Case Number: 2008-0703-F

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:				
Debt Relief [1]				
Staff Office-Individual:				
Speechwriting-Rosshirt, Thomas				
Original OA/ID Number:				
4020				
Row:	**Section:**	**Shelf:**	**Position:**	**Stack:**
48	6	8	3	V

11:30

69210

1. affordable (not neglect our own needs - in fact far from neglecting our needs - it advances our interests + values
2. makes an immediate + enduring difference
3. ~~to~~ promotes independence

forgiving debt is a recurrent Biblical theme
it is also endorsed by the world's most tough-minded economists as one of the single strongest steps for fighting poverty

a one-~~time~~ year approp to reduce debt
multi-year benefit to these countries

~~every~~
spending money ~~one year~~ to cxl debt for ~~one year~~ this year
gives them money to spend on educ + health every year

approp $ for debt cxl this year
will give the poorest nations money to spend on educ every year

(this approach meets every measure
affordable + promotes ind
makes an imm. + lasting dif.
every year / one year

Broad points.
- how they got in debt
- how it harms their struggle
- ~~what we can do.~~
- impact debt relief can have (what it has done)
- what we can should do (ex here)
- broad support
Good will on American's big hearts

The Bible Gateway
Luke 11 (English-NIV/RSV/KJV/Darby/YLT)

See also: Previous chapter, This chapter, Next chapter

1

NIV

One day Jesus was praying in a certain place. When he finished, one of his disciples said to him, "Lord, teach us to pray, just as John taught his disciples."

RSV

He was praying in a certain place, and when he ceased, one of his disciples said to him, "Lord, teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples."

KJV

And it came to pass, that, as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.

DBY

And it came to pass as he was in a certain place praying, when he ceased, one of his disciples said to him, Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples.

YLT

And it came to pass, in his being in a certain place praying, as he ceased, a certain one of his disciples said unto him, `Sir, teach us to pray, as also John taught his disciples.'

2

RSV

And he said to them, "When you pray, say: "Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come.

KJV

And he said unto them, When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth.

DBY

And he said to them, When ye pray, say, Father, thy name be hallowed; thy kingdom come;

YLT

And he said to them, `When ye may pray, say ye: Our Father who art in the heavens; hallowed be Thy name: Thy reign come; Thy will come to pass, as in heaven also on earth;

3

RSV

Give us each day our daily bread;

KJV

Give us day by day our daily bread.

DBY

give us our needed bread for each day;

YLT

our appointed bread be giving us daily;

4

RSV

and forgive us our sins, for we ourselves forgive every one who is indebted to us; and lead us not into temptation."

KJV

And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil.

DBY

and remit us our sins, for we also remit to every one indebted to us; and lead us not into temptation.

YLT

and forgive us our sins, for also we ourselves forgive every one indebted to us; and mayest Thou not bring us into temptation; but do Thou deliver us from the evil.'

5

RSV

And he said to them, "Which of you who has a friend will go to him at midnight and say to him, 'Friend, lend me three loaves;

KJV

And he said unto them, Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight, and say unto him, Friend, lend me three loaves;

DBY

And he said to them, Who among you shall have a friend, and shall go to him at midnight and say to him, Friend, let me have three loaves,

YLT

And he said unto them, `Who of you shall have a friend, and shall go on unto him at midnight, and may say to him, Friend, lend me three loaves,

6

RSV

for a friend of mine has arrived on a journey, and I have nothing to set before him';

KJV

For a friend of mine in his journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him?

DBY

since a friend of mine on a journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him;

YLT

seeing a friend of mine came out of the way unto me, and I have not what I shall set before him,

7

RSV

and he will answer from within, 'Do not bother me; the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot get up and give you anything'?

KJV

And he from within shall answer and say, Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee.

DBY

and he within answering should say, Do not disturb me; the door is already shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise up to give [it] thee?

YLT

RSV Pray then like this: Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.
KJV After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.
DBY Thus therefore pray *ye*: Our Father who art in the heavens, let thy name be sanctified,
therefore pray ye: `Our Father who [art] in the heavens! hallowed be Thy name.

10

RSV Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, On earth as it is in heaven.
KJV Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.
DBY let thy kingdom come, let thy will be done as in heaven so upon the earth;
YLT `Thy reign come: Thy will come to pass, as in heaven also on the earth.

11

RSV Give us this day our daily bread;
KJV Give us this day our daily bread.
DBY give us to-day our needed bread,
YLT `Our appointed bread give us to-day.

12

RSV And forgive us our debts, As we also have forgiven our debtors;
KJV And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.
DBY and forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors,
YLT `And forgive us our debts, as also we forgive our debtors.

13

RSV And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil.
KJV And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power,
and the glory, for ever. Amen.
DBY and lead us not into temptation, but save us from evil.
YLT `And mayest Thou not lead us to temptation, but deliver us from the evil, because Thine is the reign,
and the power, and the glory -- to the ages. Amen.

14

RSV For if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father also will forgive you;
KJV For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you:
DBY For if ye forgive men their offences, your heavenly Father also will forgive you [yours],
YLT `For, if ye may forgive men their trespasses He also will forgive you -- your Father who [is] in the
heavens;

15

RSV but if you do not forgive men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.
KJV But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.
DBY but if ye do not forgive men their offences, neither will your Father forgive your offences.
YLT but if ye may not forgive men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

Bible Gateway ™
Search Results (English-KJV)

Search string: fiftieth
4 matches

Leviticus 25:10
And ye shall hallow the **fiftieth** year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.

Leviticus 25:11
A jubile shall that **fiftieth** year be unto you: ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes in it of thy vine undressed.

2 Kings 15:23
In the **fiftieth** year of Azariah king of Judah Pekahiah the son of Menahem began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned two years.

2 Kings 15:27
In the two and **fiftieth** year of Azariah king of Judah Pekah the son of Remaliah began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned twenty years.

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o Fund President's request early
  but Cong did not fund last fall -

Senate process broke down this week.

o reference to the Pope -
  to strong religious coalition.

o Tomorrow on the Hall —
  - the rally
  - week of lobbying

unique nature of the coalition

closest thing to the voice of God.
beyond politics.

RAL - Bacchus —
bipartisan.

(So many decisions are hard; I rejoice in
  the few that are not

that involve ~~[illegible]~~ choosing
  between two rejecting
sound alternatives.

- Visiting the sins of the parents on the children
- Dig out of the debt dug for them by past dictators (get the Eli line that was cx'ld).
- Get the most vivid, compelling illustrations
- Best argument — if you believe it reflects both our interests + our values;
  makes assistance we're already giving more effective effective;
  it is a problem not of their own making
  tie to better governance

Notes on WBB info

- hundreds of church groups and NGOs have issued calls of conscience — Bread for the World, Catholic Relief Services. Nat'l Council of Churches

Catholic Lutheran Methodist Presbyterian.

- Cite Republican support —
- fragile economic resurgence — embryonic democracies. — need a break
- Jubilee, Debt — find it on Bible search

Causes: bad economic luck, bad policies, corruption,
bad lending — (loan officers blew it)
unlike a corporation that can declare bankruptcy — find a top corporate guy who declared bankruptcy started over debt wrote off
these cannot — declare bankruptcy + start again

* June 99 Koln agreement G-7
* Sept POTUS went beyond Koln to cancel all debt owed directly to US by poorest countries

* Unless Congress now appropriates the funds necessary to make this happen. —

* Apr 9 – demonstration on Mall
Apr 10 – Lobby Congress

* Goal of demo — pressure Congress + Admin to cxl crushing int'l debt of impoverished countries

* Debt – condemns children to lives of poverty w/o access to educ. nutrition health clean water sanitation.

* 24 min. video + educ. packet.

* How much money will it cost us
(contrast it to the growth in our economy)
How much benefit will it bring them and us.

The principles & values we stand for

Shall we say — This weekend on the mall —

Jubilee – from the Bible . . .

link to the sins of the father shall be visited with 3rd + 4th gen

what happens when loan officers make bad loans — they write em off.

* link between debt relief + econ. reform?

* Give me an example - in even one case - of how this debt gets accumulated?

Profiles

Tanzania - in 1980 Debt 31
Edu 4.4.
in 1995 Debt 4.8
Edu 5.0
Health 3.2

Debt to exports - 500% - twice as high as level defined by W. Bank as sustainable in medium term
.54 in debt service for every $1 recd in grants

Mozambique - almost as much on debt service as h service.

* In 1996 - IMF + WB admitted publicly that poorest countries would never be able to repay all their debts to foreign govts + IFI's
(isn't that what bankruptcy is)
(find something biblical on debt).

first statement
(why, then, delay inevitable)

then how accumulate debt

* Got to demonstrate how the debt got accumulated - who was lending, why, the burden of the debt - what does it cost -

Mozambique — Debt 2.9
Edu 2.5
Health 1.5

Bolivia — debt to exports 388%
debt service to exports 41%.

$\frac{\text{dbt}}{\text{exports}} = \frac{388}{100}$

$\frac{\text{debt service}}{\text{exports}} = \frac{41}{100}$

= unsustainable

'96 - Debt service slightly

→ feeds problem of drugs + crime —
Bolivia needs foreign exchange to pay debt —
exports of cocaine make betw 1/2 + 1/4
of all Bolivian exports.
1st SA country to receive debt relief under HIPC

1980		1990-95	
Debt	- 7.3	Debt	6.4
Edu	2.1	Health	2.4
		Edu	6.5

* America must lead —
("you first")
that's why its important for America
to go first, for Am. to lead.

* leave them a legacy of unrepayable loans —

Notes on POTUS papers on HIPC

* March 16 99 - comprehensive approach to debt relief

- forgiveness, not rescheduling
- new aid on a grant basis.
- channel resources from debt service into education or env. protection.

* Sept 29, 99 - Can we get a Pope quote

Key questions:

- What are we doing now?
What does it cost?
What is the gap between that and Jubilee 2000 demands

What is POTUS proposal?
What would it cost in addition to what we're doing now?
What is Congress doing with it?

* Debt relief that goes directly where it ought to go.

Suggest - This is not a simple "write off" - link it to poverty reduction, etc.
LEVERAGE encourage the right choices

* ~~What per~~ Forget GDP - what percent of their budget goes to debt service - what percent of our budget

US - % GDP ~~to~~ debt to export
?? debt service

POTUS - our goal is that no country committed to fundamental reform is left w/ a debt burden that keeps it from meeting its peoples basic human needs +

3/16/99 quotes

We should provide extraordin relief to countries making extraordinary efforts to build working economies

* ~~Get~~ updates on data in Feb 17 speech at ~~Afric~~ Nat'l Summit on Africa

* get illustration like Mozambique - "twice the health budget"

* give me a vivid example of s. that has happened because of debt relief already given.

When our Treasury Secretary and the Pope agree - you can't find a ~~more~~ better blend of

the worldly and the ~~[illegible]~~ heavenly

both wisdom both worldly + heavenly.
Do well by doing good.

✓ Can we cite a prominent Republican or two as supporting this?

Social organization across the diverse religious spectrum

✓ to understand the urgency - you have to understand the power of American leadership -
This goes beyond what the G-7 have agreed to - if we act, it will force their action -
We can ~~move the~~ change the
world we can -

Elaine

determine — ~~did too~~
was Leon consulted on Thurs itself (day of statement)
did he talk by phone directly to the VP

~I

Elaine

determine – ~~did leo~~

was Leon consulted on Thurs itself (day of statement)

did he talk by phone directly to the VP.

⊗ ~ I

DRAFT

April 9, 2000

Warm greetings to all those gathered on the Mall to celebrate Jubilee 2000 and this extraordinary grassroots effort to reduce the debt of the world's most impoverished countries. Your work has done much to raise awareness and get this issue on the national agenda.

The many people here and those who have worked tirelessly around the country and the world on Jubilee 2000 affirm the imperative of helping the world's poorest, most highly indebted countries. For these countries, excessive debt and poor economic policies stifle sustainable development and divert much needed resources from health, education, environment and other social programs.

In my travels as President I have seen first hand the desperate conditions of so many of the world's poorest people. I'll never forget the schools I visited on my trip to Africa -- the bright lights in the eyes of the children, how intelligent they were, how eager they were. It is wrong for them to be deprived of the same opportunities to learn that our young people have here. It makes no sense for struggling democratic governments to have to choose between feeding and educating their children and paying interest on excessive debt.

Last year, we worked with Congress to reach agreement on an international effort. Thanks to your efforts and those of a bipartisan group of Senators and Representatives, we made significant progress on lifting the burden of debt from half a billion people. This year we must continue to lift that crippling burden, so that these countries will have more to invest in their people and their future. In order for debt relief to move forward, Congress must take action to cover the remaining cost of the U.S. share of debt relief, so that these poor countries have more to invest in their people and their future. It is my hope that we can turn a vicious cycle of poor policies, unsustainable debt and poverty into a virtuous cycle of economic growth, social progress and sustainable development .

I applaud your commitment to Jubilee 2000. I am confident that together we can achieve a new century marked by prosperity for all.

February 28, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR GENE SPERLING

FROM: RICK

REF: **Meeting with Bishops**

Talking Points

As many of you know, the President has said he believes that no country committed to reform should be prevented by an unsustainable debt burden from meeting the basic human needs of its people.

- Last winter, he encouraged the Treasury Department to develop the proposals that ended up forming the basis for the Cologne Initiative.

- Last September, he announced that we are prepared to go beyond the Cologne terms and forgive 100% of non-concessional loans to countries qualifying for the Cologne program.

The President remains as engaged in this issue as ever. He believes debt relief for the poorest countries is both a moral imperative and good Economics.

- Although the Cologne package is not everything many of you, or the President, wanted, it moves the world a big step in the right direction: faster, deeper, broader debt reduction for countries that help themselves by pursuing sound reforms.

In addition, the Cologne Initiative aims to transform the way economic reform is designed and implemented in very poor, heavily indebted countries.

- In effect, the IMF and World Bank are being asked to reform the way they approach economic reform. To put people first by stressing poverty reduction and social protections and by involving citizens and governments in the design of reform programs. This is something many of you have long advocated.

To make this happen, the US needs to provide its fair share of financing. As you know, in the midst of a very difficult budget environment, the President amended his budget last year to request a total of $970 million over four years for debt relief.

- <u>The religious community, and particularly the Catholic church, played an enormously important role in convincing Congress to appropriate a sizable share of his request last fall.</u>

We thank you for your efforts. But, as you know, the job is not over, since Congress provided only part of our request.

Congress provided:

- Bilateral funding: $110 million for US bilateral debt reduction;
- IMF gold sales: overall authority to support the sale of a portion of the IMF's gold reserves, but specific authority to apply only 9/14 of these proceeds to the HIPC Trust Fund and debt relief.
- SCA-2 account: authority to use the US share of an IMF Special Contingency Account ($300 million) for IMF debt reduction.

Congress did not provide:

- Multilateral funding: None of the estimated $600 million US contribution to HIPC trust fund.
- Advance appropriations: none of the bilateral costs expected beyond FY2000 (about $210 million).

For this reason, the President will propose in his budget next week:

- *An FY 2000 Supplemental, including:*
  - Appropriation of $210 million for the HIPC trust fund, representing the portion of our FY 2000 proposal which Congress did not fund;
  - authorization to apply the remaining 5/14 of IMF gold sale proceeds to the HIPC trust fund; and
  - authorization for the remaining bilateral and multilateral appropriations needed under the Cologne Initiative.

- *For FY 2001:* appropriations of $75 million in funding for bilateral debt reduction and $150 million for HIPC trust fund for use in FY '01.

- *For FY 2002 and 2003:* advance appropriations of $240 million for the HIPC trust fund and $135 million for bilateral debt reduction for use in these fiscal years.

The President is serious about trying to accomplish this agenda, which he views as very important for the success of the Cologne Initiative.

Stark-Levy

International Debt Relief

Q & As

Q. Are you optimistic that you be able to meet the goal of extending expanded debt relief to three quarters of potentially eligible HIPC countries by year end?

A. Yes. I know this will be difficult. And it is not something we control entirely. After all, eligibility is linked to the willingness of countries to undertake reforms and construct a poverty reduction strategy that makes good use of the freed up resources. However, I think that we're making good progress. We expect Bolivia, Mauritania, and Uganda to begin benefiting from the new program soon and perhaps as many as ten countries could qualify by the spring.

Q. Congress refused part of your budget request last year, specifically the funding for the HIPC trust fund. This money is necessary to help some of the multilateral development banks, such as the Inter-American and African Development Banks, participate in debt reduction. Are you optimistic that Congress will change its mind and appropriate these funds? If not, won't the Cologne Initiative be severely undercut?

A. Last year, Congress provided all of the funds we anticipating needing in 2000 for the forgiveness of US debt under the Cologne Initiative. It also gave us authority to support the IMF's sale of gold to finance its debt reduction. Unfortunately, Congress did not approve my request for a contribution to the HIPC trust. I believe it is important for the US to fully fund its share of the Cologne Initiative, and we will be working with Congress on this again this year.

Q. Groups like Jubilee 2000 have called for much deeper debt relief to more countries. Why did the Administration not go further, as the Pope has urged?

A. We have chosen to target our resources where debt is the biggest impediment to poverty reduction. Some developing countries have significant debts, but, in relative terms, they have the means to service them if they manage their affairs well. Other countries have sizable debts, but they are less poor than those eligible for the Cologne Initiative. The basic question we asked in developing the Initiative was this: For the world's poorest countries, is their foreign debt unsustainable and inconsistent with economic growth and poverty reduction even if the country managed its affairs well? We all would like to do more. That is why the President pledged that the US would forgive a full 100% of its bilateral debt for eligible countries, which goes beyond what the Initiative called for. But, in the final analysis, our resources are limited and we must target them where they can do the most good.

BACKGROUND

Status of Cologne Debt Initiative Implementation.

At the G-7/G-8 Summit last year, leaders set a goal of qualifying three-fourths of potentially eligible HIPC countries for debt relief under the Cologne framework by the end of 2000. This goal will be very difficult but not impossible to meet. Three countries (Bolivia, Mauritania, Uganda) have reached decision points (the point at which the size of their debt relief package is fixed and they begin to receive relief from their interest expense obligations on an interim basis). Six other countries (Mozambique, Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, Senegal, and Tanzania) are expected to reach their decision points by the Bank/Fund April meetings. It is possible, though less likely, that Guyana, Cote d'Ivoire and a few other countries might qualify by then as well.

Treasury is sending small technical teams to each of the initial countries. The teams will meet with government officials involved in drafting the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers that will guide the economic reforms and poverty reduction efforts accompanying debt forgiveness. They will also consult with World Bank and IMF officials, NGOs and other relevant agencies that have the technical expertise to assess country performance. Catholic Relief Services, Bread for the World and Oxfam, among others, have made suggestions for local NGO contacts.

US legislation requires that Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs) commit to undertake macroeconomic reforms, implement poverty reduction strategies, ensure transparency in government operations, and engage in participatory processes in return for expanded debt relief. However, even if a country makes these commitments and is otherwise eligible, it can be disqualified for debt relief on specific political grounds: gross human rights violations, repeated support for terrorism, failure to cooperate with narcotics control, excessive military expenditures, and expropriation.

Status of US Funding: Unfinished Business from the Last Congressional Session.

- Congress appropriated: $110 million for US bilateral debt reduction; authority to support sale of all of the necessary IMF gold to fund IMF's participation in Cologne; authority to use only 9/14 of gold sale proceeds for HIPC debt relief; authority to use the US share of an IMF Special Contingency Account ($300 million) for IMF debt reduction.

- Congress did not appropriate: The US contribution to HIPC trust fund (estimated last year at about $600 million); authority to support using remaining 5/14 of gold sale proceeds to finance IMF debt reduction; balance of projected bilateral debt reduction financing needs (approx. $250 million).

FY 2001 Budget Proposals.

- *In the FY 2001 Budget:* $75 million in funding for bilateral debt reduction and $150 million for HIPC trust fund for use in FY '01; as well as $240 million for the HIPC trust fund and

$135 million for bilateral debt reduction for use in FY '02 and FY '03 (advance appropriations).

- *FY 2000 Supplemental:* $210 million for the HIPC trust fund, representing the portion of our FY 2000 proposal which Congress did not fund (it did fund $110 million for bilateral debt reduction in 2000).

<u>Background on Cologne Debt Initiative.</u>

In his speech before the IMF-World Bank Annual Meeting in Washington last September, the President appealed to the international community to implement the debt relief program agreed upon by G-7 leaders earlier in the year in Cologne and announced that the US would seek to write off all of the $5.7 billion that is owed to us by as many as 36 heavily indebted poor countries. Warning that unsustainable debt is helping to keep many poor countries --- and poor people --- in poverty, you urged an unrelenting battle against global poverty that leaves 1.3 billion people to survive on less than $1 a day. Under the Cologne Initiative, the savings from debt relief would be directed to education, health care, AIDS prevention, and other critical needs. e urged Congress to approve his nearly $1 billion budget request for America's contribution.

100% Forgiveness of US Government Debt: In his IMF/World Bank speech, the President directed your Administration to offer complete forgiveness of both concessional and non-concessional loans when doing so would further economic reform and poverty reduction. Under the terms of the Cologne Debt Initiative announced during the G-7 Summit in June, countries agreed to forgive 100% of concessional but only up to 90% of non-concessional debt. The additional debt relief you proposed would forgive the remaining $500 million of non-concessional debt that would be owed to the US by these countries after implementation of Cologne (i.e., 90%) terms.

- Non-concessional debts are loans and credit guarantees extended at market-level interest rates with repayment periods ranging up to about 10 years.
- Concessional debts, usually aid loans, are extended at below-market rates of interest for very long periods.
- The United States also provides grant assistance to poor countries, which involves direct transfers of cash and commodities.
- Poor nations owe the US $5.7 billion, of which $3.6 billion is in the form of non-concessional loans (e.g., Export-Import Bank, Foreign Military Sales, agricultural export credits).

US 100% Forgiveness Builds upon the Cologne Debt Initiative: In June, the G-7 leaders endorsed a new Initiative to enable Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs) to receive deeper, broader and faster debt relief in return for firm commitments to channel the benefits into improving the lives of all their people. The HIPC Initiative was created in 1996 to provide deeper debt reduction, including by international financial institutions, for poor countries with unsustainable debt burdens.

New focus on poverty: The Cologne Initiative calls on the International Financial Institutions to develop a new framework for linking debt relief with poverty reduction that centers around better targeting of budgetary resources for priority social expenditures, including health, child survival, AIDS prevention and education, as well as greater transparency in government budgeting and much wider consultation with civil society in the development and implementation of economic programs.

Substantially deeper relief: Together with earlier debt relief commitments, the Cologne Initiative provides for reduction of up to 70 percent of the total debts for these countries, reducing the stock of debt from about $127 billion today to as low as $37 billion with the cancellation of official development assistance (ODA) debt by G-7 and other bilateral creditors. In 1998 dollars (net present value or NPV terms), this would more than triple the amount of relief to be provided from $13 billion under the current HIPC framework to as much as $50 billion. This would be accomplished by reducing the HIPC program target ratios for the NPV of outstanding debt to 150 percent of exports or 250 percent of government revenues for countries that exceed fiscal thresholds of 30 percent exports to GDP and 15 percent revenues to GDP, and by providing full cancellation of ODA debts.

Faster relief: Relief will be available significantly faster than under the current framework by providing early cash flow relief ("Interim Relief") and allowing earlier stock reduction.

Broader participation: The number of countries potentially eligible to qualify for HIPC relief would rise from 26 to as many as 36, meaning that more than 430 million people could ultimately be affected. The 36 countries are Honduras, Mauritania, Nicaragua, Tanzania, Benin, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guyana, Mali, Mozambique, Senegal, Uganda, Cameroon, Chad, Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Laos, Madagascar, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Togo, Zambia, Central African Republic, Burundi, Congo DR, Liberia, Myanmar, Sao Tome, and Somalia.

Freeing up scarce resources: For the average HIPC country, the share of scarce government revenue devoted to debt service could fall by 25 percent to a ratio for debt service to revenues of well below 20 percent and close to 10 percent in some cases. Mozambique's debt will be reduced by some $3.5 billion ($1.7 billion in NPV terms), for example, which could cut in half the share of government revenues allocated to external debt service, from over 30 percent to about 15 percent in 1999, and free about $96 million in budgetary resources each year. These savings are equivalent to double the health budget in 1998 in a country where children are 3 times more likely to die before the age of five than they are to go to secondary school. In Uganda, enhanced debt reduction could allow health and education spending to increase by 50% from 1998 to 2001 and rural development expenditures to more than double.

FY 2000 Budget Request To Fund Debt Relief: Last fall, the President transmitted to Congress a budget amendment requesting a total of $970 million to support the ambitious program of debt reduction for the world's most Heavily Indebted Poorest Countries (HIPCs) agreed to at the Cologne Summit. The amendment increased the Administration request for debt reduction for FY 2000 by $250 million (for a total of $370 million) and requested advanced appropriations of $200 million in each of Fiscal Years 2001, 2002 and 2003. The requested funds were aimed at financing the U.S. bilateral portion of this expanded HIPC debt reduction program and providing up to $650 million for contributions to the multilateral HIPC Trust Fund to help the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) provide significantly expanded levels of debt reduction, provided that other countries make comparable efforts. It is expected that the additional debt reduction you announced at the IMF-World Bank speech can be accommodated within this request. No additional budget authority was requested for it.

3/2/00 Revised Final
Orzulak

SAMUEL R. BERGER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
"FOUR CHALLENGES TO AMERICAN LEADERSHIP"
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE
MARCH 3, 2000

Thank you, Michael (Mastanduno). (Mass-ten-DO-Know). On the day he received an honorary degree in New Haven, John Kennedy said he had the best of all possible worlds: a Harvard education and a Yale degree. I come here today bearing slightly different Ivy League credentials: a Cornell education, a Harvard degree, and a Dartmouth tuition payment.

As I tell my son, who is a member of the class of 2002: one of the nice things about being part of an Administration that has helped create nearly 21 million new jobs is that it's going to be awfully hard for him to convince me that he can't find at least one.

I am proud to be part of the Dickey Center's lecture series on war and peace. This is the second time in three years I have had the pleasure of being here. As I said during my last visit, we live in a world with very few absolutes. I'm reminded of the linguistics professor who told his class, "remember, a double negative forms a positive. In some languages, such as Russian, a double negative is still a negative. But there is no language where a double positive forms a negative." At which point, a voice from the back of the room piped up: "Yeah . . . right."

As we think about the issues of war and peace at the beginning of the 21st Century, I believe there is one absolute in the world today: America must lead. I want to talk for a few minutes today about why that is true and some of the greatest challenges our leadership will face in the years to come. Then, I look forward to having a discussion with you.

With much fanfare and fireworks, we recently said goodbye to a Century in which America sent its sons and daughters abroad to fight for freedom more often than any nation in history. In the 20th Century, millions of American men and women worked to defeat fascism, contain communism, and sustain liberty when it was most imperiled – including more than 15,000 Dartmouth students who served, some of whose names are enshrined on plaques in the Hopkins Center, the Rockefeller Center and at Memorial Field.

Thanks in no small measure to their sacrifice, we enter this new Century with our values of freedom, democracy and enterprise ascendant in the world and America's power and influence perhaps greater than it has ever been. Today, for the first time in history, more than half the world's people elect their own leaders. For the first time in history, the world's leading nations are not engaged in a deadly struggle for security or territory.

America today is in a unique position. Our military strength is unchallenged, and nations look to us to deliver decisive influence wherever it is needed. Our economy has not only produced unprecedented prosperity here at home; it is the engine of global growth and technological innovation. People from around the world look to our open, creative society as a model for everything from high tech to high finance to what it takes to succeed in a globalized world.

It means that we have a remarkable opportunity to advance the cause of peace, prosperity and freedom for our nation and for people around the world. But it also means that our leadership is needed across the globe, perhaps now more than ever before.

The President has worked hard over the past seven years to make sure we seize that opportunity, and meet that responsibility. America has a lot to be proud of. We've aided the remarkable transitions to free-market democracy in central Europe; helped open our core alliance NATO to new democracies; stopped ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; worked with Russia to deactivate thousands of nuclear missiles; helped broker historic peace agreements from Northern Ireland and the Middle East, to Sierre Leone and the Peru-Ecuador border; and completed a global trading agreement and several hundred individual agreements that fed the export boom which has accounted for nearly one third of our growth. We've also worked to refocus our national security strategy on new dangers in a new age: the organized forces of crime, narco-trafficking, cyber-security, and governments too weak to handle globalization.

The beginning of a new century should cause us to reflect on the larger purpose of our leadership. For we are experiencing something more than just a changing of the digits on the calendar. This has been a genuine changing of the times – a period of collapsing empires, expanding freedoms, eroding barriers, and emerging threats. The question now is: what do we do with the opportunity we have? What are the really big challenges facing us at the beginning of the 21st Century? What fundamental, long-term questions will affect the success of our foreign policy in this new era? Let's go through a few.

One critical question is whether the largest evolving nations of the world will emerge as stable, prosperous, democratic partners of the United States. These are the nations most able, by virtue of their size, power, and economic potential, to affect our interests, for better and for worse.

Russia, China, and India certainly will be three of those countries.

Our engagement with a democratic Russia has produced concrete benefits for America over the last seven years. More than 5,000 Soviet nuclear weapons have been dismantled. Russian troops have withdrawn from the Baltic nations. Russia helped end the conflict in Kosovo, and now helps to defend the peace there alongside NATO. Russia is a profoundly different country today than it was a few years ago. When President Yeltsin resigned on New Year's eve, for example, Russia saw the first constitutional transfer of power in its thousand-year history. But the question that matters to us has never been who rules Russia, but how Russia is ruled.

It is partly for that reason that we have been so troubled by the way force has been used in Chechnya, with indiscriminate rocket and artillery attacks against civilian neighborhoods, and now serious allegations of human rights abuses by Russian troops. Russia has experienced terrible acts of terrorism in the last year. But I am concerned about what kind of country Russia is going to be if its response to the destruction of apartment buildings full of innocent Russian citizens is the destruction of a city full of innocent Russian citizens.

We've made clear to Russia that the most recent reports of abuses in Chechnya offer a moment of truth it should seize to show that it takes its own laws and international obligations seriously: by investigating all credible allegations in an open and unbiased way; by holding perpetrators accountable for their actions; by letting international observers back in, and by giving the Red

Cross full access to Chechnya, including detention camps. And we have urged Russia to seek a peaceful, negotiated solution to this tragic crisis.

Another country that will do much to shape the future of our planet is China. For 30 years now, every single President has worked for the emergence of a China that contributes to the stability of Asia; that is open to our products and our businesses; that allows people access to ideas and information; that upholds the rule of law at home and adheres to the rule of law around the world. The reason is simple: as a nation that has fought three wars in Asia in the 20th Century, we have a big stake in how China evolves. The more we can promote peace and security in Asia, the more we promote our own peace and security.

To advance all of those goals, we signed an agreement last fall to bring China into the World Trade Organization. It is not going to change China or our relationship with that country overnight. We are going to have to continue to press China hard on everything from human rights, to weapons proliferation, to tensions with Taiwan. But the agreement is a huge step in the right direction.

It requires China to open its markets on everything from agriculture to manufacturing, while we simply agree to maintain the market access we already offer China. It will obligate China to dismantle its command and control economic system in a way that increasingly will get the government out of its people's lives – while committing China to play by international rules of the road on trade. It will bring the internet to millions more people in China, making it harder for the government to control what people read, learn and think.

But the only way to lock in the benefits of this agreement is for Congress to provide China what 132 other WTO members have – what is called "Permanent Normal Trade Relations." I believe this will be the most important vote this Congress will cast this year, and we are doing all we can to get it passed.

Right now, China is the world's largest nation. Soon, it will be surpassed by India. India is already the world's largest democracy. It is forging a vibrant, high-tech economy, more open to the world than ever before. It is living proof that nations forged from many faiths and traditions can be held together by the glue of freedom. But India's challenges are immense: it has the world's largest middle class, but also more desperately poor people that in all of Africa; a spreading AIDS epidemic; environmental challenges; and an intense and now nuclearized rivalry with Pakistan. In many ways, the character of the 21st Century will depend on the success of our cooperation with India for peace, economic development, and environmental progress. That is why, in a little more than two weeks, President Clinton will be the first President in 22 years to visit India, to cement and strengthen our relationship for a new century.

A second question for our future is whether our security will be threatened by regional conflicts that pose the risk of a wider war, especially those deeply rooted in ethnic and religious tensions.

Thanks to the men and women of our armed forces, we turned the tide last year against ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. We should be proud that, in the final year of the bloodiest century of all centuries, America rallied its allies against the expulsion of an entire people from their land, and we prevailed. There is a great deal more we must still do to realize our vision of a peaceful, undivided, democratic Europe: helping Kosovo rebuild while continuing to clamp down on violence; bolstering the democratic opposition to Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia; encouraging greater cooperation between Greece and Turkey and an end to the long dispute over Cyprus; helping more new democracies get ready for membership in NATO. If we're persistent, we may one day reach a time when no American will ever again be called upon to fight and die in Europe.

We should also be proud of the role America has played to bring both Northern Ireland and the Middle East closer to peace. In both cases, we need a sense of realism and perspective; these conflicts have been raging hot and cold for decades; people have real grievances and bitter memories. Peacemaking under these circumstances is like climbing a mountain, and the further we get, the steeper the climb. The President is going to continue to work – in both Northern Ireland and the Middle East -- to find a way forward.

A third question is whether the inexorable march of technology is going to give terrorists and hostile nations the means to undermine our defenses, and force Americans to live their lives in fear again.

There has never been a time quite like this one in which the power to create knowledge and the power to create havoc rest in the same exact hands. We live in an age when one person sitting at one computer can come up with an idea, send it through cyberspace, and take humanity to new heights. But as we were reminded all too vividly just two weeks ago, we also live in an age when that same person can sit at the same computer, double-click on a mouse, hack into a computer system or overload a system's circuits, and potentially paralyze an entire company, city, or government. As our nation learns to master this new technology to do good, hackers, criminals, and potential adversaries could seek to disrupt our economy and damage our national security by attacking our computer networks. That's why the President developed the first national plan for cyber-security, hosted a conference on this issue last week, and why we have proposed historic funding to strengthen and protect all of our vital networks and systems.

We must be persistent in our fight against all kinds of terrorism. The last weeks of 1999 saw the largest U.S. counter-terrorism operation in history. Terrorist cells were disrupted in eight countries and attacks almost certainly were prevented thanks to the good work of our law enforcement and intelligence agencies. Thankfully, the New Year's celebrations worldwide passed without a terrorist attack. But just because we dodged a bullet doesn't mean there was no bullet to dodge. That is why we must sustain and intensify the fight against terrorists. And that is why we are working to make it more difficult for nuclear weapons or material to fall into the wrong hands. In Russia today, the average salary of a highly-trained weapons scientists is less than $100 a month. We can help them turn that expertise toward peaceful projects – or we can do nothing and pray that each and every one of them resists the temptation to market their expertise to those who wish us harm. Common sense says to help them. That's why the President has asked Congress to increase funding for programs that help Russia keep its arsenal of weapons and knowledge secure.

A fourth question is whether the stability of the 21st Century will be threatened by an ever-widening gap between rich and poor.

In a world with so many riches, it is unacceptable that more than 1.2 billion people live on less than one dollar a day. It is unacceptable that more than two billion people get sick every year –

many of them children – because they don't have clean drinking water. It is unacceptable that more than three million African children already have died of AIDS. And it is not only morally unacceptable, it is economically unsustainable. It robs the world of the contributions of much of its population.

What can we do about this? Part of the answer is to promote freedom and good government, so that leaders are responsive to the needs of their people. And freedom is expanding: with the hopeful transitions to democracy in Nigeria and Indonesia, more people won the right to choose their leaders in 1999 than in 1989, the year the Berlin Wall fell.

But even countries making all the right choices often have to struggle to benefit from the global economy. That's why we have worked to expand trade – because it's hard to see how people living on a dollar a day will ever be able to live in dignity if we deny them the chance to sell the fruits of their labor beyond their own borders. That's why the President has led a global effort to alleviate the crushing debt in so many nations. No country should have to choose between educating its children and paying interest on debt. It is also why we have begun a concerted effort to fight diseases such as AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, which are holding so many impoverished nations back. Yesterday, the President hosted a meeting at the White House, in which one of America's leading pharmaceutical companies announced that for the first time, it would begin work on a vaccine for strains of the AIDS virus only found in Africa.

I began by saying that the one absolute in this world is that America must lead in meeting these challenges. But there is actually another one: all of you must be involved. Robert Kennedy once told my generation that "each of us will ultimately be judged – and will ultimately judge ourselves – on the extent to which we personally contributed to the life of this nation and to the world." Today, that challenge falls to all of you.

For more than 200 years, America has been shaped by its young. It was a 32 year-old Thomas Jefferson who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and a 26 year-old Martin Luther King who led the bus boycott at Montgomery. But there has never been an age when young people have been more responsible for defining the world we live in. Steve Jobs started Apple Computers when he was 21. Jeff Bezos was 22 when he began Amazon.com. At the State Department, Susan Rice took over as the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs when she was 32. Congressman Harold Ford Junior was 25 when he was elected to represent the people of Tennessee – the first member of Congress born in the 1970's.

Soon, it will be up to you. The education and training you receive at Dartmouth gives all of you a special responsibility. Take what you have learned here and change some part of the world. At the same time, I hope you will strive to create a world that is not just better off, but better; that you will judge success not by the number of computer networks you connect, but by the number of people you connect; that you will endeavor not just to make better companies, but a better community of people around the world.

Just think: for all the billions of people who came before you, it has been left to this generation to make real the triumph of freedom and justice, to walk away from war and hatred, and to work toward peace. When historians look back on this Century, let them say that together, that is exactly what you did. Thank you.

April 9 & 10 Rally & Lobby Day

Jubilee 2000/USA
National Mobilization for Debt Cancellation

Sunday, April 9, 2000
The National Mall, Washington, D.C.

updated February 26, 2000

**BROCHURE FOR APRIL 9 & 10
RALLY and LOBBY DAY
(text only)**

**Contact the Jubilee 2000/USA office to obtain copies of the promotional brochure.
1-800-601-5860**

Proclaim Jubilee! Cancel the Debt, Now!

**Jubilee 2000/USA National Mobilization
Sunday April 9, 2000 * Lobby Day, April 10
Washington, DC**

"If we knew ourselves to be sisters and brothers would we allow members of our family in developing countries to carry huge burdens of unpayable debt?"
– Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Christmas Day Sermon (1999), Washington National Cathedral

"Coming to Washington is the most important contribution you can make to the Jubilee 2000 campaign this year!"
–Dan Driscoll-Shaw, National Coordinator, Jubilee 2000/USA

Come to Washington with students, working families and their unions, people of faith, and others to raise your voice for definitive cancellation of the crushing international debt.

STAND UP AND BE COUNTED!

Thousands of su~~pporters of justice~~ and dignity – people like you! – will gather in Washington on Sunday, April 9. The rally, with speakers and music, will begin at 12:00pm ~~on the Mall~~, between 4th and 7th Sts, NW, and conclude at 4:30pm. We will link arms in a Human Chain at 3:00pm!

Why must the crushing international debt of impoverished countries be canceled?

Because it's the moral and just thing to do! For impoverished countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the burden of debt has real consequences:

- International debt condemns hundreds of millions of people to live in poverty.
- Debt undermines dignity and self-determination.
- Debt diverts resources from basic needs such as education, nutrition, health, clean water, and sanitation, directly affecting children
- Debt leads to destruction of the environment.
- Debt creates political, social and economic instability throughout the world.

dig out of th

We call on the U.S. public to pressure Congress and the Administration to cancel the crushing international debt of impoverished countries! Cancel the debt, NOW!

Hasn't the debt been canceled?

Not yet! Last September President Clinton promised 100% cancellation of debts ~~owed the US~~ by impoverished countries. Also, a plan was initiated to cancel other debts. But, *

- Cancellation cannot proceed unless Congress approves and provides funding
- At most, 36 countries will benefit , while many more will need this vital assistance
- We must ensure that conditions for debt cancellation really help and not hurt people and the environment

We will gather on April 9, in Washington, DC to call on Congress and the White House to expand and fund debt relief initiatives, and to insist on definitive cancellation

call on Congress to expand & fund.

Come to an educational and inspiring two-day event!

This peaceful, legal and non-violent event will be inspiring for you and your group -- and help us change the minds of policy-makers! You will hear inspiring and enlightening speeches by leaders of the Jubilee 2000 movement in the United States and around the world. And, you'll see some of the thousands of faces behind the movement that has changed how the world thinks about the debt burden!

How can you help make this a success?

- Spread the word at your house of worship, your community group, or your campus organization, using our rally organizing packet!
- There are people across the country coordinating buses and other transportation. Contact Jubilee 2000 or visit our web site to find the rally coordinator and other supporters in your area and to get housing information.
- Visit the Jubilee 2000/USA web site for the latest action alerts and issue updates, plus an order form for videos, worship materials, April 9-10 Organizing Packet and more! www.j2000usa.org

Let us stand in solidarity!

We, here in the United States, must stand in solidarity and be counted with the children, women and men who are victims of the unjust debt.

In Accra and Birmingham (UK), in Tegucigalpa, Manila, Cologne, Johannesburg and hundreds of other communities, and now in Washington, DC, ordinary people are standing with the poor of Africa, Latin America and Asia. People in indebted countries are committed to use resources freed up by debt cancellation to reduce poverty through their own efforts.

The spirit of the Jubilee movement calls forth new relations with neighbors, nations and the environment.

We call on our government to act in this Jubilee Year to cancel the crushing international debt of the world's impoverished countries.

Sponsors of April 9 Mobilization

AFL-CIO * Africa Faith and Justice Network * The Africa Fund* Africa Policy Information Center* American Friends Service Committee * Bread for the World * Catholic Relief Services * Center of Concern * Church of the Brethren / Washington Office * Columban Office for Justice and Peace * Conference of Major Superiors of Men * Episcopal Church * Episcopal Peace Fellowship * Evangelical Lutheran Church in America * 50 Years is Enough: U.S. Network for Global Economic Justice * Friends of the Earth * Leadership Conference of

Women Religious * Lutheran World Relief * Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns * Medical Mission Sisters Alliance for Justice * Mennonite Central Committee * Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate * National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA / Church World Service * Nicaragua/US Friendship Office * Oxfam America * Preamble Center * Presbyterian Church USA * Sisters of Notre Dame * Sojourners * Union of American Hebrew Congregations * United Church of Christ * United Church of Christ / Network for Environmental & Economic Responsibility * United Church of Christ, Washington Office * United Methodist Church, General Board of Church & Society * United Methodist Church, Women's Division * US Catholic Mission Association * Washington Office on Africa * Witness for Peace * World Vision

Many other groups also back the Jubilee call for debt relief, including:

Constituency for Africa * American Jewish World Service * African Methodist Episcopal Church * Muslim Public Affairs Council * National Summit on Africa * Progressive National Baptist Convention * Rainbow-PUSH * US Catholic Conference * US Conference of Mayors * Unitarian Universalist Service Committee

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Rally Registration Form

To provide us with an estimate of people attending and their needs, please fill out this form on line at www.loga.org/rallyform.htm or fill out below and mail it to Jubilee 2000/USA

-------- Yes! Our group is planning to attend April 9. _____ will attend.

-------- Yes! Our group is planning to participate in the lobby day on Monday, April 10

Name

Organization

Address

City, State & Zip

Home Phone: E-mail:

FAX:

How are you traveling to Washington, DC?

When do you expect to . . .

. . . arrive in DC? . . . leave DC?

Mail to:

Jubilee 2000/USA,
222 East Capitol Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Telephone: 202-783-3566 or 1-800-601-5860

Jubilee 2000/USA Home Page **April 9 Information Page**

Debt Relief: Problem & Response

Jubilee 2000/USA
National Mobilization for Debt Cancellation

Sunday, April 9, 2000
The National Mall, Washington, D.C.

updated February 26, 2000

The Problem

The 40-plus heavily indebted poor countries, as identified by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), owe other governments and multilateral financial institutions about $220 billion. The debt of Africa's impoverished nations equals about three-quarters of their total national income. On a per capita basis, every man, woman and child in sub-Saharan Africa carries a debt of almost $400. That is more than the average family makes in an entire year. In Nicaragua, a child born today "owes" more than $2,000 in a nation with an average income of just $390 per person.

These debts were accumulated over decades from a combination of economic bad luck, bad policies and corruption. Lenders share responsibility because they continued to make new loans or to roll-over bad ones to maintain the pretense that all was well when it was not. Creditors continued to press impoverished countries to pay in full even when it became clear that their debts could never be paid or could be paid only by imposing enormous human suffering.

"Every child in Africa is born with a financial burden which a lifetime's work cannot repay. The debt is a new form of slavery as vicious as the slave trade."
-- All Africa Conference of Churches

"Debt relief is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end. It is not a total solution to poverty, hunger and disease, but it is a necessary first step ... We in America have been blessed with a period of almost unparalleled economic prosperity. Never in our history has one country had so much progress, wealth and luxury. Now at the start of a new millennium we can do so much more for the 700 million of the poorest at such a small cost to each of us. What a shame if history should look back at us and say that we passed up so great an opportunity."
-- Rep. Spencer Bachus (R-AL), June 15, 1999

In 1996, the IMF and the World Bank crossed the Rubicon of global finance. They admitted publicly that the poorest countries would never be able to repay all of their debts to foreign governments and financial institutions. The IMF established the Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative (HIPC) which held out the hope that up to 41 countries might one day become eligible for some relief of debt. But after three years, only one had actually received any cancellation. Worse, it was clear that fewer than half would ever qualify for relief under the stringent formula and prolonged timetable.

The Response

Jubilee 2000

Jubilee 2000 is a worldwide movement of conscience to end the crushing debt of impoverished countries. It is inspired by the biblical vision of jubilee in which during the 50th year debts were to be canceled, family land returned and the oppressed set free. No economic decision or arrangement was to be allowed to impoverish people permanently or to make their future hopeless.

Jubilee 2000/USA includes in its active leadership over 30 U.S. religious organizations -- Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish -- as well as environmental groups and development organizations. They have worked together for almost three years to press for policies of the U.S. government and international financial institutions that will lift the debt burden of the most impoverished countries and give their people a new start in the new millennium.

Today there are Jubilee 2000 campaigns in over 60 countries, including the creditor countries of the Global North and the debtor countries of the Global South. Because a debt write-off requires coordinated international action by many governments and international institutions, Jubilee 2000/USA works cooperatively with other counterpart campaigns. Meaningful debt relief will not occur without U.S. administration leadership in the international financial institutions, nor without adequate appropriations by the U.S. Congress. That is why a key element of the Jubilee 2000/USA program is to mobilize the American public to make its concerns known in Washington, D.C.

Progress

The leaders of the G7, the world's highest income industrialized countries, advanced the cause of debt relief by the agreement reached in June 1999 in Cologne, Germany. President Clinton went beyond Cologne by announcing the intent to cancel all of the debt owed directly to the United States government by the poorest countries. In November, Congress authorized some of the necessary funds and agreed that the IMF could revalue part of its gold stock solely for the purpose of debt relief.

Congress, the U.S. administration, the World Bank and the IMF have adopted a new rhetoric that links far more strongly debt relief and poverty reduction. That has brought new grounds for dialogue between Jubilee 2000/USA and officials in the U.S. government and the international financial institutions.

Changes that seemed improbable-some said impossible-three years ago have begun to happen. But there are still difficult decisions that lie ahead. The intent of Jubilee 2000/USA is to continue working for policies that will ultimately lift the crushing foreign debt burden from the poorest countries.

But as important as these accomplishments have been, much more needs to be achieved if significant debt relief is to be a reality. Unless Congress now appropriates the funds necessary to make this happen, countless poor in countries burdened by debt will continue to suffer daily as they wait for relief.

The National Mobilization

The human consequences caused by the poorest countries struggling to pay international debts have become a moral concern for millions of U.S. citizens. Over the past two years, organizations and individuals across the country have sought to address this concern through study groups, worship services, local events, petition campaigns, letters to the editor and contacts with public officials. All this has brought the debt issue from almost total obscurity to the level of a national crusade.

On April 9, 2000, there will be the first national mobilization of persons in the nation's capital to give visible expression to this broad-based local concern and activity. On that day, at least 30,000 people will gather on the Mall to celebrate progress already made and to urge national and international decision makers in Washington to finish the task of lifting the debt burden from the poorest countries.

There will be speakers and prayers and music. Noted national and international persons will be present. Leaders of the international debt relief movement will be there. Representatives of the broad range of organizations that make up Jubilee 2000/USA will also address the group. By design, political figures will not be at the podium because they are the ultimate audience of this "people's event."

As citizens of this country and citizens of the world, we will come together in a critical mass to demonstrate the breadth of public support, the extent of moral determination, the depth of personal commitment, and the strength of political will for change in international debt policies and practices.

A Day to Lobby Congress

On Monday, April 10, many of those who come to the national gathering on the Mall will also go individually and in small groups to meet with their members of Congress and urge their support for full funding of debt relief already committed and for further policies to lift all the international debt of the poorest countries in ways that lead to improved life and economic hope for the poorest and weakest persons in those societies.

Come to Washington for the Jubilee 2000/USA National Mobilization, April 9, 2000!

Jubilee 2000/USA Home Page April 9 Rally Home Page

April 9 Rally

Jubilee 2000/USA
National Mobilization for Debt Cancellation

Sunday, April 9, 2000
The National Mall, Washington, D.C.

updated February 21, 2000

What follows are the event goals and message of the **April 9 National Mobilization**. Please use this information as you seek to promote the April 9 rally.

Goals:

1. To influence national and international policy and decision makers.

2. To call on the U.S. public to pressure Congress and the Administration to cancel the crushing international debt of impoverished countries.

Message: Proclaim Jubilee! Cancel the debt NOW!

Proclaim Jubilee! Cancel the debt NOW! Why? International debt condemns hundreds of millions of people to live in poverty. Debt undermines dignity and self-determination. Debt diverts resources from basic needs such as education, nutrition, health, clean water, and sanitation. Debt leads to destruction of the environment. Debt creates political, social and economic instability throughout the world.

* why cxl debt

We, here in the ~~United States,~~ must stand in solidarity and be counted with the children, women and men who are victims of the unjust debt. In Accra and Birmingham (UK), in Tegucigalpa, Manila, Cologne, Johannesburg and hundreds of other communities, and now in Washington, DC, ordinary people are standing with the poor of Africa, Latin America and Asia. People in indebted countries are committed to use resources freed up through debt cancellation to reduce poverty through their own efforts. The spirit of the Jubilee movement calls forth new relations with neighbors, nations and the environment.

We call on our government to act in this Jubilee Year to cancel the crushing international debt of the world's impoverished countries.

Jubilee 2000/USA Home Page April 9 Rally Home Page

Proclaiming Jubilee April 9 & 10

Jubilee 2000/USA
National Mobilization for Debt Cancellation

Sunday, April 9, 2000
The National Mall, Washington, D.C.

updated February 26, 2000

Every Congregation Can Help Proclaim Jubilee!

Every religious congregation has an important role to play in calling for the cancellation of the crushing debts of the world's poorest countries by the end of the year 2000. Whether near or far from Washington, D.C., each congregation can do its part to help Proclaim Jubilee

April 9, 2000, will see tens of thousands of people of faith and conscience gathered in Washington, D.C. There will be worship services across the city in the morning, and then the focus will turn to the National Mall in the afternoon for a time of prayer, music, stirring speeches, and action. The thousands gathered will be speaking truth to power - Congress, the administration, and the global financial institutions, all of whom will be making critical decisions about international debt in the following days and months. This peaceful public witness will end with everyone taking part in a human chain around the Capitol to symbolize the chains of debt that must be lifted from poor countries. On Monday, April 10, there will be a Jubilee lobby day with Congress.

For more details on the events, you may call the April 9 hotline at 800-601-5860, check the Jubilee 2000 website at www.j2000usa.org, or the April 9 Rally Information Page <www.loga.org/JubRally.htm>

How do I begin to involve my congregation?

- Secure support from your pastor, priest, rabbi, or religious superior and from the relevant social justice committee of your congregation. Share information about Jubilee 2000 and the April 9 rally, and let them know some of the ways the congregation can be involved. Ask your congregation's leaders to lift up the call to jubilee in worship. If possible, work with the social justice committee throughout the process so that ownership of the congregation's involvement in the April 9 events and the tasks involved can be shared among several people.

- Educate your congregation about Jubilee 2000 and the call to cancel the debt of the world's poorest countries. Hold adult forums or use the time at a Lenten soup supper or other congregational events to have speakers, show videos, and study the issues and the faith-rooted call of Jubilee 2000. ~~There are excellent resources~~ available from Jubilee 2000, including a 24-minute video and an education packet. Many denominations, faith groups, and organizations also have excellent resources. For more information, contact Jubilee 2000 (202-783-3566 or www.j2000usa.org) for a complete list of educational resources from many different organizations.

How can my congregation be part of the April 9 activities?

- **Become a cosponsor** of the national Jubilee events by completing the form enclosed in this packet. Cosponsoring helps to illustrate the breadth and depth of the Jubilee movement and helps fund the many costs related to implementing an event of this size

- **Publicize the April 9 events**. Post the **flyer** on bulletin boards and other places where your congregation gathers. Hand out the **brochure** at adult classes or congregation-wide events. Ask your congregation's leader if you can give a two-minute "minute for mission" in your worship services in March to call attention to the April 9 events. Hold a special information session on the event. Have a literature table in your church coffee or social hour. Make sure you are working with others on your committee so that you are not the only person from whom the congregation is hearing about this event. Write a short article for the congregational newsletter, and have the event listed in the church calendar and bulletin. See that information is posted on your congregation's Web site, and link it to the national Jubilee 2000/USA Web site.

- **Make chains and banners for the April 9 rally.** The Jubilee message will be conveyed to many others by the visual symbols that are present on April 9. Banner messages should be consistent with the call for Jubilee embodied in this event and must be hand-held to be allowed on the Mall. This packet contains information on making chains, one of the most prominent symbols for the event.

- **Come to the April 9 rally.** If your congregation is within driving distance to Washington, DC, consider renting a bus or van and coming to the event. If the drive is lengthy, so that few people would be able to make the time to come to the event, consider sharing a bus or van with other churches in your area. If you are not aware of other groups in your area who would like to attend, be in touch with the **regional contact people.** If your congregation is a long distance from Washington, consider sending a representative or two to take part. Never before have so many different faith groups come together in the U.S. to call for Jubilee, and large numbers will carry an important message to the media and our political leaders. The event will also leave a lasting impression on all those from your congregation who take part in this day.

- **Center your worship on Jubilee during the weekend of April 9.** Your denomination may have its own Jubilee worship resources, or you may want to use the **Jubilee worship resources linked here**. If your congregation is in the immediate DC area and you are holding a Jubilee-focused service on the weekend of April 9, please inform Mark Brown via E-mail at marsusab@aol.com to make sure your congregation is listed on the Jubilee website. Visitors from your faith tradition from around the country may wish to attend your worship service before taking part in the Rally on the Mall. If your congregation is a long distance from Washington, please focus your worship on Jubilee that weekend as a way of being in solidarity with all those who are calling for Jubilee on April 9.

- **A special note to DC area churches: In addition to attending the rally and focusing your worship on Jubilee, as mentioned above, there are several other important ways you can help.** Especially if you are close to a Metro station, please consider opening your church parking lot for buses and vans and accompanying visitors down to the Mall for the rally. Your church may want to offer a brunch or other hospitality for Jubilee visitors. There is a major need for housing for church groups coming from a distance, so ask your congregation to consider providing housing in a parish hall or even in homes. **If there is any way your congregation can help**, please be in touch with Mark Brown via E-mail at marsusab@aol.com.

- **Take part in the April 10 lobby day.** Information linked here gives the details for taking part in the April 10 congressional lobby day. You do not need any previous lobbying experience to take part, simply a desire to urge your members of Congress to support debt cancellation for the world's poorest countries. If your congregation is not able to send any representatives to the April 10 lobby day, hold a letter writing activity and let your opinions be known to your representatives and senators. Contact Jubilee 2000 for more information about writing to Congress.

Jubilee 2000/USA Home Page April 9 Rally Home Page

European Union fails to respond on African debt crisis at historic Africa-EU Summit

JUBILEE 2000 COALITION

The draft final declaration being discussed at the two day Africa-EU Summit in Cairo between 15 EU and 52 African states does not meet African leaders hopes on debt cancellation, the Guardian in Nigeria reports today. The declaration for the Summit links debt relief to further economic reforms in Africa, but ~~goes little further~~. Instead, at the request of African leaders, th~~e declaration~~ contains a formal commitment from the EU to a high level meeting in the near future solely to discuss the African debt crisis.

During a pre-summit meeting of foreign ministers from both sides, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Mussa urged Europe to "free Africa from the burden of its external debt."

Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity, called for a constructive dialogue on debt between European creditor countries and African countries strangled by their debt burdens. He said that Africa can make "meaningful and economic progress, if the issue of debt is addressed."

Lesotho, representing all African foreign ministers, appealed for "complete cancellation" of the debt as a bold step toward breaking Africa's chains to its former colonial masters. Other African delegates hoped at the very least, for commitments to debt reduction or rescheduling.

The response from European leaders was that the Summit was not the place to go further on debt relief. "Now to go ahead with the complete debt alleviation would go very far beyond our means," responded Austrian Foreign Minister Benita Ferrero-Waldner. He commented that the summit should not duplicate the work of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, as well as the London and Paris clubs of creditors, a view supported by EU External Affairs Commissioner Chris Patten and other EU delegates

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Urgent Action! Call for immediate debt cancellation for Mozambique

Mozambique needs urgent and total debt cancellation to aid long-term reconstruction after the devastation caused by recent floods. When the Paris Club of rich country creditors met on Thursday 16 March, they announced a temporary freeze on Mozambique's debt payments to them – but they failed to agree the outright cancellation of the debt demanded by African heads of state on Tuesday, to allow more money to be invested in reconstruction following the effects of Cyclone Eline.

The UK, US, Germany, Finland and Italy have all made announcements about cancelling 100% of the debts they are owed by Mozambique, but so far no actual writing off of the debt has taken place. Mozambique's other major creditors, including France, Spain, Portugal and Belgium, have yet to join them, while the World Bank and IMF (owed a quarter of Mozambique's debt) have said only that they will consider delaying debt repayments from Mozambique, not writing them off. The World Bank is in fact increasing Mozambique's debt burden, by providing its aid for the emergency in the form of a new loan.

Mozambique owed $8.3 billion in 1998, and despite some debt relief last June is still paying $1.4 million a week in debt repayments. Even after further relief planned for next month, it is still scheduled to pay almost $1 million each week. The long-term implications of the floods for the economy are catastrophic, and the Mozambican government has called for complete debt cancellation so that the money can be used instead for vital reconstruction. As international attention is turned to the question of aid and humanitarian assistance, creditors must acknowledge that debt is a key factor in the very lack of infrastructure in Mozambique which has so hampered capacity to cope with the flooding.

What you can do

Send emails or letters to as many of Mozambique's main creditors as you can, urging them to cancel all of Mozambique's debts **immediately**.

- Tell **France** that they must join with other creditors to cancel bilateral debts owed by Mozambique immediately so that money spent on paying rich western creditors remains in Mozambique to be used in reconstruction efforts. The Paris Club meeting failed to respond to an unprecedented appeal by African leaders for the complete cancellation of Mozambique's debts. There can be no excuse for any further delay in implementing immediate 100% cancellation for Mozambique.
- Tell the **IMF** and the **World Bank** that multilateral debt must be cancelled as well as bilateral. A temporary suspension of debt payments for a year or two will simply not do. Only complete cancellation of Mozambique's debt by the World Bank and IMF along with other creditors will give the country's children hope for the future. All aid should be given in the form of grants, not further loans which will just add to the debt crisis.

Tell the **other creditors** that they should implement 100% cancellation for Mozambique immediately, and push fellow creditors to do the same. They must also ensure that debts owed to the World Bank and IMF are cancelled. Remind them that after Hurricane Mitch, the World Bank and IMF refused to follow creditor countries who announced a moratorium on debt repayments for Honduras and Nicaragua. As a result, in 1999 Nicaragua spent almost as much ($170m) on debt service as on reconstruction ($190m). Mozambique must not be left in the same situation - and all the creditors have responsibility for the multilateral debt.

France
Prime Minister Lionel Jospin
Prime Minister's Office
57 Rue de Varennes
75700
Paris
France
email webpage http://www.elysee.fr/mel/mel_.htm

International Monetary Fund
Mr Stanley Fisher
Acting Managing Director
International Monetary Fund
H Street NW
Washington
DC 20009
USA
Email: publicaffairs@imf.org

World Bank
Mr James Wolfensohn
President
The World Bank
1818 H Street, N.W.
Washington
DC 20433
USA
Email: Info@worldbank.org

USA
William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington
DC 20500
USA
president@whitehouse.gov

Larry Summers
Secretary of the Treasury
Department of Treasury
1500 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington
DC 20220
USA
Email: OPCMail@do.treas.gov

Italy
Massimo D'Alema
Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri
Palazzo Chigi
Piazza Colonna 370
00187 Roma
ITALY
email presidente@palazzochigi.it

Germany
Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder
Bundeskanzleramt
Schloßplatz 1
10178 Berlin
GERMANY
posteingang@bpa.bund.de

Portugal
Antonio Guterres.
Prime Minister
Gabinete do Primeiro-Ministro
Lisboa
Portugal
pm@pm.gov.pt

For more information see:

- Creditors on trial over Mozambique's debt. Mozambique awaits outcome of Paris Club meeting on Wednesday 15 March.
- Full briefing on Mozambique

Tanzania

In 1996, Tanzania paid out $0.59 in debt service for every $1 received in aid grants

- **Background**
- **The Stats**
- **Country of the week home page**

Background

Tanzania's total debt in 1996 was $7.4 billion. It is split evenly between that owed to bilateral and multilateral creditors, with a small amount owed to private lenders. Tanzania's debt to exports ratio is 499 ~~per cent,~~ and therefore twice as high as the level defined by the World Bank and IMF as sustainable in the medium term.

In 1996 the country paid about half of its scheduled debt service, and it paid $0.59 in debt service for every $1 received in grants. The latest figures show that the government spent 4.8 per cent of GNP on debt service, about half as much again as the amount available for health spending.

Tanzania is ranked 149 out of 175 countries in the Human Development Index compiled by the United Nations Development Programme. Life expectancy at birth in 1994 was 50.3 years.

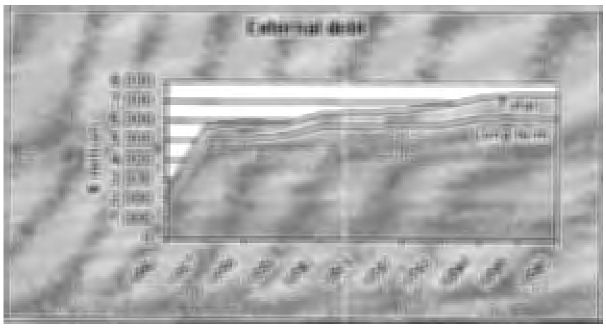
Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative

Tanzania is a HIPC and has been assessed as in need of HIPC relief. However, disputes over the conditions demanded by the international financial institutions has led to slower progress towards debt relief. It is expected to reach decision point in 1999.

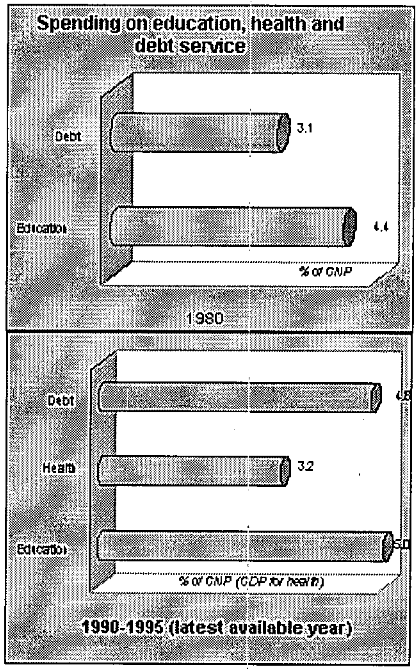
The stats

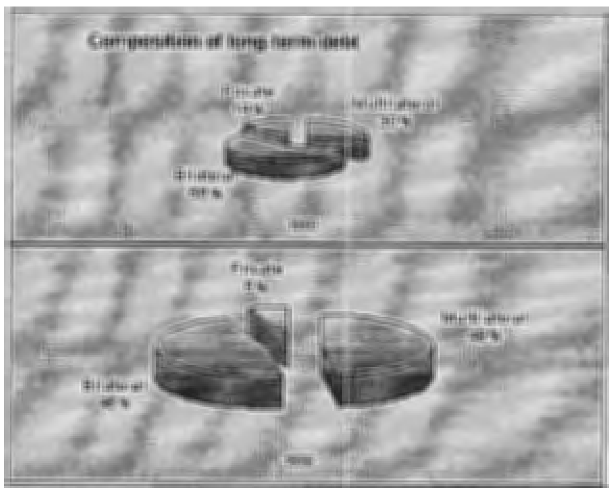
Key indicators

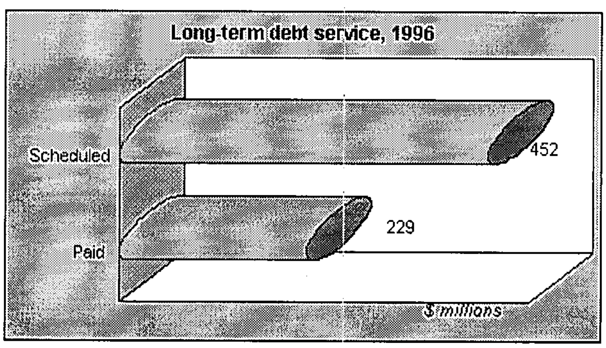
Total debt 1996 (EDT) ($ million)	7,412
Total debt service 1996 (TDS) ($ million)	258
Debt per person 1996 ($)	243
Debt service per person 1996 ($)	8
GNP per person 1996 ($)	187
Debt to exports ratio 1996 (EDT/XGS)	536
Present value debt to exports ratio 94-96(PV/XGS)	499
Debt to GNP ratio 1996 (EDT/GNP)	130
Debt service to exports ratio 1996 (TDS/XGS)	19

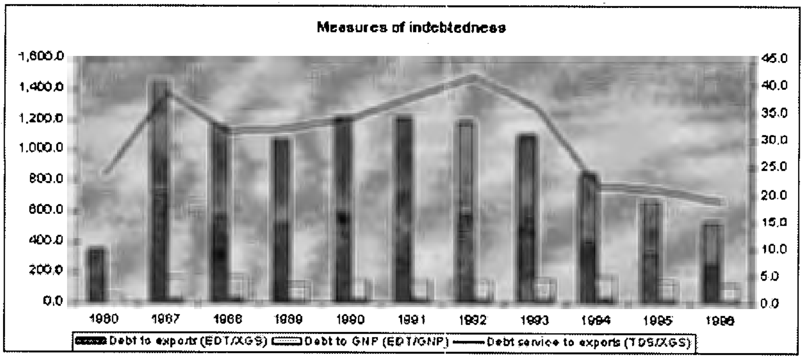


Top five bilateral creditors	Main export commodities	Main export markets
Japan	Coffee	Germany
UK	Cotton	UK
Italy	Minerals	Japan
Belgium	Tea	Italy
France	Petroleum products	


Spending on education, health and debt service
Debt
3.1
4.4
% of GNP
1980
Debt
Health
3.2
% of GNP (GDP for health)
1990-1995 (latest available year)




Long-term debt service, 1996
Scheduled
452
229
Paid
$ millions



- **Table of all statistics**

This profile is part of our country of the week section. Each week in 1999 we will be featuring the background statistics and campaign information of the one of the most indebted poor countries.

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Mozambique

In 1996, Mozambique paid out $0.18 in debt service for every $1 received in aid grants

- **Background**
- **The Stats**
- **Jubilee 2000 in Mozambique**
- **Country of the week home page**

Background Mozambique is one of the world's poorest countries, and was unable to make two-thirds of scheduled debt service payments. After three attempts to cut debt, Mozambique will continue to pay nearly $1 million per week and spend almost as much on debt service as on the health service.

Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC)

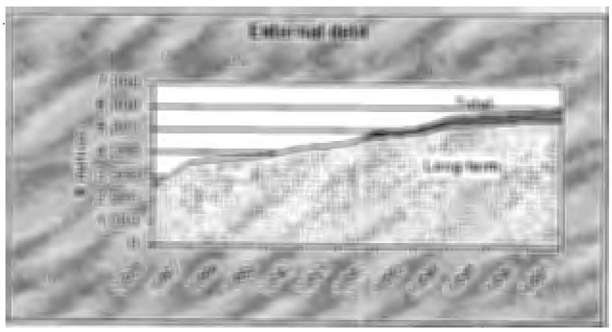
Mozambique was one of the first countries to qualify for HIPC. Actual debt service payments averaged $114 million per year in 1995-98, according to the World Bank. This has now been cut three times:
1) When Mozambique reached its "decision point" in 1998, the World Bank and IMF planned only to cut that part of the debt which was not being repaid, and said debt service would fall to an average of $101 million per year.
2) There was an outcry, and when Mozambique reached "completion point" in 1999 the World Bank said an error had been made and that there should be a further cut. Debt service payments were expected to fall to $86 million in 1999 and to an average of $69 million per year in 2000-2005.
3) Under new terms agreed by the G7 in Cologne, Mozambique will receive a further cut in early 2000, probably to an average of $45 million per year.
Mozambique's debt service will finally be a little less than it spends on health.

The reduction in debt service will not be enough to compensate for the fall in aid; grants in 1997 were only 59% of those in the peak year of 1991.

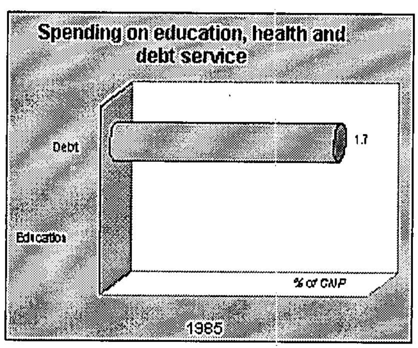
The stats

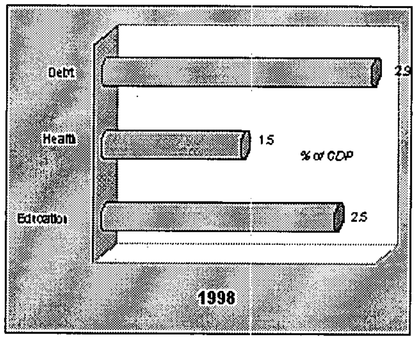
Key indicators

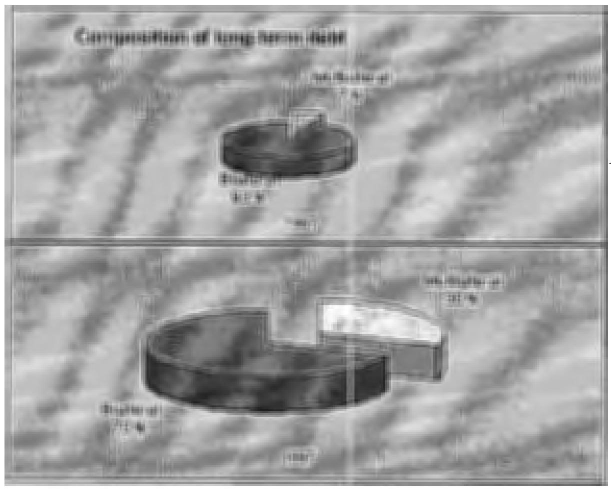
Total debt 1998 (EDT), excluding private ($ million)	6,400
Total debt service 1998 (TDS) ($ million)	104
Debt per person 1998 ($)	379
Debt service per person 1998 ($)	6
GNP per person 1998 ($)	213
Debt to exports ratio 1998 (EDT/XGS)	1,199
Present value debt to exports ratio 1997 (PV/XGS)	708
Debt to GNP ratio 1998 (EDT/GNP)	178
Debt service to exports ratio 1998 (TDS/XGS)	19

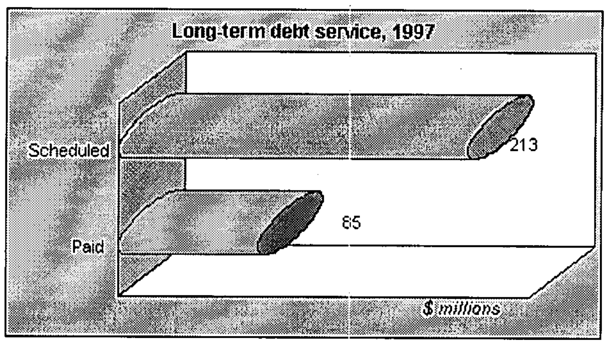


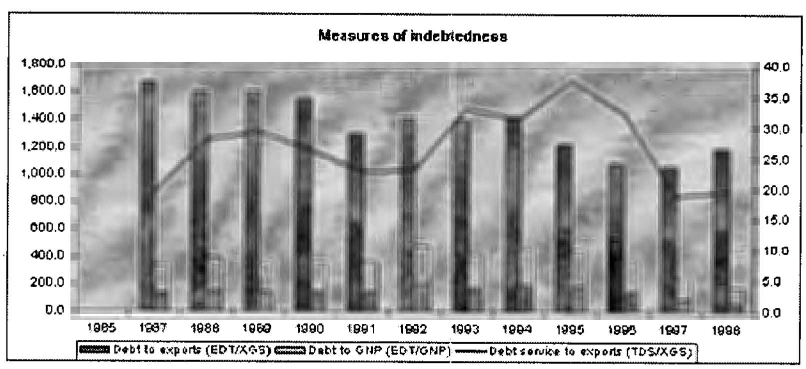
Top five bilateral creditors	Main export commodities	Main export markets
Portugal	Prawns	Spain
France	Cashew nuts	USA
Italy	Petroleum products	Japan
Japan	Sugar	Portugal
UK	Cotton	




Debt
2.9
Health
1.5
% of GDP
Education
2.5
1998




Long-term debt service, 1997
Scheduled
213
Paid
65
$ millions


Measures of indebtedness
1,800.0
1,600.0
1,400.0
1,200.0
1,000.0
800.0
600.0
400.0
200.0
0.0
40.0
35.0
30.0
25.0
20.0
15.0
10.0
5.0
0.0
Debt to exports (EDT/XGS)
Debt to GNP (EDT/GNP)
Debt service to exports (TDS/XGS)

- **Table of all statistics**

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Bolivia

In 1996, paid out $1.05 in debt service for every $1 received in aid grants

Background

Bolivia's debt stock rose rapidly during the 1980s and remained high but constant during the 1990s. In 1996 it stood at $5.2 billion. The vast majority of the debt is owed to multilateral and bilateral creditors, and the single largest creditor is the Inter-American Development Bank.

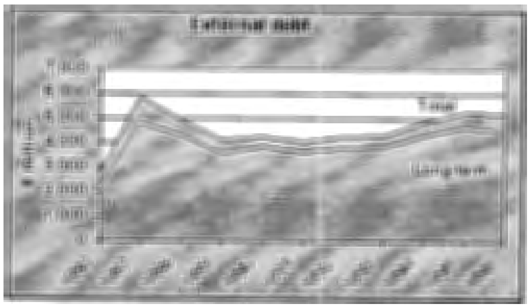
Bolivia's debt to exports ratio (388 per cent) and its debt service to exports ratio (41 per cent) placed it in the region considered unsustainable by the IMF and World Bank. Debt service in 1996 was only slightly less than education spending, but was over two and half times the amount spent on health.

The pressure of debt service not only damages human development prospects in Bolivia, it also indirectly contributes to the problems of drugs and crime in the west. Bolivia needs foreign exchange to pay the debt, and the export of cocaine is estimated to make up between 28 and 53 percent of value of Bolivia's total exports.

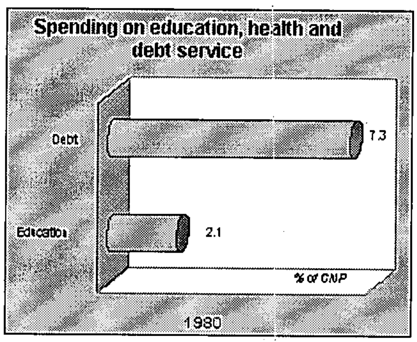
HIPC Initiative
Bolivia was the first South American country to receive debt relief under the HIPC Initiative. In September 1998 the country passed its completion point and received debt relief worth $450 million in net present value terms, a reduction of about 13 per cent of its NPV debt. This is not enough to provide a "lasting exit" to Bolivia's debt problems, as the HIPC initiative claims to do.

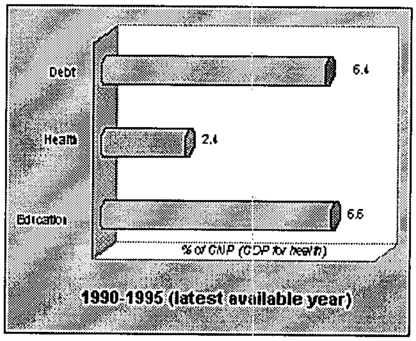
The stats

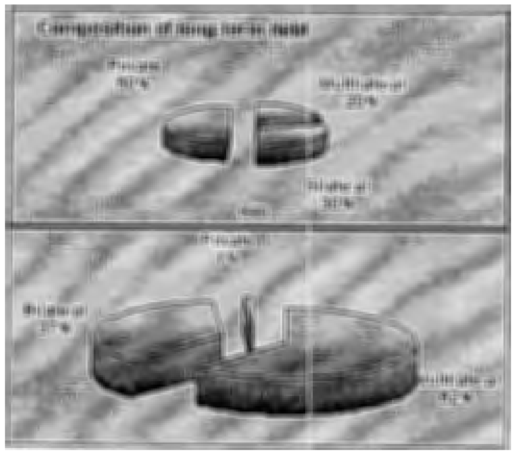
Key indicators	
Total debt 1996 (EDT) ($ million)	5,174
Total debt service 1996 (TDS) ($ million)	413
Debt per person 1996 ($)	647
Debt service per person 1996 ($)	52
GNP per person 1996 ($)	799
Debt to exports ratio 1996 (EDT/XGS)	388
Present value debt to exports ratio 94-96(PV/XGS)	270
Debt to GNP ratio 1996 (EDT/GNP)	81
Debt service to exports ratio 1996 (TDS/XGS)	41

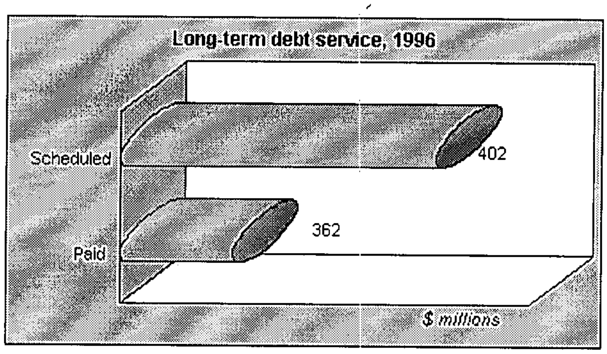


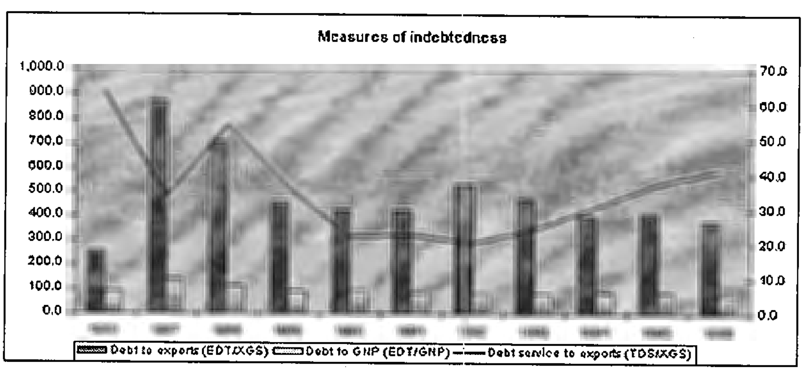
Top five bilateral creditors	Main export commodities	Main export markets
Japan	Natural gas	Argentina
Germany	Coffee	USA
Spain	Tin	UK
Italy	Zinc	Belgium/Luxembourg
Austria	Siver	Germany











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UNDP report – explicit link to reducing poverty
linked to reforms?

Linda Ricci

Ask Rick: most compelling stories a debt relief
What are most common arguments against this?

Total figure for debt

We have increased force in last year –
We had forgiven $1500 m by time
these 2 things were done

Question – how much does Clinton want
to tie this to a domestic issue –
cite Jubilee 2000.

17 April IMF protests

Jubilee 2000 march – 15 April –
17 April Monday opening of World Bank IMF
spring meetings.

It is politic for POTUS to get out in front
and say – a lot of Americans believe
debt is a problem

Most debt in Africa is public debt IFI

OMB – make vivid case for debt relief

Questions for Rick Samans:

What is a funding gap?

Can we note - can we equate WB judgment of unsustainable debt to bankruptcy, effectively. can we note corporations can declare bankruptcy, get protection from their creditors and get a fresh start? Why not nations?

How did these countries fall into debt?

Do we insist on a strict link between debt relief, government reform, and channel revenues into social spending?

What is the explicit exhortation?

What are we doing now?

How much does it cost per year?

What is the gap between that and the demands of Jubilee 2000.

What is POTUS proposal?

What would it cost in addition to what we're doing now?

Are there figures on what percentage of their budgets go to debt service/ how about ours?

Give me a vivid, on the ground example, of what has happened because of debt relief already given.

Is the current POTUS proposal beyond what the G-7 has agreed to?

How would you describe the leverage the US would have in pushing this forward.

Can you give me success stories of countries who received debt relief, reformed their governments to some extent to get it, and pushed the new money into needed spending, and can show statistical advances in areas of educaiton and health as a result?

What needs absolutely to be in the radio address?

Any other examples like Uganda?

Best example:

Uganda:
How they fell into debt?
What we have done in debt relief?
What we have gained through debt relief:
reformed gov't, as well as increased spending on health and education.

Question: what can we do that would have the most impact?

(use the word heartbreaking).

If you have a heart, this will break it).

I believe that Americans are always willing to help if:

it is a finite amount (won't cut into needs at home)
if it will improve people's lives?
advances our values and interests?
if it will help move people systematically improve their circumstances. to become more independent. it does not foster dependence. It promote <u>in</u>dependence.

We are generous - as a country (cite stats) but we're also tough-minded. We demand to know that it will make a difference. We demand results.

Debt relief is dead. Radio Address is now about what Congressional delay — on guns, supplemental, Patient's Bill of Rights — is costing the American people.