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Mike Freeze
England

Professor Donald Roufa
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville

September 21, 1999

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is my understanding that you have communicated to Congress your priorities for the Fiscal Year 2000 Agricultural Appropriation Act. It is also my understanding that those priorities include additional funding for the Conservation Reserve Program (CRP) and the Wetlands Reserve Program (WRP).

The CRP and WRP are essential to the conservation of vital migration, breeding, nesting, and feeding habitat for wildlife. Furthermore, these programs provide financial support to agricultural producers suffering from historically low commodity prices and disease- and weather-related disasters.

I respectfully encourage you to insist upon additional funding for these important programs in the Fiscal Year 2000 Agricultural Appropriations Act. Thank you for your consideration of this matter.

Cordially,

Steve N. Wilson
Director

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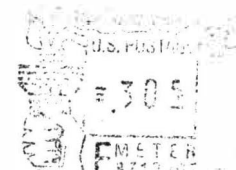
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Arkansas Game & Fish Commission
2 Natural Resources Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas 72205

FIRST CLASS

PRECEDENCE
FIRST CLASS



The Honorable Bill Clinton
President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-4-99

Jim Hoagland

Caution on the Caucasus

During last winter's agonizing overture to NATO's war on Serbia, a Russian general pulled aside an American defense expert at an international conference. "Military force must not be used as an instrument of diplomatic frustration," the Russian said. "The airstrike as retribution is the most dangerous factor in international relations today."

The general clearly had Madeleine Albright's rocket-rattling at the Serbs in mind, and he may have had a hidden motive: Russia wanted to deter any attack on Serbia. But the dangerous renewal of Russia's war on Chechnya in recent days shows that the general also had a point that applies with particular force to his own country today.

A regime caught in a death spiral may instinctively seize on the one course that will ensure its destruction. By plunging their military back into the Caucasus tar baby of Chechnya, President Boris Yeltsin and his

new prime minister, Vladimir Putin, take such a risk.

They also highlight a central political-military lesson of our time previously illustrated in Vietnam, southern Lebanon, Iraq, the Balkans and elsewhere: The ability of the modern military to project destructive power abroad has far outraced the ability of political leaders to use that power to achieve political goals and manage war's consequences.

The Russians went out of their way this week to point up similarities between NATO's Serbia campaign and the air attacks on Chechnya. The Russian air force began the attack by "bombing a radar unit at the Grozny airport and destroying the Chechen 'air force,' which consisted of a single, propeller-driven biplane," the New York Times reported with a barely concealed snicker.

Some of Moscow's comparisons with the assault on Serbia are obvious. But even more striking is the importance of the frustration factor in

determining who lives and who dies in Chechnya. In this, the renewed Russian attacks on Chechnya resemble more the fury Indonesians unleashed on East Timorese: Destruction and venting rather than strategic gains are the point.

Yeltsin and Putin are beset by international accusations of corruption, a political war in Moscow they are losing and savage cowardly terrorist attacks on the civilian population by unknown bombers. If the overworked words "beleaguered" and "frustrated" retain meaning, they apply to these two men. They come to work each day plucking new arrows out of their chests.

The latest round of trouble in the Caucasus originated with Islamic guerrillas staging raids from Chechnya into neighboring Dagestan. But the corrupt, inefficient leaders of Dagestan are Kremlin clients. They would be undermined by the kind of indiscriminate bombing now directed at Chechnya.

The Chechen capital of Grozny, labeled as the launching pad for terrorism, was hit by air raids this week that locals say killed 300 civilians. Putin even suggested he was willing to send ground troops back to the rebellious region, which drove out the Russian army in 1996 to win autonomy.

The Kremlin's objectives seem more urgently political than military. Duma elections in December and presidential balloting next summer push the government to respond forcefully now to maintain credibility with the Russian people. Russian warplanes can easily reach Grozny. The fate of Chechnya's leader, Aslan Maskhadov, is clearly of no concern to Moscow.

Three immediate consequences flow for U.S. policy:

There should be no outside military intervention to help Russians, Chechens or Dagestanis out of this snake pit. The complexities outweigh any conceivable gains for humanitari-

an armed intervention à la Kosovo. The Caucasus is beyond the new NATO's right, duty or ability to intervene out of area.

That makes even more imperative a speedy, highly visible Western effort to provide civilian humanitarian aid to all the parties. And the United States should provide whatever high-profile civilian help it can to Russia's anti-terrorist efforts. A key element: U.S. diplomatic pressure on friendly Islamic governments (Pakistan and Saudi Arabia come to mind) to clamp down on help from their countries to fundamentalist groups in the Caucasus.

Third, President Clinton and aides should not repeat their earlier comparisons of Yeltsin in Chechnya to Abraham Lincoln. They should not offer political support of any kind to a Russian military campaign that is driven by frustration and politics. To do so would undermine NATO's far more noble accomplishments through the use of force in Kosovo.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1999
The Washington Post



Byzantine Catholic Archeparchy of Pittsburgh

66 Riverview Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15214
(412) 231-4000 Fax (412) 231-1697

99 OCT 14 AM 10:25

Office of Communications

Rev. Michael Jude Wytish, Director

September 26, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. President,

On behalf of His Eminence, Metropolitan Judson M. Procyk, I am writing to request a letter of congratulations on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the Byzantine-Ruthenian Metropolitan Church of Pittsburgh.

On Sunday, October 3, 1999 the bishops, clergy and faithful of the Metropolia will gather together with dignitaries, friends and guests to celebrate the 75th anniversary at the David L. Lawrence Convention Center in Pittsburgh, PA. This letter will be published in a commemorative publication following the event. Please also include a photo for use in the publication.

It was in the late 1800's that Eastern European immigrants first began to arrive on the shores of America. These individuals brought with them a strong work ethic, hope for a better life and a love for God and their Church.

Ruthenian parishes began to be established as early as 1886 in Freeland, PA but it was not until 1924 that a formal church structure was established for the Ruthenian Catholics, under the name of the Byzantine-Ruthenian Exarchate of Pittsburgh.

The members of this church continued to grow and the church prospered in this new land. While maintaining its traditions, it sought to be a permanent part of the American landscape. The growth and stability of the Ruthenian Catholic Church in America was recognized by Rome in 1963 when it was raised to the status of an Eparchy (diocese).

The descendants of the original immigrants began to relocate from the original places of settlement, concentrated heavily in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, and New York, to the various corners of the country. Their faith inspired them to build churches in the new regions

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in which they settled, thus extending the influence of the Ruthenian Catholic Church throughout the country.

Today, the Ruthenian Catholic Church consists of four eparchies that encompass the entire nation. They form one Metropolia, established in 1969, with the Archeparchy of Pittsburgh as the Metropolitan See. The eparchies of Passaic, NJ, Parma, OH, and Van Nuys, CA all derive from the territory of the original Exarchate of Pittsburgh, and so, today, join together in celebration.

Please address your letter to:

Metropolitan Archbishop Judson M. Procyk
Archeparchy of Pittsburgh
66 Riverview Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15214

Your response may be sent to the above address and to the attention of:

Rev. Michael Jude Wytish.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Rev. Michael Jude Wytish". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name and title.

Rev. Michael Jude Wytish
Director of Communications

SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON

10-4-99
To Burkhardt
for Reply
✓ JSC ✓

September 29, 1999

Mr. Richard Barber
African -American Permanent Fund
P.O. Box 6141
Somerset, New Jersey 08875

'99 OCT 4 AM 10:33

Dear Mr. Barber:

Thank you for your recent letter asking me to pass on your correspondence to the President.

As requested, I have forwarded your package to the Executive Office of the President. You should expect to receive an acknowledgment letter very shortly.

Sincerely,


Alexis M. Herman

BCC: Phil Caplan

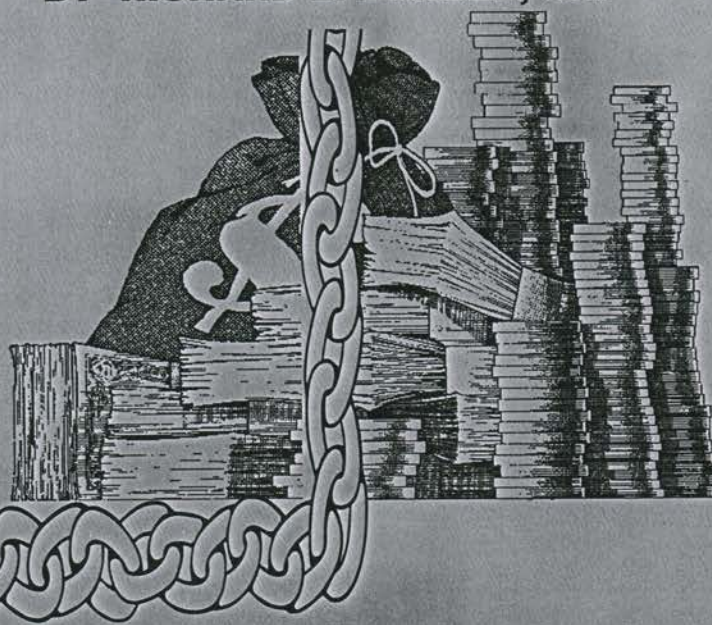
WORKING TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF AMERICA'S WORKING FAMILIES

Foreword by
**DR. SAMUEL
D. PROCTOR**

THE ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION OF AFRICAN- AMERICANS

"Let the Church say, Amen"

BY RICHARD E. BARBER, SR.



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THE ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION
OF
AFRICAN-AMERICANS

"Let The Church Say, Amen!!"

by

Richard E. Barber, Sr.

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THE ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION
OF
AFRICAN-AMERICANS

"Let The Church Say, Amen!!"

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THE ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION
OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS

"Let The Church Say, Amen!!"

Richard E. Barber Sr.

Published By

Penny Lovers of America, Inc.
P.O. Box 6141
Somerset, New Jersey 08875-6141

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DEDICATION

To my loving wife Betty, and to our children, Vicky, Ricky and Sha-Sha, whose sacrifices and support enabled me to, in the words of the Scriptures as found in Habakkuk 2:2, "Write the vision and make it plain," I shall forever be grateful.

PENNY POWER • PENNY POWER • PENNY POWER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
FOREWORD	8
PREFACE	10
INTRODUCTION AND	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	12
A COMPASS OF OUR OWN.....	19
ECONOMICS AND POLITICS: An Agenda	
of Progress For African-Americans.....	23
THE ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION PLAN	
FOR AFRICAN-AMERICANS.....	30
The National Church Credit Union.....	37
The Self-Insurance Association.....	38
The 5-2-1 Development Fund.....	38
College and University Endowment	
Program.....	40
The Annual National Penny Campaign.....	43
AN APPEAL TO THE CHURCH COMMUNITY.....	63
CONCLUSION.....	72
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW WORLD NATIONAL BANK	
"An Idea Whose Time Had Come".....	80
APPENDICES	
I. The Penalty of Leadership.....	123
II. Mind Food	125
III. Self-Insurance Association/Penny	
Party Information Packet.....	147
IV. Mel Blount's Letter to Athletes and	
Entertainers.....	148
V. Certificate of Commitment	151
VI. Mel Blount's Letter to Pastors &	
Church Leaders	152
VII. Power of Knowledge Pledge.....	158
VIII. Select List of Black Consumer Spending.....	160
IX. African Proverbs to Ponder.....	161
X. Dr. Robert Schuller's Quotations.....	167
INDEX	174

AFRICAN-AMERICAN PERMANENT FUND
P.O. Box 6141
Somerset, NJ 08875

September 22, 1999

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing to bring to your personal attention some "unfinished business of the 20th Century," with the hope that you will address this matter with the full authority of your office.

At the dawn of the 20th Century, Dr. W.E. DuBois forewarned America "that the greatest domestic problem it faced would be the color line problem." We near the end of this century still plagued by the "color line problem and with the full realization that "race matters."

Mr. President, the "unfinished business" of which I speak, is the matter of compensation to the descendants of slaves for the "evil institution of slavery." Ancestors of African-Americans labored for 246 years without a payday as slaves to build the economic foundation on which America stands today. The legal end of slavery with President Lincoln issuing the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863 did not end the legal oppression of the former slaves. The former slaves and their descendents faced another 100 years of federal and state government sanctioned "apartheid" legislative mandates and enactments, Jim Crow laws and "local customs." These discriminatory federal and state laws blocked and/or impeded the economic, education and social upward mobility of African-Americans, even our generation.

Mr. President, in the history of our nation, few events have presented themselves where the President and the Congressional Leadership, acting in unison, could make a decision with profound and lasting impact for all ages. Some of those historical events were:

1. The First Continental Congress under the leadership of John Hancock and the delegates with "courage and vision" in the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.
2. The tedious efforts of President Abraham Lincoln and the 1863 Congress to maintain the Union and the integrity of our nation, notwithstanding a divisive and brutal Civil War.

3. The "leadership and vision" of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Congress during the post "Depression Era" in the passage of key legislation to lift the nation to its feet economically. Legislation such as the Social Security Act; Unemployment Act; the March 6, 1933 Bank Holiday to stabilize the banking industry; Public Works Projects, and the GI Bill of Rights, were very vital to America's best interests.
4. President John F. Kennedy's unpopular actions during the turbulent racial crisis and the dark days of the 1960's Civil Rights Movement. He forewarned the nation that notwithstanding the racial turmoil and civil unrest tearing at the basic fabric of America, "the real and greatest tragedy would be to do nothing." Also his commitment of America's scientific genius and resources to the Space Program.
5. The courageous and unpopular decision of President Dwight Eisenhower in sending federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas on September 24, 1957 to protect nine (9) Black students enrolled in Central High School.
6. President Richard M. Nixon's "visionary and historic" trip to China on February 21, 1972 which opened up a vast consumer and commercial market to American businesses.
7. President Ronald Reagan's extraordinary leadership in ending the Cold War between America and the Soviet Union, and the removal of the Berlin Wall of Shame.

Now, Mr. President, it is your turn to act with that same "unwavering courage and statesman-like leadership" as your predecessors mentioned above. You have a "unique and historic" opportunity to act with wisdom and in the best interest of the nation in the spirit of Proverbs 29:18 – "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Your positive action and leadership will help 'heal and bind up the nation's wounds of the past,' help close a "sad and ugly chapter" in America's history, and prepare "One America" to cross the bridge to the 21st Century.

During the debate by Congress of the Tobacco Bill in the Spring of 1998, I provided the Congressional Leadership the attached document on this matter. However, only Senator Lott acknowledged receipt and responded by letter, with no response from the others.

Specifically, Mr. President, I am respectfully requesting your consideration of the following:

1. With America in an unprecedented period of economic prosperity from Wall Street to Main Street – thanks to your leadership and administration policies – a commitment of fifty (50) billion dollars

to the African American Permanent Fund from the projected budget surplus of one (1) trillion dollars over the next ten (10) years;

2. Request that the various States, which have reached a financial settlement of 249 billion dollars with the Tobacco Industry, likewise commit (50) billion dollars to the African-American Permanent Fund. The rationale for this request Mr. President is that since the Federal Government has paid a reported fifty-five percent (55%) of Medicaid costs to the States, the Federal Government can rightfully claim a proportionate share of their tobacco settlement.

Subsequent to your review of my letter and the attached document, I would like to meet with you or your designated representative to discuss this matter in detail and a political strategy for its achievement.

Finally, Mr. President, please reflect on the possibility that your meeting President John F. Kennedy more than 35 years ago was "divinely inspired," and that meeting ignited something in your "inner soul and spirit" which likewise motivated you to become President of the United States. Maybe, Mr. President, just maybe, God has placed you in the White House with the awesome power as President "for such a time as this." A time to right a historic wrong, a time to do the right thing at this point in our history, and for the right reasons. African-Americans – the descendants of slaves – rightfully deserve both an apology for the "evil institution of slavery and compensation." It is within your power to do what no past President has had the political and moral courage to do, and no future President may have the available financial resources and opportunity to do. Let history record that you forthrightly addressed this "unfinished business of the 20th Century," to fulfill the obligations of that promissory note of which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke in his "I Have a Dream" Speech at the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963.

I pray that God will give you the wisdom and vision to address this important issue, and may God bless you, and continue to bless America.

Yours truly,



Richard E. Barber, Sr., President

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 15, 1998

TO: Honorable Trent Lott, Senate Majority Leader
Honorable Thomas Daschle, Senate Minority Leader
Honorable Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House
Honorable Richard A. Gephardt, House Minority Leader

FROM:  Richard E. Barber, Sr.
11 Seely Run Road
Somerset, NJ 08873

SUBJECT: A RECOMMENDED RESOLUTION OF THE CURRENT
TOBACCO CRISIS AND A WIN-WIN STRATEGY FOR
THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY AND AMERICA

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

DATE: 7/23/2018
MARKING INITIALS: JM

Gentlemen:

In the history of our nation, few events have presented themselves where the President and the Congressional leadership, acting in unison, could make a decision with profound and lasting impact for all ages. Some of those events were:

1. The First Continental Congress under the leadership of John Hancock and the delegates with "courage and vision" in the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.
2. The tedious efforts of President Abraham Lincoln and the 1863 Congress to maintain the Union and the integrity of our nation notwithstanding the divisive and brutal Civil War.
3. The "leadership and vision" of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Congress during the post "Depression Era" in the passage of key legislation to lift the nation to its feet economically. Legislation such as the Social Security Act; Unemployment Act; the March 6, 1933 Bank Holiday to stabilize the banking industry; Public Works Projects, and the GI Bill of Rights, were very vital to America's best interests.
4. President John F. Kennedy's unpopular actions during the turbulent racial crisis and the dark days of the 1960's Civil Rights movement. He forewarned the nation that notwithstanding the racial turmoil and civil unrest tearing at the basic fabric of America, "the real and greatest tragedy would be to do nothing."
5. The courageous and unpopular decision of President Dwight Eisenhower in sending federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas on September 24, 1957 to protect nine (9) Black students enroll in Central High School.
6. President Richard M. Nixon's "visionary and historic" trip to China on February 21, 1972 which opened up a vast consumer and commercial market to American businesses.
7. President Ronald Reagan's extraordinary leadership in ending the Cold War between America and the Soviet Union, and the removal of the Berlin Wall of Shame.

Now it is your turn to act with that same "unwavering courage, statesman-like leadership and scriptural vision." "Where there is no vision, the people perish." (Proverbs 29:18. The Tobacco Bill presently being debated in Congress provides you that "unique and historic" opportunity to act with wisdom and in the best interest of the nation just as your predecessors.

The attached document provides recommendations for an amendment to the Tobacco Bill which will help "heal and bind up the nation's wounds of the past," and prepare "One America" to enter the 21st Century. Your inclusion and passage of legislation with these recommendations will confirm your places in history and have a tremendous positive impact domestically and internationally for thousands of years to come.

I would respectfully caution the Congress to refrain from punitive legislation against the Tobacco Industry. While in years past the collective behavior of certain industry representatives may have been considered reprehensible and in many cases less than honorable, lest we forget the billions of dollars contributed to our economy and the millions of our fellow citizens employed in this industry since 1612.

I fully support and commend your efforts to curb teen smoking and reduce health risks. However, if history is any teacher, an unreasonable increase in the cigarette tax in my judgment, will not achieve it. If teenagers can purchase \$150 to \$200 sneakers, and they do, they will most certainly find a way to continue to purchase cigarettes notwithstanding the tax increase. Parents, schools, and youth organizations must play a vital and key role in this endeavor.

Finally, there is a passage in an advertisement from a January 2, 1915 Saturday Evening Post Magazine entitled "The Penalty of Leadership" which accurately describes the challenge and opportunity presented to you.

"There is nothing new in this . It is as old as the world and human passions – envy, fear, greed, ambition, and the desire to surpass; And it all avails nothing. If the leader truly leads , he remains – the leader. Master – poet, master-painter, master-workman, each in his turn is assailed, and each holds his laurels through the ages. That which is good or great makes itself known, no matter how loud the clamor of denial. That which deserves to live – lives."

I am confident that with your bipartisan leadership, your colleagues in the Congress will enact sound and responsible Tobacco legislation. I would like to meet with you to discuss this matter in detail. I shall await your response.

May God Bless you, and continue to Bless America.

Richard E. Barber, Sr.
(732) 873-3827

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A RECOMMENDED RESOLUTION OF THE CURRENT TOBACCO
CRISIS AND A WIN-WIN STRATEGY FOR THE TOBACCO
INDUSTRY AND AMERICA

By: Richard E. Barber, Sr.
11 Seely Run Road
Somerset, NJ 08873
732-873-3827
May 2, 1998

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times," so wrote Charles Dickens in 1859 in describing conditions in England and France in 1775. Charles Dickens must have also looked through the telescope of time, and observed the current tobacco debate in America when he wrote those lines in his book – The Tale of Two Cities. The comparison seems so appropriate as the tobacco industry faces mounting domestic and international litigation and possibly punitive Congressional legislation on the one hand, and increasing foreign sales and market share on the other.

Since 1612 when Tobacco was first introduced in the Commonwealth of Virginia by John Rolfe, an English colonist, it has been an integral part of the American economy. Over the period of 376 years, the tobacco industry has contributed billions of dollars to the economy through domestic and export of tobacco products and provided employment for millions of American citizens. Notwithstanding these facts, tobacco products in recent

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

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

years have been under close scrutiny due to possible negative health consequences according to scientific researchers. The purpose of this paper is to provide a win-win strategy for the tobacco industry and America using historical events as the basis and guide.

While I fully support credible efforts to reduce or limit teen smoking, one must remember that smoking, even with its reported nicotine additive qualities, whether by teens or adults, is a personal choice. Yet, I don't remember nor have ever heard reported a serious vehicle accident caused by a driver "under the influence of nicotine." This in no way minimizes the seriousness of teen smoking, however, I believe that it should be put into proper perspective. As I indicated, I fully support credible, credible efforts to address and reduce teen smoking. However, I believe that the efforts of the Clinton Administration and the Congress to achieve it are both misguided and may be destructive to the economy. Increasing the cigarette tax to \$1.10 per pack, or \$3.00 per pack for that matter will, in my judgement, be no more effective in reducing teen smoking than Prohibition had on the consumption of alcoholic beverages. I believe that efforts to increase the cigarette tax, however honorable, will simply result in contributing to a thriving and lucrative "underground economy," as Senator Orrin Hatch has suggested.

If smoking (direct or secondary smoke), whether by teens or adults, is having such dire health consequences on American citizens, why doesn't the Congress simply outlaw the growing of tobacco and use of tobacco products within our borders? I am sure that China, which produces two and one half times more tobacco than American farmers, would welcome that action and be forever grateful.

It appears to the general public that the tobacco industry as a "cash cow" is more important to the Congress than the actual reduction of teen smoking. Yet, under the guise of a serious commitment to the reduction of teen smoking, Congressional legislative initiatives, which may bankrupt the tobacco industry and aid the "underground economy" continue to be brought forth and debated.

Let me state for the record that my views and assessment of the tobacco controversy may be somewhat biased, in that I grew up on a tobacco farm in the leading tobacco producing state, North Carolina. Thanks to tobacco, seven (7) of nine (9) of my brothers and sisters received their college education, the other two (2) were educated on the GI Bill and by their own efforts. My father was a "Master Tobacco Farmer" for over fifty (50) years, a pipe smoker, cigars and also chewed tobacco. Yet only two (2) of the nine (9) siblings are smokers, and I am not one of them. Smoking

is a personal choice and parents, schools, churches and community groups can play a very vital role in the reduction of teen smoking. The total responsibility for the reduction of teen smoking should not rest with the tobacco industry alone.

In addressing the role that slavery played in the development of the tobacco industry, I do not believe for one moment that it was a "historical coincidence" that slavery was introduced in America (Virginia) in 1619, just seven (7) years after the introduction of tobacco in Virginia in 1612. The American colonists needed cheap labor, or better still free labor for this expanding new crop, and what better way to boost its profitability than the institution of slavery.

If forty (40) state attorney generals can make the case that "the tobacco industry should reimburse the states for tax money spent caring for sick smokers," then I can make the case for compensation of African-Americans using that "same logic without any spinology." For it was on the "backs, sweat and toil of slaves" that tobacco became a lucrative crop in an expanding agricultural economy and cornerstone in the building of America. Slaves were simply "chattel property," no different than a mule, an oxen or any other component of the economic system of a young and developing America. Slavery was the ultimate in "full employment," and the ancestors

of African-Americans worked for “246 years without a pay day.” Smoking, with possible addiction and health risks, is still a personal choice. Slavery was not by choice, it was an institution sanctioned by the United States Government. Yet, I have read of no serious efforts by the U.S. Congress to compensate the descendents of slaves or other African-Americans for their involuntary or voluntary contributions to this Mega Billion dollar industry.

At this point in the history of our country, it is imperative that the Congress demonstrate the moral courage, a sense of historical fairness, and the bold leadership to address the issue of slavery and reparations in a direct and forthright manner on behalf of African-Americans. Likewise the tobacco industry as a whole should demonstrate that it has the moral obligation to do so as the primary and direct beneficiary of free and cheap labor by African-Americans and their ancestors. My greatest fear now is that slavery and the reparation issue, and institutional racism, with all its divisive and destructive consequences, will be carried over the “bridge into the 21st Century” to plague America for yet another one hundred (100) years. With the support and enactment of the recommendations as outlined in this document, a healing process can begin and all Americans will be the beneficiaries.

For those who may doubt my analysis and assessment of the contributions of slavery to the tobacco industry and the building of America, I encourage them to read that scholarly and insightful book by Dr. Claud Anderson entitled – Black Labor – White Wealth, - The Search for Power and Economic Justice.

Notwithstanding the dilemma in which the tobacco industry finds itself, now is not the time for “Summer soldiers or sunshine patriots.” Now is not the time for the Congress to blink, withdraw nor retreat from this battle. The tobacco industry is a legitimate business with certain legal rights and has contributed much to the economic and social fabric of America. While the industry cannot change its history nor past behavior, the Congress can enact reasonable and responsible legislation which provides the industry a unique opportunity for a “new beginning” with the America public.

Therefore, my recommendations to the Congress are as follows:

1. Support and enact legislation which will confirm the tobacco industry's June 20, 1997 368 billion dollar settlement with the various states with the following modifications:
 - Increase the 368 billion dollar settlement by 32 billion dollars for a total of 400 billion dollars, with a mandated stipulation that twenty

(20) percent of the 400 billion dollars, or eighty (80) billion dollars be designated for Historically Black Colleges & Universities (HBCU) institutions for education and economic/community development purposes.

Secondly, mandate that the eighty (80) billion dollars to the HBCU institutions be paid over the next ten (10) year period at the rate of eight (8) billion dollars annually.

2. Recommend that the African-American Permanent Fund be established with a fifteen (15) member Board of Trustees to manage the allocated funds with membership consisting of the following persons selected by their respective organizations:

- | | |
|---|---|
| - National Association for Equal-
Opportunity (NAFEO) in Higher
Education | Four (4) members one of whom
shall serve as Chairperson. |
| - United Negro College Fund -
(UNCF) | Three (3) |
| - Tobacco Industry | - One (1) |
| - Congress | - One (1) to be named by
Congressional Black Caucus. |
| - National Association for the
Advancement of Colored
People (NAACP) | - One (1) |

- National Urban League - One (1)
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference - One (1)
- National Council of Negro Women - One (1)
- National 4H Council - Two (2) youth representatives under twenty (20) years of age

Further recommend that the Congress and the Philanthropic community match the eighty (80) billion dollars HBCU allocation on a 50/50 basis at the rate of four (4) billion dollars annually paid over the next twenty (20) year period.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

For

President Clinton

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: JA DATE: 4/23/2018

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Copied
Johnson

Mr. Howard P. Berkowitz
National Chair
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Dear Howard:

Thanks for your letter and for sending the materials about the HateFilter. I deeply appreciate your efforts to end bigotry and hatred, and I'm glad you followed up on our conversation.

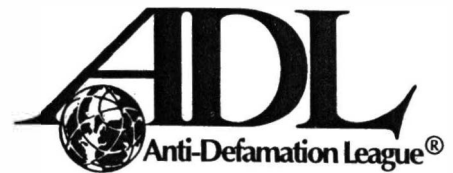
My Administration is working hard to see that parents have the tools they need to ensure the information their children have access to reflects the values they want to pass on. I am pleased that the Senate has shown its commitment to protecting Americans from hate crimes by passing the Hate Crimes Prevention Act. While there is some distance to go before it becomes law, the Senate's action moves us closer toward our goal of creating a stronger, more just, and more united American community. You can be assured that I will continue to urge the House to pass this legislation as well.

I am deeply grateful for all the Anti-Defamation League has done on this and so many other issues and how closely you have worked with my Administration. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Barack Obama

Run 94
SEP 7 1999



September 1, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mr. President:

I continue to be deeply impressed and appreciative of your personal commitment to fight extremist groups and their use of the Internet to spread their messages of hate. From the dinner I attended at the Governor's mansion in Little Rock in 1992, through our meeting at the White House on August 12th, I have been moved by your efforts to make our society more tolerant.

As you indicated at the August meeting, it is important to empower parents to protect their children from the insidious and seductive influence of extremist web sites. The ADL HateFilter software program is one of the most powerful tools to accomplish this end. Enclosed are materials describing the growth of hatred online and how the filter works.

We believe that parents want and need techniques to protect their children and to help educate them against hate. From music lyrics laced with messages of white supremacy, to cleverly written essays questioning the truth of the Holocaust, hate groups use the Internet to seduce and recruit youthful followers. The ADL HateFilter not only blocks access to hate sites, but also redirects the user to an ADL educational site. There he or she can learn why we designated the site as a "hate site." As we know, there is no silver bullet for stopping the growth of hate groups. Nevertheless, we believe that parents will find this program to be a useful weapon in the fight.

One of our major challenges, however, is to introduce the ADL HateFilter to the widest possible audience of potential users. We welcome your willingness to help demonstrate this program's capabilities. We look forward to working with your staff to make this happen.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "H. Berkowitz", is written over a light-colored background.

Howard P. Berkowitz
National Chair

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Marketing & Communications
MARK A. EDELMAN

Washington Representative
JESS N. HORDÉS

General Counsel
ARNOLD FORSTER

September 30, 1999

MR. PRESIDENT:

Your advisers have produced a detailed memo on Yucca Mountain prior to tomorrow's trip, which we recommend you read. While they present multiple options, everyone agrees you should pick Option 6 (i.e., senior advisers veto recommendation before Senate floor consideration of the bill).

Lisel Loy *LL*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-4-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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September 30, 1999

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LARRY STEIN *LS*
GEORGE FRAMPTON
JACOB J. LEW *JL*

RE: POSITION ON YUCCA MOUNTAIN LEGISLATION – DECISION NEEDED

Legislation to speed the opening of the Yucca Mountain high-level nuclear waste repository in Nevada and to provide relief to utilities for their on-site nuclear waste storage problem is moving again in Congress. Unlike last year, the Senate bill (S. 1287) that will be the vehicle for action, does not contain the highly objectionable provision calling for interim storage at the Yucca Mountain Site before the scientific work is completed. However, S. 1287 does take away the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)'s health and safety authority to set radiation standards. It is this standard-setting authority that will be the battleground this year on the Senate floor and will determine the fate of the legislation. There will be a cloture motion filed on the bill tonight and a cloture vote on the motion to proceed to this bill on Tuesday, October 5.

We need guidance from you on our position on the EPA regulatory authority issue.

As you know, you will be in Nevada on Friday, October 1 with Senators Reid (D-NV) and Bryan (D-NV). You will be asked if you will veto the legislation over this issue.

Background

House bill

H.R. 45, the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1999 was reported from the House Commerce Committee on April 21, 1999 by a vote of 40-6. The House version is more extreme than the Senate. Like last year's bills, which you would have vetoed, H.R. 45 includes a number of objectionable provisions. It would prejudge the science and call for interim storage at Yucca Mountain before the necessary technical work is completed, circumvent environmental laws by preempting state and local laws, limit the NEPA process, and strip the EPA of its statutory health and safety standard-setting authority. New to this year's version is another objectionable provision which would take the nuclear waste fund off-budget, thereby exempting it from PAYGO and putting it at the front of the line for spending before other important priorities. In letters to the Committee, the Administrator of the EPA and the Secretary of Energy recommend that you veto this bill, and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) stated that you would. This version of the bill has not come to the House floor for a vote because

10-4-99

attention has shifted to the Senate. The House will wait to see what the Senate can pass and then take up that legislation, which would pass easily.

Senate Bill

The Senate Energy Committee reported Chairman Murkowski's companion version, S. 1287, The Nuclear Waste Policy Amendments Act of 1999, on June 16, 1999 by a vote of 14-6. This bill is very different from both the House version, and last year's Senate bill in an important way: it does not call for interim storage at Yucca Mountain. (A few in industry do not support this because they would like to see waste moved to Yucca Mountain as soon as possible.) It also does not include the objectionable budget provisions contained in the House bill. It does however, arguably contain waivers of current environmental laws. Both bills would cost more than current programmatic spending projections in the outyears because they include a provision developed by Secretary Richardson that calls on DOE to "take title" to spent fuel it has been contractually obligated to remove from power plants. Under the "take title" plan, DOE would assume costs and responsibility of nuclear waste that would continue to be stored at reactor sites across the country. In exchange, the utilities would have to drop lawsuits against the DOE that seek large damage awards for non-performance under the contract.

The Senate bill does still strip EPA of its statutory standard-setting authority. But unlike the House bill, which would set a standard in law and prohibit EPA from setting any standards, S 1287 would give that standard-setting authority to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). NRC has made it clear that it believes the EPA is pursuing a standard for radiation releases that it thinks is unreasonable and probably cannot be met. The NRC has already indicated its support for a standard that has no separate groundwater protection standard and is less stringent than that currently in effect for the WIPP disposal site in New Mexico. We have not taken a position on the Senate bill in its current form

Keeping the support of Senator Bingaman for your position will be critical. Like last year, he is working in good faith to develop a compromise to bridge the gap between the Administration and the proponents of the Senate bill. His proposed alternative was defeated at the Senate Energy Committee markup by a vote of 7-13. His alternative is an improvement over the Murkowski bill in a number of areas, including the EPA standard-setting authority. His proposal would establish a less-offensive "Radiation Protection Council," comprised of federal agencies including EPA, CEQ, DOE, NRC, and OMB. This council must ensure that the standards are consistent not just with health and safety, as currently required, but also with "the goal of constructing and operating a repository at the Yucca Mountain Site." However, this would still take EPA out of its historic statutory role and set a troubling precedent that EPA may need an oversight council in an area in which it has typically been the sole regulatory authority. Senator Bingaman has been trying to get the Administration or industry to support his approach so he can get the other party to sign on. We have not taken a position on this approach and industry continues to support only the Murkowski version.

Senator Bingaman continues to work with Chairman Murkowski to try to develop an alternative to the two approaches that are out there now. His current idea is a commission that would

preserve EPA in the main role, but provide a system of "checks" on EPA if it acts in a way that is viewed as overreaching.

When the Senate bill comes to the floor, the major policy issue we will have with the bill is the circumvention of the EPA standard setting authority. We will need to decide if you should veto the bill over this issue alone or if we should work to craft a compromise that we can accept.

EPA Standards

Acting under existing statutory requirements, EPA has promulgated draft regulations dealing with Yucca Mountain. They were published in August and have surprised many in the outside community because they are perceived as presenting a reasonable range of options. This has strengthened EPA's credibility. But, opponents believe EPA's insistence on promulgating a separate standard for radiation from groundwater, in addition to the NRC-proposed standard that protects people from radiation from "all pathways" (water, air, and land) will make it unnecessarily difficult to obtain an NRC license for a repository at Yucca Mountain. Nuclear Regulatory Commissioners have testified and expressed concerns to Congress about EPA's ability to promulgate a reasonable standard and believe that the EPA is overreaching beyond what is a scientifically reasonable standard of protection.

We believe that we should not support the elimination of EPA's existing statutory authority to protect public health and the environment.

Nevadans

Senators Reid and Bryan worked very hard against Yucca Mountain legislation during the last Congress. Senator Reid was up for reelection and made getting votes against the bill a personal priority. This year, they have been somewhat circumspect. Senator Reid has said in private conversations that this year's version of the bill is not too objectionable, but he is under a lot of constituent pressure to oppose any bill that in any way makes it easier to license Yucca Mountain. Publicly, both Senators are vehemently opposed to it.

As you know Senator Bryan is retiring at the end of this Congress. They are having trouble finding a Democrat to run for his seat. Former GOP Representative John Ensign, who came very close to defeating Senator Reid in the 1996 elections, is the likely Republican nominee. He will be a formidable force. Additionally, former Governor Bob Miller who had worked with you closely on this before is no longer in office. In the House, freshman Representative Shelley Berkley has been staying close to the Senators on this issue. She is one of the most endangered freshmen Democrats, but at this time she does not have an announced opponent. She and republican Representative Jim Gibbons have written to you requesting you veto the current version of the Senate bill.

All of the Nevada members would like you to say you are going to veto the bill. Senator Reid thinks you should take credit for ensuring that interim storage is not in the current Senate bill and express grave concerns about the current bill's circumvention of EPA's historic role of setting health and safety standards.

Votes

The House vote last year was 307-120. Although opponents have been working to get support against the bill this year, we do not believe it is possible to sustain a veto in the House.

Last year the Senate vote was 65-34 with one senator not voting. Accounting for the retirements and defeats, we believe that a vote on the same bill as last year would be about the same. (Assuming Lincoln, Bunning, and Voinovich vote against us, unlike their predecessors, Schumer, votes with us, unlike the Senator he replaced, and Rockefeller votes with us after not voting last year.)

Although the Senate bill on the whole is much less objectionable this year, we think that the EPA standards issue alone, is an issue on which we can develop a clear message. At the same time, based on analysis of the vote from last year, we think it is possible that you could lose the support of up to seven Senators (Bingaman, Breaux, Campbell, Dorgan, Durbin, Feinstein, Landrieu) who voted with us last time. We think it is possible you could pick up four to five (possibly Chafee, Jeffords, Johnson, Leahy, Murray, Roth, or Wyden), who supported the bill last time. By that calculation, the vote would fall short 64-36, but it will be very close. As you know, Senator Bryan announced he would not seek reelection, but he continues to work very hard to get votes. Without the pressure of an incumbent senator in danger, some senators may feel "free" to support the legislation.

The bottom line is that we can and will, at your direction, mount a full scale effort to get the votes to sustain a veto, but it will be more difficult than in years past, mostly due to the political situation in Nevada.

Analysis

Keeping Senator Bingaman's support is crucial. We have been working with him, trying to be encouraging without offering our firm support. If he decides to support Murkowski, or cuts a deal with him on EPA standards, he will take a number of Democrats with him and it is unlikely we will be able to sustain a veto.

Additionally, if he offers his amendment on the Senate floor, which would be an improvement over the Murkowski approach, he believes he will not have enough support without an Administration endorsement and would be defeated. If we cannot sustain a veto in the Senate, we could be stuck with language that is in the current Murkowski bill that calls for the NRC to take over the EPA standard-setting authority. We may want to work with Senator Bingaman's alternative proposal or his current efforts to find another approach on the EPA standards issue, to ensure he does not join forces with Murkowski without our input.

It is possible that the bill would become law over your veto, which would mean that an undesirable position would be enacted. In that instance, we may want to work with the Senate to craft an acceptable compromise on the EPA standards issue.

Without a strong statement of veto from the White House before Senate floor consideration, it will be very difficult to get the votes to sustain a veto. If you would like to veto the bill even if there is the possibility that you will be overridden (a position you have taken in the past) we should come out with a statement of your intent to do that. We think that the best time to do that is before Senate floor consideration. We can consider crafting an alternative to the EPA standards language in the bill at a later time.

Recommendation

Your senior advisers (Legislative Affairs, CEQ, OMB) jointly recommend that you veto the bill based on the circumvention of the EPA standard-setting authority. Secretary Richardson and Administrator Browner support this approach contained in option #6 below.

Options

1. Restate veto recommendation from the EPA Administrator or senior advisers, providing you the option to look at the votes in the Senate before you decide what to do.
2. Restate presidential veto threat over the EPA standards issue only if we can be assured of sufficient votes to sustain a veto.
3. Restate presidential veto threat over the EPA standards issue even if it is likely that there will be a veto override.
4. Support current Bingaman proposal to create a Nuclear Standards Council.
5. Try to negotiate with Bingaman immediately to craft an alternative acceptable solution.
6. Senior Advisers veto recommendation before Senate floor consideration of the bill. Assess need and sagacity of crafting a compromise with Senator Bingaman on the EPA standards at that time.

Q and A – YUCCA MOUNTAIN

What is your position on the Senate bill S. 1287? Will you veto the bill?

I am pleased that the Senate bill no longer contains the highly objectionable provision that would have called for interim storage of nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain before the scientific work at the site has been completed. I am pleased that working with the Senators last year, we ensured that we had the votes to sustain my veto of the bill. We won that fight.

We are examining the current version of the Senate bill and understand that there may be additional changes made to it. I will tell you that I am very troubled by the language in the bill that circumvents the existing authority of the Environmental Protection Agency to protect public health and safety. This historic role should not be eliminated and I have real problems with that provision. My senior advisers recommend that I veto the bill based on that provision.

Q & A – YUCCA MOUNTAIN

1. What is EPA doing now regarding Yucca Mountain and public health?

Current law requires EPA to establish environmental radiation protection standards for the Yucca Mountain site to ensure protection of the public health and the environment from harmful exposure to radioactive waste. EPA published its proposed rule on these standards in mid-August, and public comment will be accepted for 90 days, until mid-November. EPA's proposal addresses all environmental pathways -- air, ground, water and soil -- and proposes that the maximum exposure be no more than 15 millirems/year, within the range recommended by the National Academy of Sciences. EPA's proposal also sets out a range of options for measuring maximum exposure and other important aspects of the rule, and seeks public comment on them all, so that important issues will not, of course, be resolved until public comment is reviewed.

2. Doesn't the Nuclear Regulatory Commission disagree with EPA's rule?

The NRC has stated that it believes a less stringent standard than that proposed by EPA is adequately protective. However, EPA, not the NRC, has the statutory responsibility for setting these standards, consistent with its long expertise in protecting the public health in this area. We expect to carefully review NRC's views and those of all public commentators before finalizing the rule.

3. The Senate bill provides DOE with authority to take title to waste on site at the utilities reactors prior to the licensing of a permanent repository. Does the Administration support this approach?

Secretary Richardson has made clear that he would support DOE's taking title to waste on site as an interim solution to the waste storage problem, and that he is willing to work with Congress, the industry and others on such authorizing legislation. So the Administration supports the concept and is happy to work with the Congress on agreeable draft legislation. There may be some technical work that's necessary with respect to the current bill as drafted.

4. Is your only problem with the Senate bill the withdrawal of EPA's authority to set radiation standards?

There are some other issues that need attention, and some technical drafting work is necessary as well. For example, the bill presents budgetary problems for DOE by giving it new and expensive responsibilities without a way to pay for them. It contains provisions regarding transportation of the waste that are confusing and may be unworkable. But the primary substantive problem is EPA's standard-setting authority.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-4-99

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Germans Force Recall Of Three CIA Agents

Trio Accused of Economic Espionage

By WILLIAM DROZDIK
Washington Post Foreign Service

AI

BERLIN, Sept. 29—The United States has recalled three CIA agents at Germany's insistence in a fresh sign of tension between the two allies over the scale and purpose of U.S. intelligence-gathering in Germany.

The recall of the three Americans, described as a married couple and their supervisor working under cover out of the U.S. consulate in Munich, came after they were accused of using false pretenses to recruit German citizens for unspecified economic espionage, German officials said.

It marked only the second time since World War II that Germany has made public that it had sought the removal of American agents. Both instances occurred in the past two years.

While details of the alleged spying were not made public, German officials said the Americans had violated longstanding practice by failing to make their activities known to Germany's domestic intelligence agency. The state television network, ZDF, which first reported the action Tuesday night, said the three agents were not accredited as diplomats, as is customary for intelligence personnel, and that only one of them actually worked at the Munich consulate.

The decision reflects a growing consensus in Germany on the need to reassert its status as a sovereign nation—a nation that until reunification in 1991 was technically still occupied by the four victorious World War II powers, the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet

See GERMANY, A20, Col. 1

GERMANY, From A1

Union. As part of that sentiment, there is growing support for a drastic decrease in the large U.S. intelligence presence here, which at the height of the Cold War exceeded 25,000 people, including CIA, military and National Security Agency employees.

The CIA presence in Germany today is thought to amount to fewer than 100 agents, a sharp reduction from the Cold War years when the CIA station here was the agency's largest, according to a former CIA official. There are also an estimated 1,000 NSA personnel working in the country.

Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's government agreed not to expel the three agents, but only with the understanding that Washington would order their withdrawal, which was carried out over the past five months, German officials said. The U.S. Embassy in Berlin and CIA officials in Washington declined to comment.

As economic rivalry escalates among the Western allies, some Germans fear the United States is employing its agents and eavesdropping facilities in pursuit of commercial advantage. The United States denies using its assets to snoop on trade and technology and insists that any intelligence-gathering on German soil is directed against common threats, such as terrorism, weapons-smuggling and money laundering by criminal syndicates.

CIA officials say the agency has long gathered economic intelligence but does not engage in "industrial espionage"—stealing foreign corporate secrets to benefit American companies. Ernst Uhrlau, Schroeder's adviser on security matters, said he is

convinced that "no American espionage is taking place that is directed against German interests." But other German intelligence experts have expressed concern about the large and continuing presence here of "friendly services."

Germany's main counterintelligence agency recently underwent a major restructuring that has shifted its eastward Cold War focus to a more vigilant attitude toward all foreign espionage operations—including those of the United States, as well as Russia. Over the summer, the government expelled several Russian operatives accused of stealing economic and space technology secrets.

"There is no question of equating the United States with Russia, because we have a special partnership with Washington, and we want to keep it that way," said a senior German diplomat. "But we believe that the size and resources of the American intelligence community are vastly overrepresented in our country and should be reduced in a big way."

The friction between the two allies concerns different judgments about goals as well as methods. In the days when Germany shared the U.S. priority of thwarting a Soviet invasion of Western Europe, there was no question of challenging the purpose of gathering information on a common enemy. But now, German officials tend to express greater skepticism about the objectives of their American counterparts.

For example, a major CIA operation in Germany is said to involve monitoring of the movements of Iranian intelligence agents in Frankfurt, which purportedly serves as their base of operations in Europe.

But German officials take a more benign view and perceive Iran as a potential partner that can be encouraged to moderate its attitudes toward the West through a broader web of economic ties.

In 1997, Germany ordered an American diplomat to leave the country after he was accused of trying to induce a senior official at the Economy Ministry to provide information about German companies that exported high-technology items to Iran.

It was the first time a U.S. diplomat had been expelled from postwar Germany on spying charges, and normally the matter would have been handled with discretion between the two allies. But German officials say it became a public embarrassment because Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government was angry that the United States was dragging its heels on promises to reduce the size of its intelligence community in Germany.

Since Schroeder's ruling alliance of Social Democrats and Greens took office last year, U.S. and German officials say intelligence cooperation has improved. But Berlin still believes that Washington is not moving fast enough to scale down its intelligence operations, and Schroeder is said to be angry that the Clinton administration has refused to hand back top-secret documents from East Germany's foreign espionage archives acquired by the CIA after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

In addition, Germans have long been suspicious of the eavesdropping capabilities of the enormous U.S. radar and communications complex at Bad Aibling, near Munich, which is considered one of the largest facilities operated by the NSA outside the United States.

"The Americans tell us it is used solely to monitor communications by potential enemies, but how can we be entirely sure that they are not picking up pieces of information that we think should remain completely secret?" said a senior German official.

Staff writer Vernon Loeb in Washington contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1999

10-4-99

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Serbia's state-run television devoted most of Wednesday night's newscast to Milosevic's speech at the refinery to show the man indicted for war crimes in Kosovo was still firmly in control in Belgrade.

Since the residency laws weren't strictly enforced until now, many people may find themselves in trouble, if only because their street names have changed since the last time they registered with the police, lawyers said.

But it will be especially difficult for Serbian refugees, including an estimated 187,000 from Kosovo whom Milosevic is trying to keep from resettling in Serbia proper.

MANN COMMENTARY: Clinton Bungles Defense of Human Rights

By Jim Mann

Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON Some times you have to wonder if the Clinton administration is out to give the cause of international human rights a bad name.

Twice this year, the administration has set out rightly and commendably to protect an essentially helpless group of people overseas from being persecuted and uprooted. The first time, it was the Albanians of Kosovo; over the past few weeks, it has been the people of East Timor.

But both efforts have been disastrously flawed by the administration's tendency to misread the foreign leaders with whom it was doing business. It almost seems as though President Clinton and his national security adviser, Samuel R. (Sandy) Berger, assume the rest of the world is governed by reasonable, genial, American-style politicians and trade lawyers.

Last spring, the administration believed wrongly that mere threats of force or, at worst, a couple of days of NATO air power would force Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to back down. Instead, Milosevic systematically pushed the Albanians out of Kosovo and fought a military campaign for more than two months before yielding.

In East Timor, the Clinton administration has misjudged the Indonesian army. For many months now, it has appealed to the good faith and wisdom of Indonesian military leaders to permit a referendum on independence in East Timor and then to abide by the results.

When the Timorese voted for independence, armed militias began terrorizing the population. The Clinton administration at first attributed the problem to rogue elements within the armed forces, not to the military leadership itself. Only belatedly did it realize that the problems went right to the top and that the military's resistance to East Timor's independence was far more pervasive than it had earlier thought.

The upshot: The Timorese, who so recently turned out to vote in an election, have been running or hiding for their lives. By Indonesian estimates, more than 200,000 of the 800,000 people of East Timor have fled across the border into Indonesian West Timor. Another 200,000 or so are refugees inside East Timor.

This disaster may not yet be over and may become even more serious.

Some human rights officials and Western diplomats have been warning for weeks that the Indonesian military was preparing to carry out what was called "Plan B" a program to prevent the separation of East Timor even if the Timorese voted for independence.

The recent campaign by the militias to drive out the population may be only the first part of Plan B. The second part would be a protracted war of attrition by the army-backed militias from bases in West Timor against the United Nations forces in East Timor.

Before departing from East Timor this week, Maj. Gen. Kiki Syahnakri, the commander of Indonesian forces in the territory, warned that the U.N. forces should not venture across the borders into West Timor against the militias.

If the militias can inflict significant casualties on the U.N. forces, Australia would probably have to increase its troop presence in East Timor. If that didn't work, Australia could well ask the United States for combat troops, in addition to the logistical and intelligence support America is now providing.

The Clinton administration has been slow to foresee what might happen. Critics say the Pentagon should have been ordered early on to prepare various options for the use of force.

"These problems have been on the horizon for months," says Richard L. Armitage, a former senior Pentagon official. "It would be a tragedy to find out after all this is over that CINCPAC (the

commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific) hadn't privately been developing various force packages for contingencies."

The underlying problem is the same one that arose within the administration during Kosovo this year and with Bosnia several years ago: The Pentagon is extremely reluctant to get involved in missions to help keep the peace or to prevent large-scale human rights abuses.

The U.S. military clings to the "Weinberger doctrine." In 1984, then-Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger proposed that American troops should not be committed overseas unless vital U.S. interests were at stake and the objectives were clearly defined and limited and then only if overwhelming force was used to achieve the objective.

These ideas are often hard to reconcile with what is now called the "Clinton doctrine" the notion the United States and its allies will intervene where necessary to prevent genocide and ethnic cleansing.

In short, the turmoil in East Timor is to some extent the outgrowth of tensions and slip-ups within the Clinton administration's foreign-policy apparatus.

The president and his top advisers underestimate the involvement and tenacity of foreign leaders in carrying out campaigns of ethnic cleansing. Then, when taken by surprise, the administration has trouble persuading the Pentagon to use force on behalf of the "Clinton doctrine."

The administration's ideals are admirable, but it can't realize them when the execution of its policies is so flawed.

COCCO COMMENTARY: It's Time to Be Bold, or It Ought to Be

By Marie Cocco

Newsday

He left saying "politics is broken." The ideas were small and predictable, the parties remote from where the people live their lives.

Today, Bill Bradley is back and his return shows how much worse politics have gotten since then.

In a speech Tuesday in Los Angeles, the former New Jersey senator and insurgent candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination sketched out an ambitious proposal to give all Americans access to health insurance.

Even those with poor memories may recall this was a centerpiece of Democratic campaigns in 1992 and in 1988, when already the harbingers of the wild-and-crazy new job market (fast pace, paltry raises, no benefits) were apparent.

Hillary Rodham Clinton was convinced, for a time, that her husband got elected in 1992 because of his pledge to bring universal health care to the only advanced industrial nation the richest that lacks it.

It takes a Bradley to raise this issue again, and to call attention to what it is: a national embarrassment. He is not the only one talking about the estimated 45 million uninsured Americans, but he is the only one who won't speak the current conventional wisdom, which is that small steps and timid thinking must govern what goes on in politics.

"Step-by-step change is the path to progress," Vice President Al Gore said in his own big health-care speech, in which he promised coverage for uninsured children, content to leave their parents in a frightful medical limbo. Hillary Rodham Clinton, too, adheres now to the idea of moving forward with baby steps.

Small steps and smaller minds are what got us to this pass. They have made politics the art of running in place, even when the public wants to move ahead.

They have broken the system down to a point Bradley could not envision when he left the Senate just three years ago. That is the point where nothing gets done. It is a comfortable place for politicians, since there is no consequence for inaction when ideas are so insignificant the people can't even tell you what they might be.

In keeping with the rules of the school of small steps, the gun-control debate in Congress is focused on arcana should the police get 24 hours to check a gun buyer's criminal background, or three days, or maybe five? Should we call something a gun "show" when there are 50 weapons for display and sale, or 500?

Ask a parent who watched the dramas unfold at Littleton, Colo., or of little children at the Los Angeles community center, if this is what they have in mind when they say this country needs stricter gun controls.

Small minds and self-interest keep the tobacco industry in court, instead of at heel and subject to regulation as is every other

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The Chechnya Syndrome

By GARRY KASPAROV

The now-infamous Bank of New York money-laundering scandal has been overshadowed by a new twist in the Chechen conflict and the horrifying bomb attacks on apartment buildings in Moscow and Volgograd. At first glance, these events may seem unrelated. In fact, they are both symptoms of the cancer eating away at the body politic in Russia.

In both the money laundering and Caucasus crises, the blame game is underway. The Russian press is trying to present America's congressional hearings and fraud investigation as an anti-Russian conspiracy. And the Russian government and its allies have portrayed the terrorist attacks as the work of Islamic terrorists, who now threaten Russia's territorial integrity with their assault on Dagestan.

Both sets of accusations attempt to hide an ugly truth: Russia's problems are very largely the result of a corrupt and unaccountable Russian state.

Lack of Evidence

As usual, the lack of verifiable evidence and the proliferation of conspiracy theories cloud our understanding of these events. I would like to believe, as the Russian leadership insists, that Chechen bandits were behind the outrageous terrorist attacks against Russian civilians. I want to believe, too, that Russian troops in Dagestan are defending the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation against vicious Islamic militants.

But these claims are made in the face of some pretty strong evidence to the contrary. Chechen commando leader Shamil Basayev has a long and murderous record, but it isn't clear what his gangs would gain from further angering the Russian people while inflicting no harm on the military. Russian public opposition to the 1994-96 war in Chechnya was instrumental in the government's willingness finally to cut a deal that amounted to a capitulation by Moscow.

Just as puzzling are the official explanations for the operation in Dagestan, which Russian television claims is intended to fight back the incursion of Chechen rebels into Dagestan. We are asked to believe that the guerillas, supported by the local population, can fight a 70,000-strong regular army force. But the same TV channels also present polls showing that 90% of Dagestanis wish to remain part of Russia and welcome any measures against the Chechen intruders. The two pictures are hard to reconcile.

Russia's ruling elite argues that Chechnya has become a stronghold for international terrorism sponsored by wealthy Islamic fundamentalists—a claim that is no more convincing for its constant repetition. The competing theory—that the Federal Security Service (FSB) is behind the attacks—also is not easy to swallow. Thus any responsible analysis leaves us empty-handed; we can only try to evaluate who benefits one way or another from recent events.

The rebel groups being blamed for the

bomb attacks are not known for acting anonymously. On the contrary, they are usually overeager to claim responsibility for anything that constitutes an attack on Russia or its government. The recent incident in Rjazan, a regional center not far from Moscow, adds to the confusion. A large quantity of the same explosive material used in the Moscow attacks was discovered in one of the apartment blocks supposedly a few hours before a blast was scheduled. A day later Russian television broadcast a statement from FSB head Nikolai Patrushev that the bomb was an FSB-planted fake, intended to check the re-

Apartment buildings mysteriously blowing up, tycoons looting the treasury, bandits squeezing money from entrepreneurs, police cover ups, numerous assassinations: Russia is turning into one big Chechnya.

flexes of local police. Frightened residents evacuated from their apartments in the middle of the night were left to make sense of this.

It's unlikely that any one of Russia's political groupings vying for control in the forthcoming parliamentary and presidential elections will emerge as sole beneficiary of the latest crisis. But the general atmosphere of fear, suspicion and xenophobia will work in favor of practically any future Russian government, because it paves the way for the formation of a police state—though one that shows a democratic face westward.

The terrorist attacks and North Caucasus conflict provided the perfect diversion from the unpleasant business of the headline-grabbing money-laundering scandals. No one doubts the existence of massive capital flight from Russia; estimates vary from \$100 billion and \$300 billion flowing from Russia into Western bank accounts. Considering that the most lucrative businesses in Russia are still tightly (if less directly) controlled by the new *nomenklatura*, it is logical that the most powerful political figures in Russia or their cronies have been key players in the large transfers abroad. But the moment the story gets personal, its substance is denied.

It's therefore pointless to discuss whether the money in question was directly stolen from the latest International Monetary Fund credit. IMF money is meant to close the huge gaps in the Russian budget, and those gaps are the result of the policies of a ruling elite that itself is constantly shifting huge funds abroad. Even the term *money laundering* is misleading: capital flight is integral to the functioning of the Yeltsin administration.

The Kremlin is skilled at changing the subject. With the bomb attacks and the government's insistence that the perpetrators were Chechen terrorists, suddenly the Russian government is no longer on the defensive. Rather than a suspect in an international financial scam, the Kremlin became a partner in international efforts to combat terrorism. Sympathy and offers of assistance poured in from abroad.

A frightened Russian population, meanwhile, is ready to approve the toughest measures to stop the wave of terror. There's no need to announce a state of emergency or impose martial law; the constitutional rights of Russian citizens have never posed a serious obstacle to excessive police activities. A simple government announcement of a "special zone for antiterrorist activities" instantly grants security forces sweeping powers including the right to confiscate cars and search private houses without warrants. Public hysteria also plays into the hands of many regional governors, who already exercise virtually unrestricted control of local business and political life.

As these events show, the communist system is dead but its mentality and style of ruling have survived nearly a decade of "reforms." As the Russian army deteriorates, Interior Ministry forces grow stronger. They enjoy better and more regular funding and higher salaries and today include a more integrated force from infantry to aviation. What democratic institutions and checks exist in Russia are being eroded. There is more intrusion into press freedom. Russia's Ministry of Communications is lobbying for a new law obliging Internet providers and telecommunication operators to give the Federal Agency of Government Communication and Information access to their channels. Sharing confidential information could become the only way to obtain an official license. The last three prime ministers in Russia, despite their differences, all had something in common: KGB roots.

Gravely Ill

The Russian state is gravely ill. "Chechnya" is a diagnosis of Russian society. Bandits squeezing money from local entrepreneurs, police covering up this variation of "tax collection," politicians invoking the "peaceful cooperation" of Mafia and law-enforcement offices, numerous assassinations of political and business figures, none of which have been solved by the Interior Ministry or FSB. It is all one big Chechnya.

Sadder still is the passive submission of the overwhelming majority of my compatriots to this "new order." The elimination of Chechen bandits, even the entire destruction of the Chechen nation some have called for, will not make any difference. "Chechnya" has already won the war and has taken over Russia. On the verge of the 21st century, Russia is stuck between its Soviet past and "Chechen" present.

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