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Thursday, September 16, 1999

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Section:

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99 SEP 16 PM 5:52

BOB GRAHAM
FLORIDA

September 9, 1999

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for graciously agreeing
to speak with me on
September: 9-16-99

Library of Congress
and friends
and will be in Leg. Affairs.?

Reply needed?
Yes ☒ No ☐ - city
ited
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Yes ☒ No ☐ -

ADD TO
LEGISLATIVE
CORRESPONDENCE ON
LEGISLATION



BOB GRAHAM
FLORIDA

99 SEP 16 PM5:52

September 9, 1999

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for graciously agreeing
to speak with our Friends Friends on
September 24 at the Great Hall of the
Library of Congress. Your generosity
and kindness is deeply appreciated
and will make this a memorable

occasion for all those
participating.

Adèle joins me in expressing
our best wishes to you, Harry
and Chelsea.

Bob



Mrs. Currie —
Thanks for delivering this
note for Senator Graham.

Mark A. Block
Deputy Chief of Staff

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "M. Block", written over the printed name and title.

Senator Bob Graham
Florida

524 Hart Senate Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3041 224-2237 fax
mark_block@graham.senate.gov
Direct Phone: 202/224-8302

UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

Mr. President

A handwritten signature consisting of a long horizontal stroke with a small vertical mark in the middle, resembling a stylized 'H' or a flourish.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

99 SEP 16 PM 4:21

September 16, 1999

9-18-99

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT
LAURA GRAHAM

RE: UNGA Schedule

CC: JOHN PODESTA
STEVE RICCHETTI
SAMUEL BERGER

Copied
COS
Streett
Graham
Ricchetti
Berger

See draft schedule attached.

UNGA Schedule

You depart the White House at 7:00 am for NYC. Upon arrival, you will briefly meet with **Secretary General Annan** and **UGA President Gurirab** before addressing the General Assembly at 10:30 am. You will proceed to the US Mission for a bilateral meeting with **Prime Minister Dzurinda of Slovakia** as well as a pull aside with **President Mbeki of South Africa**. President Mbeki will then accompany you on the ride back to the United Nations where you will have meet and greet/photo ops with **President Menem of Argentina** and **President Guelleh of Djibouti**. You will then attend the Secretary General's lunch, during which you will briefly greet **Foreign Minister Ivanov of Russia**. Following lunch, you host a pull aside with **President Pastrana of Columbia**, before returning to the US Mission for bilateral meetings with **President Mkapa of Tanzania** and **President Chavez of Venezuela**. You depart NYC following these meetings, arriving at the White House at approximately 8:15 pm.

Reception for Regina Montoya Coggins

You are scheduled to arrive at the White House at approximately 8:15 pm. Currently the \$ reception for Regina Montoya Coggins is scheduled from 5:30 pm – 7:30 pm at the Washington residence of Congressman Lloyd Doggett. Minyon feels that they would be willing to move this event later to accommodate your schedule if you would like to drop by. Please note that no one has committed your attendance.

Would you like to drop by the reception for Regina Montoya Coggins or should we regret?

Yes, I would like to drop by

No, Please regret

breif 1 get back -
for Pastrana, Guelleh
meeting w/ Chavez

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1999**

Draft Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER: 4824

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

HOME: 301-565-3101

OFFICE: 202-456-2921

WHCA PAGER: 4208

TRIP COORDINATOR:

LAURA GRAHAM

HOME: 703-212-7642

OFFICE: 202-456-2349

WHCA PAGER: 4809

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1999
*Draft Schedule***

6:55	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart The White House via motorcade en route Reflecting Pool [drive time: 5 minutes]
7:00	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive Reflecting Pool
7:10	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart Reflecting Pool via Marine One en route Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland [flight time: 10 minutes]
7:20	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive Andrews Air Force Base
7:35	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One en route John F. Kennedy Airport, New York [flight time: 55 minutes]
8:30	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive John F. Kennedy Airport
8:45	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart John F. Kennedy Airport via Marine One en route Wall Street Landing Zone [flight time: 15 minutes]
9:00	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive Wall Street Landing Zone Greeter: Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Ambassador to U.N.
9:10	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart Wall Street Landing Zone via motorcade en route United Nations [drive time: 15 minutes]

September 16, 1999 (4:13 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

9:25 am

**THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive United Nations
POOL PRESS (INSIDE)**

Greeter: Igor Novichenko, U.N. Acting Chief of Protocol
(outside)

Greeter: Secretary Madeleine Albright
(at door)

Greeter: Secretary-General Kofi Annan
(inside) Mrs. Annan

**Note: The President and the First Lady pose for a photograph with
Secretary-General Annan and Mrs. Annan. (POOL PRESS)**

Note: UN Official TV will be present at all times.

9:30 am-

9:45 am

**COURTESY CALL ON UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL
KOFI ANNAN**

GA-200

United Nations

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

U.S. Participants

THE PRESIDENT

Secretary Madeleine Albright

Steve Ricchetti

Samuel Berger

Ambassador Richard Holbrooke

9:50 am-

10:00 am

**COURTESY CALL ON UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
PRESIDENT GURIRAB**

GA-200

United Nations

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

U.S. Participants

THE PRESIDENT

Secretary Madeleine Albright

Steve Ricchetti

Samuel Berger

Ambassador Richard Holbrooke

September 16, 1999 (4:13 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

10:05 am- **HOLD/SPEECH PREPARATION**
10:25 am GA-200

10:30 am- **REMARKS TO 54th SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL**
11:00 am **ASSEMBLY DURING GENERAL DEBATE**
ASSEMBLY HALL

United Nations

Remarks: Tom Malinowski

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

OPEN PRESS

- U.N. General Assembly President Gurirab announces **the President** onto stage, escorted by Igor Novichenko, U.N. Acting Chief of Protocol.
- **The President** makes remarks, returns to his seat, and is escorted off-stage by Igor Novichenko, U.N. Acting Chief of Protocol.

U.S. Participants
THE PRESIDENT
Floor Seats: Secretary Madeleine Albright Steve Ricchetti Samuel Berger Ambassador Richard Holbrooke
VIP Seats: Buddy MacKay Members of Congress Others TBD

11:10 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs United Nations via motorcade en route U.S. Mission
[drive time: 5 minutes]

Note: At time TBD, The First Lady departs United Nations via motorcade en route Location TBD.
--

11:15 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives U.S. Mission

11:20 am- **BRIEFING**
11:30 am 12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM
U.S. Mission
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

September 16, 1999 (4:13 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

11:35 am-
12:20 pm

**BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER DZURINDA
OF SLOVAKIA**

12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM

U.S. Mission

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

Interpretation: TBD

PRESS TBD

U.S. Participants	Slovakian Participants
THE PRESIDENT Secretary Madeleine Albright Steve Ricchetti Samuel Berger Ambassador Richard Holbrooke Notetaker Interpreter	Prime Minister Dzurinda Interpreter

12:30 pm-
12:45 pm

PULL-ASIDE WITH PRESIDENT MBEKI OF SOUTH AFRICA

12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM

U.S. Mission

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

U.S. Participants	South African Participants
THE PRESIDENT Secretary Madeleine Albright Steve Ricchetti Samuel Berger Ambassador Richard Holbrooke Notetaker	President Mbeki

12:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs U.S. Mission via motorcade en route United Nations

[drive time: 5 minutes]

Note: President Mbeki will accompany the President in the limousine.

1:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives United Nations
POOL PRESS (T)

Greeters: Igor Novichenko, U.N. Acting Chief of Protocol

September 16, 1999 (4:13 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

1:05 pm-
1:10 pm

GREET PRESIDENT MENEM OF ARGENTINA
INDONESIAN LOUNGE
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

Participants
THE PRESIDENT Steve Ricchetti Samuel Berger Buddy MacKay

1:15 pm-
1:20 pm

GREET PRESIDENT GUELLEH OF DJIBOUTI
INDONESIAN LOUNGE
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

Participants
THE PRESIDENT Steve Ricchetti Samuel Berger

1:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Secretary-General Kofi Annan and Leaders, proceeds to North Delegates Lounge

September 16, 1999 (4:13 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

1:25 pm-
2:45 pm

LUNCH HOSTED BY SECRETARY-GENERAL KOFI ANNAN
NORTH DELEGATES LOUNGE
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL SPRAY (AT THE TOP - TOAST ONLY)

U.S. Participants
THE PRESIDENT Secretary Madeleine Albright Ambassador Richard Holbrooke

- Leaders proceed to tables.
- Secretary-General Kofi Annan offers a toast and introduces **the President**.
- **The President** offers reciprocal toast.
- Lunch is served.
- **The President** departs.

2:50 pm-
3:05 pm

PULL-ASIDE WITH PRESIDENT PASTRANA OF COLOMBIA
INDONESIAN LOUNGE
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

U.S. Participants	Colombian Participants
THE PRESIDENT Secretary Madeleine Albright Steve Ricchetti Samuel Berger Ambassador Richard Holbrooke Buddy MacKay Notetaker	President Pastrana

3:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs United Nations via motorcade en route U.S. Mission
[drive time: 5 minutes]

3:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives U.S. Mission

September 16, 1999 (4:13 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

3:25 pm- **BRIEFING**
3:35 pm 12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM
U.S. Mission
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

3:40 pm- **BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MKAPA OF TANZANIA**
4:25 pm 12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM
U.S. Mission
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
PRESS TBD

U.S. Participants	Tanzanian Participants
THE PRESIDENT Secretary Madeleine Albright Steve Ricchetti Samuel Berger Ambassador Richard Holbrooke	President Mkapa Notetaker

4:35 pm- **BRIEFING**
4:45 pm 12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM
U.S. Mission
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

4:50 pm- **BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CHAVEZ OF**
5:35 pm **VENEZUELA**
12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM
U.S. Mission
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
Interpretation: TBD
PRESS TBD

U.S. Participants	Venezuela Participants
THE PRESIDENT Secretary Madeleine Albright Steve Ricchetti Samuel Berger Ambassador Richard Holbrooke Buddy MacKay Interpreter Notetaker	President Chavez Interpreter

5:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs U.S. Mission via motorcade en route Wall
Street Landing Zone
[drive time: 10 minutes]

September 16, 1999 (4:13 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

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8:15	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives The White House
BC RON		THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C.
HRC RON		NEW YORK CITY

September 16, 1999 (4:13 PM)

9-16-99

Sandy

can we do more
to neutralize the impact
of this? H, temp

B

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Berg
B. Lindsey
Podesta

THE NEW YORK TIMES
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1999

A Sudden Friendship Blossoms Between Greece and Turkey

By STEPHEN KINZER

A1

ATHENS, Greece — The day after Athens was struck by its most serious earthquake in decades, millions of television viewers watched in awe as Turkish rescue workers pulled a Greek child from under a pile of rubble. Announcers struggled to control their emotion.

"It's the Turks!" one of them shouted as his voice began to crack. "They've got the little boy. They saved him. And now the Turkish guy is drinking from a bottle of water. It's the same bottle the Greek rescuers just drank from. This is love. It's so beautiful."

Although Greece and Turkey are both members of NATO, there are perhaps no two allied neighboring nations whose dealings have been marked with so much conflict and mistrust. But in the last four weeks, their relations have improved with a spectacular suddenness that no one had expected.

Although serious political differences between the two countries still remain, both sides are now displaying a willingness to resolve them that they have not shown for generations.

Greek-Turkish relations had been improving slowly for several months, but it took earthquakes in both countries to push the two countries toward a more genuine friendship. Each sent rescue teams to help the other, and their gestures were greeted by waves of ecstatic publicity and popular emotion.

"I think we're in the middle of a new phenomenon that you could call seismic diplomacy or earthquake diplomacy," said Nicholas Burns, the U. S. ambassador to Greece. "Images that people saw on TV had tremendous political symbolism, and there's an opportunity for both sides to build on that."

Hardly a day now passes without a new sign of warmth between Greece and Turkey.

At the end of August, the commander of the Greek Navy traveled to Turkey, toured towns devastated by the Aug. 17 earthquake, and made a moving call for peace at a ceremony marking the retirement of his Turkish counterpart. While he was there, a Greek naval vessel called at a Turkish port for the first time in more than a quarter-century.

Soon afterward, Greek and Turkish business leaders agreed to revive a cooperation council whose activities were suspended earlier this year in one of the periodic spats that have poisoned relations between the two countries. Then, leading Greek and Turkish news commentators agreed to begin publishing their columns in each other's newspapers.

At a meeting of European foreign ministers in Finland this month, Greece took the significant step of announcing that it would no longer block Turkey's application for membership in the European Union.

On Thursday, teams of Greek and Turkish diplomats met in Athens to plan cultural exchanges and discuss cooperation in tourism, environmental protection, trade and other areas. While they were meeting, Turks observed the anniversary of their 1922 military triumph over Greece with a restraint they had never shown before.

Normally the anniversary of the Turkish triumph at Smyrna, now known as Izmir, is marked by Turkish troops dressed in period costume who symbolically bayonet actors playing Greek soldiers,

throw others into the sea and lustily tear down and trample a Greek flag. This year, there was only a muted ceremony limited to a wreath-laying and playing of the national anthem.

"I have been writing a 'Greek-Turkish' piece almost every Sept. 9 for 25 years now," columnist Rauf Tamir wrote in the Istanbul newspaper Sabah. "I pulled them all out of the archives. I tore them all up and threw them away. I am now starting a new Sept. 9 series. This is the real starting point, a fresh beginning, the first step toward the 21st century."

On Friday, President Costis Stephanopoulos of Greece was host of a reception in honor of Turkish earthquake relief workers, telling them that Greeks "will always remember you with profound feelings of friendship."

The Greek Embassy in Ankara reported that a Turk had telephoned and offered to donate one of his kidneys to a Greek earthquake victim. A Greek had made a similar gesture after the Turkish quake.

Tension between Greece and Turkey has not yet evaporated. Each has recently embarked on a new, hugely expensive military buying spree that unsettles the other.

Turkey has made vague threats against Greek islands in the Aegean Sea. Cyprus, divided since Turks invaded the north in 1974, remains partitioned into ethnic Greek and Turkish sections, and the positions of Cypriot leaders, who are beholden to Athens or Ankara, remain rigid.

Asked last week about these problems, Foreign Minister George Papandreu of Greece replied: "I don't think that all of a sudden everything has been solved. But a climate exists that could allow for a breakthrough on these issues."

Papandreu's appointment as foreign minister this year was a key factor leading to the change in climate between Greece and Turkey. His predecessor, Theodore Pangalos, was a flamboyant figure who denounced Turks as "thieves and rapists." But he fell from power in the scandal that followed the capture in February of the Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan, who had been hiding in Kenya under the protection of Greek diplomats.

That episode stirred many Turks to emotional denunciations of Greece, and relations seemed to have reached a new low. In retrospect, it may be seen as a positive turning point because it led to the emergence of Papandreu, a conciliator who evidently believes that he has a chance to change the course of his country's history by ending its enmity with Turkey.

Papandreu shares much with his Turkish counterpart, Ismail Cem. Both men are foreign-educated intellectuals who shun demagogic rhetoric. They speak by telephone every few days. In the past, Greek and Turkish foreign ministers often went months without speaking.

Despite their good personal relationship, both Papandreu and Cem must work within political constraints. Papandreu's party faces a national election next year, and if he is seen as surrendering too much to Turkey, political enemies may seek to portray him as weak and naive.

Cem must deal with militant nationalists in the coalition government he represents. He also faces the harsh reality that in Turkey, key changes in foreign policy can be made only with the permission of military commanders. Whether the commanders are ready to embrace Greece after generations of hostility remains uncertain.

"The most important question is whether there can be change in Turkey, and the key to that is the military and its attitude toward civil society," said Thanos Veremis, a professor of political history at Athens University. "The Turkish military is highly conservative,

and it wants to preserve its political power. I frankly can't see how that logjam will break."

Veremis said Greeks would respond most positively to a statement from Turkey that it harbors no designs on Greek islands, especially if the statement came from a senior military commander like Gen. Huseyin Kivrikoglu, chief of the general staff.

"People in Greece don't pay attention to what Turkish politicians say, because we see that they don't count," he said. "But if Kivrikoglu comes out and assures Greece that there's never going to be war over the islands, that would go a long way because we know he's the ultimate arbiter."

Regional developments in the last few months have helped bring Greece and Turkey closer together. The two foreign ministers consulted regularly during the Kosovo crisis. Their relationship may also have been strengthened by the recent easing of tension between Israel, a traditional friend of Turkey, and the Palestinians, whom Greece has long supported.

Another factor that has helped improve the political climate is the changing attitude of the Turkish and Greek press, both of which have for years sought to win readers and viewers by fanning the flames of chauvinistic nationalism. Since the quake in Turkey last month, they have made an abrupt about-face, and are now vocal cheerleaders for the cause of peace.

Foreign governments are encouraging the countries' new-found friendship, among them the Clinton administration. President Clinton is to receive Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit of Turkey at the White House this month, and he is expected to visit both Turkey and Greece in November.

Soon after Clinton's trip, the European Union will hold a crucial summit meeting in Helsinki. Turkey is hoping that Greece will help persuade the 15-nation union, many of whose members have been critical of Turkey's human rights record, to add Turkey to its list of prospective members. If that does not happen, momentum toward Greek-Turkish friendship may be slowed.

"The naysayers are lying in wait, and unless there's real progress, hardliners on both sides will try to undermine this process," warned David Phillips, a specialist in conflict resolution who has been hired by the State Department to suggest ways of bringing Greeks and Turks together. "That's why it's so important that the leaders of both countries understand the importance of this moment and seize the opportunity that's staring them in the face."

END

Handwritten notes in the right margin, oriented vertically:
"There is no chance of
agreement at this time
because the two sides
are not in a position
to make any progress
towards a solution
of the problem."
- Comment

Sandy - work on folks rising -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

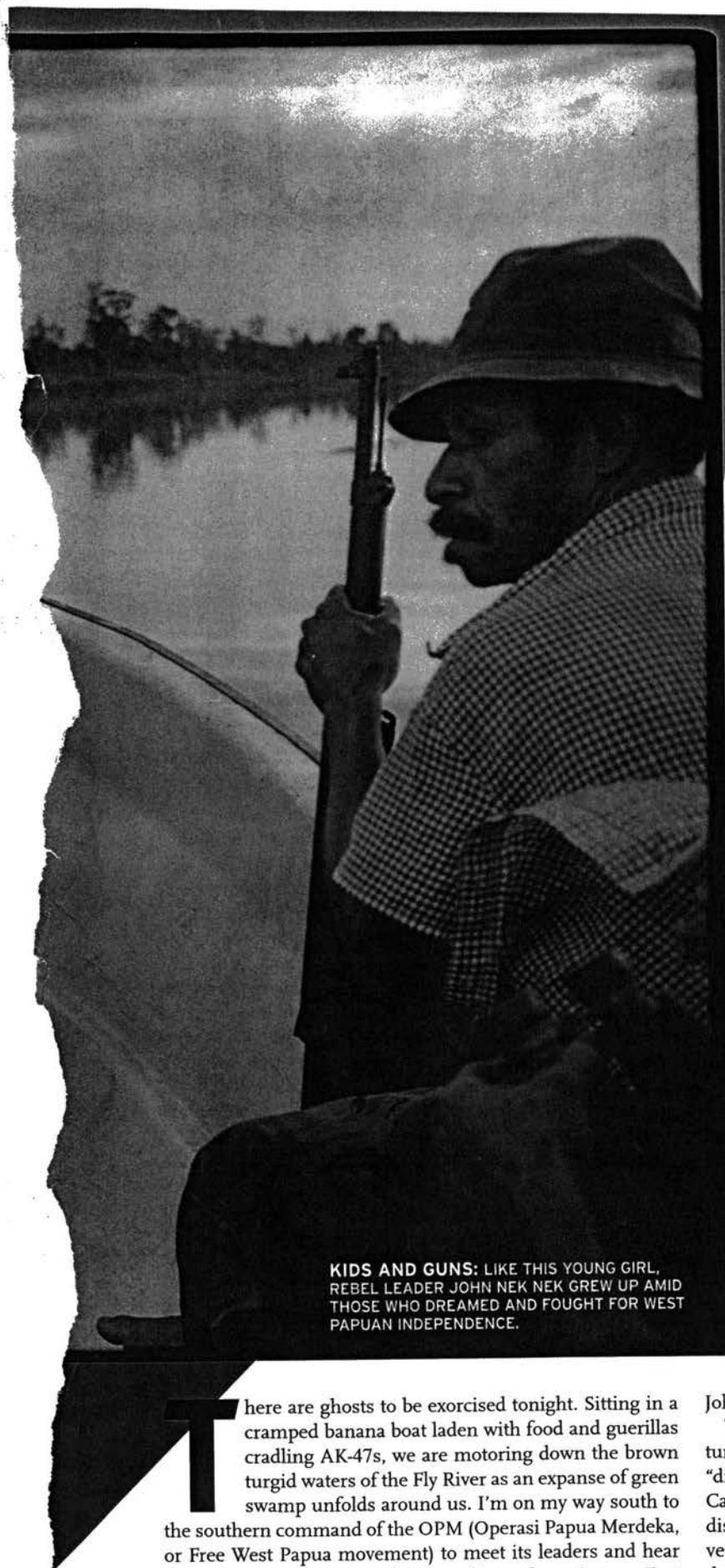
9-16-99

BK

*Copied
Berger
NSC WW Desk
Podesta*

LAST FRONTIER

As West Papua enters its 30th year of Indonesian occupation, a new leadership and strategy is emerging within the independence movement. **BEN BOHANE** goes upriver to meet the rebels who could alter the power balance on our doorstep



KIDS AND GUNS: LIKE THIS YOUNG GIRL, REBEL LEADER JOHN NEK NEK GREW UP AMID THOSE WHO DREAMED AND FOUGHT FOR WEST PAPUAN INDEPENDENCE.

There are ghosts to be exorcised tonight. Sitting in a cramped banana boat laden with food and guerillas cradling AK-47s, we are motoring down the brown turgid waters of the Fly River as an expanse of green swamp unfolds around us. I'm on my way south to the southern command of the OPM (Operasi Papua Merdeka, or Free West Papua movement) to meet its leaders and hear more tales from a struggle every bit as haunting as East Timor but one that has barely registered in our press.

Nothing but the dark murmurs of atrocities for 30 years now, seeping out of this vast and ancient land; home to perhaps the world's last truly stone-age people living in a primordial wilderness of mountain jungle and swamp second only in size to the Amazon.

The term "last frontier" is used loosely these days, but to witness the immensity of this landscape, and the war between the bow-and-arrow guerillas and the well-armed Indonesian occupiers is to know that Irian Jaya, or West Papua as the locals prefer, qualifies. To watch its men wander through the jungles hunting cassowary and birds of paradise with their bows, and the women toiling in the sweet potato gardens, breastfeeding prized piglets as well as their children before returning to their smoke-filled huts, is to get a glimpse of the origins of all humanity. It is also the gateway through which our own Aborigines migrated on their way to Australia, when land bridges enabled people to walk from mainland Asia to Australia until the last Ice Age 8,000 years ago.

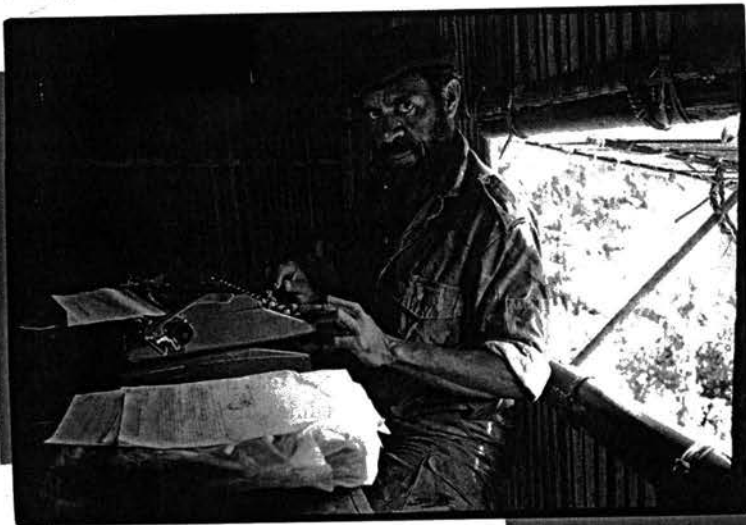
Nowadays, ethnically and geopolitically, West Papua is where Asia comes skidding to a halt and the Pacific begins in the most profound cultural collision of our region. Like all indigenous struggles in the Pacific, theirs is the fight to remain on traditional lands and control the theft of natural resources by the kleptocracy in Jakarta. Conservative estimates put the death toll from 30 years of Indonesian occupation at 100,000. In that time, more than 1.5 million "transmigrants" from the rest of the Indonesian archipelago, mainly Javanese, have settled on these lands. Faced with dispossession of their land, the West Papuans have preferred to fight and die and live as ghosts on their own land.

Meandering down the Fly River at dusk, my thoughts turn to another, more unwitting ghost: of Perove Carlsson, a Swedish journalist who tried to enter this area in 1991 and was found dead, throat slit from ear to ear, in a seedy hotel in the bordertown of Kiunga. The official inquest into his death deemed it "suicide" but the finger has since pointed variously at Indonesian intelligence or rival factions within the OPM.

After a five-hour boat trip, we pull into the riverbank where wooden houses on stilts can be seen through long elephant grass. Black cockatoos screech overhead and I watch boys paddling home in carved wooden canoes after a day's fishing. Disembarking here at the OPM's southern command headquarters, there is the dank smell of mud and swamp foliage as barefoot men in camo uniforms and homemade shotguns escort us to our house. The nearest Indonesian military camp is about an hour's walk away, they say. My next week is spent here, observing a conference at which about 100 delegates from throughout the province formulate military and political strategies, and anoint Commander

John Nek Nek as the group's main strategist.

When the "Team 100" delegation of West Papuan leaders turned up in Jakarta in February this year for a historic "dialogue" with President Habibie and members of his Cabinet at the lavish Merdeka Palace, there was little discussion. The team, which Indonesian officials had already vetted to exclude pro-OPM representatives, nonetheless delivered a statement demanding full independence by the end of April. All but two of the 100 supported the demand, >>



led by Chief Theuys Uluway, the traditional chief of Sentani near the capital Jayapura, who's now under house arrest. Habibe was reported by the *Jakarta Post* to have been visibly shocked by the open defiance of the West Papuan delegates and urged them to "reconsider their actions".

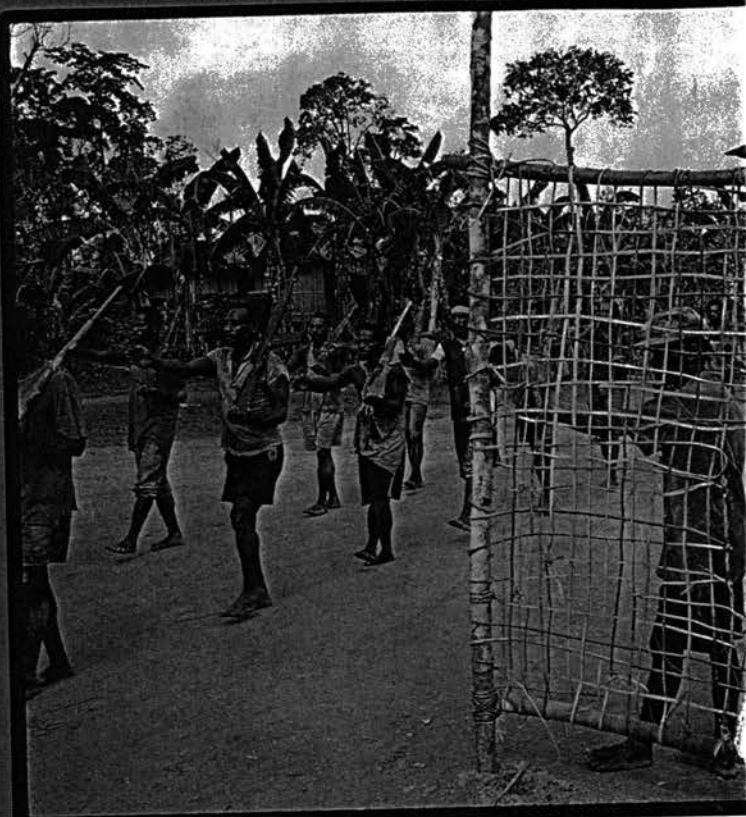
Since then, ABRI (the Indonesian military) has launched a major crackdown in its remote, far-eastern province to crush the independence movement, arresting hundreds of people. A kidnapping and ambush by the OPM's northern command led to a mobilisation of Indonesian troops, under orders to chase OPM guerillas into PNG. That, in turn, prompted a mobilisation of PNG Defence Force troops to their side of the border to prevent, not for the first time, an Indonesian incursion.

The PNG government recently appointed Captain Belden Namah of the PNGDF to negotiate with the OPM for the release of Indonesian hostages taken in West Papua. It was the second time he had succeeded in negotiating the release of hostages; the first time was for a group of students in 1996. He is most famous, though, for helping to evict the Sandline mercenaries from PNG in 1997. When he captured Sandline's leader Tim Spicer, Namah held a gun to his head and said, "Welcome to the land of the unexpected" – PNG's official tourism slogan.

"It makes me very angry," Namah had told me over a game of pool in Port Moresby before he flew to the border, "when Indonesian troops deliberately cross into PNG to chase the OPM and burn villages. It's like they're walking into my house uninvited. This is a major security issue."

Namah is not alone in his anger. PNG Opposition leader Bernard Narakobi recently issued possibly the strongest public statement ever by a major PNG politician on the issue of Irian Jaya. "What they should be doing is engaging in open dialogue with the OPM to discuss the level of autonomy – real, political, economic and cultural – that can be given to the West Papuans," he said.

OFFICE POLITICS:
JOHN NEK NEK IN HIS BAMBOO OFFICE, FROM WHERE HE COMMANDS THE 'ADAPTABLE' OPM; VOLUNTEERS RECEIVE BASIC TRAINING FROM BERNARD MAWEN (RIGHT); AND SOLDIERS IN TRAINING WITH PRETEND AK-47S.



Despite obvious empathy with their *wontoks* (brothers) over the border, successive PNG governments have not questioned Indonesia's hold over Irian Jaya and have until now shied away from any confrontation with its huge neighbour. But as the centre begins losing hold in Indonesia, PNG is acknowledging the changing strategic landscape, and sections of its military and government believe it may be time to confront an issue that is looming as a major strategic headache for PNG and Australia. It is one likely to test our core relationship with PNG – and Indonesia.

"PNG cannot face this alone," says Namah. "Australia has to provide some direction too."

Last year the Australian Defence Force involved itself in a curious exercise called AusIndoJaya, where ADF personnel using Blackhawk choppers provided "drought relief" to highland areas throughout Irian Jaya. It was the first ever joint ADF/ABRI military operation in areas long hostile to Indonesian rule. That operation raised a few eyebrows with aid groups. Caritas, the Catholic agency for overseas aid, released a statement saying, "The commitment of ADF personnel is a surprising development given that the drought is over. Relief operations have come too late."

Why were they there? It was conceivably an intelligence-gathering exercise in a region long neglected by Canberra. The taking of seven European and 11 Indonesian hostages by the OPM in 1996 may have been a factor in the Federal Government announcing a new forward defence policy in 1997. Canberra was caught flat-footed when the hostages were taken; Dutch, British and German intelligence assumed Canberra would know something about the ongoing struggle



'Only by hurting their economy will Indonesia realise it must begin proper talks with West Papuans'

in Irian Jaya, but it didn't. Now, as Indonesia continues on its violent path towards partial disintegration, Canberra is being forced to acknowledge the potential for the "Eastern Alliance" – East Timor, the Moluccas and Irian Jaya – trying to break away, resulting in an

escalation of fighting in our immediate region.

At the conference, plans are made to formally boycott the Indonesian national election. The OPM reaffirms its refusal to recognise the "Act of Free Choice" conducted here in 1969 by the UN, a suspect election that apparently approved Indonesia's plan to annex West Papua, which at the time was being prepared for independence by the Dutch. "It was not a free and fair vote," an OPM member tells me. "Only 1,025 men were allowed to vote out of a population of more than 1 million. They were chosen by Indonesia, taken to Jakarta and given money and prostitutes and transistor radios. They were promised great wealth." President Sukarno himself flew to West Papua, the OPM member tells me, and said the locals would "have their tongues cut out" if they didn't vote for integration with Indonesia.

But the most significant outcome of the meeting is its approval of Commander John Nek Nek and his group of "Progressives" as the prospective leaders of the OPM. Nek Nek and the Progressives have, in fact, been a unifying force in the OPM during the past couple of years. They have already reconciled the northern and southern command leaders for the first time. (The northern group had recently conducted a kidnapping operation from its southern counterparts' headquarters, to divert the Indonesian military while the conference is held in the south.)

On the last day of the conference a parade of 50 soldiers carrying real and pretend guns performs drills in front of several hundred people, and the Morning Star independence flag is unfurled. This in itself is a provocative act. Last year, 200 people on Biak island were reportedly massacred for hoisting the flag above a water tank for three days.

The next week I spend visiting refugee camps on the PNG side of the border. One, Kuyu, houses more than 400 refugees in stilt houses. Malnutrition and malaria are common. The

diet is bananas and, occasionally, fish. It's in a swamp, where it's too wet to grow the traditional staples, sweet potato and taro, for eight months of the year. Next year the UNHCR intends to abandon the 8,000 refugees living in these camps, and hand responsibility for them over to the PNG government, which could lead to their forced repatriation. Another reason for the locals to feel betrayed by the UN.

In Kuyu, I witness the interrogation by OPM guerillas of a man suspected of being an Indonesian spy. He says he walked here from Merauke (in the south) with three others, yet his home town is Biak, in the north. He doesn't know the number on his identity card and his story keeps changing.

It's unsettling to watch the man become increasingly frightened as his interrogators become more heated. He is so scared he has to excuse himself to urinate before being led off by the guerillas. I ask an elder what will happen to him. "We will hand him over to the PNG authorities who will deport him back to Indonesia. This is what we normally do with them unless we find they have a hidden weapon. If we find that, it means they have come to assassinate someone, so we execute them."

Five hours south from Kuyu, in Irian Jaya, is Commander Bernard Mawen's camp, a group of huts in a jungle clearing where 100 new recruits are receiving basic training – three months of drills, weapons training and basic guerilla techniques. Mawen says several thousand men have been through the camp since 1992, before being sent back to their villages to "wait for the right time". The recruits are volunteers, and come from all over West Papua, although mostly from Jayapura and areas close to Merauke.

My final days are spent with Nek Nek in his camp closer to Kiunga. There are at least 1,000 refugees living here. When the border was drawn between PNG and Indonesia (done by New Guinea's Dutch, German and British administrators last century) it managed to split the traditional land of the Yongom tribe down the middle, so that the better two-thirds of their land is technically Irian Jaya, the other third PNG. Nek Nek is one of the traditional owners of this land, making it difficult for PNG or Indonesia to dislodge him.

He takes me for a walk through the camp, pointing out the health clinic, school and women's centre, set in clusters of sturdy huts and the plantations of sago and banana trees. "I have always reasoned that as leaders we must be able to support our people as refugees. If not, how can they ever trust us to look after them when we are a nation?"

We move to his office, a bamboo hut set amid hibiscus trees. His desk is piled high with papers and an old Remington typewriter at one end, near an open window. I ask him what his priorities are for the OPM. "The first is unity. The OPM has become all-inclusive to avoid the factionalism of the past. I have tried to introduce a more democratic process within the OPM, holding forums like this recent conference, where everyone can speak openly, including women. This is important because when we achieve independence we don't want to be dominated by militaristic thinking. Our 'old guard' has been too autocratic but, with respect, they had to be because of the early years of >>

struggle in autonomous cells and because of the geography. In the future we want a civilian government that controls the military, otherwise we are no better than the current regime.

"In 1992 we established a structure where the OPM supreme command has a political wing (OPM) and a military wing, called the TPN (Tentara Pembasnan Nationale or National Liberation Army). This way the TPN takes its orders from the political wing, the OPM.

"I have great respect for our leaders who have taken us through more than 30 years of struggle. But the world is a different place now and our struggle must become more adaptable. Some leaders have put too much faith in God to deliver our goals and too much reliance on non-government and church groups for our survival. We are now moving towards greater self-reliance. We are panning for gold and harvesting sandalwood trees to bring in income. We have had

PNG. In 1981 he arrived in Port Moresby, sponsored by a Catholic mission to study political science at the University of PNG. Initially shy, he met a young Sam Kauona (now "General Sam" of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army), and the two became good friends. "We both talked about revolution. Sam was studying law at the time and was always a fairly quiet bloke, whereas I probably chewed his ear off," Nek Nek laughs.

Kauona helped Nek Nek establish MelSol (Melanesian Solidarity), the first independent indigenous organisation in PNG. "It was a great time," he says. "I was really into Bob Marley and was one of the first to grow dreadlocks at uni. Sam and I set up MelSol with Pierre Xurue (now a deputy minister in the official Kanak independence movement in New Caledonia) and Powes Parkop (a human rights lawyer in PNG). There was also Simpson Bake from Vanuatu and

'If this place goes up, it'll make Bougainville look like a picnic'

our armoury operating for several years already, producing homemade shotguns."

He says the OPM's military camps will continue to train new recruits, but the focus will be on intensive training for small units of special forces. "Like the 'Sparrow Force' units of the NPA (New People's Army, the communist guerillas in the Philippines)," says Nek Nek, who once trained with the NPA for six months. "I don't agree with their ideology," he says, "but tactically they were very good, particularly in getting the people onside, and in terms of self-sufficiency."

He explains the need for special units. "For years we have engaged in skirmishes with ABRI in the bush. This has been good for getting guns, but overall it is not effective. I believe – and this was approved at the conference – that militarily we need to put pressure on Indonesia by hurting their economy. We will soon begin economic targeting. Only this way will Indonesia realise it must begin meaningful talks with the West Papuan people."

Although he refuses to name any such targets, Freeport's vast copper and gold mine at Tembagapura is a likely one. It accounts for 30 per cent of Indonesia's total export earnings and is the single biggest taxpayer in the country. Freeport is also often criticised by environmental and human rights organisations from around the world. Much of that criticism is directed at its lack of sensitivity towards the indigenous land owners, its close links with the Suharto family and its perceived support for ABRI in its area of operations. It would not be the first time the OPM has attacked the mine. On at least two occasions in the past, Freeport's pipeline has been cut for days, costing the company millions of dollars.

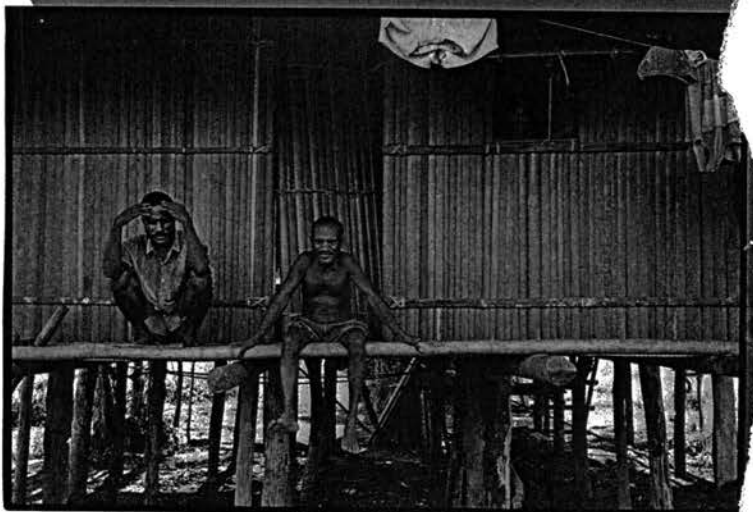
Earlier this year, a Freeport employee who worked at the Panguna mine in Bougainville before it was destroyed by the BRA, told me: "All the conditions here are the same, if not worse, than in Bougainville before the war. If this place goes up it'll make Bougainville look like a picnic".

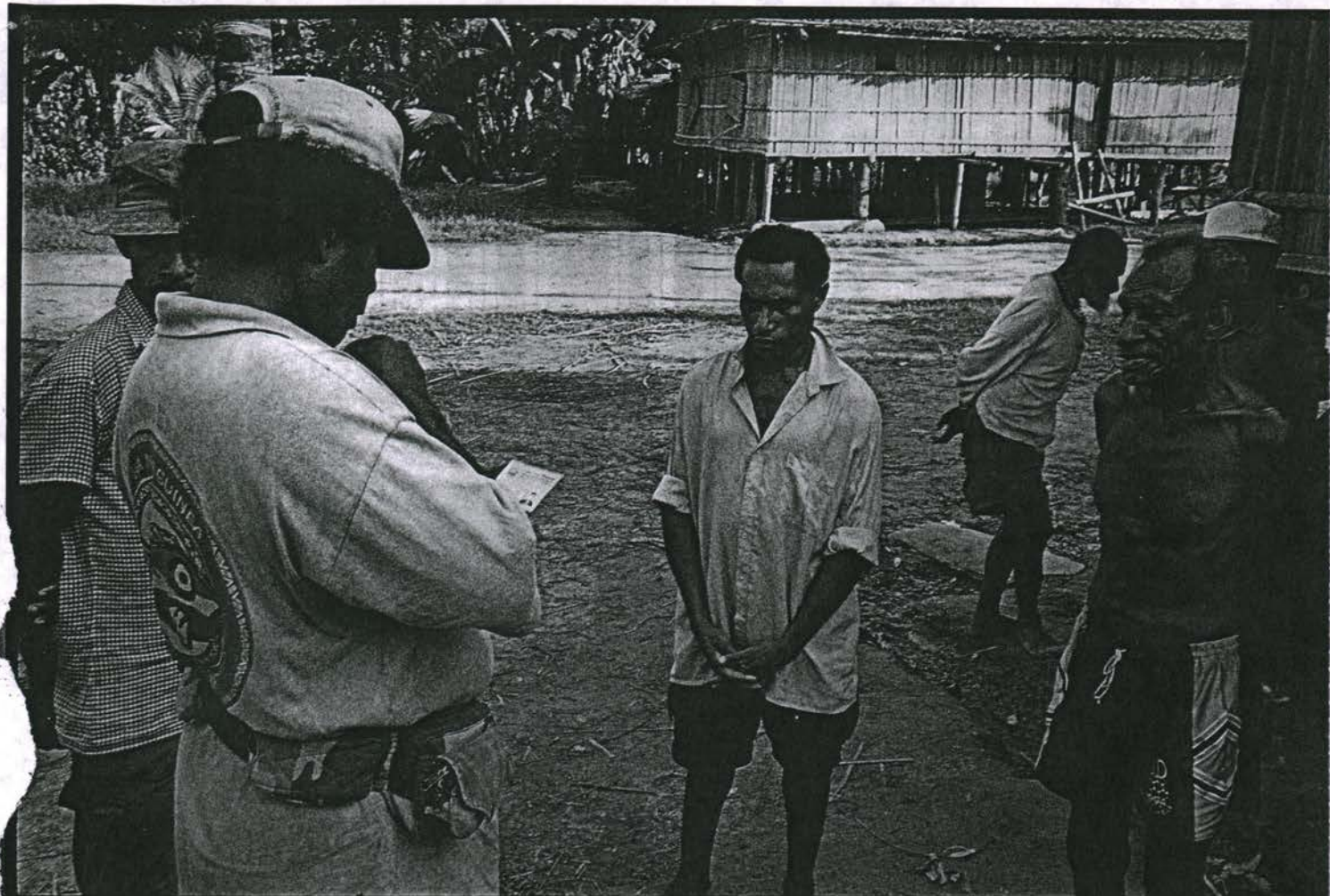
Nek Nek, 41, was born "on Cuban Independence Day" in a village in Irian Jaya close to the border. He grew up watching the struggle around him before crossing into PNG in 1975 when PNG was establishing independence. From 1979 to 1981 he lived in Kerama as part of the first wave of UNHCR-recognised refugees and was granted permanent residency in

one Solomon Islander. We talked about the creation of a federation of Melanesian States once we all achieved independence."

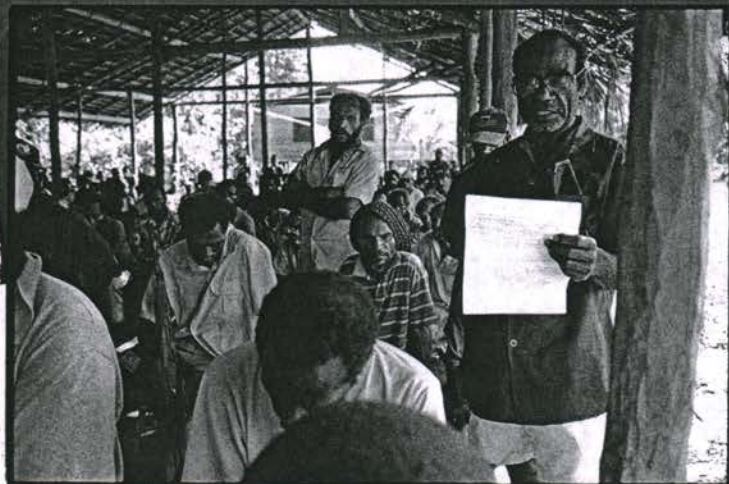
MelSol sponsored Nek Nek's trip to the Philippines. "They have supported me, but all the original members are fighting their own struggles now. At least I know I am not alone."

After returning from the Philippines, he set off in 1990 for Britain and Holland, where he stayed for a year. "I read a lot about the IRA and SAS while I was in Britain and then went to Holland to see our people living in exile." There he found 26 West Papuan groups, many of them divided. He knew then that he had to return to the border and work towards achieving unification, which he has done since 1991. He says the process of transition to independence starts this year, and





I SPY: MILITARY CAMP OFFICIALS QUESTION A MAN SUSPECTED OF GATHERING INFORMATION FOR THE INDONESIANS (ABOVE); THE OPM CONFERENCE THAT ENDORSED NEK NEK'S STRATEGY; THE MAJESTIC FLY RIVER (BELOW LEFT); AND REFUGEES AT KUYU.



estimates it will take five to 10 years to achieve. Nek Nek says he has learnt from the Vietnamese struggle against the United States and the French, the Irish Republican Army and NPA in the Philippines. His hero is Che Guevara. He is one of the most charismatic and educated West Papuan leaders, and talks eloquently on a variety of subjects: Christian theology, regional geopolitics, reggae music and the practicalities of sweet potato planting.

Leaving Nek Nek's camp, we travel back upriver towards Kiunga, from where I will fly out. Accommodation has been arranged at one of the bigger refugee camps just north of Kiunga. I hide under a tarp as we drift past town and arrive at the camp in time for a feed of sago bread and the biggest

prawns I've ever seen. Word arrives that the PNG police have heard about my presence and have sent a patrol south to look for us. We spend an anxious night up talking, half expecting to be raided. We are informed that the police are watching the wharves in Kiunga and the airport. We leave in the early hours and arrive in Kiunga before sunrise. I'm dropped at the edge of town, and go straight to the Catholic mission. There, I convince a priest, his layman and some sisters to escort me to the airport. I don a black T-shirt, silver crucifix and an expression of deep piety. Sure enough, the airport is crawling with cops and men lurking behind dark sunglasses, but we manage to make a bit of a show of things. I am fairly liberal with my public blessings, giving signs of the cross to them all as I walk across a scorching tarmac to the plane.

There has long been disquiet among some Pacific nations that pressure from Australia and PNG has continually blocked the issue of West Papua from being discussed at the annual South Pacific Forum meetings. Indonesia has thus far managed to intimidate the whole Pacific region while Australia puts a brave face on its impotence. But if East Timor wins its independence, one of its first steps will be to join the South Pacific Forum, a move the forum itself supports. In that eventuality, the continued exclusion of West Papua will seem increasingly absurd. ☉

THE NEW YORK TIMES
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1999

NATO Commander Says Armed Serbs Are Slipping Back to Kosovo

By CARLOTTA GALL

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia — Groups of Serbian paramilitaries are infiltrating back into Kosovo from Serbia, apparently bent on causing trouble three months after Serbian forces withdrew from the province, NATO's supreme commander, Gen. Wesley Clark, said Monday.

"I am increasingly concerned by the evidence that we see of organized Serb efforts to cause a little bit of disruption here and there and bring increasing pressure on this fragile community," he said during a visit to Kosovo.

Clark said that one of the three Serbs shot dead by Russian peacekeepers in eastern Kosovo last week was carrying a police identification card. Another was in a military-style uniform, a spokesman for the peacekeepers said. The men were caught ambushing a car and beating two Kosovo Albanians. When they opened fire on the Russian troops, they were shot dead.

The episode was one of a mounting number during the last few weeks involving armed Serbs, particularly in areas near the border with the rest of Serbia.

Mitrovica, in the north, and Gnjilane, in the east, are areas of tension, where Serbs and Albanians clash frequently, and grenade attacks and shootings are still common. Demonstrations by Serbs have spread and appear to be more organized and confrontational, a sign that they might be receiving help from Serbia.

Three Serbs were arrested on Sunday on the bridge that divides the city of Mitrovica, two days after violent confrontations there, Maj. Ole Irgens, a spokesman for the peacekeepers, said at a news conference. The men were armed with a Kalashnikov rifle and hand grenades.

"We have confirmed reports of groups of fighters in military-style uniforms," he said. "We have no specific evidence of paramilitary activity but we certainly will not tolerate such criminal activity."

Irgens also announced that NATO would begin training flights of fighter jets over Kosovo. The exercises will include simulated ground attacks, he said, but will be conducted well away from population centers.

Clark's comments and the peacekeepers' announcement appear intended to remind the Yugoslav leadership in Belgrade that NATO is in charge in Kosovo. Tensions have risen with the approach of next Monday's deadline for disarming the Albanian rebel group, the Kosovo Liberation Army.

Yugoslavia has been pushing the peacekeepers to allow a limited number of Serbian troops and police officers back into Kosovo to guard the borders and holy sites, as stipulated in an agreement signed at the end of the war, one senior peacekeeping official said. But the peacekeepers have responded that their return is out of the question until the Albanian rebels have been disarmed fully.

Clark ruled out their return anytime soon. "There'll be discussion about which Serb personnel will come back in for purposes of, let's say, de-mining, a presence at monuments, maybe a presence at the border, but purely presence," he said in comments reported by Reuters. "This is not a re-entry of Serb forces."

The issue has become political in Belgrade -- a way for the government to show that it is protecting Serbian interests. But Irgens said that any return of Serbian personnel would have to be coordinated with the peacekeepers, and that "the time is not right."

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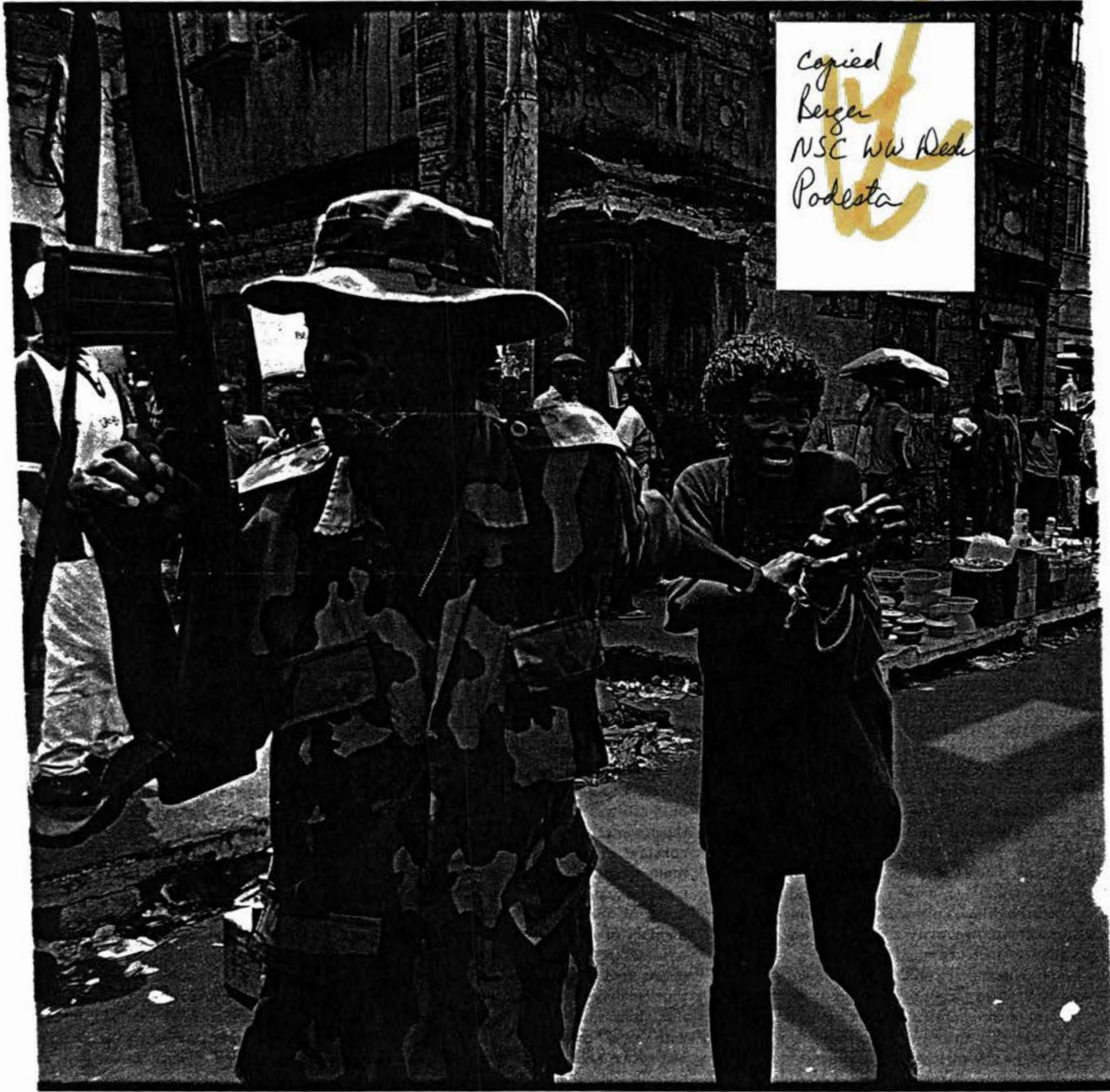
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Sierra Leone

A suspected guerrilla sympathizer is arrested, beaten and humiliated in Freetown, February 1999

ious Triumph of Human Rights

the unimaginable a decade ago. But the movement is doomed to high-minded talk with real-world politics. By David Rieff



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-16-99

T

HE AGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS UPON US. THIS SPRING, the United States fought a war in the Balkans in the name of human rights and humanitarian imperatives — the first war in recent memory, as President Clinton has said, waged in the name of values rather than strategic interests. Similar sentiments have been voiced by America's allies in Europe. Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain has been campaigning for "a new internationalism based on values and the rule of law." In these post-Communist, post-modern times, human rights seems to have become the dominant moral narrative for thinking about world affairs.

No longer does national sovereignty provide blanket protection for human rights abusers — as Slobodan Milosevic learned when, at the height of the Kosovo conflict, he was indicted for war crimes by an international tribunal at The Hague. An even stronger signal was sent last October, with the arrest in London of the former Chilean strongman Gen. Augusto Pinochet. The very idea that the British police would honor a Spanish judge's request for extradition based on crimes committed in Chile is astonishing; such a complex web of cooperation would have been inconceivable 10 years ago. But it shows that the old assumption that national sovereignty trumps all other principles in international relations is under attack as never before.

The human rights movement has achieved other victories. The 1997 signing of an international treaty prohibiting land mines is the most significant abolition of a weapons system since the use of poison gas in wartime was banned in 1925. The ad hoc international tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia inspired plans for a permanent International Criminal Court, one with the power to judge people charged with gross violations of international humanitarian law under the legal principle of universal jurisdiction. The revival of this principle was largely the brainchild of human rights lawyers.

A political New World Order may be even further off than it was when President George Bush proclaimed it a decade ago. But in the eyes of many Western intellectuals, there is a New World Moral Order — one ruled by ideas like civil society, humanitarianism and, first and foremost, human rights. The writer Michael Ignatieff calls this "a revolution in humanitarian concern" and celebrates "the emergence of vast constituencies of human rights activists, development workers [and] aid experts whose moral rationale is the indivisibility of human interests and needs in an interdependent world."

It is a revolution that has happened with surprising swiftness. In the 1960's, the budget for Amnesty International was somewhere around \$20,000. Human rights groups were barred from many if not most parts of the world, and they had great difficulty getting Governments even to listen to them. Today the situation could not be more different. Human Rights Watch, the most powerful and influential Western human rights organization, has a budget of \$15 million — thanks to generous financing from donors like George Soros and the Ford Foundation — and its leaders meet regularly with top Government officials. President Jimmy Carter's exhortation that human rights must be the "soul" of United States foreign policy has been institutionalized. The State Department now boasts an Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues and an Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights (currently, Harold Koh, who used to sit on the board of Human Rights Watch). And few foreign-aid programs now go forward without "democracy building" and human rights stipulations.

Yet paradoxically, at the very moment when its ideas have become mainstream, the human rights movement seems adrift. The movement's signature strategies — releasing shocking reports detailing abuses, exploiting the media to shame Western leaders

Human rights activists can no longer build a political movement by issuing reports or showing yet another clip of dis

on — no longer have the impact they once did. More important, an ed moral absolutism has made it all too easy to ignore the cries of Institutions like the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch are sure to any peace treaty or political accord that promises to let human users off the hook — even when continued conflict risks destroying as was the case recently in Sierra Leone. A serious consequence of blinkered worldview has been a marked failure to establish wide support among ordinary citizens. For all its influence in elite circles, an rights constituency is a tiny fraction of that commanded by its organizations of either the right or the left. Without a broad base rt, it may have reached the limits of its effectiveness. Whether its now it or not, the human rights movement is in trouble.

HE MODERN AGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BEGAN JUST HALF A century ago. In the aftermath of the Second World War, an international system of rights was drafted. It included aspects of the 1945 United Nations Charter — the statutes that formed the le for the Nuremberg trials, the Genocide Convention and, above 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The declaration's e proclaimed the need for Governments and individuals to provide defend a panoply of social, political, cultural and economic rationally and internationally." Eleanor Roosevelt, one of the dec's animating spirits, imagined that its adoption would strengthen : of human nature that "reaches for the stars."

proved to be a false dawn. The gap between the laws on the books realities on the ground could scarcely have been wider. In retro- European powers were more intent on trying to maintain their empires than on giving human rights a central role in internation- . State sovereignty remained all but absolute; what states did with- own borders to their own citizens, no matter how hideous, was o be nobody else's business.

2 1960's and 1970's, the human rights movement shifted its focus light of imperiled individuals — especially political prisoners and victims. Amnesty International led the way. Gradually, other huts groups, notably Human Rights Watch, began to expand the f protection, focusing above all on the issues of women, children, s and civilians in war. They also began to try to develop interde- t, collaborative relationships with activist groups in countries buses were taking place.

obably, the Reagan Administration played the central role in le- ing the American human rights movement. Aryeh Neier, the American human rights activists, who, after directing Human Watch, is now president of the Open Society Institute, has said agan-era officials like Jeane Kirkpatrick and Elliott Abrams were eatest allies." He is not being ironic. "They helped us," Neier ex- , "because they presented the confrontation between the U.S. Soviet Union as one between a totalitarian system and one based liberties. But then they had to pretend that everyone on our side cold war was not violating human rights. That allowed Human Watch to point out the gap between pretense and practice. It cre- ormous embarrassment." By documenting the real practices of States client states, he said, "you could demonstrate the ways in hey didn't measure up."

Rieff is finishing a book on humanitarianism.

The group's technique of highlighting Washington's hypocrisy was called "shaming." And it got results. When Human Rights Watch exposed the crimes that the U.S.-supported regime in El Salvador was committing on a routine basis, it actually forced the Reagan Administration to try to put a stop to the worst abuses. This was a direct result of pressure and lobbying by human rights groups on Capitol Hill. In 1981, Congress began imposing human rights standards that the Administration had to certify were in place in order for foreign aid to continue flowing. But given what U.S.-backed regimes were actually up to in El Salvador, such certification was nearly impossible. "In December of 1983," Neier recalled, "George Bush had to be sent to El Salvador to put a stop to the death squads. The Administration knew that otherwise Congress would never accept their certification, and they were desperate to secure the funding."

The Reaganites kept falling into the same trap. "Abrams and his colleagues made it a quarrel over the facts," Neier said. "The style of Human Rights Watch evolved directly out of this. We started producing thick, amply documented reports. That was different from what Amnesty International had done. Our emphasis was on providing the *evidentiary* bases for the claims we were making."

Bolstered by this combative approach, human rights groups became more and more influential. With Bill Clinton's election in 1992, the human rights movement appeared very likely to reach an even higher plateau. The new Administration presented itself as a partner, and in many ways it was. Lifelong advocates like Harold Koh, David Scheffer and John Shattuck were given posts in the Government. And rhetorically, Clinton's commitment to human rights was steadfast.

THE REALITY, THOUGH, HAS BEEN MORE COMPLICATED. DESPITE THE triumph of Kosovo, the human rights movement has during the 1990's suffered an equally important defeat: the Clinton Administration's policy toward China. It was Clinton, after all, who severed the link between progress on human rights and most-favored-nation trading status. As a result, some advocates have begun to fear that in the future Western Governments may be willing to uphold principles only where economically unimportant countries like Serbia or Burma are concerned.

Kenneth Roth, the current executive director of Human Rights Watch, insists that this is not the case. "China is not illustrative," he said. "It's an anomaly." But others have drawn a different lesson. Neier seems less optimistic. "China," he argued, "has been able to play off the U.S. and the European Union. It is the first case where *reverse* human rights pressure has been applied. To Western Governments, the Chinese have said, in effect, 'If you criticize us, we will stop trading with you and turn to your competitor.' When the U.S. does it, the Chinese say they will stop buying from Boeing and start buying from Airbus, and vice versa." Neier thinks the best strategy is to persuade the Americans and the Europeans to take a joint position on trade, refusing to sell China goods it covets until the Beijing Government modifies its policies. He's right. Yet he admits that the trend has been almost entirely in the opposite direction, as Western Governments vie with one another for Chinese contracts.

The movement's loss over China does not invalidate its intellectual or moral assumptions. But it does suggest that the era when it was able to



consensus for action by simply pornography on television.



Kosovo

*Burying the remains of 22 relatives
killed by the Serbs at the family's compound not
far from Pristina, June 1999.*

...e victorious simply by exposing hypocrisy — as it did with El Salvador — is ending. Neier put the matter starkly: “We have more difficulty getting leverage with Clinton than we did with Reagan. Unlike in those days today there are relatively few disputes over the facts.” Having opened the door to economics before human rights, the Clinton Administration has been swayed from its current policies by yet another thick report documenting repression in Tibet. Clearly, alternative tactics need to be used. So far, such approaches haven’t been forthcoming. By and large, the human rights organizations remain wedded to the methodologies of the Reagan era. Catherine Fitzpatrick, executive director of the International League of Human Rights, was probably exaggerating when she said, “Human Rights Watch is a report mill, the Committee to Protect Journalists is a case and we’re an issue mill.” But the human rights movement does seem to be coming up with fresh tactics for the post-cold-war world. Human solidarity is a real fact of the world, but so is compassion fatigue, particularly in an era when press coverage of events is episodic, and often trivializing. You can no longer build a political consensus by assuming you ever could, by showing yet another clip of disinformation on television. Nor can you simply issue reports, no matter how superbly researched, and demand that Governments alter policies accordingly — at least not where a powerful nation like the United States is concerned — with any realistic expectation of success. To com-

plain, as the 1999 Human Rights Watch annual report does, that “visits of world leaders to China were marked more by symbolism than substance,” but at the same time to boast that “we used high-level visits to Asian countries as a focus for Advocacy work, with particular attention to the steady stream of state visitors to China,” is emblematic of the bankruptcy of the current approach.

The Chinese example would seem to throw into question the claim by activists and their supporters that the worldwide revival of Enlightenment ideals — with human rights at its core — is very likely to take permanent root. Will today’s post-Balkan optimism turn out to be another false dawn?

THE ISSUE IS NOT WHETHER THE HUMAN RIGHTS movement does good. Unquestionably, it does. The question is whether it is configured, intellectually or operationally, to cope with the challenges of the 21st century.

On the practical level, the human rights movement needs to confront Holly Burkhalter’s insight that “stigma is not getting the job done.” Burkhalter, the advocacy director for Physicians for Human Rights, laments: “The only thing we really know how to do well is expose. We do that better than ever, and we’re making galloping leaps in establishing norms. But you look at the great bloodletting of the recent past and you ask yourself, ‘Are we seeing a reduction in violence against the innocent?’” When Human Rights Watch boasts that its goal is to “challenge Governments and those who hold power to end abusive practices and respect international human rights law,” it is easy to sympathize and to respect the principles being upheld. But it is also hard to ignore the fact that the abusers the human rights movement are now seeking to challenge are not politically vulnerable American officials, but warlords in southern Sudan or Serb paramilitaries. Do these people care about international human rights norms? Not likely.

The human rights movement has assumed that establishing norms will lead to a better world. But can anyone be confident that developing the “right” norms will lead to effective enforcement? It sometimes appears as if it is extrapolating from the experience of civil rights

legislation. You establish norms, and they’re unpopular, but eventually people acquiesce. But what if the model is not civil rights law, but drug law, in which the norms have not led to obedience but to mockery of the law itself?

Other cherished assumptions need to be confronted as well. Advocates routinely claim that there can be no peace without justice. But the evidence suggests that often that isn’t true. Consider the eight-year civil war in Sierra Leone, during which Revolutionary United Front guerrillas committed the most unspeakable atrocities and war crimes — routinely mutilating children and raping and murdering civilians. When they were defeated by a Nigerian-led regional intervention force in 1998, their leader, Foday Sankoh, was tried and sentenced to death. To have executed Sankoh would have been justice. But the reality in Sierra Leone was that there could be no peace without a deal between the rebels and the Government. The guerrillas would not sign until Sankoh and other detained rebels were pardoned and set free. In the name of peace, the Government agreed not to prosecute — rightly, in my view. In order to seize what was almost certainly Sierra Leone’s only chance, justice had to be sacrificed. And as a result, a fragile peace reigns in Freetown for the first time since 1991.

But the outrage of the human rights movement knew no bounds. Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, declared that the United Nations did not accept the deal. There could be no impunity for human rights violations, she insisted. And in a

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the United Nations Security Council, Human Rights Watch de-
 d the agreement. Its advocacy director, Reed Brody, announced
 group would lobby to get the blanket amnesty for Sankoh and
 ades annulled.

ndignation of the human rights movement was a perfect illustra-

the remark by Stephen Holmes, a polit-
 ntist at Princeton, that "justice is too
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 time Western leaders were wel- Slobodan
 Milosevic's indictment for nes and insist-
 ing that the days of the : of impunity" were
 numbered, the government in Britain was
 releasing itary prisoners in Northern Ireland to
 the peace process there. "Justice and
 re often not the same thing," Holmes
 "Actually, they can be contradictory."

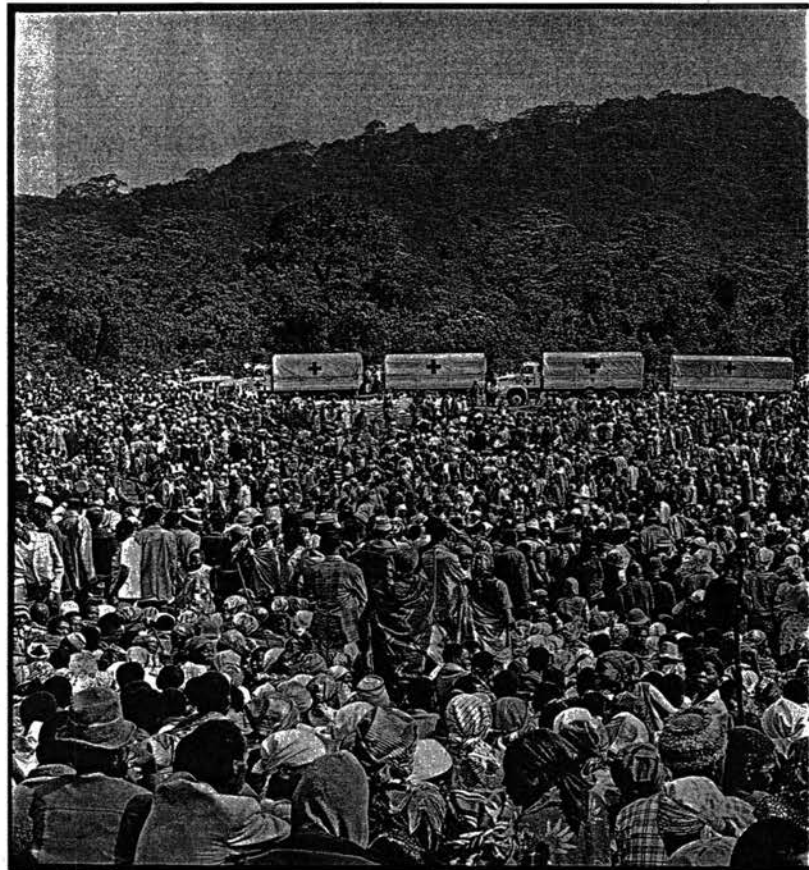
ples of this tension can be found around
 oe. An obvious example is Algeria. In
 ced with the threat of Islamic funda-
 sts taking power after free elections, the
 Government annulled that vote and
 l a state of emergency. Human rights
 were quick to respond. Amnesty Inter-
 issued a special report denouncing the
 ment. The counterargument — namely,
 d the fundamentalists been allowed to
 r this might have been the last free elec-
 be held in Algeria — cut no ice with
 Jorms were norms, and violators were
 s. In a similar display of orthodoxy, Hu-
 ghts Watch recently accused the United
 government of making drugs rather than
 rights "the centerpiece of U.S. policy"
 mbia. The message was plain: it is im-
 per to fail to uphold human rights.

ld say that there is a case to be made for
 e Algerian generals did — and that it's
 andable that the United States has con-
 that Colombian drug interdiction is at
 important a concern, and as morally
 le a one, as human rights. This is not to
 human rights advocates are wrong to
 ut abuses; in the Algerian case, there
 ple evidence of systematic and barba-
 havior on the part of the authorities.
 re is a danger in turning human rights
 es into dogma.

ne if Human Rights Watch were con-
 not with contemporary Algeria but with Germany circa 1932.
 't the world have been better off had there been a German Gov-
 t with the courage to annul Hitler's victory at the polls? Seen
 the tunnel vision of today's human rights leadership, such a move
 ave been unacceptable. A violation, after all, is a violation. It may
 ing the deck to use an analogy with Nazi Germany, but it illus-
 he hard questions about the assumptions of the human rights
 ent that are not being asked. What if you are a secular Algerian cit-
 'hat is the relative moral weight of the human rights imperative
 our well-founded fear of fundamentalism? At the very least, the
 becomes cloudier, and the transcendent insights of human rights
 y seem less transcendent.

the Kosovo conflict points to a problem with the human rights
 ent's absolutist stance. Most activists, though not all, privately

Human rights groups must lo Capitol Hill. They must tak



Rwanda

*The Red Cross delivers food to Rwandans at the Kibumba
 refugee camp in the former Zaire, 1994.*

hoped for and initially welcomed NATO's action. But consternation and
 self-doubt began almost from the moment the first bomb fell. Human
 Rights Watch even issued a report denouncing NATO military tactics like
 dropping cluster bombs on civilian areas. And yet it seems that it was *pre-*
cisely this bombing of civilian targets in Serbia — which may well have
 been illegal under international law, just as Human Rights Watch has as-
 serted — that eventually forced the Milosevic regime to give in. The battle-
 damage assessments have shown that Serb forces in Kosovo came through
 largely unscathed. Once again: do human rights norms provide an ad-
 equate guide to what the right thing to do is in a hard case like Kosovo?

SOME HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES INSIST THAT THEIR ONLY OBLIGA-
 tion is to document abuses, not to shape Government policy or figure
 out how enforcement can be implemented. They argue that only by

as in the Midwest as assiduously as they lobby case to the public, not just rely on its insider influence.



maintaining an objective, extra-political stance can they retain their credibility. As Leonard Rubenstein, executive director of Physicians for Human Rights, put it: "Our role is to highlight violations, no matter who is doing them. Our first order of business is to do no harm. If you take a side, you're morally implicated in the consequences."

In the abstract, this may be true. But to mobilize mass constituencies and affect public opinion, activists cannot simply call for "something" to be done — but then refuse to say what, exactly, is required. To do so will inevitably appear like moral posing.

Even those who finance human rights groups are nervous about the movement's current hermeticism. As Larry Cox, an ex-Amnesty International staff member who is at the Ford Foundation, said: "Twenty years ago, when you went to a meeting at a human rights group, you saw all kinds of people. But these days, you usually find that most of the people there are either lawyers or human rights professionals. To me, the human rights movement has not been successful in

g the imagination of a broad group of people — the way, what-ay think of them, a strong civil-society group like the National socation has done."

n Schulz, executive director of the American branch of Amnes-ational, has similar concerns. "For a while, human rights groups eat deal of success by setting in motion a process in which the ights groups would inform the media, the media would inform ernment and then the Government would do something," he at that model is breaking down. We have to become more con-v-oriented."

f his colleagues would disagree, but this agenda still does not have priority it should. That is a pity. Human rights is one of the major emerge from the 20th century. But it has yet to become an integral he fabric of American democracy. So far, what power the human ovement has obtained derives not from an evolution in popular it — as occurred, for example with regard to civil rights or the en-ent — but from the press and the political elite.

force or, at least, the threat of it — power that often only America can provide — the advantages of this elite strategy are disappearing fast. Kosovo is a case in point: the war may have been fought on human rights grounds, but it was fought on human rights grounds by pilots flying 15,000 feet up in the air. This was because the Clinton Administration knew there was no widespread support for casualties in defense of these human rights ideals.

Today's human rights workers wield great clout in Washington as long as they can work on an issue to which the public is not paying much attention. But when risks are involved — and members of Congress are getting countervailing pressure from their districts — the weaknesses of the insider approach quickly become apparent. The Rwandan genocide of 1994 was the most tragic case in point. Anthony Lake, then the national security adviser, reportedly told a Human Rights Watch representative who had quietly come to lobby him for United States action that he would be unsuccessful in pressing for an intervention unless a great deal of popular protest began to occur. But the human rights movement was in no position to mobilize it. It could merely publish more reports, issue appeals and dispatch more wrenching videotapes to the media.

The same is true with China. Joint trade sanctions will never happen unless American and European leaders know that a failure to act will hurt them at election time (or leave their campaign war chests empty). No amount of hectoring from advocates will keep them from putting economics first. Until their ideas are put forward in a way that stirs the public's imagination, human rights activists will be busy refining their norms as vast areas of the world go up in flames.

Human rights workers sometimes talk of their movement as an emblem of grass-roots democracy. Yet it is possible to view it as an undemocratic pressure group, accountable to no one but its own members and donors, that wields enormous power and influence. For example, would there have been a war in Kosovo without the human rights movement? As a supporter of the war in Kosovo, I applaud the result. As a democrat, I worry. It was a moral decision, but it was arrived at undemocratically.

Because there were no American combat casualties in Kosovo, the issue of popular support never really arose. But future human rights crises will most likely not be as cost-free as Kosovo; they will require sacrifice and impose losses. Will people be willing to accept this? Only, I think, if the human rights movement shows more willingness to engage in straightforward political activism, to get its hands dirty. It must lobby people in churches and shopping malls in the Midwest as assiduously as it lobbies Capitol Hill or the Ford Foundation. It must take its case to the public, not just rely on its influence and its certainty that it does an enormous amount of good in the world.

If the human rights movement cannot or will not engage in this way, then there is a great chance that the human rights paradigm will backfire the way affirmative action did. The parallel is striking. Affirmative action was also well meant. It drew popular opposition not, for the most part, because it was wrong, but because it was sneaked in, with no serious effort made to win people over. Convinced that their cause was right, its advocates saw no reason to campaign for it among the public at large. Instead, they relied on the courts, the law and legislation. And eventually, the whole project came undone.

At the moment, the human rights movement seems set to go down exactly the same path. If it does, it will, in the end, encounter the same result.

9-16-99

September 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT
LAURA GRAHAM

RE: UNGA Schedule

CC: STEVE RICCHETTI
DOUG SOSNIK
SAMUEL BERGER

*Copied
Streett
Graham
Ricchetti
Sosnik
Berger
Padesta*

See draft schedule attached.

UNGA Schedule

You depart the White House at 7:00 am for NYC. Upon arrival, you will briefly meet with **Secretary General Annan** and **UGA President Gurirab** before addressing the General Assembly at 10:30 am. You will proceed to the US Mission for a bilateral meeting with **Prime Minister Drurinda of Slovakia** as well as a pull aside with **President Mbeki of South Africa**. President Mbeki will then accompany you on the ride back to the United Nations where you will have meet and greet/photo ops with **President Menem of Argentina** and **President Guelleh of Djibouti**. You will then be seated next to President Mbeki for the Secretary General's lunch. Following the lunch, you host a pull aside with **President Pastrana of Columbia**, before returning to the US Mission for bilateral meetings with **President Mkapa of Tanzania** and **President Chavez of Venezuela**. You depart NYC following these meetings, arriving at the White House at approximately 8:15 pm.

Reception for Regina Montoya Coggins

You are scheduled to arrive at the White House at approximately 8:15 pm. Currently the \$ reception for Regina Montoya Coggins is scheduled from 5:30 pm - 7:30 pm at the Washington residence of Congressman Lloyd Doggett. Minyon feels that they would be willing to move this event later to accommodate your schedule if you would like to drop by. Please note that no one has committed your attendance.

Would you like to drop by the reception for Regina Montoya Coggins or should we regret?

Yes, I would like to drop by

No, Please regret

*① unless we should stay later and do a real meeting w/ Pastrana - I'm concerned about missing him -
② yes - if HRC staying in NY*

① unless we should stay later and do a real meeting w/ Pastrana - I'm concerned about missing him
② yes - if HRC staying in NY

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1999

Draft Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT
HOME: 202-332-5651
OFFICE: 202-456-2823
WHCA PAGER: 4824

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS
HOME: 301-565-3101
OFFICE: 202-456-2921
WHCA PAGER: 4208

TRIP COORDINATOR:

LAURA GRAHAM
HOME: 703-212-7642
OFFICE: 202-456-2349
WHCA PAGER: 4809

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

September 15, 1999 (3:29 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1999
*Draft Schedule***

7:00	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart The White House via motorcade en route Reflecting Pool [drive time: 5 minutes]
7:05	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive Reflecting Pool
7:15	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart Reflecting Pool via Marine One en route Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland [flight time: 10 minutes]
7:25	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive Andrews Air Force Base
7:40	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One en route John F. Kennedy Airport, New York [flight time: 55 minutes]
8:35	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive John F. Kennedy Airport
8:50	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart John F. Kennedy Airport via Marine One en route Wall Street Landing Zone [flight time: 15 minutes]
9:05	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive Wall Street Landing Zone
		Greeter: Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Ambassador to U.N.
9:15	am	THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady depart Wall Street Landing Zone via motorcade en route United Nations [drive time: tbd]

September 15, 1999 (3:29 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

9:25 am

**THE PRESIDENT and The First Lady arrive United Nations
POOL PRESS (INSIDE)**

Greeter: Igor Novichenko, U.N. Acting Chief of Protocol
(outside)

Greeter: Secretary Madeleine Albright
(at door)

Greeter: Secretary-General Kofi Annan
(inside)

Note: UN Official TV will be present at all times.

9:30 am-

**COURTESY CALL ON UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL
KOFI ANNAN**

9:45 am

GA-200
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

9:50 am-

**COURTESY CALL ON UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
PRESIDENT GURIRAB**

10:00 am

GA-200
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

10:05 am-

HOLD/SPEECH PREPARATION

10:25 am

GA-200

September 15, 1999 (3:29 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

10:30	am-	REMARKS TO 54th SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY DURING GENERAL DEBATE ASSEMBLY HALL United Nations Remarks: Tom Malinowski Staff Contact: Samuel Berger Event Coordinator: Laura Graham OPEN PRESS
11:00	am	
		- U.N. General Assembly President Gurirab announces the President onto stage. - The President makes remarks and departs.
11:10	am	THE PRESIDENT departs United Nations via motorcade en route U.S. Mission [drive time: 5 minutes]
11:15	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives U.S. Mission
11:20	am-	BRIEFING 12 TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM U.S. Mission Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
11:30	am	
11:35	am-	BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER DRURINDA OF SLOVAKIA 12 TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM U.S. Mission Staff Contact: Samuel Berger Event Coordinator: Laura Graham PRESS TBD
12:20	pm	
12:30	pm-	PULL-ASIDE WITH PRESIDENT MBEKI OF SOUTH AFRICA 12 TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM U.S. Mission Staff Contact: Samuel Berger Event Coordinator: Laura Graham OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY
12:45	pm	

September 15, 1999 (3:29 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

12:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs U.S. Mission via motorcade en route United Nations
[drive time: 5 minutes]

Note: President Mbeki will accompany the President in the limousine.

1:00 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives United Nations

1:05 pm- **GREET PRESIDENT MENEM OF ARGENTINA**
1:10 pm **INDONESIAN ROOM**
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

1:15 pm- **GREET PRESIDENT GUELLEH OF DJIBOUTI**
1:20 pm **INDONESIAN ROOM**
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

1:25 pm- **LUNCH HOSTED BY SECRETARY-GENERAL KOFI ANNAN**
2:45 pm **NORTH DELEGATES LOUNGE**
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL SPRAY (AT THE TOP)

2:50 pm- **PULL-ASIDE WITH PRESIDENT PASTRANA OF COLUMBIA**
3:05 pm **ROOM TBD**
United Nations
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

3:15 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs United Nations via motorcade en route U.S. Mission
[drive time: 5 minutes]

3:20 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives U.S. Mission

September 15, 1999 (3:29 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

3:25	pm-	BRIEFING
3:35	pm	12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM U.S. Mission Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
3:40	pm-	BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MKAPA OF TANZANIA
4:25	pm	12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM U.S. Mission Staff Contact: Samuel Berger Event Coordinator: Laura Graham PRESS TBD
4:35	pm-	BRIEFING
4:45	pm	12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM U.S. Mission Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
4:50	pm-	BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CHAVEZ OF
5:35	pm	VENEZUELA 12TH FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM U.S. Mission Staff Contact: Samuel Berger Event Coordinator: Laura Graham PRESS TBD
5:55	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs U.S. Mission via motorcade en route Wall Street Landing Zone [drive time: 10 minutes]
6:05	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Wall Street Landing Zone
6:15	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Wall Street Landing Zone via Marine One en route John F. Kennedy Airport [flight time: 15 minutes]
6:30	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives John F. Kennedy Airport
6:45	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs John F. Kennedy Airport via Air Force One en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: 55 minutes]
7:40	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base

September 15, 1999 (3:29 PM)

Tuesday, September 21, 1999

7:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Andrews Air Force Base via Marine One en route Reflecting Pool
[flight time: 10 minutes]

8:05 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Reflecting Pool

8:10 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Reflecting Pool via motorcade en route The White House
[drive time: 5 minutes]

8:15 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives The White House

BC RON **THE WHITE HOUSE**
WASHINGTON, D.C.

HRC RON **NEW YORK CITY**

September 15, 1999 (3:29 PM)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 10, 1999

9-16-99

Copied
Lane
Padesta

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NEAL LANE *neal*

SUBJECT: Summary of Interim Report from DoD on Recent Launch Vehicle Failures

Between August 1998 and May 1999, six U.S. space launches using expendable launch vehicles ended either in destruction or with satellites stranded in useless orbits, with total losses approaching \$3.5 billion. Three of these incidents involved national security payloads on heavy-lift Titan IV launch vehicles with associated upper stages, two involved commercial payloads on medium-lift Delta III vehicles, and one involved a commercial satellite on a small Athena launch vehicle. In May, you asked the Secretary of Defense, in coordination with the Director of Central Intelligence and the NASA Administrator, to provide you with an interim report in 90 days and a final report in 180 days on the causes of these failures and actions required to assure our future access to space. On September 8, I received the interim report from DoD in the form of a briefing. On the same day, Lockheed Martin released the results of a similar independent review they had conducted over the past four months to investigate whether there are broader underlying problems that contributed to this series of failures. Boeing is conducting a similar review through October. This memorandum summarizes the interim report from DoD and explains how it relates to the industry reviews.

DoD, through the Air Force, has formed a review team made up of government and industry experts, including participants who are also involved in the industry reviews conducted by Boeing and Lockheed Martin. The DoD-chartered team is assessing all aspects of launch-related activities since 1985—from design, procurement, and manufacturing, to the handoffs between the launch vehicle manufacturing plant and the launch site, as well as operations at the launch sites—seeking to uncover systemic or endemic problems that may have contributed to this series of failures. The scope of the review includes two main areas: (1) flying the remaining current fleet of expendable launch vehicles already on contract, with missions valued at a total of more than \$20 billion, and (2) assuring mission success during the transition from these current systems to the modernized Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicles (EELVs). Boeing and Lockheed Martin are partnered with DoD to develop EELVs to begin replacing the current expendable launch vehicles for commercial and government missions starting in 2002.

N
As a preliminary observation, the review team notes that the recent failures were caused by errors that involved engineering design and technical implementation problems. System designs were not adequately analyzed and tested; design intentions were not accurately communicated to the technicians who built and tested the launch systems; and critical manufacturing, verification, and launch checkout procedures did not adequately protect against human errors. The root cause of each failure has been identified and appropriate corrective actions are being implemented to prevent the same problems from recurring.

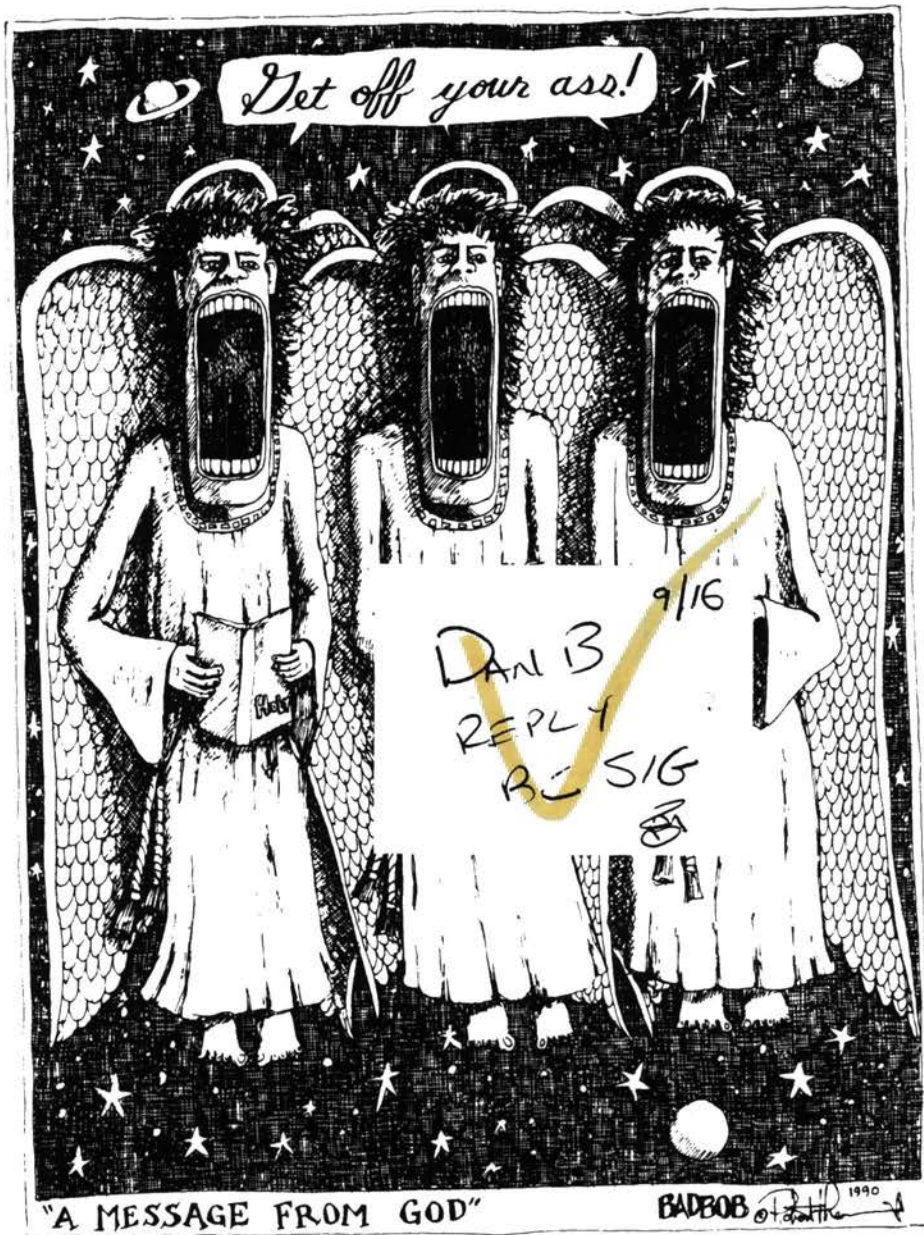
The review has also identified a number of concerns, including the workforce drawdown and possible loss of critical skills in the Titan IV program in anticipation of the transition to new replacement vehicles being developed under the EELV program. The review team noted that the planned completion of the Titan IV program in the next decade, along with an emphasis on cost savings, may have hastened the workforce drawdown even though a significant number of high-value national security missions will still be conducted in the next decade using Titan IV. The review also identified issues associated with the adequacy of the technical oversight, and the distribution among various organizations of responsibility, authority, and accountability for successfully delivering national security payloads to orbit. Finally, the review team noted the importance of defining a clear transition plan for the new launch systems scheduled to begin operations in a few years.

The DoD-chartered team has not made recommendations yet. It has completed the data gathering phase of their review, and is beginning the substantive analysis required to reach conclusions. However, the team noted that the Lockheed Martin independent review, completed last week, addresses similar issues and concerns. For instance, the Lockheed Martin review emphasized the importance of accurately translating engineering intentions into actual hardware and software, establishing processes that are more resistant to human error, establishing a culture that focuses on mission success, retaining workers with critical skills, establishing clear accountability at all levels of the involved organizations, and restructuring contracts to provide more customer oversight of prime and subcontractor activities. Lockheed Martin has already committed to implementing the recommendations from its review.

DoD and industry are taking prudent steps to address the issues raised by these reviews as they continue to launch missions using the current fleet of expendable launch vehicles. For instance, the Air Force and National Reconnaissance Office have assigned mission assurance teams made up of launch experts to assist in overseeing test and launch operations for each upcoming national security mission. DoD and industry are working together to develop a comprehensive plan for successfully flying the eleven high-value Titan IV missions remaining on the current contract. DoD and industry are also working together to ensure the manufacturing, launch, and oversight teams have the critical skills and reliable processes necessary to ensure mission success for launches of both current and future systems.

In November, I will report the substantive conclusions and recommendations from the review. I will keep you and the Chief of Staff informed as significant developments occur.

cc: The Vice President
The Chief of Staff
The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
The Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs



September 6, 1999

Dear Mr. President,

You've still got time to attempt to rectify the worst political decision of your Presidency. I hope you'll find some way to at least put yourself on the right side of history.

Best Regards,

 on

THURSDAY, AUGUST 26, 1999

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An Unlikely 'Don't Tell' Target: Lawmaker May Face Discharge

By JAMES STERNGOLD

PHOENIX, Aug. 24 — By his own account, Steve May knew from the time he was in his early teens that he wanted to be a politician, specifically a conservative Republican politician. He carefully built his life, he says, to shape an attractive résumé, from his decision to enter R.O.T.C. in college and then serve as an Army officer to his efforts at building a track record as a small-business man, helping run his family's herbal-tea and natural-foods company here.

It worked. Mr. May served with distinction as a lieutenant on active duty in the Army and then entered the Reserve, and last November he was elected to the State Legislature, to represent the affluent, conservative district where he had grown up.

Everything seemed to be going just right until this winter, when the usually affable and measured 27-year-old Mr. May bitterly spoke his mind in the Arizona House, this time not as a Republican legislator, a Mormon or a soldier, but as an openly gay man.

He denounced an ultimately failed

bill that would have barred the use of public funds to pay for health benefits of same-sex partners, and also attacked the legislation's conservative sponsor, Representative Karen S. Johnson, a fellow Republican who had condemned homosexuals as immoral.

Mr. May's remarks were widely quoted here and were followed by a cover article in Phoenix New Times, an alternative magazine, that discussed everything from his youthful realization that he is gay to how he had met and dated his companion, who lives with him. The upshot was that he not only angered many conservatives in his party by suggesting that Ms. Johnson was bigoted but also brought on himself one of the more unusual investigations under the Clinton Administration's "don't ask, don't tell" policy toward homosexuals in the military.

Under that policy, recruiters are barred from asking applicants about their sexual orientation, and commanders are forbidden to undertake investigations of suspected homosexuality unless there is significant evidence of homosexual conduct.

On the other hand, homosexuals are forbidden to disclose their orientation in a public setting; indeed, their doing so is considered evidence of at least an intent to engage in homosexual acts.

Col. John R. Hawkins 3d, the spokesman for the Army Reserve, acknowledges that an investigation of Mr. May is under way, to determine whether his remarks are grounds for discharge.

Colonel Hawkins says the inquiry should come as no surprise, given the public nature of the case.

"I don't think that the individual has been, shall we say, keeping this under wraps, as to his sexual orientation," the colonel said.

In addition, Mr. May, who was first "outed" as gay when he ran unsuccessfully for the State Senate three years ago, faces the possibility that the increased publicity about his homosexuality, as well as his scuffling with party leaders, will hurt his



Steve May

Jeff Topping for The New York Times

Continued From Page A1

chances of winning re-election next year.

Mr. May said he had never hidden his sexual orientation; in fact, he joined the board of the Log Cabin Republicans, a nationwide organization of gay party members, after his State Senate run. But he always chose to identify himself with other issues, like education, rather than gay rights.

Then, after long doing everything "right," he says, he faced a perhaps inevitable choice when he heard gay men denounced during the health-benefits debate in February as disease-ridden dangers to the family who were doomed to ghastly early deaths.

During his outburst in the House, he acknowledged that it might have been politically wiser to keep quiet. "But when you attack my family," said Mr. May, whose father was once a bishop in the conservative Mormon Church, "and you steal my freedom, I will not sit quietly in my office. This Legislature takes my gay tax dollars, and my gay tax dollars spend the same as your straight tax dollars. If you're not going to treat me fairly, don't take my money."

That was followed by a string of newspaper articles, and later a confrontation with the Army in which he was informed of the investigation against him.

The sheer volume of Mr. May's public remarks on the matter makes this a highly unusual case, said Stacey Sobel, a senior attorney at the Service Members Legal Defense Network, an organization based in Washington that advises troops who

An outburst by a legislator brings a 'don't ask, don't tell' inquiry.

are faced with inquiries about their sexual orientation. Ms. Sobel said that in some instances, the "don't ask, don't tell" policy had been pursued so aggressively by commanders that comments made by a soldier in entirely private conversations had, when disclosed, been used as a basis for discharge.

Continued on Page A12

"Because what he's said has been published in newspapers," Ms. Sobel said of Mr. May, whom she has been advising, "it can be considered credible information, and that passes their test for what can be used against him."

Other factors that make the case unusual, she said, are that it involves an elected official — the only one she knows of who is a target of such an investigation — and that it is aimed at a reservist rather than an active-duty soldier.

Mr. May says the absurdity of the policy and his situation is evident in the fact that he was officially told he was under investigation and confronted by a military legal officer right after a three-day exercise earlier this month in Flagstaff. That meeting, he said, came shortly after he had been told that he might be taking command of the transportation company in which he serves.

"This isn't about gay rights," Mr. May maintained. "It's about the security of the nation. The issue for me as a policy maker is I want to make sure the nation is aware of the dangers this policy creates for our military preparedness."

Even as the military faces continuing shortages in personnel, the policy on homosexuals, which was supposed to protect them from harassment, has resulted in growing numbers being discharged, according to Pentagon figures: last year 1,145

'I believe in the core Republican principles. I also happen to be gay.'

members of the armed services were discharged for homosexuality, up from 997 in 1997 and 617 in 1994, when the "don't ask, don't tell" policy took effect.

Earlier this month the Pentagon, faced with gay rights groups' mounting criticism over those numbers, announced that it was revising the guidelines for carrying out the policy. The guidelines will require that many of the inquiries like the one undertaken against Mr. May be conducted by senior officers. Among the other provisions are that troops receive anti-harassment training throughout their careers, beginning with boot camp.

Gay rights groups, and Mr. May himself, say the changes do not go far enough.

"First we're going to indoctrinate our soldiers to believe that homosexuals are inferior and a threat because of this policy, and then we're going to indoctrinate them into believing gays shouldn't be harassed," Mr. May said. "It doesn't make any sense."

Mr. May said other lawmakers had told him that some of his new political enemies, from the right wing of his own party, had spurred the Army investigation by alerting the service to his public remarks. One Republican, Jeff Groscost, the Speaker of the House, denied that accusation and said Mr. May had only his own candor to blame.

"My question was, How could you expect that not to have made it to the Army?" said Mr. Groscost, who fought several tough legislative battles against Mr. May this spring and has become one of his critics.

The case could well threaten the political career of one of the few openly gay officials in the country elected to state or national positions. There are three openly gay or lesbian members of the United States Congress, and 34 acknowledged gay, lesbian or bisexual officials elected at the state level, according to the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, a group that supports homosexual candidates. Of those 34 state officials, the organization says, only one is a Republican, Mr. May.

To some members of Mr. May's party, the fundamental problem seems to be his sudden outspokenness more than his sexual orientation itself. Although Mr. May says he has been open about his sexuality with his family and friends since he was 18, he did not discuss it in public until he was "outed" by another Republican when he ran for the State Senate in 1996. It is not clear why the Army did not pick up on the issue then.

Mr. May says that the episode worried him at the time but that he chose to address his homosexuality only when others raised it. In his campaign last year, he says, he adopted the same policy, never denying his homosexuality but not raising it himself. That seemed to satisfy some party leaders, at least for a time.

"Steve May is a pretty good guy, to tell you the truth," said Mike Minnaugh, the Republican state chairman, who is a resident of Mr. May's district, in the wealthy eastern section of Phoenix. "As an individual, I do not endorse homosexual relationships — it goes against my beliefs — but I do respect his rights. As long as he doesn't go and talk a lot about his homosexuality, he can continue to get elected."

Mr. Minnaugh added, though, that if a heterosexual Republican candidate with equally conservative credentials were to run against Mr. May in the primary next year, "that would be very difficult."

And Speaker Groscost said that "if there's a politically attractive challenger, Steve could have some trouble."

"I'm not sure that he ran before as an openly gay legislator," the Speaker said. "There's a small chink in that armor."

Mr. May says he is concerned that the party may not support his reelection. (He is already working to raise a campaign war chest of \$100,000 on his own, a huge sum for a state race here.) The experience, he says, has shaken his belief in the party machine, though not in the party's traditional values.

"I've always been Republican," Mr. May said. "I believe in the core Republican principles. I also happen to be gay. But the party has been hijacked by theocratic fascists."

The only other openly gay member of the Legislature, Representative Ken Chevront, a Democrat, says that in this conservative state, he was surprised at Mr. May's outspokenness concerning his homosexuality.

"He's young," Mr. Chevront said. "And all of a sudden he heard this stuff being said about gays. He dealt with it differently than I do."

Mr. May says he had no choice. "The voters want you to be honest," he said. "I'd rather just say, 'It's none of your business.' But you can't get away with that anymore."



Tom Henderson
4106 Bradwood Rd
Austin, TX 78722

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

20500

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-16-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 12, 1999

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached are the following weekly reports:

- (A) Interest Rates and Stock Prices
- (B) Update on Global Markets
- (C) Weekly Economic Briefing
- (D) OSTP
- (E) Cabinet Affairs

Sean Maloney

Tab B - Copied Summers, Podesta

Tab C - Copied Baily, Podesta
Copied pp.3-4 Berger, NSC WW Desk,
Ballentine, Podesta
Copied pp.5-6 Sperling, Reed, HRC,
Podesta
Copied p.7 HRC, Podesta

Tab D - Copied Lane, Podesta

Tab E - Copied Marshall, Podesta
Copied p.3 HRC, Podesta
Copied p.4 Podesta
Copied p.6 Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: September 16, 1999

NOTE FOR: **Secretary Lawrence H. Summers**
Department of the Treasury

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

OK to
dispatch?

Thank you.

cc:

OK to
dispatch?

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-16-99

99 SEP 10 PM 7:51



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 10, 1999

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Lawrence H. Summers *LHS*

SUBJECT:

Update on Global Markets
The Week Ending September 10, 1999

Copied

Summers

Polesta

The major market developments this week were in Asia and, in light of your trip, I thought I would focus on the region.

- Japanese GDP grew a stronger than expected 0.2% in the second quarter, led by housing and related consumer spending. The yen rose sharply on the news, and was up over 2% against the dollar, but fell back a bit after the Japanese government sold yen on Friday to slow its rise. It ended the week up about 1% against the dollar. Japanese bond and equity markets also got a mild bounce from the news, as did most regional markets. This news, combined with the earlier upward revision of first quarter GDP (from 1.9% to 2.0%), underscores the sense of growing confidence in the outlook, though the recovery is still vulnerable, largely dependent on a now fading fiscal stimulus, and still serious structural and financial headwinds.

X Across emerging Asia, with the exception of China and Indonesia, recovery is gaining momentum and forecasts are being progressively revised upward. Korea has experienced the most dramatic turnaround in the region with the government projecting growth of 8% this year. Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines are all expected to grow by 2% or more. China's economy continues to slow, with the increasing threat of deflation.

- While the recovery in seriously affected Asian economies is very encouraging, they remain vulnerable. The near default by Korea's second largest conglomerate (Daewoo Group) has raised concerns about the solvency of many Korean financial institutions and the government's commitment to reform. Emergency government measures to prevent a systemic financial threat have temporarily calmed markets and the government has re-confirmed its commitment to continue with its reform program. However, it faces difficult choices in how to effect restructuring, including the laying off of substantial numbers of union workers. Other Asian governments face a different, but still quite dangerous, mix of financial and corporate solvency problems. The concern is that as economies recover governments will become increasingly complacent about the need for reforms.
- Indonesian markets came under downward pressure this week due to the violence in East Timor, its effects on confidence and the government, and the risk that international financial assistance may be delayed or cancelled. Since the release of the independence vote last Saturday, the stock market has fallen 0.4% and the currency fell 3.7%. The cumulative decline in the currency since the revelation of campaign-related corruption in the ruling party is 19.8%.

Weekly Market Indicators for the Week Ending:

September 10, 1999

2:07 PM

Major International Markets							
Changes are Friday to Friday							
Exchange Rates			Equities			Ten-Year Government Bond Yields	
	Level	% change	Index	Level	% change	%	BP change
Japan	¥ 108.84/\$	-1.2%	Nikkei	17711.02	0.5%	1.80	-4
Euro	\$1.0398/EUR	1.9%					
Euro-yen	\$113.1600/EUR	-3.4%					
Germany			Xetra-Dax	5483.95	2.8%	5.04	10
U.K.			FT-SE 100	6191	-2.1%	5.55	25
France			CAC-40	4745.48	1.6%	5.19	10
Italy			MIB 30	34665	2.0%	5.29	9

^ U.S. dollar depreciation/appreciation

Emerging Markets							
Exchange Rates			Equities			Emerging Market Sov. Bond Spread*	
	Level per USD	% change (local ccy)	Index	Level	% change	BP	BP change
Korea	1191	0.0%	Kospi	962	5.6%	247	5
Indonesia	8200	-4.0%	JSE	563	-0.4%	625	24
Thailand	39.435	-1.5%	SET	431	0.0%	225	0
Hong Kong	7.76585	0.0%	Hang Seng	13856	5.1%	196	0
Brazil	1.8570	2.5%	Bovespa	11424	2.2%	764	-96
Argentina	0.9995	0.1%	Merval	524	0.6%	618	-48
Mexico	9.309999	0.3%	Bolsa	4946	-2.7%	390	-18
Russia	25.765	0.5%	RTS	104	-0.3%	2083	49
India	43.52	-0.1%	Bombay SE	4760	1.1%	n/a	n/a
Turkey	453,760	-1.4%	ISE 100	6154	16.9%	577	-10
South Africa	6.05925	-0.8%	JSE	6160	-1.5%	286	-26

Commodity Markets		
	Level	% change
Gold	\$256.52	1.09%
Oil	\$22.73	9.44%

* spread on U.S. dollar-denominated sovereign debt to 10-year U.S. Treasuries

Source: Bloomberg

9-16-99

WEEKLY ECONOMIC BRIEFING OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

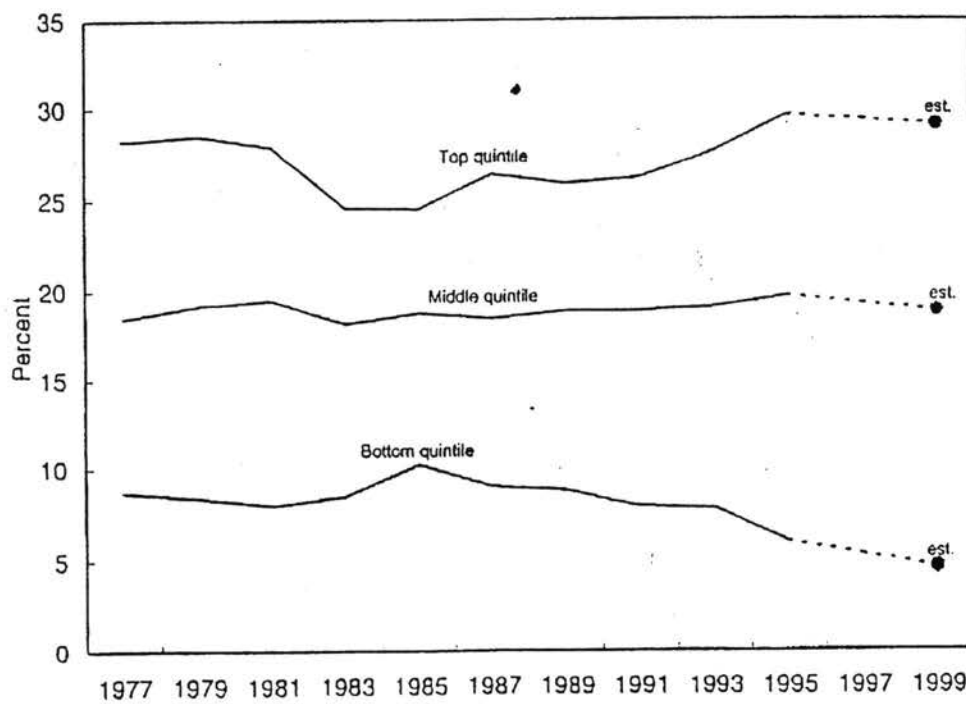
Prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers
with the assistance of the Office of the Vice President

September 10, 1999

*Copied
Baily
Podesta*

CHART OF THE WEEK

Average Effective Federal Tax Rates



The Congressional Budget Office has just released estimates of average effective Federal tax rates for 1999. Federal taxes as a share of family income for the bottom fifth of families are the lowest they have been since 1977.

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SPECIAL ANALYSIS

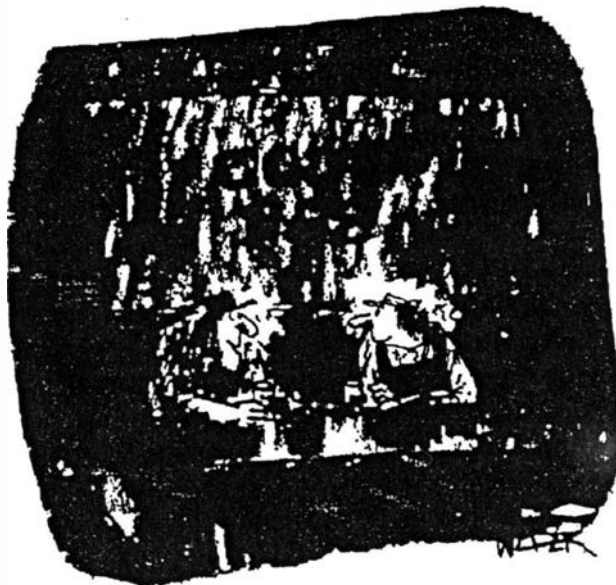
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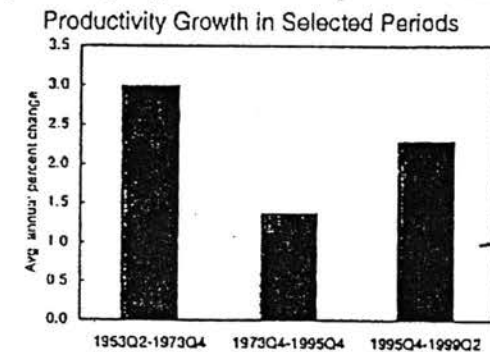
*"See, Jimmy? If they give a big tax cut to the wealthy, those guys'll
feel good and have us come fix their roof and stuff."*

CURRENT DEVELOPMENT

The Role of Computers in Productivity Growth

Productivity growth in the computer and semiconductor industries contributes directly to aggregate productivity growth and, according to one estimate, has been the dominant source of the recent productivity spurt in the U.S. economy. Productivity growth in the manufacture of computers and semiconductors reflects the ability to produce faster processors, greater memory capacity, and larger disk drives without proportional increases in costs. But business investment in computers also adds to the quantity and quality of the capital stock, boosting productivity growth throughout the private sector. In the past, this latter effect on productivity growth was relatively small, but has recently increased.

The importance of computers in aggregate productivity growth. Productivity in the non-farm private business sector grew at a 2.3 percent annual rate over the last 3½ years (see chart). Adjusting for the typical cyclical pattern of productivity, overall "trend" productivity growth is estimated to be about 2.0 percent per year over this period. This marks a 0.6 percentage point pickup in trend productivity growth over the 1.4 percent annual rate estimated for the previous 22 years.



So far, the pickup in productivity has been mostly limited to the computer industry, which has seen a 40 percent annual growth rate in productivity since the end of 1995—double the rate recorded over the previous two decades. After accounting for cyclical

factors and changes in measurement, trend productivity in the private business sector excluding computers shows very little acceleration. Although computers and semiconductors make up only about 5 percent of private output, the awesome acceleration in productivity growth in these industries more than makes up for their relatively small size. This localization of the productivity boom contrasts sharply with the experience of the productivity slowdown of the 1970s, when trend productivity slowed across most sectors of the economy.

The outlook for productivity growth. The outlook for productivity growth depends on the computer and semiconductor industries' ability to continue their recent pace of innovation and improvements in manufacturing efficiency, together with the effects from the use of growing stocks of computers throughout the economy. It is hard to predict whether the unprecedented pace of productivity growth in the computer and semiconductor industries observed over the last few years can be sustained. On the more positive side, the estimated contribution to productivity growth from the use of computers has increased relative to the

previous 25 years and will remain at a high level for the near future. During the 1970-95 period, when the share of computers in the capital stock was very small, the contribution to the annual rate of productivity growth from the use of computers is estimated to have been only about 0.2 percentage points. But, the contribution has been growing and is estimated to have been about 0.4 percentage points per year over the last 3½ years, with the largest effects occurring this year.

9-16-99

SPECIAL ANALYSIS**Benefits for China of Greenhouse Gas Emissions Trading**

✓ A recent analysis by the Council of Economic Advisers finds that an international greenhouse gas emissions market would offer substantial economic opportunities for China. By adopting an emissions growth target under the Kyoto Protocol and participating in emissions trading, China could attract significant amounts of capital and technology to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions. By reducing its emissions, China would gain from selling unused emissions allowances to developed countries.

Creating a greenhouse gas market. The Kyoto Protocol calls for the design of an international trading system that will facilitate the transfer of capital and technology to the countries where emissions can be abated at least cost. A country that can abate greenhouse gas emissions at lower cost than others has the opportunity to attract investment for climate-friendly technology. By reducing its emissions, a country can then sell emissions allowances to countries with higher abatement costs. Ideally, an international greenhouse gas emissions market would be similar to the sulfur dioxide trading program in the U.S., which allows trading of permits to emit sulfur dioxide among electric utilities. In the U.S., power plants that can reduce emissions cheaply sell permits to plants for which emissions reduction is more expensive, resulting in estimated cost-savings of 25 to 43 percent. The principle of gains from trade in emissions allowances is basically the same as it is for trade in goods and services.

In order to engage in trading, the Kyoto Protocol requires a country to have a greenhouse gas emissions target. It is broadly recognized that any such targets must be made compatible with a country's legitimate development needs. One way to do so would be for a developing country to set its target above current emissions levels, but below what emissions are forecast to be without additional abatement policies during the Protocol's first commitment period (2008 to 2012). Such an "emissions growth target" could provide for continued economic development, but with a lower emissions growth rate. To mitigate the risk that a target could end up being too stringent (or too lax), a target could be indexed to a country's economic performance between now and the 2008-2012 commitment period.

Economic gains for China. While China is making impressive strides towards lowering its greenhouse gas emissions intensity (emissions per unit of output), a variety of economic analyses and modeling efforts indicate that there are still many low-cost emissions abatement opportunities in China. Some analyses suggest that China has lower abatement costs than virtually any other country in the world. These international economic models can simulate an international emissions market by assessing the projected marginal cost of abating carbon dioxide emissions across countries and then estimating the extent of buying and

*See
use the
to
China*

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*We should
get this
appropriate
clients?*

selling until no further economic gains can be achieved through additional trades – i.e., they find the market clearing price for an emissions allowance.

Results from six international economic models indicate that by taking on an emissions target and actively participating in international emissions trading, China would find it economic to reduce emissions 14 to 24 percent below projected 2010 emissions levels and would be able to sell emissions allowances worth from \$4 billion to over \$14 billion annually.

Environmental gains for China. Efforts to abate carbon dioxide emissions will likely result in significant reductions in emissions of local air pollutants, such as sulfur dioxide and particulate matter, since both kinds of emissions are by-products of fossil fuel combustion. Local air pollution levels are a significant threat both to China's economy and to its citizens. Current pollution levels increase mortality rates, the incidence of chronic illness, and the number of hospital and emergency room visits. China's position as a low-cost producer in a global greenhouse gas emissions market offers a promising avenue for attracting investment in the energy and industrial technologies necessary to significantly address the high levels of local air pollution.

9-16-99

ARTICLE

Child Poverty Across Industrialized Nations

Although the official U.S. child poverty rate declined from 22.7 percent in 1993 to 19.9 percent in 1997, child poverty remains more prevalent in the United States than in many other industrialized countries. A major reason is that government support for low income families is typically more generous in these other countries. However, there is a tradeoff. More generous policies may be associated with adverse labor market effects such as higher unemployment and less job creation.

Child poverty comparisons, relatively speaking. No official international standard exists for measuring poverty, but a common approach in making cross-country comparisons is to use a relative income measure. For example, a

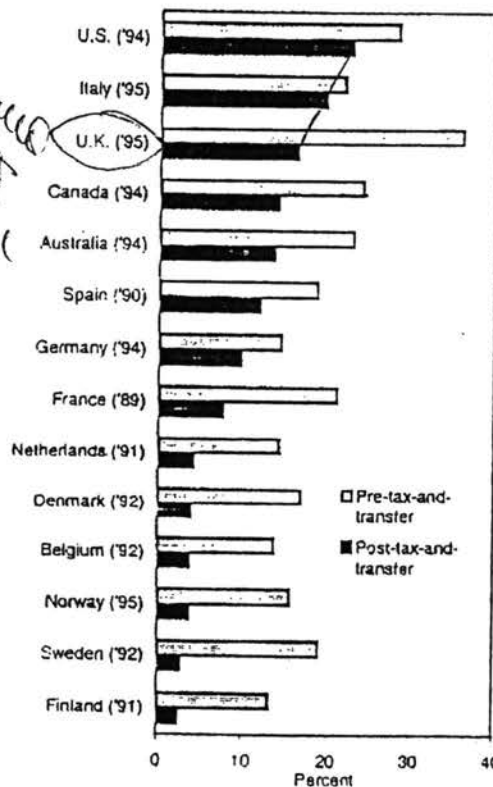
forthcoming study examines pre- and post-tax-and-transfer child poverty rates for a number of countries using a poverty threshold based on 50-percent-of-median household income (see chart). This threshold is similar to the official European Commission poverty definition of 50 percent of average household disposable income, but the use of medians rather than averages makes the statistics less sensitive to extremely large or small incomes.

Unlike the money income concept used in the official U.S. poverty measure, the income measure used in the study reflects taxes and tax credits (including the EITC) and near-cash transfers (such as food stamps). Like the official U.S. measure, it excludes non-cash transfers such as public housing and publicly-provided health care. The estimated U.S. pre-tax-and-transfer child poverty rate is higher than that of most of the other countries, and it is

reduced only modestly through taxes and transfers. In fact, the U.S. post-tax-and-transfer poverty rate is the highest among the countries shown.

Comparing absolute living standards. One reason for the relatively high U.S. child poverty rate is that half of U.S. median income is a high absolute threshold in comparison to other countries. Other countries would have higher child

Child Poverty Rates



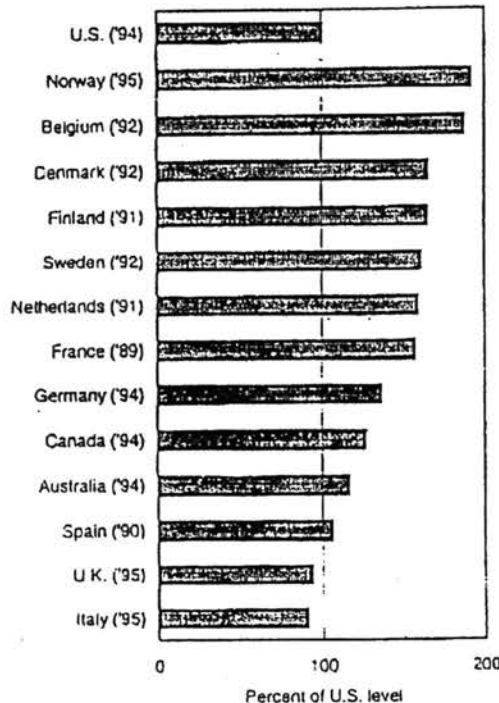
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We should look at what they do - the unemployment pretty low

9-16-99

poverty rates based on the U.S. absolute threshold. A consistent measure based on the same absolute threshold does not exist. But, one available measure

Household Income of Poor Children



Note: The chart shows the level of income at the 10th percentile of the country's distribution of children's household income as a percent of the level of income at the 10th percentile of the U.S. distribution.

suggests that many poor children in the United States have limited resources relative to poor children in other countries. In particular, the chart shows that the dollar value of the household income available to the U.S. child at the 10th percentile of the U.S. income distribution is less than that of children at the 10th percentile of many other countries' distributions. Canada's level, for example, is roughly 26 percent higher than ours.

Accounting for the differences.

Demographic differences explain part of the story. For example, the high proportion of poor single mothers certainly raises the U.S. child poverty rate. But research has suggested that differences in demographics only partially explain the differences in child poverty rates across nations. Instead, the most important factors appear to be differences in taxes and

the level of government assistance to low-income families. The United States, for example, provides less cash assistance to low-income families than most industrialized nations. Many European countries pay high levels of unemployment assistance for more than a year after people leave a job, no matter how short their period of employment. Others provide "family allowances"—special cash transfers to families with children.

Conclusion. Child poverty rates vary dramatically across nations, from less than 3 percent to more than 20 percent (using the relative measure). Differences in public policies account for a significant portion of this range. These policies, of course, come with tradeoffs: many European nations have high unemployment rates and low child poverty rates, due in part to their extensive system of income transfer programs. The situation in the United States is the reverse. Some poverty experts have criticized both models as being either "too expensive" (in Europe) or "too cheap" (in the U.S.).

9-16-99

BUSINESS, CONSUMER, AND REGIONAL ROUNDUP

NAFTA Spurs Agricultural Trade with Canada and Mexico. As NAFTA enters its 6th year, the importance of the agreement for U.S. agriculture is more apparent than ever, according to a new report issued by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. While U.S. agricultural exports to non-NAFTA countries rose only 2.6 percent per year from 1994 to 1998, exports to Canada and Mexico rose 8.1 percent annually over the same period. Both U.S. exporters and importers are placing a greater emphasis on the North American market. In 1990, Canada and Mexico purchased 17 percent of U.S. agricultural exports and supplied 25 percent of imports; by 1998, the share of exports had risen to 25 percent and that of imports to 34 percent. The report argues that U.S. beef and pork trade has benefited greatly from NAFTA, with beef exports to Canada estimated to be twice as high as they would have been without the trade agreement. It finds that NAFTA has also facilitated the flow of U.S. and Canadian foreign direct investment in the processed food industry in North America, leading to the dissemination of new technology and efficiency gains for producers, as well as lower food costs and greater choices for consumers.

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Podesta

Minorities Are Less Likely to Have Health Insurance. American minorities are less likely than whites to have health insurance, according to a report from the Commonwealth Fund. The report finds that among Americans aged 18 to 64, 14 percent of whites were uninsured in 1995 compared with 24 percent of blacks and 38 percent of Hispanics. Minorities are also less likely to be covered through work (69 percent of white workers have employer-sponsored coverage compared with 52 percent of black workers and 44 percent of Hispanic workers). Differences in socioeconomic status and type of jobs held may partially explain this discrepancy. For example, workers earning less than \$10 per hour are less likely to be insured, and adults who work in large firms, are employed full-time, hold manufacturing or public administration jobs, or are trade union members are more likely to be covered through work. However, even within these categories, minorities are less likely to have employer-based insurance. The study finds that, after controlling for workforce and sociodemographic characteristics, blacks and Hispanics are 21 percent less likely than whites to have coverage through their employers. One possible barrier to minority health insurance mentioned in the report is the out-of-pocket cost associated with obtaining employer-sponsored coverage.

INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP

Malaysia Eases Investment Controls. The Malaysian government allowed capital controls instituted last September to expire. The government originally imposed these controls to insulate the Malaysian economy from the risks and vulnerabilities of global financial markets. Prior to September 1, 1999, foreign investors could only repatriate their investments by paying a tax of up to 30% of the principal. This tax was lifted on September 1, so that portfolio funds that have been in Malaysia for a year or more are now eligible for repatriation without any levy.

China Set to Impose Savings Tax. China's economic growth rate has declined steadily since 1992 and moderate price deflation has set in over the last two years. Based on a recent article in the Beijing Daily News (China's official English language newspaper), the Chinese government has proposed to impose a 20 percent flat tax on interest earned on bank savings accounts in hopes of stimulating consumption. This follows a recent amendment to the Personal Income Tax Law, allowing taxation of interest from savings accounts. National saving was estimated to be more than 40 percent of GDP in 1997. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the saving rate may have risen recently, in part reflecting uncertainty associated with economic reforms and rising unemployment. Even if the tax fails to boost consumption, it should help improve the weak fiscal condition of the government, which limits its ability to finance expenditures. According to the Chinese Minister of Finance, this new tax revenue will be used to increase payments to laid-off workers from state-owned enterprises, raise the minimum income of urban residents, and increase pensions.

IMF Warns of Risks in Capital Markets. Despite recent favorable developments in the world economy such as strong U.S. growth and Asian recovery, conditions in global financial markets remain fragile, cautions the IMF in its annual report, *International Capital Markets*. The IMF report listed the possibility of a large correction in the U.S. equity market or a sudden weakening of the dollar as particular risks to the developed economies. Risks to emerging markets include a reduced investor base, the level and structure of external financing, and the possibility of a slowdown in capital inflows that could be brought about by inflationary pressures and resultant tight monetary policies in mature markets. The report draws attention to the public policy issues posed by excessive off-balance sheet leverage in modern finance, the impact of highly-leveraged institutions (HLIs) on small and medium-sized financial markets, and the emerging market responses to severe external pressure. In the IMF's view, policies should aim to enhance market discipline, improve disclosure of off-balance sheet risk, provide for more rigorous creditor and counterparty assessments of exposures, and strengthen private risk management and control systems. The report also suggests that closer monitoring of global liquidity conditions could help alert officials to the buildup of excessive leverage and other imbalances.

RELEASES THIS WEEK

Producer Price Index

****Embargoed until 8:30 a.m., Friday, September 10, 1999****

The producer price index for finished goods rose 0.5 percent in August. Excluding food and energy, producer prices fell 0.1 percent.

MAJOR RELEASES NEXT WEEK

Retail Sales (Tuesday)

Consumer Prices (Wednesday)

Industrial Production and Capacity Utilization (Thursday)

Housing Starts (Friday)

U.S. ECONOMIC STATISTICS

	1970- 1993	1998	1998:4	1999:1	1999:2
Percent growth (annual rate)					
Real GDP (chain-type)	2.7	4.3	6.0	4.3	1.8
GDP chain-type price index	5.4	0.9	0.8	1.6	1.5
<u>Nonfarm business (NFB) sector:</u>					
Productivity (chain-type)	1.5	2.6	4.1	3.6	0.6
Real compensation per hour:					
Using CPI	0.6	2.5	2.0	2.9	1.5
Using NFB deflator	1.3	3.7	3.4	3.0	3.7
Shares of Nominal GDP (percent)					
Business fixed investment	10.9	11.0	11.0	11.0	11.2
Residential investment	4.5	4.3	4.5	4.6	4.7
Exports	8.2	11.3	11.3	10.9	11.0
Imports	9.2	13.0	13.1	13.2	13.7
Personal saving	5.2	0.3	-0.0	-0.5	-0.9
Federal surplus	-2.7	0.9	0.8	1.4	1.6
	1970- 1993	1998	June 1999	July 1999	August 1999
Unemployment Rate (percent)	6.7**	4.5**	4.3	4.3	4.2
Payroll employment (thousands)					
increase per month			281	338	124
increase since Jan. 1993					19403
Inflation (percent per period)					
CPI	5.8	1.6	0.0	0.3	N.A.
PPI-Finished goods	5.0	0.0	-0.1	0.2	0.5

**Figures beginning 1994 are not comparable with earlier data.

New or revised data in boldface.

PPI data **embargoed** until 8:30 a.m., Friday, September 10, 1999.

FINANCIAL STATISTICS

	1997	1998	July 1999	August 1999	Sept. 9, 1999
Dow-Jones Industrial Average	7441	8626	11052	10935	11079
Interest Rates (percent per annum)					
3-month T-bill	5.06	4.78	4.55	4.72	4.68
10-year T-bond	6.35	5.26	5.79	5.94	5.97
Mortgage rate, 30-year fixed	7.60	6.94	7.63	7.94	7.88
Prime rate	8.44	8.35	8.00	8.06	8.25

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS

Exchange Rates	Current level	Percent	
Change from	September 9, 1999	Week ago	Year ago
Euro (in U.S. dollars)	1.054	-1.4	N.A.
Yen (per U.S. dollar)	108.0	-1.1	-20.9
Major currencies index (Mar. 1973=100) (trade-weighted value of the U.S. \$)	93.36	-0.3	-4.6

International Comparisons *	Real GDP growth (percent change last 4 quarters)	Unemployment rate (percent)	CPI inflation (percent change in index last 12 months)
United States	3.9 (Q2)	4.2 (Aug)	2.1 (Jul)
Canada	3.7 (Q2)	7.7 (Jul)	1.8 (Jul)
Japan	1.1 (Q2)	4.9 (Jul)	-0.1 (Jul)
France	2.1 (Q2)	11.3 (Jun)	0.3 (Jun)
Germany	0.6 (Q2)	7.1 (Jul)*	0.6 (Jul)
Italy	0.9 (Q1)	12.1 (Apr)	1.7 (Jul)
United Kingdom	1.2 (Q2)	6.1 (May)	1.3 (Jul)

1/ For unemployment data, rates approximating U.S. concepts as calculated by the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

2/ Rate for former West Germany. Using OECD standardized unemployment data, the unemployment rate for unified Germany for July was 9.1 percent.

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CPI	5.8	1.6	0.0	0.3	N.A.
PPI-Finished goods	5.0	0.0	-0.1	0.2	0.5

**Figures beginning 1994 are not comparable with earlier data.

New or revised data in boldface.

PPI data embargoed until 8:30 a.m., Friday, September 10, 1999.

FINANCIAL STATISTICS

	1997	1998	July 1999	August 1999	Sept. 9, 1999
Dow-Jones Industrial Average	7441	8626	11052	10935	11079
Interest Rates (percent per annum)					
3-month T-bill	5.06	4.78	4.55	4.72	4.68
10-year T-bond	6.35	5.26	5.79	5.94	5.97
Mortgage rate, 30-year fixed	7.60	6.94	7.63	7.94	7.88
Prime rate	8.44	8.35	8.00	8.06	8.25

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS

Exchange Rates	Current level	Percent	
Change from	September 9, 1999	Week ago	Year ago
Euro (in U.S. dollars)	1.054	-1.4	N.A.
Yen (per U.S. dollar)	108.0	-1.1	-20.9
Major currencies index (Mar. 1973=100) (trade-weighted value of the U.S. \$)	93.36	-0.3	-4.6

International Comparisons *	Real GDP growth (percent change last 4 quarters)	Unemployment rate (percent)	CPI inflation (percent change in index last 12 months)
United States	3.9 (Q2)	4.2 (Aug)	2.1 (Jul)
Canada	3.7 (Q2)	7.7 (Jul)	1.8 (Jul)
Japan	1.1 (Q2)	4.9 (Jul)	-0.1 (Jul)
France	2.1 (Q2)	11.3 (Jun)	0.3 (Jun)
Germany	0.6 (Q2)	7.1 (Jul)*	0.6 (Jul)
Italy	0.9 (Q1)	12.1 (Apr)	1.7 (Jul)
United Kingdom	1.2 (Q2)	6.1 (May)	1.3 (Jul)

1/ For unemployment data, rates approximating U.S. concepts as calculated by the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

2/ Rate for former West Germany. Using OECD standardized unemployment data, the unemployment rate for unified Germany for July was 9.1 percent.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20502

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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September 10, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NEAL LANE *neal*
CC: JOHN PODESTA
SUBJECT: OSTP WEEKLY REPORT

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Administration Position on the Teaching of Evolution

*Podesta
I agree
this!!*

Many members of the science and technology community have inquired about the Administration's position on the teaching of evolution in public schools in the wake of the Kansas decision. Members of PCAST, particularly Francisco Ayala (a Catholic priest and evolutionary biologist), would like to see the Administration take a strong position on the importance of teaching evolution. In my view, the omission of evolution – the fundamental organizing principle in biology – has clear implications for the teaching of geology, astronomy, and physics as well, and it would be a drastic setback in the nation's quest to ensure the scientific literacy of our children and future workforce. Virtually every basic scientific lesson taught in our elementary and secondary schools would be turned on its head. Universally accepted understanding of fundamental scientific issues such as the age of the Earth, the speed of light, and the appropriate interpretation of fossils – just to name a few – would be badly skewed. From the perspective of the science and science teachers community our response is sort of like being asked "Is it OK to teach 'flat earth' in the schools?" and we answer "we do not tell the schools what to teach." Evolution is so much at the core of science that to not teach evolution is to not teach science. OSTP is in discussions with DPC about the possibility of taking a firmer stance.

NBAC Completes Stem Cell Report

*Podesta
see fig 8a
7/14/99
Publicly*

The National Bioethics Advisory Commission completed its report on Ethical Issues in Human Stem Cell Research and delivered two rough copies to me on Tuesday (9/7). I am working with DPC to clear a White House statement acknowledging the complexities of NBAC's task and thanking them for their hard work. I share Harold Varmus's concern that we not appear to retreat from earlier Administration statements that prohibit NIH from creating human embryos for research purposes, but also object to the broader Congressional ban on all embryo research.

*Podesta
see fig 8a
7/14/99
Publicly*

Polling data indicate that 74% of Americans support human stem cell research because of its potential health care benefits in treating Parkinson's, juvenile diabetes and heart disease. To date, patient advocacy groups have been successful in preventing conservative members of Congress from mustering the votes to prohibit NIH from funding this promising area of research. However, the postponement of House and Senate Labor/HHS appropriations markups this week raises the possibility of an omnibus bill within which such an amendment might be inserted. This would be a good time to signal Administration support of the patient groups that are holding the line in support of stem cell research.

Greenspan Confirms Role of New Economy

 Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan on Wednesday (9/8) stated that he firmly believes that the U.S. economy is undergoing a fundamental change that is being spurred by information technology. In the speech, Greenspan stated that the economy is currently in a state of "creative destruction" with emerging technologies pushing out the old, further suggesting that the economy's expansion could continue indefinitely if advancements in information technologies continue. It is ironic to note that while Chairman Greenspan was giving his speech, the House was debating the VA/HUD Appropriations bill that cuts 70% from your Information Technology Request from NASA and the National Science Foundation.

NASDAQ Survey on Importance of R&D

OSTP has arranged for Al Berkeley, President of NASDAQ, to do a systematic study of NASDAQ companies to determine the number of companies that are based on federal R&D investments. The study will include the amount of the investment and the number of years from the beginning of the support until the company was listed. Also, we will determine the amount of private investment that the federal dollars leveraged. This effort stems from a statement that Mr. Berkeley made where he estimated that half of all of the companies listed on the NASDAQ were a direct result of federal investments at universities and federal laboratories.

9-16-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR. T.M.
KRIS M. BALDERSTONSUBJECT: Summary of Cabinet Weekly Reports
August 28 – September 10, 1999Copied
Marshall
PodestaDEPARTMENT OF TREASURY

- **Tax Cuts:** Treasury expects the \$792 billion tax cut bill to be sent to you sometime next week. Treasury has drafted a veto letter for your signature. Republican congressional leaders have indicated an unwillingness to work with the Administration on compromise tax legislation following your veto, but some congressional Republicans may be willing to consider a multi-year extension of expiring provisions. Chairman Archer suggested that such extensions would not require revenue offsets.
- **Russia:** In light of the recent money laundering allegations involving Russia, Treasury is working in cooperation with other agencies to develop a response strategy. Treasury is also reviewing the criteria and conditions for Russia's eligibility to receive the second tranche of its 18-month IMF program which was scheduled for disbursement on September 22. Last week, Secretary Summers stated publicly that the U.S. would not support disbursement of the next tranche without adequate safeguards and accounting. The House Banking Committee will hold a hearing the week of September 20 on issues related to Russia. Secretary Summers will likely testify.
- **Indonesia:** The crisis in East Timor is having a damaging effect on investor confidence in Indonesia, which is critical to its economic recovery. The crisis will have significant implications for the international community's support for economic reform going forward. Treasury is consulting with G-7 colleagues on the situation as it unfolds. You indicated this week that Indonesia's conduct could disrupt the support of the international financial institutions (IFIs). Also this week, Senators Leahy and McConnell wrote to Secretary Summers urging a cutoff of IFI support for Indonesia. Currently, no new IFI lending for Indonesia is being considered, although pre-approved project and sector loans, which chiefly fund social sector and rural development needs, continue to be disbursed.

- **BusinessLINC:** On September 15, Treasury and other Federal bank regulatory agencies are co-hosting a BusinessLINC conference focused on financial institution BusinessLINC strategies. The conference follows the American Bankers Association's Annual Community Development Banking Conference.
- **Secretary's Schedule:** On September 14, Secretary Summers will meet with Chairman Greenspan. On September 17, he will address the Congressional Black Caucus Banking Braintrust.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- **Youth Violence:** On September 14, Deputy Attorney General Holder will testify before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor-HHS-Education, on the topic of youth violence.
- **Hate on the Internet:** On September 14, the Senate Judiciary Committee plans to hold a hearing on hate on the Internet. DOJ will testify, with representatives from the Simon Weisenthal Center, the Anti Defamation League, and the Southern Poverty Law Center; an Internet provider, and an academic.
- **Race Relations:** On September 17, federal, state, and local officials, and representatives from school, faith, non-profit, and the law enforcement communities will showcase successful race relations experiences at a National Race Relations Symposium in Washington, DC, sponsored by DOJ's Community Relations Service.
- **School Safety:** On September 15, DOJ's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention will sponsor a satellite videoconference on Promising Practices for Safe and Effective Schools. The teleconference will provide information on practices to improve school discipline, safety, and academic performance. The teleconference is being held in conjunction with a meeting on school safety between DOJ, HHS, and DOE and state officials. More than 800 sites have registered to link the conference.
- **Drug Free Communities Grants:** During the week of September 15, ONDCP and DOJ's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) are expected to award 124 new grants and 92 continuation grants totaling about \$18 million under the Drug-Free Communities Support Program. These grants fund community coalitions that work together on substance abuse reduction initiatives.
- **Juvenile Justice Publications:** In September, DOJ is scheduled to publish *Community Policing and Youth*, a bulletin describing the development of a youth-focused, community-based policing program that could be implemented in Empowerment Zones

9-16-99

and Enterprise Communities. DOJ will also publish *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1999 National Report*. The report was compiled by OJJDP's National Center for Juvenile Justice in Pittsburgh, PA, and contains latest available statistics on juvenile demographics, juvenile victims and offenders, the juvenile justice system structure and process, law enforcement, courts, correctional facilities and juvenile crime.

- **Police Corps Grants:** On September 20, the Office of the Police Corps and Law Enforcement Education is scheduled to transfer approximately \$40 million to 22 states for the Police Corps program. The Police Corps helps local and state law enforcement agencies combat violent crime by increasing the number of officers with advanced education and training assigned to community patrol.
- **FL Immigration:** On September 23, Attorney General Reno will meet with FL Gov. Bush, Sen. Graham, Sen. Mack, and INS Commissioner Meissner.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

- **CO River Water Users:** DOI, working with the assistance of the CA Department of Water Resources, has been leading negotiations to resolve longstanding conflicts among CA water users over quantification of CO River water entitlements. Efforts are currently underway to express the consensus in a written nonbinding framework which the CA agency negotiating teams will present to their respective boards on September 14. The framework agreement would then be converted into binding documents to be completed within the next six months. This agreement is the cornerstone of the CA 4.4 Plan, which will allow CA to reduce its current use of CO River water from as much as 5.2 million acre-feet down to its actual long-term allocation of 4.4 million acre-feet, established under a 1963 Supreme Court decision. AZ and NV are rapidly growing into full utilization of their adjudicated allocations to CO River water, eliminating the unused CO River water that CA historically relied upon.

- **NY Land Claims:** Last week, representatives from DOI and DOJ addressed about 2,000 citizens of Cayuga and Seneca counties regarding the merits of settling the Cayuga Indian land claim, which involves about 64,000 acres of land in those two counties. The issue has been extremely volatile, with local landowners convinced that the Federal Government has sided against them. DOI representatives explained that in fact, federal intervention in the suit prevented NY from using its Eleventh Amendment immunity to avoid its own liability. Hence, without federal intervention, the counties and local landowners would have been left to pay damages without any help from NY (liability was established in an earlier phase of the litigation). Another negotiation session was scheduled for September 9.

CA HRC
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- **Northstar Oil and Gas Development Plan:** On September 7, the MMS AK Region signed its Record of Decision approving the federal OCS portion of the BP AK Exploration (BPXA) Northstar project. The Northstar facility and pipeline is all within AK lands and waters, and most production will be from state leases. The pipeline will be the first pipeline buried in the seabed in an Arctic ice environment, and went through much scrutiny by state and federal agencies and the public.
- **Northwest Forest Timber Sales:** New timber sales in federal forests are stopped indefinitely following an August 26 ruling by U.S. District Judge Dwyer in Seattle, WA. The judge issued a temporary injunction against 34 timber sales until the USDA Forest Service completes its survey of 77 forest species. The judge will rule in October on a permanent injunction if the survey still is not done. It is unlikely that the survey will be done by then.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Baca Ranch Sale: On September 7, the Forest Service reached agreement with the owners on a letter of intent to proceed with the sale of the Baca Ranch in northern NM for \$101 million, subject to final congressional authorization and appropriation of the funds.

Hog Industry Concentration: On September 3, Smithfield Foods, Inc., the nation's largest hog processor, said it would buy Murphy Farms Inc., in a deal that would allow Smithfield to double its hog production capacity, meaning that Smithfield would own 14-16 percent of all slaughter hogs in the Nation. USDA is examining the transaction.

Demand for USDA Farm Loans Hits 15 Year High: Through August 30, USDA had made 77 percent more loans than at the same time one year ago, the highest since FY86, while emergency lending alone, for farmers and ranchers affected by natural disasters, climbed 222 percent, to the highest level since FY85. This fiscal year, USDA has provided 21,029 direct loans worth more than \$1.273 billion to America's farmers, including \$303 million in emergency loans to 3,743 family farmers nationwide. USDA has also made 15,283 guaranteed loans worth more than \$2.5 billion.

- **Commodity Markets:** Wheat cash and futures prices were supported by higher corn and soybean prices, plus positive export news. Corn and soybean prices were up as traders anticipate smaller U.S. crops to be forecast by USDA on September 10. Harvest pressure led to a decline in rice cash prices, but futures received a boost from good export news and ideas that quality has deteriorated in the Delta. Large world supplies and uncertainty over China's stock policies sent cotton prices down. Cattle prices followed descending wholesale prices. Declining pork prices helped drive hog prices lower. Broiler prices rose slightly. Cheese prices fell sharply, as buyers bought only to cover current needs. Butter prices also dropped in anticipation of larger cream supplies.

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- **Farm Weather Outlook:** The National Weather Service 6-10 day outlook for September 12-16 calls for warm, dry weather in the West, favoring fieldwork and crop maturation. Cool, wet weather will further slow crop development and small grain harvesting on the northern Plains. Wet conditions may disrupt summer crop harvesting and winter wheat planting on the central and southern High Plains. In the Northeast, wet weather will bring additional long-term drought relief. Cool, mostly dry conditions will promote fieldwork in the Southeast.
- **Listeria:** On September 2, USDA officials warned IBP, Inc.'s Waterloo, IA plant that it must immediately take corrective actions to reduce the hazards associated with repeated findings of listeria in cooked ready-to-eat products, or USDA may suspend operations at the facility.
- **National Farmer's Union:** On September 13, Secretary Glickman will address the National Farmers' Union.
- **Farm Crisis Web Site:** On August 31, USDA's Cooperative State Extension, Education, and Economics Service launched a farm crisis website to provide information to the public about the various elements that constitute disaster for farmers, ranchers, and agribusinesses. USDA will change coverage of farm crises as the crises change, though the current emphasis is on the effects of heat and drought on Eastern states, and on the effects of hurricanes on southeastern U.S. seashores.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

- **Global Business Dialogue on E-commerce:** Secretary Daley will head the U.S. delegation and deliver opening session remarks September 13 in Paris at the Global Business Dialogue on E-commerce, being held to initiate a dialogue between businesses and governments on policy issues affecting electronic commerce.
- **National Technical Information Service (NTIS):** The GAO is initiating a review of NTIS at the request of the Senate Appropriations Committee. GAO will study the scope of NTIS operations in relation to its legislatively mandated mission, its pricing structure, the basis on which the decision to close the bureau was made, options for transferring NTIS functions, and the possible impact of closure on the dissemination of technical information to the public.
- **Hushkits:** Since its engines are the ones most affected by the EU's proposed hushkit regulation, Pratt & Whitney estimates injury of at least \$1 billion in lost sales of hushkits and re-engining. Pratt is committed to the development of the next generation International Civil Aviation Organization noise standard, and is seeking support from

9-16-99

U.S. airlines and other manufacturers. The State Department has not decided to initiate a complaint at the ICAO against the EU regulation while it continues to develop legal and policy analysis -- ICAO rules call for a complainant to declare that negotiations to reach a bilateral settlement have broken down.

- **Technology Grants:** The National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) plans to announce its FY99 grant recipients for the Public Telecommunications Facilities Program (PTFP) and the Telecommunications and Information Infrastructure Assistance Program (TIIAP) at the end of September. NTIA will award approximately \$19.5 million in PTFP funds and \$17.3 million in TIIAP funds.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

- **Disaster Assistant Grant (TX):** By September 17, DOL plans to award a disaster relief grant to the State of TX to fund temporary jobs for workers cleaning up and repairing the damage caused by Hurricane Bret. DOL has been informed that TX intends to submit a grant request, however, the amount of the grant cannot be determined until the full extent of the damage has been assessed.
- **Consumer Price Index:** On September 15, BLS will release the Consumer Price Index for August 1999.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

E. coli Outbreak in NY: On September 3, the New York State Department of Health was informed of an increased number of persons admitted to hospitals in the Washington County area with E. coli symptoms. Cultures from patients yielded E. coli. Initial investigation determined that all patients had attended the Washington County Fair during the week of August 23-29, 1999. Neighboring States have also reported a few cases in their residents who attended the fair. To date there have been more than 291 suspect cases reported. Of the suspected cases, 49 have been hospitalized, 10 cases of hemolytic-uremic syndrome have occurred with one death.

- **Foodborne Illness:** (*Embargoed until September 15*) The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) will publish an article entitled "Burden of Foodborne Disease in the United States 1997" in the next issue of *Emerging Infectious Diseases* (late September). On September 15, the publication will be available on line. The article will revise previous U.S. estimates of illness, hospitalizations and deaths due to foodborne illness. In 1987, CDC estimated that there were 9,000 deaths caused by foodborne illness annually.

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- **CFC Campaign:** On September 14, Secretary Shalala will speak at the Combined Federal Campaign (CFC) Campaign Kick-Off to an audience of 1,200 federal employees in Washington, DC.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- **National Low Income Housing Coalition Press Conference:** Secretary Cuomo delivered remarks at the National Low Income Housing Coalition's press conference to release *Out of Reach*, their annual report on the gap between income and housing affordability for low wage earners and people who rely on income maintenance programs.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

- **America Goes Back to School:** Secretary Slater will host another Back-to-School event as part of the African Transportation Ministerial in Atlanta in late September. Deputy Secretary Downey and Modal Administrators have already planned numerous events through October to amplify the Administration's Back to School message.
- **Child Safety Seats:** On August 30, Secretary Slater reminded Americans that September 1 was the effective date for the first phase of a new universal child safety seat system that will make installing child seats in passenger cars and light trucks easier and safer for parents. As of September 1, DOT's National Highway Traffic Safety Administration required all new child safety seats to meet stricter head protection standards.
- **Vietnam Aviation:** An agreement in principle has been reached that will open up new opportunities for codesharing and other cooperative marketing arrangements in the U.S.-Vietnam aviation market. A Memorandum of Discussion (MOD) setting forth the intentions of each country was expected to be signed September 7 during Secretary Albright's visit to Vietnam. Under the MOD, U.S. and Vietnamese airlines may form cooperative marketing arrangements with each other, or with carriers of third countries, to serve the other country. The MOD does not permit U.S. or Vietnamese airlines to serve the other country by operating their own planes into the other country. Services will be provided via intermediate countries. The MOD represents a first step toward establishing more expansive aviation relations with Vietnam.
- **Delta Initiative:** DOT is currently distributing the Interim Report on Administration progress in addressing the needs of the Mississippi Delta Region. The development of the Final Report/Action Plan for the Mississippi Region Delta Initiative is in progress. Four listening sessions for stakeholders are planned for late September or early October.

- **Migrant Interdiction:** On August 23, the Coast Guard received a distress call from a disabled vessel 350 miles north of Midway Island. Coast Guard Cutter KUKUI located the vessel with 120 PRC migrants. According to reports from crewmembers, the vessel had been disabled for a month and resisted calling for assistance hoping that another smuggling vessel would provide assistance. All migrants were turned over to U.S. authorities on Midway Island. During the period August 9 to September 3, the Coast Guard interdicted 44 Cuban migrants in six events and 23 Haitian migrants in one event in the Florida Straits. During the same period, five Mexican migrants were interdicted in one event off the southern California coast.
- **South America:** Secretary Slater is planning a mission on October 17-23 to Venezuela, Brazil, Chile and Peru, to focus on key transportation issues and opportunities for U.S. transportation businesses in those countries. He expects to be accompanied by U.S. government officials as well as officials from 10-15 transportation companies.
- **Central America and the Caribbean:** Secretary Slater is planning a mission in December to Mexico and a number of countries to be identified in Central America and the Caribbean Basin to focus on key transportation issues and opportunities for U.S. transportation businesses in those countries. He expects to be accompanied by U.S. government officials as well as transportation companies with an interest in this geographic region.
- **Adarand:** On August 17, Adarand Constructors filed a *certiorari* petition seeking Supreme Court review of the decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit dismissing as moot Adarand's constitutional challenge to the federal DBE affirmative action program. In its decision the Tenth Circuit reasoned that because Adarand has now been certified as a DBE under the Colorado program, Adarand lacked standing to continue its challenge to DOTs program. The Tenth Circuit also determined that fairness required that the district court decision declaring the program unconstitutional should be vacated, because the decision was of great constitutional importance and could no longer be appealed by the affected parties. The U.S. response is due to be filed on September 17.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

- **National Ignition Facility (NIF) Status:** Secretary Richardson ordered a series of actions to address the schedule and cost problems with the construction of the NIF at DOE's Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. The actions are as follows: (1) Livermore will change how it executes its responsibility for the NIF project; (2) an independent expert panel will do an in-depth analysis of options and recommend the best technical course of action; (3) all costs issues will be handled within DOE defense programs and Livermore budget funding lines; (4) all contractors will be held accountable

(along these lines, the University of California must also assume a stronger role in the oversight of research and development projects they manage for DOE); (5) DOE management oversight will be strengthened (NIF will become a part of DOE's Project Management Watch List' forcing very stringent monthly DOE Headquarters review and compliance to other strict reporting structures); and (6) Livermore will initiate a management review to take action against any personnel who kept these issues from DOE management.

- **Hispanic Heritage Month:** Secretary Richardson will be hosting this year's Interagency kick off event for the 1999 National Hispanic Heritage Month at the Department of Energy. The theme for this event is "A Vision for the 21st Century." As part of this observance, we will host the first Interagency Federal Hispanic Heritage Month awards program where we will present the "1999 Federal Hispanic Heritage Month Excellence Award" to Federal employees who have provided exemplary public service to the Nation or have strengthened ties between the Federal Government and the U.S. Hispanic community. Janet Murguia will be one of the awardees.
- **Paducah Gaseous Diffusion Plant:** As part of Secretary Richardson's comprehensive response to environment, safety, and health concerns at the Paducah Plant (KY), he ordered an independent investigation into current and past practices. DOE's investigators have completed initial data collection, such as environmental sampling, for the phase-one review. Based on the team's initial findings, Secretary Richardson ordered the facility to "stand-down" on September 9 so that workers and managers could review safety procedures. Results from the stand-down were released on September 10. Preliminary results of the phase-one review, covering issues from the past 10 years, will be released the week of September 13, with a final report expected in early October. The second phase of the investigation will examine legacy safety and health concerns prior to 1990.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

- **Court Decision Shifts Power to States:** In Bradley v. Arkansas Department of Education, a three-judge panel of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that states are immune to suit in Federal court under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. The panel determined that Section 504 is impermissibly coercive because it compels a state to forego all Federal funding -- not just funding provided under the Rehabilitation Act -- unless the state agrees to comply with Section 504 in all its programs. The court's decision, which is based on recent U.S. Supreme Court rulings, creates a split with the Fourth, Fifth, and Ninth Circuit. DOJ is considering filing a petition for en banc review, which must be filed by October 15.

9-16-99

- **Satellite Town Meeting:** On September 21, DOE will host a satellite town meeting, "Back to School: Rethinking America's High Schools." Secretary Riley will lead a discussion focusing on innovative high schools throughout the country.

DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

- **Gulf War Research Issues:** Two suspected causes of the illnesses afflicting Gulf War veterans – depleted uranium and poisonous gas – slipped further down the list of culprits, although new research pointed toward a third cause: genetics. The Special Oversight Board on Gulf War Illness, chaired by former Senator Warren Rudman, concluded that no credible evidence exists pointing to depleted uranium as a cause. Rudman's panel raised the possibility that a genetic vulnerability to toxins may explain some veterans' complaints. In an unrelated effort, the Naval Health Research Center in San Diego reported that veterans who may have been exposed to nerve gas during the war were as healthy as a control group of non-exposed veterans.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

- **Clean Air Standards:** On May 14, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals ordered EPA to reconsider the new clean air standards for ozone smog and particulate matter. Ten days later, the same court ordered EPA to halt implementation of its regulation known as the "Nox SIP Call" requiring 22 states to control the interstate transport of ozone air pollution. Because of the uncertainty created by these court decisions, EPA has pursued formal discussions with the states over alternative approaches to reducing interstate ozone transport.

UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

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• **Assistance to Turkey:** USTR has been working closely with other agencies to develop an assistance package for Turkey in the wake of the August 17 earthquake. USTR is focusing on measures that would aid Turkish industries affected by the earthquake, and on measures that would facilitate U.S. trade and investment in Turkey. Turkey's Prime Minister visits Washington from September 27-28.

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

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• **NASA Web Site Press Conference:** On September 13, Director McCaffrey will join Representative Matt Salmon, NASA Administrator Goldin and astronauts Eileen Collins and Buzz Aldrin to announce a new collaborative effort between NASA and the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. NASA's web site (which is popular with young people) will now feature drug prevention messages and links to Media Campaign's youth oriented web sites.

- **Buffalo, NY Trip:** On September 14, Director McCaffrey will travel to Buffalo, NY to address the National Prevention Network's Twelfth Annual Research Conference. He will meet with the *Buffalo News* editorial board and visit a local YMCA to tour its after-school program for at-risk youth.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

- **E-Commerce:** Electronic commerce, particularly via the Internet, is experiencing unprecedented growth, according to a recent report by SBA's Office of Advocacy. *E-Commerce: Small Businesses Venture Online* uses existing research and provides an overview of how small businesses use e-commerce and identifies a number of issues in e-commerce expansion. As many as 35 percent of small businesses maintain their own website. While e-commerce is used for customer identification, advertising, consumer sales, business-to-business transactions, and some business-to-consumer point of sale transactions, small firms encounter several barriers to e-commerce. Barriers include initial startup costs, difficulty attracting and keeping technologically-skilled personnel to service the site and customers, security of a small business's (or its customers') data, and consumer trust.
- **Women's Business Centers:** SBA is scheduled to open sixteen Women's Business Centers through November 4. The new Women's Business Centers are located in MD, CT, CO, KY, AR (2), ND, HI, PA, FL, MO, the Virgin Islands, WY, IN, MI and TX.

OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

- **Child Care Legislation:** Director Lachance has drafted a letter to Representative Morella stating Administration support for legislation that would allow Federal agencies to use appropriated funds to subsidize child care for low-income Federal workers. This proposal, initially received as non-controversial, has come under attack as a "give away" to the "child care industry" and a potential "budget buster."
- **Welfare-to-Work:** New figures on Federal Welfare-to-Work hires through August 22 have been released. In the past month, Agencies have hired 531 former welfare recipients. Since March 8, 1997, Federal Agencies have hired 14,559 former welfare recipients, far surpassing their goal of 10,638 through the year 2000.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

- **FY2000 "City Pairs":** GSA has negotiated rates for over 4,000 routes with U.S. airlines that are projected to save the Federal government an estimated \$2 billion next year.

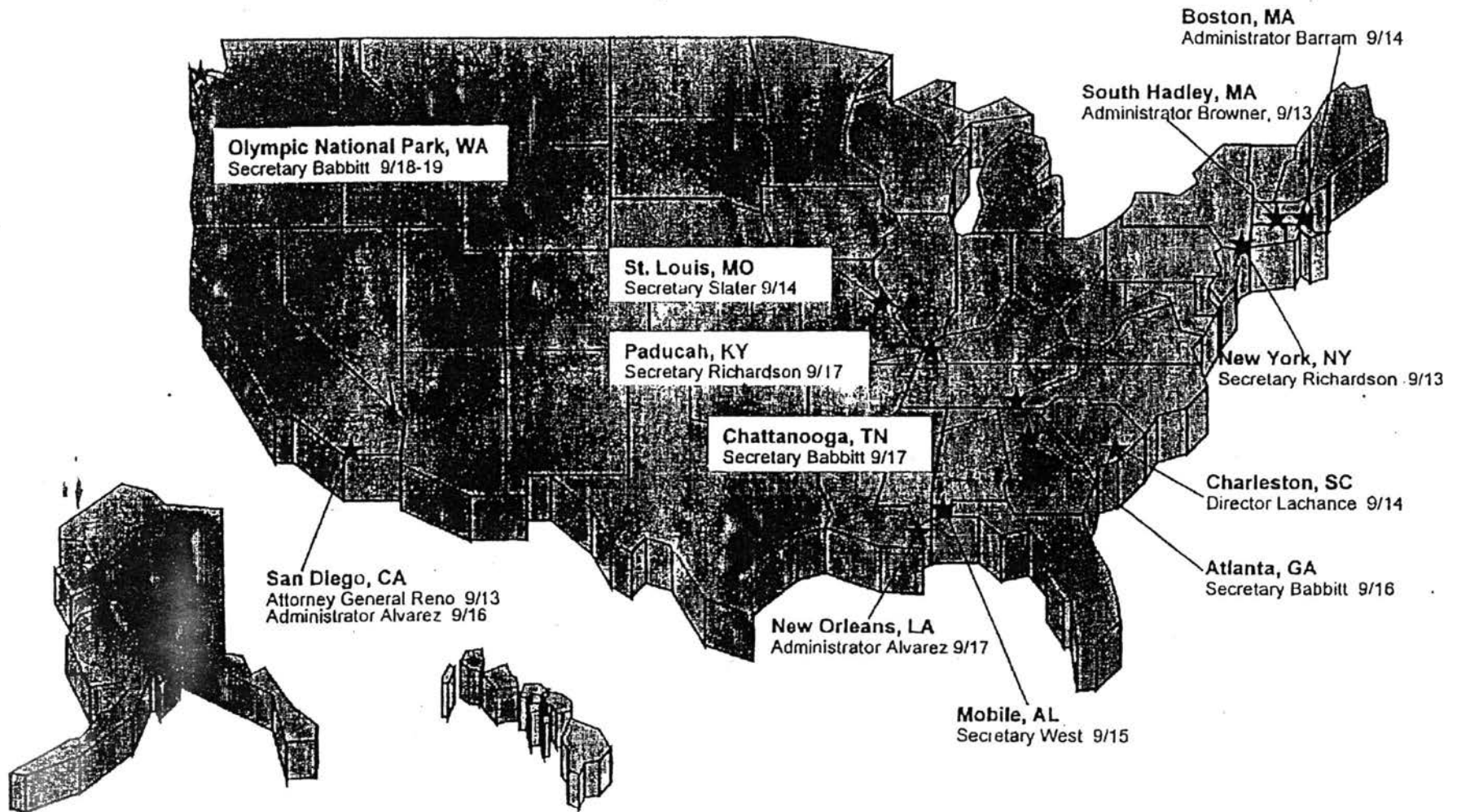
- **Fire Fighting in Western States:** GSA is providing numerous supplies to the fire fighting efforts in several western states. These supplies range from shovels, tools, tents, emergency shelters and various other supplies.
- **After School Website:** On September 14, Vice President Gore is scheduled to launch a website that is hosted by GSA and supported by the collaborative efforts of the NPR, DPC and fifteen other Federal agencies. This Federal website was developed to consolidate Federal agency information on Federal resources, programs and best practices to support out-of-school time initiatives for children 6-18 years old. The website was developed as part of the After School Project, a Federal Support for Communities Initiative.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

- **Social Security Advisory Board Meeting:** On September 14, the Social Security Advisory Board will meet in Washington, D.C. The agenda includes a presentation by SSA staff on issues raised by the Advisory Board in its August 1998 report on "How SSA's Disability Program Can Be Improved." The presentation will focus on the following topics: improving the disability process, updating the medical listings, return-to-work initiatives, program integrity and research.

Cabinet Travel

Monday, September 13 - Sunday, September 19, 1999



FRANCE
Secretary Daley 9/12-13

SWITZERLAND
Secretary Daley 9/14

NEW ZEALAND
Ambassador Barshefsky 9/13-14

cc:

The Vice President

John Podesta

Sandy Berger

Sidney Blumenthal

Charles Burson

Mary Beth Cahill

Maria Echaveste

George Frampton

Mickey Ibarra

Ben Johnson

Joel Johnson

Janis Kearney

Ron Klain

Neal Lane

Jack Lew

Ann Lewis

Joe Lockhart

Buddy MacKay

Sean Maloney

Minyon Moore

Bruce Reed

Steve Ricchetti

Doug Sosnik

Gene Sperling

Larry Stein

Loretta Ucelli

Melanne Verveer

9-16-99
TO NSC FOR
REPLY?



12 September 1999

Bill Clinton
President of the United States of America

Dear Mr President,

'99 SEP 16 PM1:09

You came to Auckland to help fulfil the Leaders' 1993 vision of APEC building

Stability, security and prosperity for our peoples

and a number of specific objectives for the Auckland summit before you, including

APEC's response to the economic crisis

and

Broadening support for and understanding of APEC in the community.

Yet the issue commanding most public anxiety, media interest, and political attention has been the human rights tragedy in East Timor, and one of the remarked upon features of the 1999 Auckland meetings has been the PhotoPetition to you from 10,000 New Zealanders to **"Put Human Rights First"**.

Amnesty International believes it is entirely appropriate that human rights issues have dominated the real agenda in Auckland.

Amnesty International has no position on APEC as such. Amnesty International neither supports nor opposes any economic or political system, but focuses on some of the most serious violations of internationally-agreed human rights standards and the promotion of human rights in general.

In 1993 – the same year that APEC leaders articulated the APEC vision – the governments of the world also formally reaffirmed at the Vienna United Nations Conference on Human Rights that:

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations"

The Universal Declaration is the most widely accepted statement of people's hopes for security and prosperity. It proclaims the basic rights such as freedom from want and freedom from fear which all people everywhere have.

The protection and promotion of human rights is "the first responsibility of Governments"

The Universal Declaration provides the yardstick by which the performance of governments can be measured.

"All human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated"

Governments have agreed that all human rights should be enjoyed by all people at all times, that no one set of rights can be enjoyed at the expense of other rights, and that the realisation of rights such as freedom of speech contributes to the realisation of other rights such as an adequate standard of living and vice versa.

The protection and promotion of human rights contributes to "the stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, and to improved conditions for peace and security as well as social and economic development."

Since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights sums up the basic aspirations of people everywhere, it is not surprising that the violation of those rights creates instability and insecurity and hinders prosperity. It is widely acknowledged that exacerbating factors in the regional

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financial crisis included a lack of political and economic transparency, and the lack of respect for human rights such as freedom of expression and assembly on which such transparency is based.

Businesses need to be sure that their investments are protected by a strong legal framework which is not open to abuse by corrupt officials. Investors need freedom of information and openness on the part of governments rather than secrecy and unaccountability.

But across the APEC region, too many governments have continued to jail, torture and sometimes kill those people who are standing up and denouncing corruption or illegal activities, or working to defend the rule of law and human rights.

"Regional arrangements play a fundamental role in promoting and protecting human rights. They should reinforce universal human rights standards, as contained in international human rights instruments, and their protection."

The realisation of human rights ought to be the explicit goal of regional cooperation.

Up until 1999 APEC has been reluctant to address human rights -- even fundamental economic rights -- raising suspicions about APEC processes. Economic cooperation is not an end in itself. If the goal of such cooperation is not -- at the very least -- the realisation of human rights such as "an adequate standard of living" (Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) for example, what is it?

The lack of a human rights framework for APEC is one of the greatest obstacles to building support for APEC in the community.

Before this series of Auckland meetings, despite the evidence that the aspirations of people everywhere are appropriately summed up in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, despite the evidence of the "interdependence" of these rights in principle and practice, and despite rhetorical commitment from our governments to "the universality, indivisibility and interdependence of human rights", human rights have hardly been on the agenda. Human rights ought to be central to the future we are building in the Asia-Pacific region, yet "human rights" have all too often remained a side issue rather than central to regional discussions.

The ten thousand New Zealanders represented in Amnesty International's PhotoPetition want that to change.

We are heartened by moves during this week to deal with the East Timor tragedy, but saddened and angered that acceptance of these moves only followed rising public outrage at the events in Timor, and that little so far has been achieved which will prevent many more suffering and dying.

We are pleased to learn about growing acceptance of the desirability and necessity for APEC processes to include a greater role for "civil society", but regret that it has taken so long compared with other regional and international organisations.

We urge you to reflect upon the message conveyed by these New Zealanders from all walks of life, which we know is supported by people throughout our region, and to make human rights the framework for regional cooperation in APEC and other forums.

We urge you to begin that process by taking, separately and collectively, immediate and effective action to prevent the massive human rights violations to which your fellow Asia-Pacific citizens are being subjected in East Timor.

Yours respectfully and sincerely,



Margaret Bedggood
Chairperson

Ced Simpson
Executive Director

on behalf of the New Zealand Section of Amnesty International

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99 SEP 16 PM12:40

9-16-99
From New Zealand
Trip
NSC for reply?

President of the Republic of Korea

3 September 1999

Excellency,

I would like to thank you for sending me the letter with your thoughts on the forthcoming 7th Informal APEC Economic Leaders Meeting. I also agree with you that the themes presented by Prime Minister Shipley for APEC this year are timely and useful.

As you mentioned in your letter, APEC should pull together in order to contribute to building a sound basis for launching a successful WTO New Round at the Third WTO Ministerial Meeting to be held in Seattle next November.

In this regard, I am very pleased that Korea and the United States co-initiated the conclusion of the "Transparency Agreement on Government Procurement."

APEC's ultimate end-user is in the private sector. It is business and consumers who are APEC's main beneficiaries. Therefore, I fully agree with you on the importance of advancing public-private cooperation. Korea will pay utmost attention to and participate actively in such discussions.

The Asia-Pacific region is displaying hopeful signs of recovery from the economic crisis. Korea too is recovering vigorously and is expected to achieve a growth rate of over 6% this year, surpassing all previous estimates.

However, as you pointed out correctly, we cannot afford to be complacent, and must continue our efforts to build a robust foundation for sustained growth. Furthermore, we exert our utmost efforts to minimize the social impact of the economic crisis.

Therefore we will continue to implement reform and liberalization measures to prevent a recurrence of the crisis. In particular, we must assist the most vulnerable members of our societies who had been hit hardest by the crisis and then passed over and disenfranchised by the recovery.

///

I was asked by Prime Minister Shipley to lead off the discussions at the Leaders Retreat. I will start off by highlighting the importance of sharing experiences gathered over the course of recovering from the crisis including the need to narrow the prosperity gap to alleviate economic discrepancies.

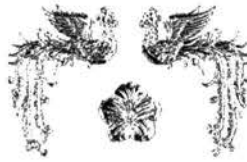
In this regard, I will propose to launch policy dialogues for arriving at concrete cooperative measures among APEC members. As part of this endeavour, I will propose to host an APEC Forum in early 2000 with the participation of representatives from government, business, academia and others. I hope to count on your interest and support to my proposal.

I look forward to seeing you again soon in Auckland.

Yours sincerely,

Kim Dae-jung

H.E. William J. Clinton
President
The United States of America



대한민국 대통령

1999년 9월 3일

각 하,

오클랜드 APEC 정상회담에 즈음하여 각하께서 생각하고 있는 우선 과제를 담은 서한을 보내주신 것에 대해 감사드립니다.

본인도 의장국 뉴질랜드의 쉬프리 총리가 제시한 3개 주제가 매우 시의 적절하다고 생각하며 이를 환영하는 바입니다.

각하께서 언급하신대로 금번 APEC 정상회의는 오는 시애틀 WTO 각료회의를 계기로 출범 예정인 WTO 뉴라운드 협상의 성공적인 추진을 위한 토대 구축에 기여할 수 있어야 할 것이며, 또 이를 위해 우리 정상들이 적극 힘을 모아야 할 것입니다. 이 기회를 빌어 한국은 귀국 정부와 함께 정부조달 투명성 협정의 공동제안국으로서 이 분야에서의 성과를 기대하고 있음을 강조하고자 합니다.

APEC의 궁극적인 수혜자가 민간 분야라는 점에 비추어 볼 때 각하께서 강조하신 민·관 협력을 촉진하는 문제에 대한 회원국간 논의가 필요하다고 보며 앞으로 이러한 논의에 한국도 관심을 갖고 적극 참여토록 할 것입니다.

아·태 지역이 경제위기로부터 점차 회복 조짐을 보이고 있으며, 한국도 올해 상반기에 당초 예상을 넘은 경제회복을 이루어 올해 6% 이상의 경제성장을 이룰 것으로 전망되고 있습니다.

그러나 각하께서 지적하신 대로 우리는 이에 안주할 때가 아니라고 봅니다. 지속적인 성장을 위한 건실한 기반을 구축하는데 더욱 힘을 기울여 나가야 하며, 아울러 경제위기의 사회적 영향에 대해 보다 많은 관심을 갖고 이를 극소화 해나가야 할 것입니다. 따라서, 우리는 위기의 재발을 방지하기 위해 개혁과 개방을 중단없이 계속하는 한편, 경제 위기로 인해 어려움을 당했을 뿐만 아니라 회복과정에서도 소외되고 있는 빈곤 계층에 대한 지원 및 보호에도 관심을 기울이어야 할 것입니다.

이와관련, 쉬프리 총리의 요청에 따른 첫 주제의 발제자로서 본인은 위기극복의 경험공유 및 빈부격차의 해소의 중요성을 강조하는 한편, APEC 회원의 구체적인 협력방안을 모색하기 위한 정책대화를 제의하고자 하는 바입니다. 이러한 정책대화의 일환으로 APEC 회원국의 정부·학계 및 업계대표가 참가하는 APEC Forum을 2000년 상반기중 한국에서 개최하고자 하며 본인의 이러한 제안에 대해 폭넓은 이해와 지지를 기대하는 바입니다.

오클랜드에서 금명간 각하와의 재회를 고대합니다.

김 대 중

미합중국 대통령
빌 클린턴 각하

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-13-99

9-16-99

To Burkhardt
for Reply

See Mr.
Burkhardt

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-13-99

NAMES & FACES

Still Catty After All These Years

Donald Trump officially owns the rights to "The Donald," the famous nickname born of his former wife Ivana's broken English. The New York Post reports that the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office turned down Ivana's request to trademark the moniker, declaring that 550 news stories show that "the proposed mark is widely known as Donald J. Trump's nickname." Ivana had wanted the name for her son, Donald Jr., to use on everything from cologne and body cream to hotel, restaurant and bar services.

In other Trump family news, the long-divorced Ivana and Donald are still fighting over money. New York magazine reports that Ivana was traveling in Europe with her children this summer when her former father-in-law, Fred Trump, died. She flew the kids back to New York for his funeral—and then billed her old hubby for airfare and expenses. Donald sent her a note saying that was tacky, since he pays \$850,000 annually in alimony and child support. Ivana's response: "It was your father."

Republicans, Ready to Rumble

Here's an interesting stat: Republicans are four times more likely to watch professional wrestling matches than Democrats. The Washington Times reports that Bell Atlantic Video asked TV watchers about their pay-per-view habits and found that 39 percent of those who ordered wrestling matches were registered Republicans, compared with less than 10 percent who were Democrats.

"You have to wonder whether political consultants for Minnesota Gov. Jesse 'The Body' Ventura knew Republicans were big wrestling fans and might provide the swing vote," said Dick Beville, president of Bell Atlantic Video. And speaking of Ventura, he's interviewed in the November issue of Playboy. By talking to



What's in a name?
"Money,"
Donald Trump
and his former
wife Ivana
would likely
say.

is the Republic

the mag, Ventura joins notables including Jimmy Carter, Jerry Brown, George McGovern and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, according to the Minneapolis Star-Tribune.

He Said, She Said (Too Much)

What do Mayor Anthony Williams and a tragic Shakespearean protagonist have in common? At the end of the opening performance of the Shakespeare Theatre's "King Lear" this week, Hizzoner turned to Landon Butler, the theater's board chairman, and opined: "That play puts my job in perspective." . . . "It was only slightly different from the proceedings on the floor of the Senate—much more courtesy extended to the performers than sometimes we see." GOP presidential contender Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) told "CBS This Morning," describing his attendance at Thursday night's MTV Video Music Awards with his 14-year-old daughter. . . . Whatever happened to a little decorum? "This isn't going to sound very good, but I think it was in a friend's apartment, in a bathroom suite with a closet on the floor," said "Felicity" star Keri Russell, on losing her virginity in October's *Jane* magazine.

End Notes

Hunky San Francisco 49ers quarterback Steve Young plans to run for the Senate—either from Utah or California—next year after his football-playing days are over, reports USA Today. . . . Gwyneth Paltrow, Ricky Martin and Diana Sawyer are among the best-dressed celebs in *People* magazine's new list. Madonna, Shania Twain and David Arquette make the worst-dressed list. The wife of Redskins minority investor Mort Zuckerman is the new curator of postwar art at New York's Whitney Museum of American Art. Maria Prather, who married the media and real-estate magnate three years ago, was previously the head of 20th-century art at the National Gallery of Art. . . . Attention, movie-star wannabes: There's a casting call for the new Keanu Reeves-Gene Hackman comedy, "The Replacements," tomorrow at 10 a.m. at the Sporting News Grille on 13th Street NW. They're looking for several hundred extras for a scene to be shot Sept. 20-23 at Redskins Stadium.

—Compiled from staff and wire reports
by Beth Bersoff

should be
a couple
like to be

The Washington Post
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1999

Be