. In Yugoslavia the civic con-

cept lost out and Yugoslavia disintegrated. In western Europe the civic concept prevailed: the integration of Europe stands in stark contrast to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The EU must now extend its protective umbrella over the region.

The region itself must be seen to be larger than the former Yugoslavia because Humpty Dumpty cannot be put together again. It must include Albania and Bulgaria and ought to be open to Romania and Moldova. We must not repeat the mistakes we made in Bosnia. The reconstruction in Bosnia failed to generate momentum because the territory is too small and the various governmental entities, from federal to local, insist on

Europe then with the European common market.

● The EU compensates the countries for the loss of customs revenues out of the EU budget. The compensation would significantly exceed the loss of revenues, providing a strong incentive for participation. The burden to the EU budget would be in the region of €5bn (\$5.2bn) annually. This fits perfectly into the Europe 2000 budget agreed in Berlin.

● The subsidy would be strictly conditional on progress in establishing the conditions of an open society: free elections, independent media, rule of law, transparency, and removal of political interference in economic activities. There would have to be adequate controls over

to full membership on a country-by-country basis.

Bulgaria is already a candidate; its participation in the plan would help it to meet the requirements of membership sooner. Croatia would advance its case for becoming a candidate, although it has a big hurdle to overcome: the current elections are taking place in conditions that are far from democratic. Serbia would also have to conduct elections under the auspices of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe in order to become eligible; Mr Milosevic would find it very difficult to resist popular pressure to participate. The plan would accomplish what bombing did not.

Other measures would be needed for ensuring public safety, rebuilding infrastructure, resettling refugees, and laying the groundwork for an open society. But it is the four interrelated steps outlined above that would make an open society possible.

Customs do not merely separate countries; they are also a potent source of corruption. Abolishing customs duties would reduce the ability of governments to interfere with economic development; states would have to compete to attract investment instead of posing obstacles as they do now. The initial contribution from the EU would be multiplied manifold by private investment. That is what made the Marshall plan so successful.

This plan for an open society in south-east Europe would impose some costs on EU members, but the amounts are small because the whole region is smaller in economic terms than the Netherlands. The costs would hardly exceed those of humanitarian intervention, but the benefits would be incomparably greater.

The author is chairman of Soros Fund Management and of the Open Society Institute

Serbia would have to conduct elections in order to become eligible for EU membership. The plan would accomplish what bombing did not

having their not-so-clean fingers in every pie. This time our engagement must extend to the entire region and foster private enterprise.

This point is well understood by political leaders. The stability pact for south-eastern Europe signed in Cologne on June 10 provides an excellent starting point. It establishes three working tables: for democratisation and human rights; for economic reconstruction, development and co-operation; and for security issues. It offers a framework waiting to be filled with content. The content can be drawn from a paper prepared by the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels.

The key concept, based on the CEPS paper, consists of four interrelated steps:

● Participating countries would integrate their customs, first within south-east

the customs services and government expenditures to satisfy the donor.

● With help from the EU, the countries would be able to move to the euro (or D-Mark until the euro is introduced) as the common currency. Bulgaria already has a successful currency board based on the D-Mark; other countries would not even need a currency board.

In the first instance, the plan would create a free trade area similar to Benelux. Within the foreseeable future, say two years, the area would be admitted to the European common market. Trade in agricultural products, which is the mainstay of the region, may remain subject to restrictions, but the EU would have to show some generosity for the plan to succeed. In the more distant future, the countries would be admitted

C-
This woman would like a 14.
of support for this Omaha project
from the POTUS. Something
all should do?

~~Don~~

Ask + Norway H.
C-

7-19-99

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒
No ☐

C.

**Jane Mathers Management
230 W. Summit Ave.
Suite 1
Haddonfield, N.J. 08033**

**The Executive Office of The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. N.W.
Washington D.C. 20500**

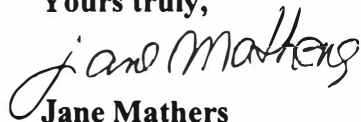
June 22, 1999

Dear President Clinton:

As an agent who deals exclusively with the Irish Music business, I have been asked by Mr. Ross Graham , President of MD White Records to follow up on the enclosed letter which he mailed to you. Perhaps you remember my client Tom Sweeney who performed his song "Anthem for the Children" on St. Patrick's night at your wonderful reception year before last. His song was a song about peace for the children of Ireland. Little did we know that just a few months later the Omagh bombing would occur.

It was ironic that Omagh is Tom's home town. Since that time people ~~have been~~ working to raise money to help the families of the injured. Tom and his brother are involved in fund raising for the people of his home town. Thus Mr. Graham was put in touch with me in hopes that I might be able to facilitate some support from the President regarding the CD that has been made with Liam Neeson, Sinéad O'Connor, The Corrs, Van Morrison, U2, Enya, and others as well. The funds from this CD will go to help the families who were injured and killed in the bombing. The project already has letters of support from Tony Blair (see enclosed letters) U2, and Liam Neeson to name a few. It is Tom's and my hopes that if these letters have not already been brought to your attention that you might be able to read the information now about the project and consider what role you might be able to play. Tom and I both have such fond memories of our night at the White House, and still recall how gracious and caring you are regarding the situation in Ireland. You have truly been a catalyst for peace in Ireland. We are all continuing to work toward peace and any help or assistance would be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,



Jane Mathers

Jane Mathers Management , Phone 856-795-1845, FAX 856-795-4223

The Executive Office of The President
The White House
1600, Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20500

28 May 1999

As co-ordinator and producer of the enclosed fund-raising project, I was given your address by the United Kingdom Northern Ireland Office. The project has been successfully launched in the UK and Ireland with the endorsement of the Northern Ireland Secretary Of State, Mo Mowlan and the Prime Minister, Tony Blair (see enclosed Downing Street statement). We are releasing the enclosed benefit recordings in the United States on July 13th this year, one month before the anniversary of the tragedy in Omagh last August.

I would be extremely grateful if you could inform The President and First Lady of the initiative and indeed pass on a copy of the CD to them as I am sure they would find the contents both sympathetic and touching. The aim of the project is primarily to raise funds for the Omagh Fund, yet it also stands as an important collective call from all the artists involved for enduring peace.

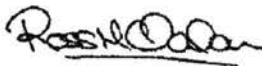
I believe, the Liam Neeson read poems by Nobel Laureate Seamus Heaney and Shaun McLoughlin are well known and appreciated by The President; and from his wonderful address at Armagh, I know how important reconciliation in Ireland is to both The President and the Irish American people.

I have also enclosed messages of support and endorsement for the project from Liam Neeson, Van Morrison, Bono of U2 and as mentioned above Prime Minister, Tony Blair. If The President feels moved to add his words of support for the project in the US, we would be deeply grateful, as his endorsement would add so much weight to our US fund-raising initiative.

To coincide with our release in the US of the Omagh Community Youth Choir, a cross denominational group of thirty teenagers from the town, will be appearing in the US (mainly in the Chicago area) from 14 to 28 July. This choir was set up in the aftermath of the tragedy and in many ways personifies the hope for the future of the people of Omagh and indeed Northern Ireland.

I feel this project is important to the American people, particularly the large number of those of Irish descent, and we ask for any assistance and guidance that your office can give.

Yours sincerely,



Ross M. Graham
MD White Records

Across the Bridge of Hope

On Saturday the 15 August 1998 the small provincial market town of Omagh suffered terribly in what was the most devastating terrorist act in the 30 years of conflict in Northern Ireland.

29 people were killed and over 200 people seriously injured when a bomb was

detonated in the centre of town just as most of the community were out shopping. As well as the deaths and physical injuries caused the tragedy inflicted a total trauma on the whole community with over 2000 people being treated for post traumatic shock.

The road to recovery and healing will be a long one. At a time when most of us thought that we were approaching a new found peace this outrage has shocked everyone and provoked a response not only from the entire Irish community but also from the rest of the world. Messages of sympathy and support have come from President Clinton and many other world leaders and the result has been to galvanise public opinion across the board into a belief in the total cessation of violence in Irish politics.

In the aftermath of this terrible tragedy a trust fund has been set up whose purpose can best be described in its own words

"The fund will be used for the benefit of those who died or were injured as a result of the Omagh bomb, their relatives and dependents and also those persons who have been adversely affected by the tragedy. It will also be used at the discretion of the trustees to provide suitable memorials and activities or to support appropriate charities or charitable purposes".

Statements of support

"At times like this, it's hard to believe that anything good could come out of something so bad...but you have to believe it, don't you...this has to be the end of the bad times."

Bono, U2

"Across The Bridge Of Hope" is a very important project bringing North and South together through music, in the hope of gaining peace and understanding."

Ronan, Boyzone

Press:

Pete Bassett @ The Quite Great Company 01223-880111

Promotions:

Dylan White @ Anglo Plugging 0171-8004488

Project co-ordinator:

Ross Graham 01238-541408

Distributed by

3my/Sony. Catalogue Nos: White 1CD, White 1MC

Website:

omaghcd.com

Across The Bridge Of Hope is a much needed fund raising initiative on behalf of the Omagh Fund. The album also embodies a collective statement of sympathy for all of those who have suffered as a result of the long history of conflict in Northern Ireland over the past 10 years and stands as a unified call for enduring peace from each and all of the artist's represented.

The artists include major Irish songwriters and performers from those who rose to prominence 30 years ago to the young stars of today's generation. It also includes two poetic readings by leading Northern Irish actor Liam Neeson. The first is of Nobel Laureate, Seamus Heaney's "Cure At Troy" which includes the following lines,

So hope for a great sea change
On the furrows of ravages
Believe that a further shore
Is reachable from here.

Liam Neeson's second reading is of a short poem by Shaun McLaughlin, whose life was tragically taken in the Omagh atrocity at the tender age of twelve.

Orange and green it does not matter,
United now, don't shatter our dream.
Scatter the seeds of peace over our land,
So we can tread, hand in hand,
Across the bridge of hope.

It is the last line of Shaun's poem that gives the album its title. The title track has been written for the project by Eamonn Robertson, which we have recorded with the help of the Omagh Community Youth Choir, a cross community choir of teenagers from the town, accompanied by the string section of the Ulster Youth Orchestra.

The album is released on 30 November on the specially formed White label with all net proceeds being donated to the Omagh Fund. We sincerely ask you to give "Across The Bridge Of Hope" your wholehearted support.

Liam Neeson The Cure At Troy

Sinéad O'Connor Chiquitita

The Divine Comedy Sunrise

Boyzone Words

The Corrs What Can I Do?

Daniel O'Donnell Beyond The Great Divide

Van Morrison The Healing Game The Alternative Acoustic Version

Ash I'm Gonna Fall

U2 Please

Juliet Turner Broken Things

Paul Brady The Island

Liam Neeson The Bridge

Omagh Community Youth Choir Across The Bridge Of Hope

Enya Silent Night

peace



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

This album is one more way in which those who died in the terrible tragedy in Omagh will be remembered. It is a tribute to the courage of the people of the town, who are slowly rebuilding their lives. I hope people buy it and help the healing process.

Tony Blair

25 November 1998

Across the Bridge of Hope

Statement of Support

LIAM NEESON

The Omagh tragedy deeply affected me on many levels. I was hurt, angry, outraged, and perhaps strangely embarrassed. However, these emotions were nothing compared to the empathy I felt for the people of Omagh. How do you recover from a suffering like that? Maybe you don't, but we all must try and help.

Making a compilation album is a small step towards a recovery of sorts. The purchasing of this record is a bigger step. The money will go straight into the Omagh Victim's Fund which will relieve some of the suffering.

Please Help. Thank You.



Liam Neeson

Across the Bridge of Hope

Statement of Support

"At times like this, it's hard to believe that anything good could come out of something so bad...but you have to believe it, don't you...this has to be the end of the bad times."

Bono, U2

" 'Across The Bridge Of Hope' is a very important project bringing North and South together through music, in the hope of gaining peace and understanding."

Ronan, Boyzone

This was a tragedy that should never have happened - but it did - and we must support those victims of Omagh in what ever way we can. Buying this album is one way we can all contribute.

Van Morrison

jane mathers

230
W. Summit
Avenue
Haddonfield
N.J.

08033
(856) 795-1845
Fax 795-4223

Mathers Artist Management

JAMES S. PHILLIPS
CIRCUIT COURT CLERK
CLAY COUNTY
MANCHESTER, KY 40962

99 JUL 19 AM 9:16

7-19-99

Bankhardt?

Send to

yes

no

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

Mr. Clinton

I have 500
acres of land in
City limits of
Manchester, Ky.

It has never been
stripped for coal,

It would make a
beautiful park for
our City & County.
Please help!!



JAMES S. PHILLIPS
CIRCUIT COURT CLERK
CLAY COUNTY

316 MAIN STREET, SUITE 108
MANCHESTER, KENTUCKY 40962

TELEPHONE:
(606) 598-3663



OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE OF MISSOURI
JEFFERSON CITY
65101

CARNAHAN
GOVERNOR

July 16, 1999

STATE CAPITOL
ROOM 218
(573) 751-3222

99 JUL 19 AM 9:16

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the Boeing Corporation's efforts to secure the purchase of the F-15 by the Israeli government.

As I have pointed out, this procurement would allow Israel to strengthen its deterrent capabilities against long-range regional threats on a sustained basis. It is important to note that we are not asking your Administration to recommend the sale of the F-15 over the F-16. We envision such a purchase complementing, not supplanting, Israel's purchase of the F-16. As a result, we are working to secure additional appropriations from the Congress for the purchase of the F-15. I strongly urge you to support this additional funding.

It is critical that we do all we can to keep the F-15 production line open. On behalf of the thousands of St. Louis families potentially affected by this effort, I hope you will express your support of our efforts to Prime Minister Barak during his visit in the United States.

Very truly yours,

Mel Carnahan
Mel Carnahan

MC/pa

*It was good to see you
in Baltimore, last Wednesday. You*

TOTAL P.01

Send to Bushchardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

*Coordinate w/
etc. NSC*

Yes ☐

No ☐

C

7-19-99

99 JUL 19 AM 9:15

**FAX**

Date 7/15/99

Number of pages including cover sheet 3

CC:

TO: Nancy Hernwright

Phone

Fax Phone 202/456-6703

FROM: Harold Ives
Harold Ives Trucking
P. O. Box 1984
Stuttgart, AR 72160

Phone (800) 824-0236

Fax Phone (870) 673-4009

REMARKS: ☐ Urgent ☒ For your review ☐ Reply ASAP ☐ Please Comment

Sam -
long time friend
of Potus -
Not sure who
can see or direct
anyone to help w/ c
of IRS - Please
advise

7-19-99
Send to Burkhardt?
Yes ☒
No ☐

cc: WSC
Yes ☒
No ☐ C



General Offices . . . HAROLD IVES TRUCKING COMPANY, P. O. BOX 1984 STUTTGART, AR 72160 1-870-673-4480

July 15, 1999

President Bill Clinton
Whitehouse
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Clinton:

As I told Ms. Nancy Hernwright today on the telephone, last year Harold Ives Trucking Co. spent over \$1,400,000.00 hiring and training drivers. The cost to put an individual through our training program is \$3,000.00 to \$4,000.00. After we have incurred this cost, a lot of times the driver will decide that driving is not for them and they leave their trucks where they quit.

Due to our inability to find U.S. citizens to participate in our training program, Harold Ives Truck Driving School is currently seeking approval for attendance by non-immigrant students under Section 101 of the Immigration Act. To secure this approval the trucking school must file an I-17 Petition. We have completed the petition and the petition has been in the INS office at Memphis for over two months without anyone reviewing it. I would like to ask you to inquire about the petition and to encourage the Memphis office to review the petition posthaste. I have a number of New Zealand citizens who are wanting to attend the truck driving school. We have been patiently waiting for this petition to be reviewed and approved. I understand the federal government is not the quickest wheel to turn, but over two months is getting to be ridiculous.

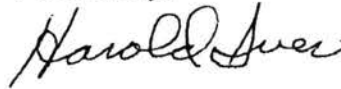
Also in the works is a Petition for H2B Non-Immigrant Temporary Worker Visa's which are currently in the certification process at the Employment Security Department here in Arkansas. We have filed an ETA 750 with the Employment Security Department and this process has also been slow and we have constantly been led along by the nose by the Alien Labor Certification Officer in Little Rock. This officer has finally stated that we have complied with the requirements and after he reviews our application he will forward the petition to the Department of Labor in Dallas, Texas. Once they review the petition and approve it, we will be able to request temporary Visa's through the INS. Once

President Bill Clinton
July 15, 1999
Page Two

again your encouragement to the proper offices and helpfulness with these matters would be most appreciated. Harold Ives Trucking Company has an extreme shortage of drivers and cannot operate without some relief by the means of non-immigrant workers. We have tried to recruit Americans but with the unemployment rate at an all time low the success rate has been very low.

I would appreciate any assistance you could give me in this matter.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Harold Ives".

Harold Ives

HI/dlj

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 7/19/99

To: MELANNE, DAN

From: The Staff Secretary

COULD I HAVE YOUR COMMENTS
PLEASE. I'D LIKE TO GIVE
THIS TO THE PRESIDENT
LATER TODAY OR TONIGHT.
THANKS.

PG

DRAFT

July 19, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SEAN MALONEY
MELANNE VERVEER
DAN BURKHARDT

SUBJECT: Final Medal of Freedom Decisions

You have decided to award the Medal of Freedom to the following individuals:

- Jimmy & Roslynn Carter
- Gerald Ford
- Lloyd Bentsen
- Max Kampelman
- Oliver Hill
- Edgar Wayburn
- Evy Dubrow
- Edgar Bronfman, Sr.
- Marian Wright Edelman

You have been considering several others:

- Bayard Rustin
- Betty Friedan
- Harry Belafonte

Steve Ricchetti has suggested that we also place *Admiral William Crowe* back on the list. You declined to award him the Medal last year. [Apparently, his wife is ill and there's a feeling that if you were planning on awarding him the Medal eventually, it might make sense to do it sooner rather than later.] Short descriptions of each of these four are presented below. You should feel free to select all, some or none. At your suggestion, Maria has also been looking further into possible Hispanic candidates, and she will update you separately on this issue.

Betty Friedan, 77.

Beginning with her landmark book, *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan has charted an evolving course for women in American society. During the 1970's and 1980's, she redefined feminism, striving to expand its support base and stressing objectives meant to aid women in the workplace. Friedan emphasized that the women's movement should not alienate moderates through attacks on the family. Instead, the goals for the second phase of the movement should be issues like flexible work schedules, parental leave, and child care. During the 1990's, Friedan

has shifted her focus to the human and intellectual development of older women. Friedan co-founded NOW (and was its first president), NARAL and the National Women's Political Caucus.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

Bayard Rustin (posthumous, died in 1987).

Rustin was one of the foremost figures of the civil rights movement. A CORE organizer, he worked closely with A. Philip Randolph to secure the executive orders that ended hiring discrimination in the defense industry and segregation in the armed forces. In the mid-1950's, Rustin helped create the SCLC and was a key adviser to Dr. King. Rustin's most notable accomplishment was his coordination of the 1963 March on Washington. Because of a brief communist affiliation and his open homosexuality (as well as an arrest in 1953 on a public morals charge), Rustin was consigned to behind-the-scenes organizing and strategizing. In the late 60's, his focus shifted from organizing acts of nonviolent civil disobedience to organizing political coalitions among blacks, Jews, and labor groups. *Rustin's selection would be welcomed not only by the African American and civil rights communities, but it would be seen as historic and symbolic by the gay and lesbian community -- he would be the first openly gay person to receive the Medal.*

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

Harry Belafonte, 71.

First known to the world through music and movies, Belafonte has brokered his fame to focus attention on civil rights, human rights, and world hunger. Called "a powerful tactical weapon in the civil rights movement" by Martin Luther King, Jr., Belafonte helped to coalesce the cultural community behind that movement, as demonstrated by the significant participation of the arts community in events like the 1963 Freedom March on Washington and the marches in Selma and Montgomery, Alabama. In 1985, he launched the USA for Africa project to address the effects of war, drought, and famine in Africa; and through that organization, he brought artists together to record "We are the World," raising millions for emergency relief. Later, he helped initiate Hands Across America in an effort to relieve hunger in our own country. Through the Belafonte Foundation, he has assisted many African students seeking an education in the U.S. In 1987, he was appointed UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador, only the second American to receive that honor. In 1989, he received the Kennedy Center Honors award for lifetime achievement. You awarded him the National Medal of the Arts in 1994. Early in your first term, Belafonte was critical of your Haitian refugee policy. In 1993, a Buffalo, New York, newspaper quoted him as saying you "lost [your] moral insight and became purely political" once in office. He also was quoted asking, "How can you lead this country if you're morally weak, like Clinton is?" (*New York Times* Biographical Service, 9/93)

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

Admiral William James Crowe, Jr., 72.

Four times the recipient of the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Admiral Crowe completed fifty distinguished years of government service in 1997. A gifted military leader, he served as commander of the Middle East Force in the Persian Gulf, head of Navy Plans and Policy, Commander in Chief of the United States Pacific Command, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He served this Administration as Chairman of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (1993-94) and as Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Approve ____

Disapprove ____

Discuss ____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: SEAN MALONEY 

SUBJECT: Lowering the Flags for John Kennedy, Jr.

This is to provide you some context for the anticipated decision whether to lower the flags as a measure of respect for John Kennedy, Jr. As you know, the President may do so at his discretion and has done so in recent years for the following individuals:

- Harry Blackmun (3/4/99)
- King Hussein (2/7/99)
- Albert Gore, Sr. (12/7/98)
- Lewis Powell (8/25/98)
- Africa Embassy Bombing Victims (8/7/98)
- Barry Goldwater (5/29/98)
- William Brennan, Jr. (7/24/97)

The flags were not lowered for the following individuals:

- Alan Shepard (7/98)
- Mother Teresa (9/97)
- Princess Diana (8/97)
- Pamela Harriman (2/97)
- Les Aspin (5/95)
- William Fulbright (2/95)
- Dean Rusk (12/94)
- **Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis (5/94)**

OPTION

It's a difficult decision, but it would be out of proportion to previous episodes of this kind for the President to order the lowering of *all* U.S. flags (*e.g.*, the President did not lower the flags when Jacqueline Kennedy died in 1994). The President might consider lowering the *flag over the White House residence (as opposed to all U.S. flags)* for a period of 24 hours once the fate of Mr. Kennedy and his party is known with more certainty. This was the option selected last July following the murder of the Capitol Hill policemen, and it would seem to be an appropriate, proportionate expression of respect in this case as well.

cc: Maria Echaveste, Karen Tramontano, Doug Sosnik, Goody Marshall, Joe Lockhart

GEORGE SOROS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-19-99

136 CANTITOE STREET
KATONAH, NEW YORK 10536

Dear President Clinton,
I think you'll like this

Jefferson

Sandy

This is good
Should do by

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Berger
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PERSONAL VIEW GEORGE SOROS

Breaking down the borders

The vision that created the European Union should be extended to Kosovo and the rest of south-eastern Europe, helping the region to become a more open society

Slobodan Milosevic has succumbed to the military might of Nato and we can sigh with relief. To justify our intervention we must now ensure a better future not only for the people of Kosovo but for the whole region, including the rest of Yugoslavia.

We cannot go on reacting to crises as they arise, especially as our actions can have unintended adverse consequences. We must bring a positive, constructive vision to bear, the vision that has created the European Union.

The Balkans cannot be reconstructed on the basis of nation states alone. We have seen that the attempt to establish ethnic homogeneity can lead to intolerable atrocities, human suffering and destruction.

It is also impractical. Yugoslavia, after the exclusion of Kosovo, still has between 20 per cent and 25 per cent of non-Serb population. The only way to peace and prosperity is to create an open society in which the state plays a less dominant role and borders diminish in importance. That is the road the EU has chosen.

The idea of the open society was first proposed by Henry Bergson in his book *Two Sources of Religion and Morality* (1932). He distinguished between a tribal idea of morality and a universal idea. The former leads to a closed society; the latter to an open society. The concept was further developed by Karl Popper in his famous book *Open Society and its Enemies*, where he showed that the open society may also be threatened by universal ideas if they claim a monopoly of the truth.

But the problems of the region are best understood in terms of Bergson's formulation. We have seen a struggle between the ethnic and civic concepts of citizenship. In Yugoslavia the civic con-

cept lost out and Yugoslavia disintegrated. In western Europe the civic concept prevailed: the integration of Europe stands in stark contrast to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The EU must now extend its protective umbrella over the region.

The region itself must be seen to be larger than the former Yugoslavia because Humpty Dumpty cannot be put together again. It must include Albania and Bulgaria and ought to be open to Romania and Moldova. We must not repeat the mistakes we made in Bosnia. The reconstruction in Bosnia failed to generate momentum because the territory is too small and the various governmental entities, from federal to local, insist on

Europe, then with the European common market.

● The EU compensates the countries for the loss of customs revenues out of the EU budget. The compensation would significantly exceed the loss of revenues, providing a strong incentive for participation. The burden to the EU budget would be in the region of €5bn (\$5.2bn) annually. This fits perfectly into the Europe 2000 budget agreed in Berlin.

● The subsidy would be strictly conditional on progress in establishing the conditions of an open society: free elections, independent media, rule of law, transparency, and removal of political interference in economic activities. There would have to be adequate controls over

to full membership on a country-by-country basis.

Bulgaria is already a candidate; its participation in the plan would help it to meet the requirements of membership sooner. Croatia would advance its case for becoming a candidate, although it has a big hurdle to overcome: the current elections are taking place in conditions that are far from democratic. Serbia would also have to conduct elections under the auspices of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe in order to become eligible; Mr Milosevic would find it very difficult to resist popular pressure to participate. The plan would accomplish what bombing did not.

Other measures would be needed for ensuring public safety, rebuilding infrastructure, resettling refugees, and laying the groundwork for an open society. But it is the four interrelated steps outlined above that would make an open society possible.

Customs do not merely separate countries; they are also a potent source of corruption. Abolishing customs duties would reduce the ability of governments to interfere with economic development; states would have to compete to attract investment instead of posing obstacles as they do now. The initial contribution from the EU would be multiplied manifold by private investment. That is what made the Marshall plan so successful.

This plan for an open society in south-east Europe would impose some costs on EU members, but the amounts are small because the whole region is smaller in economic terms than the Netherlands. The costs would hardly exceed those of humanitarian intervention, but the benefits would be incomparably greater.

The author is chairman of Soros Fund Management and of the Open Society Institute

Serbia would have to conduct elections in order to become eligible for EU membership. The plan would accomplish what bombing did not

having their not-so-clean fingers in every pie. This time our engagement must extend to the entire region and foster private enterprise.

This point is well understood by political leaders. The stability pact for south-eastern Europe signed in Cologne on June 10 provides an excellent starting point. It establishes three working tables: for democratisation and human rights; for economic reconstruction, development and co-operation; and for security issues. It offers a framework waiting to be filled with content. The content can be drawn from a paper prepared by the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels.

The key concept, based on the CEPS paper, consists of four interrelated steps:

● Participating countries would integrate their customs, first within south-east

the customs services and government expenditures to satisfy the donor.

● With help from the EU, the countries would be able to move to the euro (or D-Mark until the euro is introduced) as the common currency. Bulgaria already has a successful currency board based on the D-Mark; other countries would not even need a currency board.

In the first instance, the plan would create a free trade area similar to Benelux. Within the foreseeable future, say two years, the area would be admitted to the European common market. Trade in agricultural products, which is the mainstay of the region, may remain subject to restrictions, but the EU would have to show some generosity for the plan to succeed. In the more distant future, the countries would be admitted

To M. P. ...
I think this should
be a core issue of Bush + VP's
campaign → Box

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In America

BOB HERBERT

Money vs. Reform

Donna Marie McIlwaine was 22 when she died on Feb. 8, 1997. She is buried in the Chili Rural Cemetery in upstate Scottsville, N.Y.

The managed-care reform legislation that has been the focus of a furious debate in the Senate was essentially an effort to make it easier to save the lives of patients like Ms. McIlwaine.

The Republican Party, flooded with money from the managed-care industry, gives lip service to the idea of protecting patients, but then does the bidding of the companies that are the source of all that cash.

It's a tremendous scandal. No one can seriously argue that lives are not being lost.

Ms. McIlwaine went to the doctor several times in the week before she died, complaining of pains in her chest and shortness of breath. According to her family, she was diagnosed with an upper respiratory infection and "panic attacks."

In fact, she was suffering from pneumonia and a blood clot in her left lung. Her mother, Mary Munnings, told me yesterday that her daughter had been screaming from the excruciating pain before finally lapsing into unconsciousness and dying at home on a Saturday night.

There was no need for her to die. Ms. Munnings said that when she contacted the office of her daughter's primary-care physician the following Monday, she learned that Ms. McIlwaine had not been sent for the laboratory tests that would have properly diagnosed her condition. She said that when she asked why not, she was told that "they couldn't justify" the tests to her health maintenance organization.

So we have Donna Marie McIlwaine dead at 22.

Most of the country understands that an unconscionable obsession with the bottom line has resulted in widespread abuses in the managed-care industry. Simply stated, there is big money to be made by denying care. It is now widely known that there are faceless bureaucrats making critical diagnostic and treatment decisions, that some doctors are being retaliated against for dispensing honest advice, that women have had an especially hard time getting the care they need, and that patients have died because they were unable to gain admittance to emergency rooms.

The so-called patients' bill of rights, sponsored by the Democratic Senators Tom Daschle and Edward Ken-

nedy, was an attempt to curb these and other abuses. The managed-care industry wanted no part of the legislation, which meant the Republicans wanted no part of it. The Democrats had to virtually shut down the Senate before the Republican majority would even agree to bring the matter to the floor for a debate.

The Republican whip, Don Nickles of Oklahoma, could hardly have been clearer about his party's desire to avoid the issue. "I don't want our members to go through a lot of votes that can be misconstrued for political purposes," he said.

The Democrats succeeded in forc-

The G.O.P. sinks patients' rights.

ing debate on the bill, but they haven't gotten the patient protections they sought. What occurred on the floor of the Senate this week was a G.O.P.-sponsored charade in which one Republican senator after another talked about protecting the health of patients while voting to protect the profits of the industry.

It was a breathtaking exercise in hypocrisy. It was as if George Wallace had spoken earnestly about the need to admit black students to a public school in Alabama while standing in the doorway to block their entrance.

Some face-saving measures were passed by the G.O.P. majority, but the essence of managed-care reform was defeated. In the end, it didn't matter that Mary Munnings had needlessly lost her daughter, or that a parade of managed-care victims had traveled to Washington to detail their horror stories, or that organizations representing doctors, patients and their families had lined up en masse in support of reform.

All that mattered was the obsession with the profits of the insurance companies and the H.M.O.'s.

Eventually substantial improvements will be made in the delivery of effective and affordable health care to Americans. It will take years but it will happen. And then the country will look back and wonder (as we have with Social Security, Medicare and the like) why anyone was ever opposed. □

The New York Times

THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-19-99

Bohner
What about him?
Bohner

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7-19-99

Panel Backs Easing Ban On Embryo Research

By RICK WEISS
Washington Post Staff Writer

A presidentially appointed bioethics commission yesterday called for loosening a four-year-old ban on federal funding for research involving human embryos, saying federally funded researchers should be allowed to more fully pursue the promising and controversial new field of human embryonic stem cell research.

At a meeting in Cambridge, Mass., the National Bioethics Advisory Commission released 14 final recommendations regarding research on human embryonic stem cells, a kind of cell discovered last fall that has the potential to grow into virtually any kind of tissue and that may prove invaluable in the treatment of Parkinson's disease, diabetes and a host of other degenerative diseases.

The 16-member commission, composed of ethicists, philosophers, scientists and theologians, came out against the creation of human embryos solely as sources of stem cells. But, as expected, it declared that federal agencies should fund stem cell research on surplus embryos obtained from fertility clinics, if the mother has properly consented.

Since 1995, Congress has precluded federally financed scientists from engaging in research that results in the destruction of human embryos. Because the isolation of stem cells results in embryo destruction, the National Institutes of Health has been devising guidelines that would allow its funded scientists to conduct experiments on stem cells that were first isolated by privately financed researchers.

The commission's recommendations go further, saying federal agencies should support the retrieval of stem cells from embryos. The report concludes that the potential benefits of the research to millions of adults outweigh the moral harm that may be done by destroying embryos.

Antiabortion activists and some lawmakers have warned that they will oppose any changes to the ban. And in a statement released late yesterday, the White House lent support to that position.

President Clinton "acknowledges the hard work" of the commission, the statement said. But no legal changes are needed, it continued, "because it appears that human embryonic stem cells will be available from the private sector."

The statement did not address the argument by some scientists that research will be slowed if it relies on private sources alone.

Effectiveness Of Teacher Certification Questioned

By KENNETH J. COOPER
and JAY MATTHEWS
Washington Post Staff Writers

A new study has found that high school students whose teachers have emergency teaching certificates—typically issued by states to meet shortages in the classroom—perform about as well in mathematics and science as students whose teachers hold regular teaching credentials.

The surprising finding, based on the test scores of a national sample of high school seniors and sophomores, runs contrary to the assumptions of a Clinton administration proposal to require states to stop issuing emergency teaching certificates as a condition for receiving federal education aid. After President Clinton called for such a ban in his State of the Union address this year, the administration in May proposed giving states four years to dramatically scale back emergency certification of teachers.

"Contrary to conventional wisdom, mathematics and science students who have teachers with emergency credentials do no worse than students whose teachers have standard teaching credentials, all else being equal," Dan D. Goldhaber and Dominic J. Brewer concluded in their contribution to "Better Teachers, Better Schools," a report released yesterday by the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation.

Other findings made by Brewer and Goldhaber—a labor economist who serves on Alexandria's school board—underline the importance of teachers specializing in the subjects they teach. The study concluded that students whose teachers have college degrees in math or have been specifically certified to teach math score significantly higher on standardized tests than students whose teachers did not specialize.

The new study appears likely to stimulate debate about the best ways to improve teacher quality, widely regarded as central to raising student achievement levels. It is expected to be a tough challenge to improve the quality of teachers at the same time that the nation hires more teachers because of record enrollments, an anticipated wave of retirements and moves to reduce class sizes in the earliest grades.

The Education Department estimates there are about 50,000 teachers with emergency certification, meaning they have been exempted from state standards on education courses, practice teaching and professional exam scores. Locally, Goldhaber said, the practice is most common in the District and Prince George's County.

Therese Dozier, teaching adviser to Education Secretary Richard W. Riley, said other studies conducted in Florida and Texas support the administration's opposition to emergency certification. "The research that I have been familiar with says training does make a difference," she said.

Goldhaber acknowledged that more research was needed on the quality of emergency certified teachers hired in recent years because the data he used were collected seven years ago, before the number of such hirings jumped significantly.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-19-99

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Well Before Littleton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-19-99

The public's support for firearms regulation and gun-safety measures is not a temporary reaction to the school shootings in Littleton and elsewhere. After three years of surveying public opinion on guns, the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago (NORC) has confirmed that even before the horrendous series of school massacres, majorities backed all measures to control guns short of banning ownership outright. The NORC surveys show that the shootings have not created a transitory and unreflective bubble of public opinion for gun control but rather have focused political attention on the problem of gun violence and have revealed that a public consensus already exists to deal with the problem.

The attitudes show up clearly in three national surveys conducted annually by the NORC. These surveys reveal that the public supports a wide range of policies designed to regulate firearms, promote gun safety and keep guns out of the hands of criminals.

Gun safety in particular concerns the vast majority of people. Parents worry about their children being around unsafely stored guns, and parents (as well as adults in general) want laws to require safe storage and to hold owners liable for injuries resulting from unsafe storage. Finally, people want to keep guns out of the hands of criminals and to punish those who misuse guns. Again, these results have been shown consistently over three years of surveying national samples of Americans.

Just as automobiles are registered, drivers are licensed, and car sales are recorded and documented, Americans—including most gun owners—believe there should be a set of common-sense regulations to control firearms.

People are even willing to pay more taxes to reduce illegal access to firearms. Further, they

do not think the Second Amendment stands in the way of most proposed policies to regulate guns, increase gun safety and bar criminals from obtaining guns. They are not ready, however, to treat guns like tobacco and to hold their manufacturers liable for injuries that result from firearms.

Regarding the general regulation of firearms, majorities of up to 90 percent back all measures except those that call for the outright outlawing of guns or restricting them only to police officers and other authorized persons.

Support for safety measures is even stronger, with large majorities consistently supporting all safety-related policies including: (1) technological measures to make guns safer (childproofing, personalizing, magazine safeties and load indicators), (2) tougher general safety standards for the design and manufacture of guns, (3) mandatory safe-storage requirements, (4) the training of all gun owners and (5) miscellaneous safety-promoting measures such as holding manufacturers liable for defects in design and production.

Also, a consensus prevails that those convicted of various misdemeanors should be prohibited from purchasing guns and that the illegal use of guns should be severely punished.

Finally, over the past two years public support for most gun-control measures has risen and the pro-control majority has further solidified.

People are very concerned about gun-safety issues. First, by 54 to 39.5 percent (with 7 percent unsure or in between) people believe that permissive, conceal-carrying laws would lessen rather than increase safety. Second, parents are very concerned about letting their child go to a household that contains a gun. A majority of parents (68 percent) approve of a

visit only if guns are both locked away and unloaded. Approvals falls to 7 percent if the weapons are not locked away and are loaded. Third, most Americans do not own a gun for the purpose of protection. Sixty percent do not have a gun in their house, and 23 percent have a gun but did not acquire it even partially for protection against crime. Only 16 percent have a gun obtained for the purpose of protection. Likewise, only 9 percent of Americans have carried a handgun away from home in the past year, and just 5 percent have carried a weapon for the purpose of self-protection.

Support for gun-control measures (general restrictions, safety enhancements and limitations on criminals) is highest among those who do not personally own guns, those more knowledgeable about both the use/misuse of guns and gun-control laws, those concerned about crime and who see crime as increasing, those never ticketed or arrested by the police, women and those with more confidence in government in general.

But support for most gun-control measures is high even among those groups that are less in favor of gun control. In particular, a majority of those who personally own a gun endorses 10 of 17 general regulation policies, 14 of 15 safety measures, and all 7 steps to deny guns to criminals or punish their misuse of guns.

These numbers make clear that there is a consistent, mainstream view about guns and safety, a perspective that is not particularly controversial. As legislators consider laws dealing with the issue of guns, they could be well served by considering these opinions.

The writer is director of the General Social Survey at the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

Michael A. Samuels Beef Wars

Yesterday, an arbitration panel of the World Trade Organization (WTO) determined the level of retaliation the United States (and Canada as well) is entitled to exact from the European Union (EU) for an illegal policy that has blocked EU imports of American beef for a decade. This is the second time the WTO has officially determined a retaliation figure; the first was in April, when the WTO authorized \$191.4 million in U.S. retaliation for the EU's illegal banana import regime.

The WTO decisions in these cases mark a milestone in the history of international trade. For the first time in nearly a half-century, an international trade body has begun authorizing retaliation by one nation against a trading partner because of illegal behavior. In affirming the concept that nations that violate international trade laws must bear some consequences, the WTO has raised its credibility and passed a test that its predecessor, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, had failed for decades.

But raising the WTO's credibility is not the same as fulfilling its promise. If the banana and beef cases end in retaliation alone, the WTO will have dispensed retribution, but not justice. In so doing, it will have fallen far short of achieving one of its central purposes: ensuring binding and prompt compliance with international trade rules.

The problem that continues to exist in the banana case, and is virtually certain to repeat itself in the beef case, is that the losing litigant has not been induced to change its illegal ways. All that has happened thus far in the banana case is that the winning litigant has been officially permitted to exact an equivalent pound of flesh. Another pound will soon be taken in beef. Still, in both cases, there will remain the gap between the WTO's promise and its performance.

In the banana case, the WTO determined that American commercial interests have suffered losses of \$191.4 million in each of the years the EU regime has existed, for a total of more than \$1 billion in harm. But does the ruling provide compensation to the injured U.S. interests? Not a penny's worth.

So long as the EU perpetuates its illegal policy, all that can be done is for the United States to impose tit-for-tat penalties in the same amount on European exporters who sell their products here. The United States has slapped sanctions on European businesses not directly involved in the dispute.



Only when the EU brings its banana and beef regimes into conformity with international trade rules will the cases be over and victory achieved.

The EU continues its illegal trade practices. And EU multinational banana marketers continue to profit from those illegal practices.

In the months since the WTO banana retaliation (and in the more than two years since the initial WTO ruling), no changes have been made to bring the EU system into conformity with WTO rules. Every day, there is more damage to more parties. For people inclined to believe that the EU might eventually make good on its promise to bring the banana regime into WTO conformity, recent events have not been encouraging.

EU officials in Brussels are even today putting forward illegal banana "reform" proposals, apparently under no pressure from the 15 countries of the EU to deliver true relief to the injured parties. The beef case is taking a similar course, with EU officials warning they will never lift their ban on U.S. products despite any retaliation that might occur. Under the circumstances, it is no wonder that American agricultural groups are growing extremely frustrated with the

WTO process and are calling for significant reforms in the dispute settlement system.

What to do while the Europeans prevaricate and the WTO procedures remain intact? Here's a start: The nations of the world should stop acting as if the banana and beef cases end once retaliation begins. The fact is they will not be over until the EU changes its illegal policies. Absent such changes, American agriculture—or any other interests that might one day bring a WTO case—will be unable to view the WTO as a place to go for the redress of legitimate grievances.

The WTO cannot work if its largest member opts out of compliance. When the EU brings its banana and beef regimes into conformity with international trade rules—and only then—will the cases be over and victory achieved, not just by the United States but by the entire world trading community.

The writer is a former deputy U.S. trade representative and ambassador to the GATT.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-19-99

Edmond Manda

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camping when it goes
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Littleton Students Listen to Gun Debate, Wondering if They Have Been Heard

By FRANK BRUNI

WASHINGTON, July 14 — Andrew Singleton, a 15-year-old from Denver, listened to the impassioned oratory on both sides of the gun control debate in Congress, but he said today that he seldom got the sense that the orators understood anything about his life.

"I've been to 15 funerals this year," Andrew said, explaining that all of those people were killed by gunfire and that many were relatives. None, he said, rated the kind of television news coverage given to the slayings at Columbine High School in Littleton, a Denver suburb.

"But they've all been in the back of newspapers — in mortuary ads," he said.

Erin Flynn and Laurel Salerno, both 15-year-olds from Littleton, said that they, too, wondered if lawmakers truly appreciated the devastation wrought by gun violence, which they experienced firsthand as freshmen at Columbine when the shots rang out on April 20 in the shooting that left 15 dead, including the two killers.

"We ran for our lives," Miss Flynn said, "and we lost friends that we'll never see again."

Laurel added, "It hurts so much, and it's not O.K."

The three teen-agers were among a group of about 95 high school students from the Denver area, including 6 from Littleton, who flew to Washington today and descended on the Capitol to meet lawmakers and make a case for the kinds of more stringent restrictions on firearms that Congress has yet to adopt.

The teen-agers said in interviews that they came because the deaths in Littleton chilled and haunted them; because their proximity to that killing, in terms of their addresses and their ages, might give their viewpoints a special clout; because they wanted to add their voices to the debate, and because they needed to be heard.

They understood that gun control laws alone were no guarantee of safer schools, more tranquil streets and fewer killings, they said. But, they asked, why not try?

Dismissing concerns that such regulations trampled on the Second Amendment of the United States Constitution, Rosa Chavez, 17, of Lakewood, Colo., asked: "What's

more important: the right for people to bear arms, or the right of people not to be killed?"

Their visit, conceived as a kind of "children's march" on Washington, was planned by a Colorado gun control advocacy group, Sane Alternatives to the Firearms Epidemic, that was founded in the aftermath of the Littleton slayings.

That group's president, John Head, a Denver lawyer, ran into two concerned students from Denver at a conference on children and violence just a few weeks ago and asked them if they could bring together a group. Those students, Ben Gelt, 18, and David Winkler, 17, succeeded in drafting nearly 100 of their peers,

most of whom pitched in \$250 to supplement the donations that paid for the bulk of the trip.

The teen-agers have separate audiences on Thursday with both President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore. But it is hard to imagine that either encounter will prove as interesting as a meeting they had late this afternoon with Representative Scott McInnis, Republican of Colorado.

When two competing proposals to require mandatory background checks on all firearms buyers at gun shows came before the House last month, Mr. McInnis voted for the significantly more lenient measure. The students are well aware of this, and none too pleased about it.

They initially held their tongues as they sat on the steps of the Capitol and listened to Mr. McInnis praise them.

"I go to sleep every night and I sleep very well when I think about your generation," Mr. McInnis said.

Then several of the students grilled him on his vote.

Mr. McInnis explained that new laws were not magic bullets, and that existing laws needed to be better enforced, so that those who acquired guns illegally felt the sting of touching a hot burner and learned their lesson.

"But if you turn off the burner, nobody gets hurt," said Jessica Garrett, 16, of Denver, who was arguing

that guns be made less accessible before — not after — they were used to injure or kill people.

Mr. McInnis said that lawmakers needed to make sure that they did not deprive law-abiding citizens of guns. "I have the right to protect myself," he said.

Miss Garrett responded, "If there weren't violent people with guns, you wouldn't have to protect yourself."

The students planned to spend an hour or two on Thursday afternoon lobbying lawmakers and said they might even approach the Republican leaders who will soon be appointing negotiators to reconcile a Senate juvenile crime bill that contained a strict provision on sales at gun shows with a House bill that contained no gun control at all.

All four guns used at Columbine were purchased without background checks at gun shows. The requirement of such checks might have prevented the sale of one of those firearms, the most lethal of the weapons.

But the students said that stricter gun control laws would surely lessen the prevalence of firearms in general.

Of eight students who sat down for an extended interview, six said they had seen, in their high schools, guns that were not supposed to be there. Three said that they had had guns pointed at them, although not at school. One of them, Miss Chavez, said that the memory of that experience filled her with anger at lawmakers' inaction.

"It's one thing for them to say they sympathize with our pain," she said. "It's quite another thing to look down a gun barrel and think maybe you're going to die."

The New York Times

THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1999

Podesta

This is
a very good morning
considering it
was a short release
can we have it if?

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7-19-99

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Podesta

The worsening situation raised speculation that the International Monetary Fund would intervene as a pre-emptive move by offering a contingent credit line that the IMF has established to head off emerging-market crises.

"The money would help tide the country over through the election and allay investors' concerns," said Michael Gavin, research director at Warburg Dillon Read in Stamford, Conn., and former chief Latin America economist at the Inter-American Development Bank. "The markets need assurance about not what the outgoing government will do but what the incoming government might do."

Most of Latin America's other stock markets followed Argentina's Merval index down, showing the sensitivity of the region to its problems. Brazil's and Mexico's leading market indexes lost 2 percent while Chile, Peru and Venezuela also fell.

Argentina's economy has been reeling ever since Brazil's January devaluation. That virtually overnight made Argentine products less affordable in the neighboring Brazilian market, which consumes 30 percent of Argentina's total exports, and in foreign countries where the two nations compete for business.

Since the Brazilian devaluation, fears have been building that Argentina would inevitably be forced to follow suit and to devalue by abandoning its currency's "convertibility," or its direct peg to the U.S. dollar. Under the policy, Argentina issues pesos, its national currency, equal to the amount of U.S. dollars it holds in reserve.

In force since 1991, the policy has been a keystone of Argentina's economic recovery this decade, but has made its products less competitive since Brazil's devaluation. Total exports are down 12 percent this year.

Even before the devaluation, Argentina's farmers had been hammered by steady price declines on world markets of its prime agricultural exports such as wheat, cattle and soybeans. Agriculture accounts for more than half of all Argentine exports.

Argentina's link to the dollar also makes it unusually susceptible to interest rate hikes here, such as the Federal Reserve's quarter point hike last week, said David Malpass chief international economist at Bear Stearns & Co. in New York. "The pressure is mounting in Argentina," he said.

Declining trade and rising interest rates have put Argentina in a tightening vise of costlier debt and widening fiscal and trade deficits. Chances of much needed labor and fiscal reforms that would help ease the pressure are slim in this highly charged election year. Argentina's economy is expected to contract by 2.5 percent this year.

Asked to account for Argentina's sinking stock and bond prices, Siobhan Manning, Latin American debt strategist at PaineWebber in New York, said investors are "contemplating the worst case scenarios."

"Argentina is still a stronger credit than Brazil, but an environment where there is a lot of uncertainty and populist campaign rhetoric to attract voters is not a situation to build investor confidence," Manning said.

BROWNSTEIN COMMENT: Politicians Shouldn't Wait to Take Action

By Ronald Brownstein
Los Angeles Times

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill. Standing on State Street in front of the new Schnuck's supermarket, across the way from the ceremony where President Clinton and a crowd of dignitaries are opening a new Walgreens drugstore, Adam Gladney can see sprouts of hope in this long-suffering city.

More people, he says, are working; the streets feel safer; a shopping center a rare luxury here is under construction next to the Walgreens. Many of these streets still seem desolate, but with the economy booming all around, Gladney sees a chance to plant more seeds of renewal. "This is a time to start moving on stuff," insists the gregarious shoe store manager.

That's a message Washington ought to hear. Good times have given the country a chance to tackle entrenched problems like the need to modernize Social Security and Medicare or the persistent poverty that Clinton spotlighted last week in communities from Appalachia to Los Angeles. But day by day, the danger is rising that Washington will let this chance slip past.

That risk seemed the subtext to Clinton's striking cross-country tour last week. Clinton's words were aimed mostly at communities that the economic boom of the 1990s has left behind. But his message may have been just as valuable for a community that has prematurely moved on the political class in Washington already fixated on campaign 2000.

With his burst of activity, Clinton sent a simple and powerful message: There's still plenty of time for the administration and Congress to address problems that affect millions of Americans every day. "People hire us to work," Clinton said in an interview, "and expect us to work."

That would seem self-evident with the next election still 16 months away. But the capital these days resembles a sailor who has become hypnotized by the distant horizon. The media, the political professionals and even much of Congress are already engrossed in the next presidential race. Meanwhile, the administration and Congress have fallen back into grinding stalemate.

Some of this is inevitable: The accelerated 2000 primary calendar has forced the campaign to start early. But the futility in Washington mocks the frenzy on the campaign trail. The presidential candidates are brimming with ideas to reform everything from the tax code to the schools. But the problem in Washington isn't a shortage of good ideas; it's a shortage of tolerance for the bipartisan compromises that allow good ideas to become law. Unless the climate changes, the presidential pack may be running at a breakneck pace for the privilege of standing still if they win.

Maybe the next election will give one party sufficient control of the process to impose its agenda on the other. But don't bet on it. Americans have let one party control both Congress and the White House for only six of the past 31 years. And public opinion is so closely divided between the parties that even if one controls both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, its margin in Congress is unlikely to be large enough to support an ideological crusade.

That means the challenge after the election could well be the same as now: building coalitions for centrist reforms. And that means there is no reason to wait until January 2001 to start.

On some issues such as gun control and late-term abortions the parties are divided by disagreements that defy compromise. But in several areas, they could reach agreement if they wanted to. On education, both are looking for means to encourage states to strengthen their systems of accountability for teachers, students and administrators. The swelling budget surplus estimates have given them more money to grease a potential deal on taxes and spending. And Clinton's proposals to inject more market competition in Medicare moves him toward centrists in both parties.

Then there's another category of potential agreements symbolized by the proposals Clinton touted last week to encourage more investment in depressed urban and rural areas. No one would pretend the tax credits and loan guarantees Clinton proposed could by themselves reverse decades of decay. But Clinton's efforts to steer more private investment into needy areas (through initiatives such as tougher enforcement of the community lending laws) have already demonstrated enough promise (in results such as rising minority homeownership) that this next step hardly seems an unacceptable risk.

Or, more precisely, it would not seem an unacceptable risk to a capital that recognized the value of trial and error in social policy. What's missing in Washington is not only a willingness to compromise but a willingness to experiment. Lyndon B. Johnson, whose Great Society produced some great successes and some great failures, once lamented that the political world was not able to accept the latter as the price of the former. "I wish the public had seen the task of ending poverty the same way as they saw the task of getting to the moon," Johnson once said, "where they accepted mistakes as part of the scientific process."

Embracing that Edisonian tinkerer's spirit could do wonders for Washington today. The first step toward confronting problems such as poverty is to acknowledge that neither party knows exactly how to solve them. If the two sides embraced a policy of competitive experimentation, they could fund trials for each other's best ideas such as Clinton's new investment initiatives, or GOP proposals to support church-based programs that reconnect absent fathers with their families. Then they could see what worked, and carefully expand it.

Washington eventually needs to reach consensus on broader policy changes that could boost communities such as East St. Louis a hike in the minimum wage, for example, or a drive to insure working adults without health care. And some of those steps probably can't be taken until they've been argued out in a presidential campaign.

But in the meantime, both parties would benefit from finding ideas they could agree to test in the real world. Not incidentally, that also would benefit the people in places such as State Street who shouldn't have to wait until the next presidential election for Washington to support their fragile steps toward community renewal.