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MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1999

THE BATTLE FOR BERLIN

Does Gerhard Schroeder have what it takes to modernize Europe's largest economy?

By WILLIAM BOSTON

BERLIN—Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder could become the man who transforms Germany's Social Democratic Party into a modern force that shoulders the burdens of modernizing Europe's largest economy and finally begins to tackle the country's lingering unemployment crisis.

Or he could end up a tragic figure—one who briefly tried, but failed, to slay the dragon of socialism in Germany, while leading the very party that was instrumental in creating it.

Mr. Schroeder's coalition of Social Democrats and environmentalist Greens is the first German government to rule from Berlin since Hitler's defeat in 1945, and already, rather than showing clear leadership, his party is embroiled in a painful bout of soul-searching.

Barely a year into his first term, Mr. Schroeder would like to become a German reformer like his American and British role models, Bill Clinton and Tony Blair. His vision of a "New Middle," a society that balances free markets with generous social benefits, is an echo of the so-called Third Way principles of Messrs. Clinton and Blair. Broadly stated, Mr. Schroeder's goals for Germany are to foster an economic environment that is friendly to business through low taxes, minimal regulation and low-interest rates, while at the same time providing a generous social safety net.

Meeting Opposition

But, as a series of recent regional election defeats for his SPD show, Mr. Schroeder's is a daunting task. In part because of poor political management, in part because of public outrage over Mr. Schroeder's austerity plan, the SPD has suffered heavy setbacks in elections in the western state of Saar and the eastern states Brandenburg and Thuringia. In North Rhine-Westphalia, where the SPD has governed for decades, it lost mayoral elections in traditional strongholds in the blue-collar Ruhr Valley. "This is a punish-

MR. BOSTON IS A STAFF REPORTER IN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL'S DUESSELDORF BUREAU. BRIAN COLEMAN CONTRIBUTED TO THIS ARTICLE.



Gerhard Schroeder
Chancellor of Germany

JULIAN PUCKETT

ment, a warning, a slap for the SPD," says the SPD's general secretary, Franz Muntefering.

Each reform his government has attempted, as well, has been met by fierce opposition from ideologues in his party, trade unions and special-interest groups who, regardless of which party is in power, are concerned mainly with protecting their own entitlements.

Mr. Schroeder's task is more daunting than the challenges that either Mr. Clinton or Mr. Blair faced. While his American and British counterparts had the opportunity to reform their parties before taking office, Mr. Schroeder, who has always been somewhat of an outsider among his party's leaders, was long overshadowed by the charismatic leftist SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine.

But Mr. Lafontaine was forced out of German politics in March after his policies as finance minister damaged Germany's reputation abroad and infuriated the business community by attempting to pressure the European Central Bank to lower interest rates, and by arguing for a return to fixed currency exchange rates in the wake of last year's global financial crisis. As a result of Mr. Lafontaine's departure, a power vacuum was created for Mr. Schroeder to try to fill.

Mr. Schroeder gladly accepted the twin

role of chancellor and party leader. From his early days as premier of the northern German state Lower Saxony until his greatest victory last September—when he stole the center ground from veteran Chancellor Helmut Kohl—he was always firmly backed by the SPD's conservative wing. Now, with Mr. Schroeder in the chancellery, and leftist Mr. Lafontaine gone, the SPD right has regained power in the party for the first time since ex-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt left office in 1982.

But from the beginning it was clear that he still faced significant opposition within his party. And during his acceptance speech after he was elected party chairman in April, he uttered a thinly veiled warning to his leftist opponents.

"Many people have said the party doesn't love me," he told the more-than 500 SPD delegates and activists in the elegant ballroom of Bonn's Hotel Maritim.

As if on cue, the crowd gave a loud, compassionate sigh.

But, he continued, love he receives from his wife.

Few in the crowd missed the jab, or the historical reference. Back in the 1970s, when the late German President Gustav Heinemann, an SPD icon, was asked by a conservative opponent whether he loved his country, he replied coolly: "I love my wife."

For years, Mr. Heinemann's response was used to characterize the pragmatic, unemotional relationship between most SPD members and their country. For many in Germany, the notion of patriotism had become a tarnished ideal after the terror of World War II.

End of Ideology?

Mr. Heinemann's riposte was a defining moment for the party in the postwar era, and Mr. Schroeder was aiming for a similar effect as the SPD prepared to lead Germany from sleepy Bonn back to Berlin. By recalling Mr. Heinemann, he was informing the delegates that finding answers to the country's problems now took priority over adherence to old party ideology. In modern politics, he reminded those present, voters elect candidates who serve their immediate needs, not those who follow an ideological platform.

Efforts to launch his program for the New Middle got off to a rocky start, however, when the SPD and its Greens partners suffered a stinging defeat in elections

Continued on Page R1

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for European Parliament in June.

Only two days before the vote, Mr. Schroeder, sensing a change in the political winds, had attempted to distance himself from the SPD's party program by holding a meeting with British Prime Minister Blair in London at which the two men unveiled a joint policy paper that outlined, albeit in vague terms, Third Way policy goals for Britain and Germany.

The 18-page paper was drafted as a call on European Social Democrats to adopt a "supply-side agenda" in response to the pressures of the world economy, and to allow governments to "steer but not row" in driving economic policy. "What we need is a new balance between economic dynamism on the one side and social justice on the other," said Mr. Schroeder at a news conference in London. The paper immediately angered Germany's trade unions, long the main ally of the SPD. Roland Isen, head of the white-collar union DAG, called the Schroeder-Blair paper a "clear contradiction of the SPD election program," highlighting the paper's call for supply-side economics, which the SPD election program rejected, and Mr. Schroeder's support for creation of a low-wage sector.

Back home again after the European elections, Mr. Schroeder used the Social Democrats' defeat at the polls to launch a new offensive against his opponents within the party. During a conservative SPD political gathering dubbed the "Asparagus Cruise," an annual pleasure-boat trip on the Rhine that includes discussing party business, sampling the year's fresh asparagus crop and sipping white wine, Mr. Schroeder and the party's right-wing elite sealed a pact to keep the SPD firmly focused on the center.

In essence, Mr. Schroeder argued, the electoral loss stemmed not from a rejection of the New Middle but from the appearance that the government had lost control of the economy. In summation, Mr. Schroeder quoted the late Willy Brandt, a former chancellor and Social Democrat who is still idolized by people from across the party's political spectrum, who argued that elections cannot be won on the left.

In the weeks that followed, Mr. Schroeder got serious about backing the kind of reforms that many experts say Germany needs to overcome structural deficits that hinder investment and jobs. His new finance minister, the centrist Hans Eichel, thrashed out a package of corporate tax cuts that has won some praise from industry. Mr. Schroeder's government also is tackling pension reform, urging individuals to take on more responsibility. And it is taking first steps to curtail fat subsidies to industry.

Economics Minister Werner Mueller, an independent and former industry executive, upset the summer stillness in July with a policy paper that called for reducing state spending to 45% of gross domestic product by the end of the legislative period in 2002 from 48.5% at the end of last year. "It is also unsocial if labor becomes too expensive because the state is too expensive," Mr. Mueller said. That's outright heresy for many in the SPD.

Is Germany now firmly on its way to carrying out the reforms to modernize the economy and shake off its image as the sick man of Europe? Anthony Giddens, the director of the London School of Economics and a leading thinker on Third Way politics, thinks Germany and its chancellor still have some distance to travel.

"Mr. Schroeder's strategy is still not completely clear," says Mr. Giddens, who has often consulted with Mr. Blair. Mr.

Giddens suggests that the first step for Germany is to "unfreeze" its economy from over-regulation.

But Mr. Giddens emphasizes that Germany doesn't necessarily have to follow the U.S. or British models.

Germany, for example, cruised through the 1980s without experiencing anything like the right-wing economic revolutions led by Ronald Reagan in the U.S. and Margaret Thatcher in the U.K., which forced left-wing politicians in those countries into a period of self-analysis.

But that confrontation could be just around the bend. As draft legislation on budget cuts, tax cuts and pension reform is being prepared for a vote in the German Parliament this fall, resistance is kicking up from the SPD's traditional supporters on the left and among organized labor. Still a minority but growing, one group of SPD parliamentary deputies in August drafted a challenge to the Schroeder-Blair paper, saying Mr. Schroeder's policies would mean the "destruction of social democratic identity." And only half of the 298 SPD deputies showed up for a key meeting to measure support for Mr. Schroeder's austerity program.

The unions, long the bastion of SPD support, played a crucial role in putting the SPD back in power after 16 years in opposition. They have openly criticized Mr. Schroeder and are heading for direct confrontation with the government.

"This is not what we elected them for," says Ursula Engelen-Kefer, a member of the SPD leadership and vice president of the German Labor Federation. Klaus Zwickel, head of the big IG Metall union, accused Mr. Mueller, who in his midsummer policy paper also called for wage restraint, of trying to "foist a one-sided responsibility for jobs on the unions."

So far, Mr. Schroeder has shown determination to stay the course. "We never expected to be everybody's darlings," he says. "I never expected the SPD to accept such a new approach lying down."

Efforts to launch Mr. Schroeder's program for the New Middle got off to a rocky start with an election defeat

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Extensive Effort Seeks to Clarify Medicare Maze

Complex New Choices Baffling the Elderly

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By ROBIN TONER

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26 — In a vast public education campaign, the biggest in the 34-year history of Medicare, the Federal Government is mailing handbooks to 39 million Medicare beneficiaries this month to try to guide them through the increasingly complicated world of health care.

Backed up by toll-free telephone service, (800) 633-4227, an expanding Internet site (www.medicare.gov) and outreach efforts with more than 200 local and national groups, the new campaign is intended to aid an aging population that, experts say, is often ill-equipped to handle the brave new world of health care choices envisioned by Congress.

Nancy-Ann Min DeParle, the administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration, which oversees Medicare, has suggested that this may be the "biggest peacetime education program the Federal Government has ever undertaken."

But the challenge facing this new campaign, which was delayed last year for more research, is daunting. Many health planners and lawmakers on Capitol Hill dream of a nation of well-informed, elderly consumers taking advantage of a competitive marketplace that offers them a choice of health plans. But many experts say, there is significant confusion among the elderly about the costs and benefits of these choices.

"I am not a managed care basher," said Shoshanna Sofaer, a professor of health care policy at Baruch College of the City University of New York, who is advising the Federal Government on its education efforts. "But I'm saying we really do have to recognize that it's going to be difficult and take a while for people to get this stuff. And for a significant percentage, they're never going to get it, because they're cognitively impaired, they're too frail, or they just don't have the energy to invest in understanding these things."

Call it the complexity factor, or what happens when political theory (choice is good) collides with reality (choice is confusing).

Carol Cronin, director of beneficiary services for Medicare, estimates that 70 percent of the Medicare beneficiaries have the choice between traditional Medicare and at least one H.M.O. About 16 percent of the total are in an H.M.O. And while the market has been in turmoil in the past few years, with the managed care industry complaining that the Government pays it too little for Medicare beneficiaries and many H.M.O.'s leaving the program, more and more of the nation's elderly are expected to end up in H.M.O.s.

Help lines, like the Medicare Rights Center in New York, say they are flooded with calls from the elderly, or their frustrated adult sons and daughters, trying to determine which health care plan is best for them. "It's all incredibly complicated not only for seniors but for everyone, including me," said Diane Archer, executive director of the center.

Eleven Medicare beneficiaries, five in H.M.O.s and six in traditional Medicare, assembled at the John Booth Senior Center in Baltimore last week and offered a glimpse of life on the front lines.

Ruth Dominiak, 79, a retired credit investigator, said she had looked at the new Medicare guide and understood some of it, but confessed: "I don't understand managed care at all. It's like reading Greek."

Catherine McGurkin, 79, a retired real estate agent who is happily enrolled in an H.M.O., said she thought the guide would help in making decisions, but added that she also relied on family members and friends.

"You talk to other women: 'Where do you go?'" Ms. McGurkin said. "You get five or six people you talk to, maybe three of four of them say one thing, it more or less points you in that direction."

Charles Linz, 72, a retired General Motors electrician, said he got a lot of health care information from retiree meetings at his old employer.

Everyone agreed that health care had become more complicated. Most had war stories about being trapped in voice mail systems trying to get answers. "Blue Cross Blue Shield, if you live long enough to get through to a human being, they'll answer ques-

tions," Mrs. Dominiak said. "You got to push this, and push that."

Helen Mirabile, a 79-year-old retired sewing machine operator, said she still did not understand some of her bills. She added with a rueful laugh, "I just pay them."

The new Medicare guide, "Medicare & You 2000," is part of an information campaign mandated by Congress in the 1997 legislation that was intended to open the Medicare market to even more kinds of health plans than now exist. The estimated cost of the education effort in this fiscal year is \$133 million. The guides are the result of months of market testing, focus groups, expert reviews and research, much of which discovered that many Medicare beneficiaries have only a sketchy understanding of the basic program, let alone the new managed care choices.

Focus group studies done for the Kaiser Family Foundation, a health research group, show that even many of the elderly who are already in H.M.O.s "don't understand the rules that govern their care," said Patricia Neuman, a Kaiser analyst. Focus groups also show their adult sons and daughters are "very angry over how confusing the program is," Michael Perry, a pollster, said.

Those who counsel older Americans say they sometimes do not understand the tradeoffs they make, for example, getting prescription drug coverage by joining an H.M.O. but giving up a full choice of doctors.

"We're making it more complicated for people, and we're also making it more consequential," Ms. Sofaer said. One of the messages in the new Medicare campaign is that people do not have to choose. "If you are happy with the way you get your health care now, you don't have to do any-

thing," says a recorded voice on the Medicare toll-free line. Live counselors are available during work hours Monday through Friday.

The new guide, which comes in 26 regional versions and is being mailed to 32 million households, features basic information on what the traditional program covers, the options for Medigap insurance to supplement it and the basics on managed care plans. It also includes information on the managed care plans available in a beneficiary's region, as well as data on the quality of the plans, for example, mammography rates and consumer ratings of how well the doctors communicate.

It includes a three-page summary at the front, beginning with "Welcome to Medicare & You!" which tries to lead the beneficiary through the basics in particularly simple language. But insurance is inherently difficult, and before long, the handbook is in the thicket of benefit periods and Part A and Part B.

It describes the choice between traditional Medicare and managed care plans (H.M.O.'s), which is politically fraught on Capitol Hill, this way: "In most plans, you can only go to doctors, specialists, or hospitals on the plan's list. Plans must cover all Medicare Part A and Part B health care. Some plans cover extras, like prescription drugs. Your costs may

be lower than in the Original Medicare plan."

Beyond the handbook, more information is available on the Internet, although Ms. Cronin acknowledged that it was more likely to be used by family members, friends and state insurance counselors, than by older people themselves.

Advocates of managed care contend that the market will work best only when consumers have a wealth of such information upon which to base their decision. But Bob Blendon, an expert on public attitudes and health at Harvard, said studies showed that older Americans are less likely than younger people to make consumer decisions on the basis of statistical data.

In fact, Dr. Lee Newcomer, senior vice president for health policy at United Healthcare, which has a large Medicare business, said, "You really have to do a face-to-face conversation with a senior to really help them through it." Once enrolled at his company, elderly beneficiaries are assigned to a personal service representative "so they call the same person whenever they have a question," Mr. Newcomer added.

To a large extent, experts say, this confusion will be eased by time, as more and more of the people entering Medicare have experienced managed care in their working lifetimes. Already, Ms. Cronin said, newer retirees have less of an information gap, "so, in effect, we have two generations within this current Medicare population."

In the meantime, calls to the toll-free lines, which are staffed in Iowa and Wisconsin, are climbing. "It's up to about 17,000 to 20,000 a week, and the handbook is just starting to arrive," Ms. Cronin said last week.

The New York Times

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1999

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Are Hawaiians Indians? The Justice Department Thinks So.

The Aloha state has two classes of citizens: there are Hawaiians and then there are *real* Hawaiians.

At least that's the message of the state Office of Hawaiian Affairs, which doles out money to certain citizens solely because of their race—in this case, only to Hawaiians of Polynesian origin ("native Hawaiians," for short). By law, OHA officers must be native Hawaiians and only native Hawaiians can vote in the statewide elections for officers. Hawaiians of all other ethnic backgrounds (whether Latino or African-American or Caucasian, for example) are barred because of their race from receiving OHA funds, voting in OHA elections, or serving as OHA officers.

Rule of Law

By Brett M. Kavanaugh

Sound blatantly unconstitutional? It did to Harold Rice, who was born and bred in Hawaii, but is not of the preferred race (he is white). Rice brought a case against the state contesting this racial scheme, in particular, the state's racial voting qualification.

Mr. Rice's case has now reached the Supreme Court, which is scheduled to hear arguments on Oct. 6. *Rice v. Cayetano* has implications far beyond the 50th state. Hawaii's naked racial-spoils system, after all, makes remedial set-asides and hiring and admissions preferences look almost trivial by comparison. And if Hawaii is permitted to offer these extraordinary privileges to residents on the basis of race or ethnic heritage, so will every other state.

The Clinton Justice Department nonetheless has filed a brief contending that one's race (at least, if you're a native Hawaiian) can be the sole basis for voting in a state election, serving in a state office,

and receiving awards of state money. As a matter of sheer political calculation, of course, the explanation for Justice's position seems evident. Hawaii is a strongly Democratic state, and the politically correct position there is to support the state's system of racial separatism. But the Justice Department and its Solicitor General are supposed to put law and principle above politics and expediency. And the simple constitutional question posed by *Rice* is whether Hawaii, by denying citizens the right to vote in a state election on account of race, has violated the 14th and 15th Amendments, which prohibit states from denying individuals the right to vote on account of race.

No doubt recognizing that Hawaii's racial spoils system, including its racial voting qualification, is constitutionally indefensible, the Justice Department has charted a novel legal course. Justice contends that native Hawaiians are the equivalent of an American Indian tribe because Hawaiians are descendants of an "indigenous people" just like American Indians. Therefore, Justice argues, Hawaii's racial scheme is equivalent to constitutionally permissible legislation that singles out Indian tribes and tribal members for special benefits.

But the Justice Department's argument is seriously flawed both as a legal and historical matter. The Constitution expressly established special rules for Indian tribes because the Founders considered Indian tribes to be separate sovereigns. To convert this express recognition of Indian tribal sovereignty into a sweeping license for favorable race-based treatment of the descendants of indigenous people is to allow political correctness to trump the Constitution. A group of people must, in fact, constitute an Indian tribe in order to qualify for the special treatment afforded tribes under the Constitution. The Department of Interior has established strict criteria govern-

ing recognition of Indian tribes. Those regulations specify that federal recognition as a tribe is a "prerequisite to the protection, services and benefits of the Federal government available to Indian tribes."

But neither the Congress nor the Department of Interior has recognized native Hawaiians as an Indian tribe. What's more, Hawaiians have never even applied for recognition as an Indian tribe. The reason is obvious. Native Hawaiians couldn't possibly qualify. They don't have their own government. They don't have their own system of laws. They don't have their own elected leaders. They don't live on reservations or

Hawaii's naked racial-spoils system makes remedial set-asides and hiring and admissions preferences look almost trivial by comparison.

in territorial enclaves. They don't even live together in Hawaii. Native Hawaiians are dispersed throughout the state of Hawaii and the United States. In short, native Hawaiians bear none of the indicia necessary to qualify as an Indian tribe.

If Hawaii can enact special legislation for native Hawaiians by analogizing them to Indian tribes, why can't a state do the same for African-Americans? Or for Croatian-Americans? Or for Irish-Americans? After all, Hawaiians originally came from Polynesia, yet the department calls them "indigenous," so why not the same for groups from Africa or Europe? It essentially means that any racial group with creative reasoning can qualify as an Indian tribe. The Justice Department's theory of tribal status thus threatens to end-run the constitutional restrictions on racial classifications that the Supreme Court has rein-

forced in the last decade.

And that's not all. By claiming that native Hawaiians deserve special privileges because their ancestors lived in Hawaii, the Justice Department's position is also fiercely anti-immigrant, flouting the principle that all American citizens have equal rights regardless of when they became citizens.

At his 1858 Fourth of July address, President Lincoln emphasized that all citizens, whether descended from signers of the Declaration of Independence or new arrivals, were the same in the eyes of the law. As to the new arrivals, he said, "when they look through that old Declaration they find, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,' and then they feel that that moral sentiment evidences their relation to those men, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh, of the men who wrote that Declaration, and so they are." But now the Justice Department has turned its back on that bedrock American ideal by arguing that some Hawaiians can't vote in certain state elections solely because their ancestors didn't live in Hawaii.

Rice v. Cayetano, then, is of great moment. The Supreme Court ought not be fooled by the Justice Department's simplistic and far-reaching effort to convert an ethnic group into an Indian tribe. Rather, the Court should rule for Harold Rice and adhere to the fundamental constitutional principle most clearly articulated by Justice Antonin Scalia: "Under our Constitution there can be no such thing as either a creditor or a debtor race . . . In the eyes of government, we are just one race here. It is American."

Mr. Kavanaugh is an attorney in Washington and together with Robert H. Bork filed an amicus brief in Rice v. Cayetano supporting Harold Rice.

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GSA Shift Hurting Nonprofits

Warehouse Closures May Mean Layoffs for Blind Workers

By STEPHEN BARR
Washington Post Staff Writer

A decision by the General Services Administration to close eight supply centers has spilled into the nonprofit sector and put more than 1,000 blind workers at risk of being laid off, according to nonprofit group officials.

GSA officials said they did not intend to throw blind workers out of jobs but acknowledged it was possible that nonprofit organizations have lost sales as GSA warehouses reduce their stocks in anticipation of closing.

"We are going to look at that hard and make sure we didn't do anything inadvertent," GSA Administrator David J. Barram said yesterday.

For decades, GSA has stocked pencils, pads, janitorial products and even mattresses made by blind workers at its warehouses under a federal law designed to create job opportunities for the disabled.

But financial pressures growing out of increased competition from private sector supply stores, the trend toward "electronic commerce" via the Internet and fundamental changes to the government's procurement system in recent years have forced GSA to rethink its role as the government's chief supply clerk and housekeeper.

Federal agencies no longer are required to purchase supplies from GSA, and increasing numbers of federal workers use government-issued credit cards to make small purchases at commercial stores. Commercial vendors also are offering a growing number of products at competitive prices to government offices through electronic lists on the GSA Web site.

With the Internet becoming an increasing force in commerce, top GSA officials viewed their warehouses as marketplace laggards, sometimes setting prices for products too high. In July, GSA announced the shutdown of four depots and four smaller "supply points," but without advance warning to the nonprofits.

Within weeks, the GSA ware-



FILE PHOTO/By DUDLEY M. BROOKS—THE WASHINGTON POST

GSA Administrator David J. Barram says the decision to close eight supply centers was not intended to put blind employees out of work.

houses quit buying from the nonprofits to shrink their stock of supplies as they prepare to close next year. With no new orders coming in, the nonprofits struggled to keep their work forces intact. They scrambled to create distribution channels on the Internet and through alliances with private sector companies that sell to government agencies.

The GAO decision set off a "domino effect," said Jim Gibbons, president of the National Industries for the Blind, which has sold \$135 million to \$160 million worth of products every year through GSA.

"We have already experienced layoffs [and] work reductions and across the country, [nonprofit] agencies are evaluating how they are going to keep businesses running and people employed," Gibbons said.

Bob Plunkett, president of the San Antonio Lighthouse, said, "This is the worst situation we've faced that I can remember."

The San Antonio Lighthouse, which employs about 120 blind workers, makes mechanical pencils, paper clips, sweat pants for the Army and oil analysis kits used by the Air Force to determine engine maintenance needs. The workers, on average, make about

\$6 an hour.

Last week I had to announce for the first time that we would go to a three-day mandatory week and we eliminated 23 part-time jobs held by people who are blind and have other severe disabilities," Plunkett said. "We had to eliminate the part-timers to keep the others going."

"If the situation does not improve soon, all of these employees are at risk of a major reduction in force. You can only go so long before you have to shut down," Plunkett said.

Barram said GSA would work to help nonprofits employing the blind keep their share of the government's business and would remind agencies that a 1938 law favors the purchase of products made by the blind.

"Our whole supply system has been changing pretty fast," Barram said. "A third of our work force is working on 10 percent of our business. That's the underlying and overlying reason for this whole thing. We've tried very hard to put together a program for customers, vendors and suppliers."

In its July announcement, GSA said the agency would create a "virtual platform" so that government agencies could do the bulk of their supply shopping online at the GSA Web site, instead of calling in orders to the supply centers.

But the plan to close the supply centers has prompted union opposition—up to 2,000 federal employees could lose their jobs. Union officials also complained that Barram has not provided them with an estimate of cost savings.

The American Federation of Government Employees Council 236 filed a grievance to overturn Barram's plan and won an arbitration decision earlier this month. Arbitrator Jerome H. Ross ordered GSA to cancel its plans to close the supply centers and to bargain with the union.

But Barram rejected the arbitration decision and plans to appeal to the Federal Labor Relations Authority. "I would rather have us in closer agreement with our unions than we are now," he acknowledged. "We are trying to get there."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1999

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The Good News From Russia

By Thane Gustafson
and Eugene K. Lawson

Money laundering, corruption, questions about foreign aid and compromised leadership — all these are adding to the heat of the "Who lost Russia?" debate. But all the doom and gloom that came from the recent Congressional hearings show we are losing sight of the total picture.

Even with all the difficulties the first decade after Communism has not been a lost decade. Russia has bounced back strongly since its financial collapse last year and continues to move toward a market economy.

How did this happen? Russia's recovery is the result of a sharply devalued ruble, higher oil prices and what appears to be an emerging consensus on the Government's economic direction in the country's political class.

Before August 1998, when the ruble collapsed, there was much fear that a sudden devaluation would reignite

Thane Gustafson, director of Cambridge Energy Research Associates, is author of the forthcoming "Capitalism Russian-Style." Eugene K. Lawson is president of the U.S.-Russia Business Council.

inflation. But, as it turned out, the devaluation was a powerful tonic. Russia had become addicted to imported food and consumer goods, and the low ruble drove up the price of imports, chasing many off the shelves; sales of imported goods declined more than 50 percent in the last year. Russian entrepreneurs are taking advantage of the low ruble and increasing production in textiles, food, clothing and automobiles.

The result: in 1999, economists have become more bullish. They estimate the economy will grow by nearly 2 percent this year. This is only the second year of growth since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

As the private sector behaves more as a private sector should, Russian Government policies have been surprisingly sound, despite the rapid turnover of Prime Ministers. When Yevgeny Primakov took office last

year, many thought he would roll back reforms and print money to finance a state-led revival of manufacturing, a move that would have led to hyperinflation.

But Mr. Primakov did nothing of the sort. Instead, he and his two successors have pursued more or less the same low-ruble, low inflation, market-oriented policies. Such broad agreement, shared by politicians and entrepreneurs, certainly did not exist at the beginning of the 1990's; it is the product of a decade of painful learning.

Rising oil prices are also stimulating the economy. The collapse of oil prices in 1998 helped bring about Russia's financial crisis. But now, oil dollars are flooding back. Energy exports account for about half of Russia's export earnings, and taxes on oil alone make up nearly a quarter of the Government's revenues.

The situation is still unstable. Eco-

Corruption aside, the economy is finally growing.

nomie growth could still stall. Or, as the stakes rise in the battle to succeed President Boris Yeltsin, economic policy could go awry. And the country needs long-term investment. Throughout the 1990's, foreign investors shied away from Russia. Out of \$430 billion invested in foreign countries worldwide in 1998, Russia attracted only \$1 billion.

A big part of the reason is crime and corruption, but the main culprit is the tax system. Tax rates can run over 100 percent, the rules are contradictory and constantly changing, and enforcement is arbitrary. The system turns entrepreneurs into criminals and distracts them from running their businesses. Indeed, a substantial part of what is now called "money laundering" is more likely to be capital flight that results directly from the unreformed tax system.

Clearly, Russian entrepreneurs need good government policies. An increasing number of business owners want protection of their property rights, a ruble they can depend on, taxes that make sense and incentives to start new enterprises.

They are as offended by widespread criminality in Russia as Westerners are — or more so, because they can measure the costs to their own businesses and their own lives. For their sake and for the sake of Russia's fragile but real democracy, it is unfair to assume that Russia has been lost. □

The New York Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-28-99

Reed / C Jennings
An all American
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Podesta

In the Ethics Storm on Human Embryo Research

By NICHOLAS WADE

NASHVILLE — On the white paper tablecloth, Brigid Hogan is sketching a diagram with the children's Crayolas the restaurant has thoughtfully provided. The daughter of two artists, she draws rapidly and precisely. The structure of an embryonic lung billows across the table. Words like "sprouty," "breathless," "branchless," playful names for the genes that control the process, appear alongside arrows and curlicues.

Watching this gentle English biologist reach for another Crayola, it is hard to believe she could ever occasion a threat, let alone one Congress has deemed so severe that it has thrice passed a law to thwart it.

A leading expert on the embryology of the mouse, Dr. Hogan was the scientific co-chairwoman and principal author of a National Institutes of Health report on human embryo research. The report, published in 1994, presciently described the benefits to be expected from the study of embryonic stem cells, the primordial human cells that were first isolated last November, and it said biologists should be allowed to derive the cells from the surplus embryos created in fertility clinics. Some biologists hope the cells will provide a universal repair kit for human tissues.

The idea of destroying human embryos, even surplus ones, was daring enough, but the report went on to recommend letting embryos be created by mixing eggs and sperm in a dish, a procedure that could help treat infertility.

President Clinton swiftly repudiated the notion of creating human embryos for re-

search purposes. And Congress was so perturbed by the report that for the last three years it has specifically forbidden the National Institutes of Health to pay for any research in which a human embryo is destroyed.

The agency now believes it can legally finance researchers to use the cells, though not to derive them, under rules recommended by a group of experts, including Dr. Hogan. The guidelines are expected to be issued imminently but abortion opponents hope to have Congress override them.

A clash of competing values was perhaps inevitable as biologists started to part the veils around the mystery of life's earliest moments. The report by Dr. Hogan and her colleagues, who included ethicists as well as biologists, precipitated the mad storm because it was a ringing scientists' manifesto,

a public declaration of the various types of human embryo research that were about to become technically feasible and the medical benefits to be expected from each.

Dr. Hogan works at Vanderbilt University Medical Center in Nashville and holds a coveted fellowship from the Howard Hughes Medical Institute, a munificent patron of biomedical researchers. In her office overlooking a graceful courtyard on the Vanderbilt campus, she seems far removed from the political fray set off by her panel's report.

"I think it is a tremendous shame that people funded by the National Institutes of Health cannot work on embryonic stem cells," she said. But she has no present plans to do so herself. Apart from one foray into human embryology, an attempt to derive stem cells from fetuses, her chief interest has always lain with the mouse.

As a scientist, her purpose is to understand how embryos develop. For the most part, that requires genetic manipulations that would be unacceptable with human embryos. But because people seem to be constructed with a very similar set of genes, research by mouse embryologists like Dr. Hogan is laying the groundwork for understanding and repairing the many human imperfections caused by defects in the embryo-shaping genes.

Dr. Hogan's interests in embryos are esthetic as well as practical. Ever since she was a girl growing up near High Wycombe, a town 28 miles northwest of London, she has viewed embryos as things of particular beauty. "I carry a picture of a mouse embryo in my wallet to look at if I'm feeling low, like people carry pictures of their family," she said.

She studied biochemistry at Cambridge University and did postdoctoral work at Massachusetts Institute of Technology on sea urchins. But the genetics of sea urchins are not well understood, and besides, she said, "You don't feel that warmly about the sea urchin embryo." On returning to England, Dr. Hogan switched to the mouse, which was then becoming easier to study because of new advances.

Although scientists are supposed to be able to reproduce another's work by following the recipes given in published articles, there are often details of technique that never get written down. Dr. Hogan soon realized that there was a whole body of arcane lore, known only to special-

ists, about how to mate mice and manipulate their embryos. During a meeting at the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory on Long Island, a leading teaching center for biologists, she mentioned to its director at the time, James Watson, the idea of holding a course there to teach researchers how to do mouse embryology.

Dr. Watson abruptly left the table where they had been talking, leaving her to wonder what she could have said to offend him. But a few minutes later, the time necessary to visit his business office, Dr. Watson returned, saying, "It's all organized." Dr. Hogan began teaching a summer course, now in its 16th year.

Dr. Watson's enthusiasm was not mirrored at the National Institute of Medical Research in London, where she then worked. "At Cold Spring Harbor, everything is organized to get things done," she said. "In the

N.I.M.R., people thought you were a nuisance if you asked for anything."

During Christmas vacations, the institute's building was closed for two weeks, and those who wanted to work had to bring in their own heaters. Dr. Hogan recalled how her ankles would burn while the rest of her shivered. She decided one Christmas Eve that she could not be competitive in such circumstances. Writing round to friends, she heard of a job at Vanderbilt, where she moved in 1988.

With a group of 11 people, including graduate and postdoctoral students, she is trying to reverse-engineer the mouse by analyzing the genetic program that guides its de-

velopment from an egg. Mouse researchers now have many powerful techniques at their disposal. They can remove a gene, creating a strain of "knock-out" mice that by their physiological defects may reveal what the gene is meant to do. Or they can replace a gene with one that makes a blue stain that shows when and in which tissues the gene is active.

With colleagues at Vanderbilt and elsewhere, Dr. Hogan has found that a particular gene, known as BMP-4, must be switched on if the embryo is to set aside germ cells for the next generation of mice. She is also studying the development of organs like

the lung and the lens of the eye. Both require interactions between cells belonging to two of the three sheets of tissue of which the early embryo is formed. These interactions are governed by specific genes, whose roles she is trying to define.

Though she focuses on the mouse, Dr. Hogan is keenly interested in how the techniques she and colleagues have developed may be applied in medicine. Now that human embryonic stem cells have been isolated, they allow human embryos to be manipulated with the same mastery as mouse embryos, although of course most of the changes made to mouse embryos would be ethically unacceptable in humans.

Dr. Hogan agrees with researchers who believe that human embryonic stem cells are likely to be useful in repairing ordinary tissues in adults or in a fetus. But she opposes the use of altered embryonic stem cells to make changes to an individual's germ line, as is done routinely in making knock-out mice. "I think the technique is far too risky and is unlikely to ever be perfected to the stage when it is absolutely 100 percent reliable, which is what one would have to insist on," she said.

Sitting at a dual-eyepiece microscope, Ray Dunn, one of Dr. Hogan's graduate students, shows a visitor the magical moment when the mouse embryo changes from a blob to a being. Up to six days after fertilization, the embryo is a tiny white opalescent cylinder, still far more like an egg than an animal. But by the eighth day it has billowed out into a tier of buds and whorls, visibly destined to form head, heart, limbs and tail. Human embryos look much the same, though they have a more flattened-out appearance.

Though embryologists are far from being able to understand how a mouse or human is put together, the problem does not seem insoluble. Five families of signaling genes, many used over and over again at different stages of development, seem to control a major part of the mouse embryo's development.

When all the developmental genes and their functions are known and entered in the databases, won't the mystery of life be dispelled and its awe destroyed? Dr. Hogan doesn't think so. The embryo, she said, "is to me the most beautiful thing in the world, quite exquisitely beautiful, and the idea that one could eventually describe how it is formed and grows just in terms of molecules and genes and pathways doesn't detract from the beauty at all, makes it more awesome, in fact."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-28-99

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David Ignatius

Do-Gooders Undone

Watching the once-bright promise of Russian economic reform become entangled in U.S. criminal investigations, you can't help remembering the old saw about how the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

The investigative spotlight so far has focused mostly on a probe by the U.S. Attorney in Manhattan of alleged money laundering through the Bank of New York. That still-murky scandal was at the center of last week's congressional hearings into Russian corruption.

The reform-to-ruin process also is highlighted by a largely unnoticed investigation under way by the U.S. attorney's office in Boston into consulting work with Russian reformers done during the mid-1990s by Harvard University's Institute for International Development.

The "Harvard Project," as it was known, became a prominent symbol of America's efforts to help Russia create a modern capitalist economy. The fact that it's now caught up in a criminal investigation underlines America's broader failure in Russia: While meaning to do good, we helped foster a class of criminal oligarchs. And some of the contamination may have rubbed off in a small way on our own institutions—perhaps including our greatest university.

The Wall Street Journal reported last February that prosecutors in Boston are investigating whether Harvard economics professor Andrei Shleifer and legal expert Jonathan Hay may have invested in Russian junk bonds for personal gain—even as they were helping supervise reform efforts there under a \$57 million contract from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Shleifer's attorney, Earl Nemser, denied that his client has done anything wrong. "I believe that after this matter is fully investigated," Nemser said, the U.S. attorney will agree with Shleifer's contention that because he was a consultant to AID rather than an employee, "he wasn't restricted in terms of investment activities."

Hay also has denied wrongdoing. When the allegation that he invested in Russian bonds first surfaced in 1997, he responded that his investments weren't covered by AID's conflict of interest rules. His attorney, David Zornow, said Friday: "We are confident that at the conclusion of the investigation, the government will find that Jonathan Hay did nothing wrong."

The Harvard Project embodied U.S. hopes that we could create a kind of "instant capitalism" in Russia through privatization and what came to be known as "shock therapy." Among the early advocates of this approach was Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, who had used similar methods with some success in Poland.

The Harvard Institute for International Development spearheaded the effort, with an initial \$40 million grant from AID. Shleifer, a Russian-born economist, became director of the Russia project. Hay, a recent graduate of Harvard Law School, was the project's general director in Moscow. The project was scheduled to receive another \$17 million in 1997 when AID abruptly suspended funding because of auditors' concerns about improprieties.

The Harvard team's key ally in Moscow was Anatoly Chubais, a leading proponent of privatization. Many U.S. and Russian analysts now fault Chubais for pushing a 1995 scheme known as "loans for shares," which allowed Russia's new oligarchs to obtain control of the most valuable assets in the Russian economy—its mining and natural resource companies—in exchange for cheap loans to the government.

Chubais's plan fatally corrupted the reform effort, many analysts contend, by allowing capitalism to be equated with thievery. He and his American advisers made a devil's bargain.

The Boston criminal investigation involves questions about Shleifer's and Hay's investments while they were helping run the Harvard Project. A companion civil investigation is exploring whether Harvard supervised their activities closely enough. A summary of some of the issues in the case is contained in Janine R. Wedel's recent book, "Collision and Collusion."

Wedel writes that AID investigators gathered evidence in 1997 that Hay had invested in Russian junk bonds, known as "GKOs," while he was advising the government on financial matters. AID rules ban employees from investing in project nations. In the case of Shleifer, investigators examined whether he was involved directly or indirectly in investments made by his future wife, who ran a hedge fund in Boston that traded in GKOs.

What makes the Boston investigation so sad is that the Harvard Project seemed to illustrate America at its best. We were helping a country that was emerging from a 70-year Communist nightmare. But those reform efforts were tarnished—first by the Chubais team's embrace of the corrupt privatization scheme and later by U.S. endorsement of the shaky GKO junk-bond scheme to finance the ever-growing Russian debt.

It's bad enough that our do-gooders may have quietly invested in the GKO market, which exploded in a spectacular default on Aug. 17, 1998. What adds to the embarrassment is that Harvard apparently failed to monitor their activities adequately.

No wonder people around the world roll their eyes when America offers its beneficent assistance. We're sometimes as prone to make mistakes as the people we're trying to help.

The Washington Post

Monday, September 27, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-28-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: JOHN PODESTA, SANDY BERGER, JIM STEINBERG, TONY BLINKEN

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *ss*

SUBJECT: Schroeder on Florence

According to Chancellor Schroeder's staff member assigned to the Florence conference, Schroeder believes that too many participants will create a situation in which there is not enough time for the leaders to speak. That is not, I was told, "what he had in mind." Last week, Schroeder met with Prime Minister Jospin during which they discussed the Florence conference. They were, I am informed, of the same mind on the number of participants. However, the full participation of President Cardoso is completely acceptable to Schroeder.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-28-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 24, 1999



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: SANDY BERGER, JOHN PODESTA, JIM STEINBERG, TONY BLINKEN

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *SB*

SUBJECT: Current State of the Florence Conference

In strong terms, I conveyed to the Italian government your intention that the Florence conference should be expanded to add five new members to the panel, including Cardoso, Kok, Guttierrez, Persson, and Barak. Today I was given their reply. Yesterday, I was told, D'Alema met with Jospin in Paris. During their meeting, they discussed the conference. Jospin took a position in favor of including Cardoso, but no one else--"full stop," I was told. Jospin views the Florence meeting in the light of the Socialist International meeting to take place in Paris two week beforehand. For his own political needs, having already criticized Blair and Schroeder for their Third Way manifesto issued two months ago, Jospin would like to entertain the conceit that the Florence meeting is an event without a prehistory. In that way, he can attend at Florence and elude the label of the Third Way, a complication in French Socialist politics. (I have already erased that problem but calling the conference "Progressive Governance in the 21st Century," precisely for this reason.) Both D'Alema and Jospin agreed in their meeting that inviting Cardoso was not a problem because he is not a European. But Jospin did not want a majority of those who will be present in Paris to be present in Florence. D'Alema suggested that Cardoso be invited to address the lunch at the conference. D'Alema's view is that he is engaged in a very delicate balancing act among the French, British and Germans. My response was to insist that Cardoso be a full member of the panel, not simply a speaker. The Italians then conveyed to me D'Alema's personal request for a few minutes of your time to get a clear message on the conference.

There are two options:

(1) Accede to D'Alema's and Jospin's demand to limit to Cardoso, but insist that he be on the panel.

(2) Speak to D'Alema about expanding beyond Cardoso.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

99 SEP 27 12:14

September 27, 1999

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CC: JOHN PODESTA, SANDY BERGER, JIM STEINBERG, TONY BLINKEN

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *so*

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American Academy of Family Physicians
The doctors who specialize in you



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64114-2797

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Fax (816) 822-0580

E-mail: fp@aafp.org
<http://www.aafp.org>

September 10, 1999

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I wanted to personally thank you for inviting me to participate in the news conference this Wednesday, September 7, 1999, to assist you and Secretary Shalala in efforts to gain bipartisan support for the Patients' Bill of Rights. I have no doubt that through your hard work this Congress will see fit to pass this legislation. Once passed, I would be honored to join you again in the signing ceremony of this prestigious event.

As I noted in my speech Wednesday, I've lived in Southwest Georgia for the last twenty-three years and have seen the tremendous problems of the uninsured, as well as the underinsured. These people who are less fortunate than we are certainly need as much protection as possible.

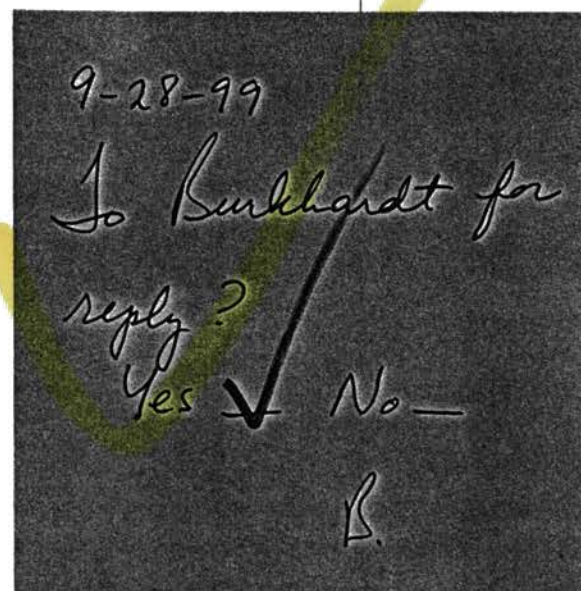
I hope you enjoyed your trip to New Zealand, and again, thanks for the honor of joining you this week in the White House.

Warmest regards,

Lanny R. Copeland, M.D.
President, American Academy of Family Physicians

LRC/dsa

President
Lanny R. Copeland, MD
2512 Westgate Blvd. #6
Albany, GA 31707
(912) 888-8880
Fax: (912) 483-0022
E-mail:
copeland@atlanta.com





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President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
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9-28-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1999

✓
MR. PRESIDENT:

Sandy believes that Option 1 is the only realistic option at this point to avoid getting you entangled in intra-European politics.

Sean Maloney 

9/28/99
OK - but didn't
tell me that KGB
know (wanted him)
then —

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

99 SEP 24 PM5:52

September 24, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: SANDY BERGER, JOHN PODESTA, JIM STEINBERG, TONY BLINKEN

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *SB*

SUBJECT: Current State of the Florence Conference

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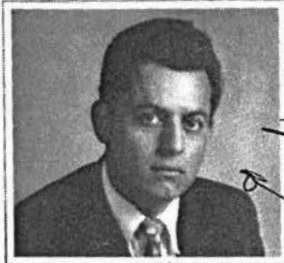
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- (1) Accede to D'Alema's and Jospin's demand to limit to Cardoso, but insist that he be on the panel.
- (2) Speak to D'Alema about expanding beyond Cardoso.

9-28-99

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Comments

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September 27, 1999

Personal & ~~Confidential~~
US President Bill Clinton
C/o Public Liaison Office or Agency Liaison Room 6
Ms. Betty Curry, Personal Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C.
United States of America

Dear President Clinton,

UNITED STATES/LIBERIA RELATIONS

I have the honor to refer you to a letter that I wrote to the Editor of the Washington Post, in the issue of 14 September 1999 concerning US/Liberia relations. Prior to writing that letter, through my friend Vernon Jordan and others that are known to be close to you and Secretary of State Albright, I tried to press the case for restoring the close historic ties between the United States and Liberia. Given that my efforts were unfortunately, getting nowhere, I seized the opportunity to express publicly my views on the subject by responding

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MARKING INITIALS: *W* DATE: *2/23/2018*

to an op-ed in the Washington Post.

Since the Post published my letter, the planned visit by President Taylor to the United States was canceled, and it has now been announced that the Secretary of State will be visiting six African countries in October. Madam Albright will visit two of Liberia's neighbors, Guinea and Sierra Leone but, unfortunately, she will not visit Liberia. This is bad news for the people of Liberia who, even more than the people of the countries to be visited, have lost more lives and suffered worse devastation during a brutal civil war. That decade-long conflict, which had claimed some two hundred thousand lives finally came to an end only after the Liberian people, yearning desperately for peace, decided freely and overwhelmingly to elect Charles Taylor President of Liberia. This was not an easy decision but the Liberians really had very little choice. In any case, they acted no less morally than did the leaders of Sierra Leone who, in order to end their country's own long conflict agreed to accept rebels accused of atrocious crimes as partners in the government of Sierra Leone. If the choice made by Sierra Leone did not disqualify it from being visited by the Secretary of State, it seems harsh, unfair and it will harm the interests of Liberians at home and in the region, if their country should be so blatantly snubbed.

In Africa, as almost everywhere else in the world today, evidence of US empathy for peoples struggling for democracy is important but, for historical reasons, in Liberia it is vital. Therefore, if the United States is unhappy about particular Liberian Government domestic or foreign policy actions, a visit by the Secretary of State during which she might deal with all disagreements frankly would help Liberia and West Africa much more than ostracizing the country. Not everyone in Liberia is satisfied with the Taylor Administration but most Liberians are determined to wait for the next election to express by the ballot rather than by resuming the war their political preference. For this reason, I will be most grateful if you would kindly intervene with the Secretary of State, even at this late hour, to cause her to consider including Liberia on her African itinerary. Please accept my gratitude for your sympathetic consideration of this request.

Respectfully yours,

Winston A. Tubman

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The Washington Post

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Issue Is Liberia

In his Sept. 2 op-ed article, "Not Welcome Here," Gerald S. Rose makes disturbing and dangerous arguments against the United States' welcoming Liberia's President Charles Taylor during his planned visit to the United Nations this month. Although it now seems unlikely that the visit will take place, the flaws in Mr. Rose's article should not go unchallenged.

Mr. Rose accuses President Taylor of supporting Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front and recruiting "child soldiers" during the Liberian civil war. He argues that the United States should not forget Mr. Taylor's "abysmal record during and after the Liberian civil war."

The United States, working in concert with the United Nations, the Economic Community of West African States and its peacekeeping force, ECOMOG, as well as the European Union, played a key role in persuading the Liberian faction leaders, including Charles Taylor, to lay down their weapons and pursue a political process to restore a legitimate government for Liberia. The

United States provided vital humanitarian assistance and worked with all the faction leaders to overcome hurdles in the peace process. After nearly eight years, elections were finally held in July 1997.

In a field of a dozen candidates, Mr. Taylor and his National Patriotic Party won the election with a margin of nearly 80 percent, and the U.S. Embassy in Monrovia as well as former president Jimmy Carter joined the other international observers in endorsing the elections as free and fair. It therefore defies comprehension that the United States should now shun Mr. Taylor and his government.

Mr. Rose contends that allowing President Taylor to visit Washington might be interpreted in West Africa as U.S. support for Mr. Taylor and could result in "unfortunate repercussions in Africa and contribute to instability in the already potentially unstable West African region."

Yet Mr. Taylor's government is recognized not only by the West African states but also by the entire African continent, as well as by the

United States and the United Nations. It is a legitimate government that came to power through free elections. Contrary to Mr. Rose's contention, African countries expect the United States to work with other international partners to fulfill its historical obligations to Liberia, including the promise that it would assist Liberia to rebuild. The lack of U.S. embrace must surely be a factor behind fighting that has erupted in northern Liberia by rebels coming from across the border.

The overriding issue should be Liberia. Ostracizing President Taylor and refusing to help him reconstruct the country, revive the economy and create jobs already is encouraging those elements that are bent on returning Liberia to civil war, prolonging the suffering of the Liberian people and thus destabilizing neighboring countries.

WINSTON A. TURMAN
Kuwait City, Kuwait

The writer is Liberia's former ambassador to the United Nations and a former justice minister of Liberia.

Forward Header

Subject:

Author: Winston A. Tubman at DPKO-UNIKOM

Date: 9/27/99 4:42 PM

c/o UNIKOM
Grand Central Station
P. O. Box 4852
New York, N.Y. 10163-4852

September 27, 1999

Personal & ~~Confidential~~

US President Bill Clinton

C/o Public Liaison Office or Agency Liaison Room 6

Ms. Betty Curry, Personal Secretary

The White House

Washington, D.C

United States of America

Dear President Clinton,

UNITED STATES/LIBERIA RELATIONS

I have the honor to refer you to a letter that I wrote to the Editor of the Washington Post, in the issue of 14 September 1999 concerning US/Liberia relations. Prior to writing that letter, through my friend Vernon Jordan and others that are known to be close to you and Secretary of State Albright, I tried to press the case for restoring the close historic ties between the United States and Liberia. Given that my efforts were unfortunately, getting nowhere, I seized the opportunity to express publicly my views on the subject by responding

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: 94 DATE: 2/23/2016

to an op-ed in the Washington Post.

Since the Post published my letter, the planned visit by President Taylor to the United States was canceled, and it has now been announced that the Secretary of State will be visiting six African countries in October. Madam Albright will visit two of Liberia's neighbors, Guinea and Sierra Leone but, unfortunately, she will not visit Liberia. This is bad news for the people of Liberia who, even more than the people of the countries to be visited, have lost more lives and suffered worse devastation during a brutal civil war. That decade-long conflict, which had claimed some two hundred thousand lives finally came to an end only after the Liberian people, yearning desperately for peace, decided freely and overwhelmingly to elect Charles Taylor President of Liberia. This was not an easy decision but the Liberians really had very little choice. In any case, they acted no less morally than did the leaders of Sierra Leone who, in order to end their country's own long conflict agreed to accept rebels accused of atrocious crimes as partners in the government of Sierra Leone. If the choice made by Sierra Leone did not disqualify it from being visited by the Secretary of State, it seems harsh, unfair and it will harm the interests of Liberians at home and in the region, if their country should be so blatantly snubbed.

In Africa, as almost everywhere else in the world today, evidence of US empathy for peoples struggling for democracy is important but, for historical reasons, in Liberia it is vital. Therefore, if the United States is unhappy about particular Liberian Government domestic or foreign policy actions, a visit by the Secretary of State during which she might deal with all disagreements frankly would help Liberia and West Africa much more than ostracizing the country. Not everyone in Liberia is satisfied with the Taylor Administration but most Liberians are determined to wait for the next election to express by the ballot rather than by resuming the war their political preference. For this reason, I will be most grateful if you would kindly intervene with the Secretary of State, even at this late hour, to cause her to consider including Liberia on her African itinerary. Please accept my gratitude for your sympathetic consideration of this request.

Respectfully yours,

Winston A. Tubman



Office of the Ambassador

Embassy of the United States of America AM9:37

*through
for
su*

Lisbon, Portugal
September 22, 1999

Mr. Nancy Hernreich
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Director of the Oval Office Operations
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

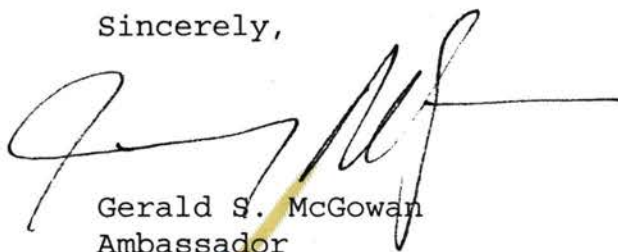
'99 SEP 28 AM9:37

Dear Nancy:

Enclosed is another personal letter from Prime Minister Guterres to President Clinton. Because of the personal note at the end to the President I am sending you the original for transmittal to the President.

Things have calmed down here dramatically since last week. Hopefully conditions in East Timor will continue to improve. Thanks again for your help.

Sincerely,



Gerald S. McGowan
Ambassador

Enclosure: as

Send to NSC

Yes ☒
No ☐

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. letter	Prime Minister Guterres to POTUS (3 pages)	09/20/1999	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
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FOLDER TITLE:

Tuesday, September 28, 1999

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

URGENT

H. E.

Ambassador Gerald S. McGowan
Embassy of the United States of America

in mas



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2 To (Receiver)

NANCY HERNREICH
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE
WASHINGTON DC

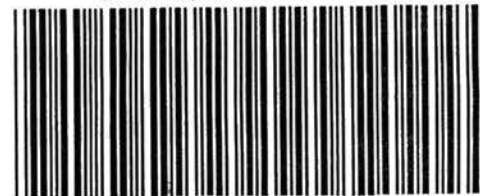
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Declared value give currency	Sender's VAT / GST no.
Harmonised commodity code if applies	Receiver's VAT / GST no. or EIN / SSN
Type of export ☐ PERMANENT ☐ REPAIR/RETURN ☐ TEMPORARY	Destination duties / taxes If left blank receiver pays duties / taxes ☐ Receiver ☐ Sender ☐ Other Specify destination approved account number

4 Size and weight

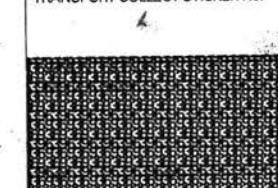
No. of pieces 1	Weight 0.5 kg
Dimensions cm L x W x H x x	

VOLUMETRIC / CHARGED WEIGHT

CODES	CHARGES Services Special Insurance Other / VAT
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CURRENCY CODE	TOTAL
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-28-99

Shine the Light
on Children in the Darkness

Bhead
Adopt-M
adoption
PK

Rep. Tom DeLay
House Majority Whip

To Get Involved,
Contact These Groups:

Court Appointed
Special Advocates
1-800-628-3233
www.nationalcasa.org

National Foster
Parent Association
1-800-557-5238
www.kidsource.com/NFPA

National Council
for Adoption
(202) 328-1200
www.ncfa-usa.org

Or Visit:

<http://majoritywhip.house.gov>

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THE PAGE THAT HAS BEEN

9-28-99

WASH - He asked about
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AMERICAN INCOME LIFE back-
Insurance Company *by*

BERNARD RAPOPORT
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

254-751-8601
FAX 254-751-8670
P.O. BOX 2608
WACO, TEXAS 76797

*credit
union
board*
[Signature]
Jeff Blake, MD

Copied
Nash
Podesta

THE ABOVE TEXT HAS BEEN

9-28-99

John T Schwieters

ARTHUR
ANDERSEN

Arthur Andersen LLP

1666 K Street NW
Washington DC 20006-2873
202 481 8100
202 277 5216 Cellular
202 223 8764 Fax

john.t.schwieters
@us.arthurandersen.com



Podesta

~~Podesta~~

Call me at:

Thu —

BC

Copied
Podesta
Recchetti.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 9/28/99

To: M. RUOMAN

From: The Staff Secretary

PLEASE SEE JOHN'S NOTE.

CAN WE GET A RESPONSE

GOING. THANKS.



copy for chron
original for Rudman



cc: Sean Matoney

September 21, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
Executive Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Seems -
will you work
with us
to get a
re-pass
out
J.M.P.

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Board of Directors of the Cuban American National Foundation, we write to ask for your support of a legislative initiative in the United States Senate that would bring redress to American families whose loved ones have fallen victim to international terrorism.

Authored by United States Senator Connie Mack (R-FL), and co-sponsored by Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), this measure would amend the United States Code in order to enforce pending judgments by U.S. courts against any foreign country engaged in state sponsored terrorism. If passed, this legislation could have an important impact on bringing justice to bear on two prominent cases, including the February 24, 1996 murder by Cuban MiGs of four Cuban American volunteers with the Brothers to the Rescue organization while on a humanitarian mission over international waters, three American citizens among them. Another case involves the death of another American in a Middle East terrorist attack.

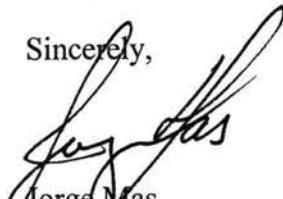
Our community is greatly dismayed, however, that this key effort, formerly Section 118 of the Treasury-Postal Appropriations Act, was dropped in a House-Senate Conference Committee in recent days after your Administration expressed its intention to veto the bill because of this particular provision. Indeed, given your expressed commitment to work towards eradicating the blight of international terror, we find this action by your Administration simply incomprehensible as we also do your opposition earlier this year to a Federal Court ruling that ordered the use of monies owed to Cuba for telephone communications to satisfy a \$187 million judgment against the Cuban government. We respectfully wish to convey our firm opposition to this stance as grossly insensitive to those Americans who have suffered at the hands of such monstrous deeds, and whose only chance to secure certain remedy now resides solely within the U.S. justice system.

As Senators Mack and Lautenberg move to re-introduce this language, we hereby reach out to you to urge your support of this timely and vital initiative, especially in light of your strong public condemnation in Miami of this brutal attack by the Castro regime against innocent American civilians. Indeed, passage of this bi-partisan proposal will represent a significant victory for the American people against the scourge of international terrorism.

The Honorable William J. Clinton
Page 2

In an age in which American citizens fall victim to the abhorrent acts of pariahs like Fidel Castro and others of his ilk, it is incumbent upon our leaders in Washington to assure that the families of these victims can find redress. We hope you would concur that it is high time Castro and his lawless cohorts be held responsible for their heinous crimes against innocent Americans, and that our government stand squarely alongside the victims, with the American people, and with justice.

Sincerely,



Jorge Mas
Chairman



Clara M. Del Valle
Vice Chair

Ccs: U.S. Senator Jesse Helms
U.S. Senator Robert G. Torricelli
U.S. Senator Connie Mack
U.S. Senator Bob Graham
U.S. Senator Harry Reid
U.S. Senator Joe Lieberman
U.S. Senator Trent Lott
U.S. Senator Frank Lautenberg



KATHYKEMP@aol.com
09/23/99 10:38:52 PM

[Handwritten signature]
99 SEP 24 PM 3:32

Record Type: Record

To: Mary Morrison/WHO/EOP
cc:
Subject: Re: Letter for Pres. Clinton

Dear Mary,

Please give this letter to Pres. Clinton for me and let me know when he receives it.

Thanx!

Kathy

9/23/99

TO: PRES. BILL CLINTON

FROM: KATHY KEMP, PRESIDENT,
ASSIMILATE, INC.
3665 W. 48
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44102
PHONE & FAX: 216-961-3060
E-MAIL: KATHYKEMP@AOL.COM

RE: Endorsement for My Memoirs

Dear Bill,

Hi! I am anxiously awaiting your response to my "burning question" of August 8, 1999:

Will you consider endorsing my memoirs? I'd like to use the photos of you and me in my memoirs. I will write to the media office at The White House. Will you encourage them to allow me to use them? If I can't, may I arrange to have a photo taken with you specifically for my book?

Quite frankly, I need a POSSIBLE endorsement from you to: (1) better my chances of finding an editor or literary agent for my book, Bitch on Wheels: Memoirs & Smiles from a Woman with Cerebral Palsy; and (2) better my chances of obtaining an advance.

[Handwritten notes in yellow highlighter:]
9/27 DAN B
JUSTIN could w/ counsel
decline
WILL YOU FIND OUT
Per Mrs. B. WHAT THIS IS FROM
Shouldn't MM. DOESN'T SOUND
do, letter LIKE. SOMETHING WE
response instead SHOULD DO - ALSO
bc A COUNSEL Q.
[Initials]

Please e-mail or write to me soon.

Thanx!

With Friendship,

Kathy

Kathy Kemp
3665 W. 48
Cleveland, Ohio 44102
Tel. & Fax: (216) 961-3060
E-mail--kathykemp@aol.com

September 23, 1999

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Clinton:

My book is Bitch on Wheels: Memoirs & Smiles from a Woman with Cerebral Palsy. I am a woman whose "birth-day" gift was a severe physical disability-cerebral palsy. Despite this, I have two master's degrees, own my own business and home, was awarded a government grant, share a nineteen-year relationship with my lover, travel by myself, and have had more adventures than most people.

Bitch on Wheels describes how I sensitize people (whether they want me to or not) to disability. It illustrates my experiences with sexuality, education, the medical profession, and politics. I live my life in spite of my disability and have the chutpah to speak my mind.

I crashed into the White House, am actively involved in politics, and was honored as a special guest at the President Bill Clinton's Second Inauguration. My memoirs describe my metamorphous from a shy, compliant child into an assertive college student, my painful first sexual experience, my recuperation from a double disectomy at the home of a gay osteopath friend whom I met only four months previously, and my constant battle with do-gooders who know what's best for me.

Broken three-wheel scooters, three lost battery chargers in one business trip, and a friendship with President Clinton are routine for this "bitch on wheels." The book I am proposing is written to inspire both nondisabled and disabled people to look at a disability as a challenge rather than an obstacle. Christy Brown's insightful autobiography and Oscar-winning

film, *My Left Foot* explores life for a man with cerebral palsy in 1930's Ireland; Anne Finger's *Past Due: A Story of Disability, Pregnancy and Birth* discusses post-polio syndrome and freedom of choice in the late 1980's; and Jean-Dominique Bauby's *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly* explores an intelligent mind trapped in a motionless body in 1990's France. *Bitch on Wheels* details how my perseverance and sense of humor, albeit facing new physical challenges and intractable pain that accompany cerebral palsy in middle age, have created an achievement-oriented woman who rarely accepts "no" for an answer.

May I send detailed a book proposal or synopsis to you?

Sincerely,

Kathy Kemp

1999 INTERNATIONAL ULTRA WIDEBAND CONFERENCE

9-28-99

*You are cordially invited to join us
for a reception and buffet in the Main Atrium and
a tour of the Information Technology and Science Exhibits at the*

National Museum of American History,

*Menu - you or your guest
please go to this - DC
Wednesday, September 29th, at 6:30 p.m.*

Co-Hosted by

TIME DOMAIN™

THE PULSE OF THE FUTURE™



Smithsonian
National Museum of American History

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Reed
Lane
Podesta*

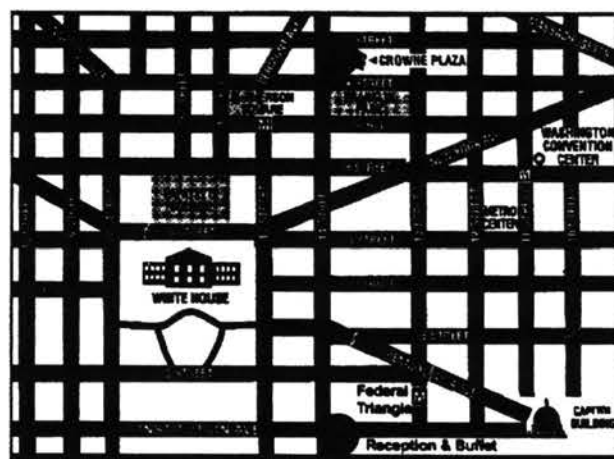
DIRECTIONS BY METRO : The closest Metro/subway stop to the Crowne Plaza is McPherson Square located at 14th and "I" (Eye) Streets NW. A one way fare ticket to the museum is \$1.10. Each rider must have a fare card to enter and exit a station.

Walk to McPherson Square Metro

Exit the main lobby entrance of the Crowne Plaza, turn left and proceed south down 14th Street NW. Cross "K" Street walking south one block on 14th Street to "I" Street. (there is no "J" Street) Cross both "I" and 14th Streets to the Metro escalator entrance. All Metro entrances are recognizable by a characteristic square, black pillar with a white "M" on top.

Metro Travel to the Museum

From McPherson Square both Blue and Orange line trains follow the same track to the metro station closest to the Museum, Federal Triangle. You may take the Orange line train labeled New Carrollton, or the Blue line train labeled Addison Road. Trains from McPherson Square enroute to the Museum will stop at Metro Center and then at Federal Triangle. Federal Triangle is located between Pennsylvania and Constitution Avenues NW on 12th Street NW. Exit the Federal Triangle station at 12th Street and proceed south (right) toward Constitution Avenue NW. Cross Constitution and turn right one block to the museum at the corner of 14th Street and Constitution Avenue NW (there is no 13th Street). **This will lead you to the Constitution Avenue Entrance of the National Museum of American History.**



DIRECTIONS BY FOOT :

It is a pleasant walk from the hotel at 14th and "K" Streets NW, about nine to ten city blocks, to the Museum. Exit the hotel main lobby onto 14th Street and proceed south (left) to Constitution Avenue. Cross Constitution Avenue NW, turn left, and the National Museum of American History will be directly ahead of you.