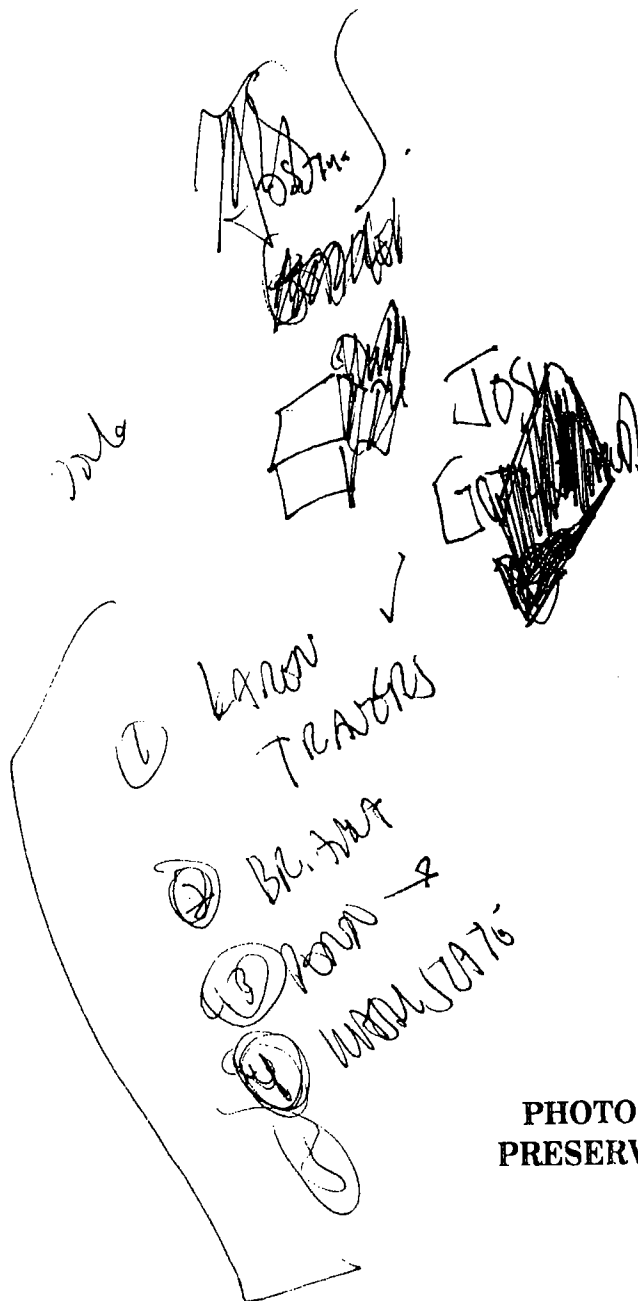




PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Final 09/07/99 9:30am
Janice Kearney/Josh Gottheimer

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99 SEP 7 AM 9:46

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE NATIONAL FORUM
ON THE FUTURE OF ALASKA NATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC
September 9, 1999**

Good morning, President Kitka and honored guests. I am pleased to have this opportunity to share my thoughts on the issues that are of such importance to you.

Five years ago, I was honored to be the first President since James Monroe to invite the leaders of every tribe in the United States to meet with me at the White House. And this summer I was honored to be the first sitting President since Franklin Roosevelt to visit a Native American Reservation.

Tonight, I want to reassure you that my Administration stands with you to improve the recognition of our your religious and cultural practices, to increase your sovereignty and self-determination, and to support the subsistence rights of all Alaskan natives.

If Alaskan Natives and others are to continue their way of life and maintain their culture, Alaska must comply with the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act. This federal law protects subsistence fishing. Our position is not one simply of words, we are ready to take action. Interior Secretary Babbitt is moving to take over fisheries management in order to maintain your subsistence rights. I sincerely hope the Alaska legislature enacts a constitutional amendment that will make it unnecessary for the Secretary to take this action.

If subsistence living becomes a thing of the past, we all lose. That's why we are working in partnership with tribal leaders to protect Native American religious freedom, to promote self-determination, to preserve tribal natural resources, and to provide economic opportunities for Native Americans. I look forward to continuing this government-to-government relationship in order to build on the progress we have made in the Indian Country.

America is going in the right direction, in no small measure because American ethnic, racial and religious group know that in our country, they are entitled to be treated with dignity and respect. We must continue to build on this progress. Thank you and God Bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JOSH -
Hey buddy it's Alex
from LA. I stopped by to
say HI to everyone. Sorry
I missed you.
Call or email me
sometime.

Thanks, Hope All
is well -

Alex
310-369-1159
alexgubsmrth@
hotmail.com

HPS / AB ~~done~~
Final 09/07/99 9:30am
Janice Kearney/Josh Gottheimer

Prok Anderson
pres?

99 SEP 7 AM 9:46

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Final 09/07/99 9:30am
Jeff Shesol

'99 SEP 7 AM9:46

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR
JIM KIMSEY'S 60TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION
WASHINGTON, DC
September 15, 1999**

I want to offer a very special 60th birthday greeting to Jim Kimsey. Over the years, Hillary and I have valued Jim's friendship just as we have valued his leadership on so many issues, from information technology to foreign policy.

Jim, this milestone gives us an opportunity to reflect on all you have achieved in your 60 years. Your friends know of your love of adventure – the indomitable spirit that drives you to conquer not only the canyons of the Colorado River, but of Wall Street. But what the world knows best is your love of community – whether it's as close as your hometown, Washington, where you help give opportunity and hope to disadvantaged children, or as far away as Vietnam, where you founded an orphanage during one of your two tours of duty. And as the founder and CEO of America Online, the community you have helped create is truly global.

Jim, Hillary and I thank you for your friendship and we salute you for your fine work. Have a great 60th birthday.

Final 09/07/99 9:30am
Josh Gottheimer



PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF GAY AND LESBIAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROFESSIONALS
SAN DIEGO, CA
September 15, 1999

I'm so glad to have this opportunity to be a part of the 6th Annual Conference of Gay and Lesbian Criminal Justice Professionals. I want to congratulate you on your efforts to enhance the skills of gays and lesbians in public safety.

For the last six and a half years, my Administration has worked hard to advance America towards the goals of equality and dignity for gays and lesbians.

Last year, I signed an Executive Order that amends Federal equal employment opportunity policy to prohibit discrimination in the Federal civilian work force based on sexual orientation. We have also banned discrimination based on sexual orientation in the granting of security clearances. As a result of these and other policies, gay and lesbian Americans now serve openly and proudly throughout the Federal Government, including in federal law enforcement agencies. We are also working with congressional leaders to pass the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which would prohibit most private employers from firing workers because of their sexual orientation.

While America's diversity is our greatest strength, we still have a long way to go in our effort to end discrimination – and in our move toward tolerance and understanding. In 1997 alone, there were more than 8,000 reported hate crimes in our country. That's almost one every hour. And in the last year, people across our nation ~~were~~ have been shaken by a rash of violent acts motivated by hate. These acts strike at the heart of what it means to be an American – and at the values that have defined us as a nation.

Now is the time for us to take strong and decisive action to end all hate crimes. I urge Congress to act quickly and pass the Hate Crimes Prevention Act.

But we cannot achieve true tolerance merely through legislation. We must also change hearts and minds. As gay and lesbian criminal justice professionals, you have an important role to play in that struggle. Our greatest hope for a just society is to teach our children to respect one another, to see our differences as our greatest strength, and to recognize the fundamental values that define us as One America. Thank you and God bless you.

Final 09/06/99 4pm
Josh Gottheimer

'99 SEP 7 AM9:45

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR DINNER HONORING JAMES FARMER
WASHINGTON, DC
September 10, 1999**

It is a privilege to join you this evening in paying tribute to James Farmer. When Martin Luther King said, "Courage faces fear and thereby masters it, he must have had James Farmer in mind – for few Americans have faced a more fearsome task, or left a greater legacy of positive change. *That's why I gave him the Nobel Peace Prize.*

Many men and women who fought for civil rights showed courage. But it took a special kind of bravery to be among the first to challenge the system. Back in the 1930s, years before Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery bus, James Farmer was advocating the use of nonviolent mass movements to fight racism. Then, in 1942, at a Chicago diner, he took part in the *first* organized civil rights sit-in in American history. When later asked why he could not even consider violence as a means of protest, Farmer replied, "We are fighting back – we're only using new weapons."

James Farmer's work did not end that day at the Chicago lunch counter. As a founder of CORE, he went on to help bring down Jim Crow by leading freedom rides, voter drives and marches – enduring repeated beatings and jailings along the way. Because of Farmer's leadership, and of others like him, "colored" and "white only" signs don't hang in cafeterias and restrooms as a sign of what we must overcome... they hang in museums of a sign of all we have overcome.

In the nearly forty years since the Freedom Rides, America has continued to march forward, ever forward, as Farmer urged us. We have stumbled along the way, but we have always gotten up. The path is not always as easy to see, but the goal of justice and equality has remained clear. We know that there are still too many places where opportunity is not equal and where people are not fully free to redeem the promise of America. But we know our nation is stronger because of the path we have taken – the path blazed by James Farmer. What he taught us transcends race. He taught us both to perceive and overcome our shortcomings; to challenge our nation to live up to its deepest ideals, and in so doing, to become stronger. Thank you and God bless you.

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Final 09/06/99 5pm
Josh Gottheimer

'99 SEP 7 AM 9:45

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR PRESIDENT CARTER'S 75TH BIRTHDAY
LARRY KING LIVE
September 14, 1999
[Actual Birthday October 1]**

President Carter, Hillary and I join all Americans in wishing you a very happy 75th birthday.

From building homes to building peace, you have spent a lifetime making our nation and our world better. As President, you put America's commitment to human rights squarely at the heart of our foreign policy, and helped nations in the Mid East, Asia, and Africa learn to live in peace. As a private citizen, you have continued those efforts through the Carter Center. And now, in no small part because of your efforts, more than half the globe's people live in freedom.

Mr. President, by doing justice, by loving mercy, and by walking humbly with God, you have inspired goodness in the hearts and lives of others in our country and around the world. Happy birthday, Mr. President.

Draft 09/07/99 9am
Joel Johnson/ Paul Glastris

99 SEP 7 AM 9:44

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR AFL-CIO'S
"WORKING FAMILY CONVOCATION" CONVENTION
LOS ANGELES, CA
October 9, 1999**

It's a pleasure for me to welcome you to the AFL-CIO's Community Convocation in Los Angeles. By joining together, you embody the bedrock values of the American labor movement, and of America itself – opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all.

One of Labor's most enduring values is the commitment of union workers not just to each other; but to something larger. Not just to strengthening union families, but making every family stronger. Not just struggling for workplace rights, but for civil rights at home, and human rights abroad. Not merely securing fair wages for union members, but ensuring a decent minimum wage for others. Not just defending hard-won health and retirement benefits for union families, but fighting just as hard for the health and welfare of those who aren't as fortunate.

That is why your values -- and your voices -- are so critical at this critical moment. After six and a half years of working together, we have turned our nation around and created the longest peacetime expansion in our history. The lowest unemployment rate in 29 years. Wages rising for all income levels. And sky high federal deficits transformed into record-high surpluses.

I believe we must use this moment to secure our long-term prosperity -- by paying off the debt for the first time since 1835, to keep interest rates low; by bringing new investment to areas still untouched by our recovery; and by raising the federal minimum wage. We must meet the challenges of the aging of America by saving Social Security, and strengthening and modernizing Medicare with prescription drugs. We must give health care patients the fundamental rights they deserve. And we must meet the challenges of educating the largest, most diverse generation of children in history, the children of the Baby Boom, with more and better prepared teachers, smaller class sizes, modernized schools connected to the Internet, and proven strategies for turning around schools that aren't working. And when we have met these fundamental obligations, we can still have significant tax cuts for working Americans.

But, the majority in Congress has other ideas. They have passed a bloated tax plan that would put at risk everything we have worked for together. It would not strengthen Social Security or Medicare. And it would jeopardize our future by forcing crippling cuts in health care, in and education, and other vital priorities.

I need your voices to be heard in this debate now.

A century ago, the men and women of labor worked for—and sometimes bled and died for—a more prosperous and secure life for children, the elderly, and working families. Now, it is our generation's turn to make our voices heard.

Thank you for coming together in Los Angeles. Thank you for the support you've shown in the past. Thank you for caring about the America we are building for the future.

Draft 09/06/99 9pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE NATIONAL FORUM
ON THE FUTURE OF ALASKA NATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC
September 9, 1999

Good morning President Kitka and honored guests. I am please to have this opportunity to share my thoughts on the issues that are of such importance to you ~~and therefore of importance to me.~~

There are many wonderful things about President of the United States. But being able to be President of a country ~~that includes~~ Native American tribes, to have the opportunity to work with them in a spirit of genuine respect, to work to improve the recognition of the integrity of your religious practice, and to try to increase the level of independence, all these things are very, very important to me.

Tonight, I want to assure you that my Administration firmly supports the subsistence rights of Alaska Natives and other residents of rural Alaska. I have always been committed to protecting the human and civil rights of Alaska's Eskimo, Indian and Aleut peoples. ~~Alaska's voters obviously share my beliefs. For years, public opinion polls have shown that 60% of the voters would approve a state constitutional amendment that would enact a rural priority statewide.~~

~~Subsistence is a fundamental human and civil right.~~ If Alaska Natives and others are to continue their way of life and maintain their culture, Alaska must comply with the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA). This federal law protects subsistence fishing. Our position is not one simply of words, we are ready to take action. Interior Secretary Babbitt is moving to take over fisheries management in order to maintain your subsistence rights. I sincerely hope the Alaska legislature enacts a constitutional amendment that will make it unnecessary for the Secretary to take this action.

The danger that Alaska's peoples are facing is one that threatens all Americans. If subsistence living becomes a thing of the past, we all lose. ~~We have worked in partnership with tribal leaders to protect American Indian religious freedom, promote self-determination, preserve tribal natural resources and provide economic opportunities for Native Americans. I look forward to continuing this government-to-government relationship in order to build on the progress we have made in the Indian Country.~~

As the 42nd President, I was honored to be the first President since our fifth President James Monroe, in the 1820s to invite the leaders of every tribe in the US to meet with me at the White House. Since that meeting, five years ago, we have worked hard to expand tribal sovereignty and self-determination.

One of things I have enjoyed most of being President has been the opportunity to work with a Native American in a spirit of mutual respect.

to improve No recognition of your religious practices. - to help to increase the level of tribal independence.

Steel 170

I want to honor this agreement to visit a Native American president see film

I stand up for you to improve the recognition of your religious practices to increase your independence. I stand up for Alaska Native rights.

Draft 09/06/99 10pm
Janice Kearney/Josh Gottheimer

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Tonight, I stand with you to improve the recognition of our your religious practice, to increase your sovereignty and self-determination, and to support the subsistence rights of all Alaskan natives.

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America is going in the right direction, in no small measure because American ethnic, racial and religious group know that in our country, they are entitled to be treated with dignity and respect. We must continue to build on this progress. Thank you and God Bless you.

It's a pleasure for me to welcome you to the AFL-CIO's Community Convocation in Los Angeles. To President Sweeney -- and all the union officers and delegates in attendance -- my best wishes for a successful convention in the days to come. To all the working families, religious and community leaders, and trade union allies who are gathered with you, I want to convey my deep appreciation. By joining together, you embody the bedrock values of the American labor movement, and of America itself -- opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all.

One of Labor's most enduring values is the commitment of union workers not just to each other; but to something larger. Not just to strengthening union families, but making every family stronger. Not just struggling for workplace rights, but for civil rights at home, and human rights abroad. Not merely securing fair wages for union members, but ensuring a decent minimum wage for others. Not just defending hard-won health and retirement benefits for union families, but fighting just as hard for the health and welfare of those who aren't as fortunate.

That is why your values -- and your voices -- are so critical at this critical moment. After six and a half years of working together, we have turned our nation around and created the longest peacetime expansion in our history. The lowest unemployment rate in 29 years. Wages rising for all income levels. And sky high federal deficits transformed into record-high surpluses. Now, America must decide: will we use this moment of prosperity to deal with our toughest long-term challenges, or squander it for short-term gain?

I believe we must use this moment to secure our long-term prosperity--by paying off the debt for the first time since 1835, to keep interest rates low; by bringing new investment to areas still untouched by our recovery; and by raising the federal minimum wage. We must meet the challenges of the aging of America by saving Social Security, and strengthening and modernizing Medicare with prescription drug. We must give health care patients the fundamental rights they deserve. And we must meet the challenges of educating the largest, most diverse generation of children in history the children of the Baby Boom, with more and better prepared teachers, smaller class sizes, modernized schools connected to the Internet, and proven strategies for turning around schools that aren't working. And when we have met these fundamental obligations, we can still have significant tax cuts for working Americans.

Now, the majority in Congress has other ideas. They have passed a bloated tax plan that would put at risk everything we have worked for together. It would put our prosperity at risk. It would not strengthen Social Security or Medicare. And it would jeopardize our future by forcing crippling cuts in health care, in education, and other vital priorities. It is the wrong course for America, and I will not allow it to become law.

I need your voices to be heard in this debate now. I need you to help me make this message clear. I want to do more than stop the wrong thing from happening. I want to make progress on the right things for our country. The stakes couldn't be higher; but our potential could not be greater.

A century ago, the working men and women of labor worked for—and sometimes bled and died for—a vision of America in which the elderly would have retirement security, minorities would enjoy equal protection under the law; and working people would have the right to organize and fight for a better life. Because of their sacrifices, their vision became reality. Now it is up to our generation to work for an America where every child has a world-class education; where every American knows Medicare and Social Security will be there when they retire; and where all Americans willing to work enjoy the fruits of American prosperity.

Thank you for coming together in Los Angeles. Thank you for the support you've shown in the past. Thank you for caring about the America we are building for the future.

America is going in the right direction, in no small measure because every American and every American family and every American ethnic, racial and religious group knows that in our country America, they are entitled to be treated with dignity and quality. We have to continue the progress, and build on it.

Thank you and God Bless you.

Josh

Draft Script for President's Video Message to the National Forum on the Future of Alaska Natives

Smithsonian Museum of Natural History, September 9, 1999

Good Morning President Kitka and honored guests. I wish I could be there with you in person, today. Since I can't be two places at once, I wanted to at least share my thoughts on the issues that are of such importance to you – and therefore, to me.

I placed
to
have this
to share

of importance

There are many wonderful things about being President of the United States. But being able to be President of a country that includes Native American tribes, to have the opportunity to work with them in a spirit of genuine respect, to work to improve the recognition of the integrity of your religious practice, and to try to increase the level of independence, all these things are very, very important to me.

Tonight, I want to assure you that my Administration firmly supports the subsistence rights of Alaska Natives and other residents of rural Alaska. I have always been committed to protecting the human and civil rights of Alaska's Eskimo, Indian and Aleut peoples. Alaska's voters obviously share my beliefs, for years, public opinion polls have shown that 60% of the voters would approve a state constitutional amendment that would enact a rural priority statewide.

Subsistence is a fundamental human and civil rights. If Alaska Natives and others are to continue their way of life and maintain their culture, Alaska must comply with the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA). This federal law protects subsistence fishing. Our position is not one simply of words, we are ready to take action. Interior Secretary Babbitt is moving to take over fisheries management in order to maintain your subsistence rights. I sincerely hope the Alaska legislature enacts a constitutional amendment that will make it unnecessary for the Secretary to take this action,

The danger that Alaska's peoples are facing is one that threatens all Americans. If subsistence living becomes a thing of the past, we all lose. We have worked in partnership with tribal leaders...to protect American Indian religious freedom, promote self-determination, preserve tribal natural resources and provide economic opportunities for Native Americans. I look forward to continuing this government-to-government relationship in order to build on the progress we have made in Indian Country."

As the 42nd President, I was honored to be the first President since our fifth President James Monroe, in the 1820s to invite the leaders of every tribe in the U.S. to meet with me at the White House. Since that meeting, five years ago, we have worked hard to expand tribal sovereignty and self-determination. (1)

America is going in the right direction, in no small measure because every American and every American family and every American ethnic, racial and religious group knows that in our America, they are entitled to be treated with dignity and quality. We have to continue the progress, and build on it.

Thank you, and God Bless.

HALF YEARS MY ADMINISTRATION HAS WORKED HARD TO ADVANCE AMERICA TOWARDS THE GOALS OF EQUALITY AND DIGNITY THAT HAVE BEEN THE SAME GOALS OF THE GAY MOVEMENT FOR 30 YEARS?] *As you know, we have taken to end discrimination against gays, lesbians, and to ensure that they have the same rights guaranteed to their fellow Americans.*

Last year, I signed an Executive Order that amends Federal equal employment opportunity policy to prohibit discrimination in the Federal civilian work force based on sexual orientation. We have also banned discrimination based on sexual orientation in the granting of security clearances. As a result of these and other policies, gay and lesbian Americans now serve openly and proudly throughout the Federal Government, including federal law enforcement agencies. We are also working with congressional leaders to pass the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which would prohibit most private employers from firing workers solely because solely because of their sexual orientation.

While America's diversity is our greatest strength, we still have a long way to go in our effort to end discrimination ? and in our move toward tolerance and understanding. In 1997 alone, there were more than 8,000 reported hate crimes in our country. That's almost one every hour. And in the last year, people across our nation were been shaken by a rash of violent acts motivated by race and sexual orientation. These acts strike at the heart of what it means to be an American ? and at the values that have defined us as a nation.

Now is the time for us to take strong and decisive action to end all hate crimes. I urge Congress to act quickly and pass the Hate Crimes Prevent Act ? *which would strengthen the federal government's ability to prosecute perpetrators of hate crimes, including those based on sexual orientation.*

But we cannot achieve true tolerance merely through legislation. We must also change hearts and minds. As gay and lesbian criminal justice professionals ? *cops, prosecutors, judges, probation officers* ? you have an important role to play in that struggle. Our greatest hope for a just society is to teach our children to respect one another, to see our differences as our greatest strength, and to recognize the fundamental values that define us as One America. Thank you and God bless you.

? I'm glad to join you Bobby Scott's 23rd Annual Labor Day Picnic.

? Labor Day: all Americans owe a debt of gratitude to our nation's labor force ? whose talent, energy and determination have built the foundations of freedom and prosperity that all of us enjoy.

? Harry Truman once said that when labor does well, the whole nation does well. Truman was right.

? 1992?Strengthen Am 21st C? opportunity, responsibility, community
1)Aging Am; 2)Bal Work/Fam; 3)Leave No One Behind; 4)Env/Econ
5)Unity/Diversity

? Results: Midsession: \$290B def?\$99B surp. \$1T non-soc sec surplus over 10 yrs. Debt Elimin 2015. Peacetime Unempl lwst/1957 (7.3%?4.2%). 30 yr crime, 30-Welf (cut in ?); 30-Infl; record home ownership.

College opp: HOPE, Pell, work-study.

Child health: 5M, highest immun

Critical Choice: continue fiscal discipline or return to risk-taking that got us recessions & deficits. Invest surplus in long-term or squander in short-term.

? My Balance Budget Meets National Priorities. Puts First Things First. Save Soc Sec -- 1st Priority- Bal the Bud w/o using any SS\$; extend solvency to 2053

Modernize Medicare 15%? My plan will contain costs, improve services, moderates the bal budget act provider cuts, extend the life of the trust fund for ? of a century.

Prescription Drugs. Cost can be crushing--not just to lower-income seniors. 75% older Americans lack decent, dependable private sector coverage.

Pay Down Debt- elim. pub held debt by 2015

Targeted Tax Cuts - Long term, child care, new mkts

USA Accounts \$250B over 10 yrs goes to USA -incl automatic tax cred/matching tax cred; fairest, most pro-savings tax cut

? Republican Tax Plan

? Fails to extend solvency of Medicare & Social Security.

- ? Drains \$3T in ntl resources at very time Baby Boomers start to retire.
- ? Forces dramatic cuts in key priorities: defense, education, enviro, agric
- ? Doesn't pay down debt = higher interest costs and slower growing economy.
- ? 50 economists & 6 Nobel laureates against Repub plan.
- ? Greenspan (7/22): ?I would prefer to hold off on significant further tax cut.? He also said: ?The first priority, in my judgement, should be getting the debt down, letting the surpluses run, & putting in contingency plans.?

? Season of Progress: if Congress passes tax plan that doesn't strengthen soc sec & medicare, I will not sign it.

Meet 21st Century Challenges:

? Strengthen Families

Child care; PBOR; FMLA -- extend 10M; Equal Pay for Equal Work

? 21st Century Economy

New Markets--invest. rural/inner-city

Expand Trade -- freer & fairer trade

? 21st Century Schools

Class Size--100K new tchrs. School modernization. Computers in Classrooms.

Now, Education Accountability Act: Social Promotion/after school (3x); turn around failing schools; trained teachers; discipline; parent accountability

? 21st Century Crime Bill

Guns: Brady ? juveniles; restore 5day wait

50K+ police; drug testing prisoners/parolees

? Enviro livability/lands legacy

? One America- AmeriCorps, Race Init., Hate Crimes/ENDA.

President Carter, Hillary and I join all Americans in wishing you a very happy 75th birthday.

From building homeS to building peace, YOU HAVE spent a lifetime MAKING our nation and OUR WORLD BETTER. AS PRESIDENT, YOU PUT America's commitment to human rights squarely at the heart of our foreign policy, AND HELPED NATIONS the Mideast, ASIA, and Africa LEARN TO LIVE IN PEACE. As a private citizen, YOU HAVE CONTINUE THOSE EFFORTS through THE Carter Center, and now, in no small part because of your efforts, more than half the globe's people live in freedom.

Mr. President, by doing justice, by loving mercy, and by walking humbly with God, you have inspired goodness in the hearts and lives of others in our country and around the world. Happy birthday, Mr. President.

Draft 09/02/99 3pm
Josh Gottheimer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF GAY
AND LESBIAN
CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROFESSIONALS
Location TBD
Date TBD

I AM DELIGHTED to have this opportunity to be a part of the 6th Annual Conference of Gay and Lesbian Criminal Justice Professionals. I WANT to congratulate you on your efforts to enhance the ~~understanding and~~ skills of gays and lesbians in public safety. [JOSH, IT'S UNCLEAR WHO AND WHAT YOU'RE TAKING ABOUT IN THIS SENTENCE. DO YOU MEAN ENHANCING GAYS UNDERSTANDING OF THEMSELVES, OR OTHER PEOPLES' UNDERSTANDING OF GAY AND LESBIANS?

It HAS been thirty years since the birth of the modern gay and lesbian civil rights movement. For the last six and a half years, my Administration has played an instrumental role in that effort [OBVIOUSLY YOU DON'T MEAN TO SAY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION BEEN INSTRUMENT OF THE GAY MOVEMENT? YOU PROBABLY MEAN TO SAY THAT FOR SIX-AND-A-

Mississippi. His influence on President Johnson shaped our government's first affirmative action policies, and made literacy a primary component of the War on Poverty. And, because of Farmer's organization of the Freedom Rides, the "colored" and "white only" signs which once hung in every bus terminal in the South are now a part of civil rights history.

In the nearly forty years since the Freedom Rides, America has continued to TRY TO march forward, ever forward, as Farmer urged us. We HAVE STUMBLERD ALONG THE WAY, BUT WE HAVE ALWAYS GOTTEN UP. The PATH IS NOT ALWAYS AS EASY TO SEE, BUT THE GOAL JUSTICE AND EQUALITY HAS REMAINED CLEAR. We know that there are still too many places where opportunity is not equal and where people are not fully free to redeem the promise of America. BUT WE KNOW OUR NATION IS STRONGER BECAUSE OF THE PATH WE HAVE TAKEN, THE PATH BLAZED BY JAMES Farmer. What HE taught US transcends race. HE TAUGHT US BOTH to perceive AND OVERCOME our shortcomings; to CHALLENGE OUR NATION TO LIVE UP TO ITS DEEPEST IDEALS, AND IN SO DOING, TO BECOME STRONGER.

###

Subj:

Date: 9/5/99 8:27:22 PM Eastern Daylight Time

From: Joshua_S_Gottheimer@who.eop.gov

To: glastris@aol.com

Draft 09/05/99 8pm

Josh Gottheimer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS FOR SAN ANTONIO SPURS NBA CHAMPIONS EVENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
September 7, 1999

? Ack: Peter Holt (Spurs Chairman); Coach Gregg Popovich; Teams Captains: Avery Johnson and David Robinson (the only former naval cadet in the NBA). I also want to thank Sean Elliot for making the trip to be here today. We all know that you have HAD? a difficult few months, but it's good to see you in up and about and in good spirits.

[JOSH, IN GENERAL THIS VIDEO READS A BIT TOO MUCH LIKE SPORTSWRITING, NOT ENOUGH LIKE A PRESIDENT. YOU MIGHT WANT TO BEGIN HERE WITH A QUOTE FROM A PAST PRESIDENT CONGRATULATING A CHAMPIONSHIP TEAM, AND THEN SAY A SENTENCE OR TWO ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF SPORTS IN AMERICAN LIFE AND VALUES ETC...

**ANNUAL LABOR DAY PICNIC
HONORING CONGRESSMAN BOBBY SCOTT**

DATE: Monday, September 6, 1999
LOCATION: Residence of Mrs. Mae Hamlin Scott
Newport News, Virginia
TIME: 3:55 pm – 4:55 pm

I. PURPOSE

This event is Congressman Bobby Scott's annual Labor Day picnic for his friends and constituents.

II. BACKGROUND

This event marks Congressman Scott's 23rd annual Labor Day picnic. The picnic will be held at his mother, Mrs. Mae Hamlin Scott's residence and is open to the general public. Congressman Scott additionally extends invitations to his friends and supporters from throughout the state. While the picnic traditionally attracts 1,000 people, this year's event is expected to draw approximately 3,500 guests.

III. PARTICIPANTS

YOU
Congressman Bobby Scott
Senator Charles Robb

IV. PRESS PLAN

This event will be open to the pool press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- YOU arrive at 3:55 pm and are greeted by Congressman Bobby Scott and his mother, Mae Hamlin Scott.
- YOU, Senator Charles Robb, Congressman Bobby Scott, and Mae Hamlin Scott proceed to the stage on the North Portico.
- Senator Robb makes brief remarks and introduces Congressman Scott.
- Congressman Scott makes remarks and introduces YOU.
- YOU make remarks, work a ropeline, and depart.

VI. REMARKS

Remarks will be provided by speechwriting.

VII. ATTACHMENT

- Biography of Congressman Bobby Scott

BIOGRAPHY OF REPRESENTATIVE BOBBY SCOTT

Representative Robert C. "Bobby" Scott represents the 3rd Congressional District of Virginia which includes portions of the cities of Richmond, Newport News, Hampton, Norfolk, the counties of New Kent, Charles City, and Surry, and portions of the counties of Henrico and Isle of Wight.

Born on April 30th, 1947, he is a graduate of Harvard College and Boston College Law School. He received an Honorable Discharge for service in the Massachusetts National Guard and the U.S. Army Reserves. Representative Scott practiced law in the city of Newport News from 1973 through 1991. He is a member of St. Augustine's Episcopal Church in Newport News.

Representative Scott is serving his fourth term in Congress having been first elected to Congress on November 3rd, 1992. In the 106th Congress, he continues his membership on both the Judiciary Committee and the Education and Workforce Committee. On the Education Committee, he is a member of two subcommittees: Early Childhood, Youth and Families as well as Oversight and Investigations. In the 106th Congress, Representative Scott has been charged with the leadership position for the Democrats on the Crime Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee given his long standing interest and activism in crime issues.

In the 105th Congress, Representative Scott served as the Ranking Member of the Constitution Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. As the Ranking Member of this Subcommittee, Representative Scott led the effort to preserve the Constitution against the historic effort in the 105th Congress to amend the Constitution a record nine times.

In addition to serving on the Judiciary and Education Committees in the 105th Congress, Representative Scott also served on the Select Committee on China and on the Investigative Subcommittee in the Matter of Jay Kim of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. Representative Scott was the only Member of Congress to serve on four investigative committees at the same time in the 105th Congress earning him the name "Oversight Man". Those four investigations included: an examination of Teamsters' election activities, possible improper transfer of sensitive technology to China, the ethics committee investigation into the matter of Rep. Jay Kim and the House impeachment inquiry of President William Jefferson Clinton.

Two of his legislative accomplishments include co-authoring the only bipartisan juvenile crime bill, H.R. 1818, to pass the House with overwhelming support. Representative Scott was also a member of the IDEA (Individuals with Disabilities Education Act) Working Group, a select group of House and Senate members who along with the Administration, rewrote the 24 year old special education law, P.L. 105-17. His work in these two areas has earned him awards from national organizations.

Since becoming a member of Congress, he has received numerous awards and citations for his efforts and leadership in a number of areas.

Representative Scott previously served in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1978 to 1983 and in the Virginia State Senate from 1983 to 1993. During his tenure in the Virginia Legislature, Scott focused his efforts on six critical areas: health care, education, employment, crime prevention, social services and consumer products.

He introduced legislation which created the Governor's Employment and Training Division. He championed many measures which have improved health care for infants and children. His bills increased Virginia's minimum wage law and established the Neighborhood Assistance Act which provides tax credits to businesses that make donations to approved social service and crime prevention programs. In the 105th Congress, he co-authored a provision in the recently enacted Coats Human Services Reauthorization Act which would allow for the replication of the Neighborhood Assistance Act at the federal level.

During his tenure in the Virginia General Assembly, Rep. Scott received dozens of awards and accolades from local, state and regional organizations for his service to his constituents and his community.

In 1983, Congressman Scott was named Virginian of the Year by the Virginia Young Democrats. In 1985, he was awarded the prestigious Brotherhood Citation from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. In 1986, Rep. Scott received the first Public Health Recognition Award from the Virginia Health Association.

In 1987, he was awarded the Child Advocate Award from the Virginia Chapter of American Academy of Pediatrics and a Distinguished Service Award from the Virginia Fraternal Order of Police.

In 1989, he received the Outstanding Legislator Award from the Southern Health Association. In 1990, Scott was named Outstanding Business Leader by the Peninsula Sales and Marketing Executives and was honored by the Virginia Council on Coordinating Prevention with an Award for Excellence in Prevention.

Congressman Scott has been awarded Honorary Doctorates of Humane Letters from St. Paul's College, Livingstone College and Florida Memorial College. Scott has also received Honorary Doctorates of Law from Virginia State and Virginia Union Universities.

Congressman Scott resides in Newport News.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: I asked for somebody to say something on behalf of the team. I'm sorry it's you to feel lonesome away from Arkansas, so we -- (laughter). I did get to go with these some of those paten which would, if I could ever figure out how to run in them without tripping over my ankles -- (laughter) -- wo comments about my legs, because they go down below my knees. (Laughter.)

Let me say also, I was anxious to see Corliss up here with his cast up close. He's the only guy I k broken bones that plays better than he does when he's healed -- (laughter) -- but nonetheless, we're glad he's cast, that was fun.

Mr. Thurman, why don't you come up and say something on behalf of the team -- since you didn'

MR. THURMAN: I kind of feel like a politician up here.

THE PRESIDENT: You look like one.

MR. THURMAN: On behalf of the team, we're extremely proud of the fact that we're here in the get a chance to come to the White House. So hopefully we'll be able to come back again next year and do th

But we also want you to realize that the championship that we won was not only for ourselves an you also. Thank you for having us here. (Applause.)

END2:59 P.M. EDT

Joshua S. Gottheimer
09/06/99 02:30:37 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 15, 1994

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO 1994 NCAA BASKETBALL CHAMPION ARKA

The Rose Garden

2:48 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. I want to welcome Coach and Mrs. Richardson and the Razorbacks, all the staff and the friends who came with them from Arkansas. I want to also recognize the presence here in the audience -- I see Congressman Thornton, but I think that Congresswoman Lambert and Congressman Dickey and Congressman Hutchinson here. And Senator Bumpers and Senator Pryor called me and said that they were told they had to stay and vote. And I told them that their priorities might be a little out of order, but --(laughter) -- they allowed as how you elected them to vote, and they're voting in the Senate and the

I think one reason I like basketball so much is it's gotten to be a lot like my job. (Laughter.) It's not. (Laughter.) You get behind and then you get ahead. You never know whether you're going to win until the questioning your judgment calls all the way through. (Laughter.) I just wish that on every close issue, I had to make the shot. (Laughter and applause.)

I also would tell you that since I've been here, I've been crossways with a lot of interest groups --

insurance companies or when we decided that we'd try to help sweep the housing projects in Chicago. We h us. So people are always questioning how I manage to make so many organized groups mad at me. But I nev to risk the 51 electoral votes of Michigan, Arizona and North Carolina -- (laughter) -- all in a row by going to of the reporters asked me about it when I got back, I said, if you'd been waiting for this as long as we have, it that. (Laughter and applause.)

I want to say to the coach and to the team that all of us, I think, were very, very proud -- not only national championship, but the way they won it -- with hard, clean, aggressive basketball. That championshi national championship ought to be decided -- aggressive, tough, close to the end, with very, very high standar honorable game. I was very proud of that.

I'd also like to say that Nolan Richardson has done a lot of remarkable things in his life, often aga rare thing to be able to put together the chemistry of young people in the way that this team was put together all the players, you did your state proud. You made the President happy. But more importantly, you showed college athletics should be. And we are all very, very proud of you. (Applause.)

We have an enormous number of Razorback fans here today, some of whom live in Washington n addition to the First Lady and myself -- our Chief of Staff Mack McLarty, many people who work here in the government. I think perhaps Representative Cardiss Collins of Illinois, who's also here, who has worked wit coaches throughout the country. And I just want to say to all of you here to Washington, you're welcome. A long trip from Arkansas, we are elated to see you. We miss you, and this is a nice extra thing for me.

I'd like to now present, if I might, the Presidential Commendation to honor the victory of the Raz one to the team. And I think that the officer has them. So, Coach Richardson, would you come up here and r

This says: The President of the United States awards this commendation to Nolan Richardson fo excellence, his steadfast leadership in guiding the Arkansas Razorback basketball team to the NCAA Nationa exceptional contributions to college basketball in Arkansas, and for his relentless commitment to excellence Thank you. (Applause.)

I'd like to ask the two captains to come up here. Who else, or who's going to get it. The seniors, Roger and Ken. This is the same commendation, which notes the record of the season and the national victo guys. And we're glad to see you walking around and looking so good. (Laughter and applause.) Thank you.

MR. RICHARDSON: What could I say? Our cups runneth over. We're very delighted. We're v that we had the opportunity to not only win a national championship but to have the First Fan in this country of Arkansas. (Applause.) I think that's -- (applause.)

We have also brought gifts. It would take us all day to give them all out to Hillary and daughter a did bring one with us, because we knew that the President was always jumping up and down and complaining (applause). You know, not too long ago we presented him some shorts -- (applause) -- and, of course, once a the University of Arkansas, sends great, great wishes for everything that you've done and hope that our coun under your leadership.

- As important as the manager is, he cannot win without talented players. In each game, it seemed as if somebody new stepped up and made the difference. We all remember Paul O'Neill and Derek Jeter's [Gee-ter] clutch hitting... David Cone's 20 wins...Bernie Williams' batting title captured on the last day of the season... Tino Martinez's game-winning grand slam in Game One of the World Series... and, of course, World Series MVP Scott Brosius' [Bro-shus] two homers, six RBIs, and steady defense in the four-game series.
- Congratulations again on your well-deserved victory. It showed us what is best about professional sports: perseverance, sportsmanship, and a real commitment to working together. Thank you and good luck this season. [*You will invite the team to join you on stage for a group photo*]

THOUGH THIS NBA SEASON WAS MORE abbreviated THAN NORMAL, IT WAS NO LESS COMPETATIVE OR EXCITING. No one would have guessed that after starting 6-8, you would go on to win 46 of your next 53 games ? and bring the championship to San Antonio for the first time in franchise history.

? But after watching the way you dominated the finals, no one could question your place on top of the NBA. From Jaren Jackson?s five three pointers in game one ? to Avery Johnson?s series-clinching shot ? this was a championship that kept all fans on the edge of their seats. The Knicks simply had no answer for the Twin Towers. MVP Tim Duncan?s commanding offensive performance and ?Admiral? David Robinson?s unstoppable defensive display helped carry the Spurs to victory.

? This victory was not about individual performance ? it was about team effort. When everything was on the line, you believed in yourselves, you stayed united as a team, and you got the job done. But we all know, that great basketball teams are led by great coaches. Gregg, congratulations on a stellar year.

? You and your team should be proud ? not just because you are champions, but more importantly, because of what made you champions: hard work, discipline, and a lot of heart. Both on and off the court, you have been great role models for America?s youth ? and for all sports fans.

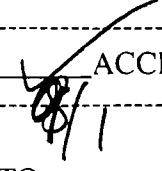
? Congratulations again on your well-deserved victory. Best of luck next year. Thank you.

Draft 09/03/99 10am
Josh Gottheimer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS FOR PRESIDENT CARTER?S 75TH BIRTHDAY
LARRY KING LIVE
September 14, 1999
[Actual Birthday October 1]

VIDEO SCHEDULING PROPOSAL

TODAY'S DATE 8/11/99

 ACCEPT 28 AUG 11 P 6:00 PENDING

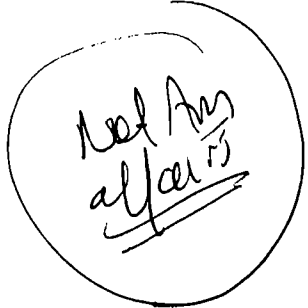
TO: Stephanie Streett
Assistant to the President and
Director of Scheduling

FROM: Lynn G. Cutler *LC*
Senior Advisor for Indian Affairs
To the Chief of Staff

REQUEST: Request for the President to videotape a message for the National Forum on the Future of Alaska Natives which is taking place at the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History on September 9, 1999.

PURPOSE: The President's participation reinforces his appreciation of the important role of Alaska Native people and culture to the United States.

BACKGROUND: On August 5, 1999, I met with representatives of the Alaska Federation of Natives to discuss the threat to the subsistence rights of Alaska Natives. Maria Echaveste also attended the meeting. Senator Inouye has called John Podesta regarding this issue. In order to preserve these rights, it is crucial that the President take this opportunity to reiterate Administration policy toward Alaska Natives. This issue is time-sensitive. The State of Alaska must understand as soon as possible that the Administration firmly supports Alaska Native subsistence rights and the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act ("ANILCA"). This event would provide the President an ideal opportunity to address the concerns of the Native Alaska.



PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: N/A

DATE AND TIME: September 9, 1999

BRIEFING TIME: 10 to 15 minutes

DURATION: TBD

LOCATION: The Smithsonian Museum of Natural History

SCHEDULING PROPOSAL FOR THE PRESIDENT
PAGE TWO

PARTICIPANTS: Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, Senators Daniel Inouye and Ted Stevens, Julie E. Kitka, President of the Alaska Federation of Natives, and other Alaska Native leaders.

**OUTLINE OF EVENT
AS PROPOSED:** TBD

REMARKS REQUIRED:

- A strong reiteration of this Administration's long-standing support of the subsistence rights of Alaska Natives
- A vow to continue Administration support of Alaska Natives

MEDIA COVERAGE: TBD

RECOMMENDED BY: Lynn G. Cutler

VIDEO DRAFT SCRIPT

TODAY'S DATE 8/27/99

____ACCEPT

____REGRET

____PENDING

TO: Stephanie Streett
Assistant to the President and
Director of Scheduling

FROM: Lynn G. Cutler *LC*
Senior Advisor for Indian Affairs
to the Chief of Staff

RE: Request for the President to videotape a message for the National
Forum on the Future of Alaska Natives which is taking place at the
Smithsonian Museum of Natural History on September 9, 1999.

DRAFT SCRIPT: Good morning everyone, President Kitka, honored guests. I wish
that I could be there with you in person today. I did want to give
you my thoughts on the issues that are of such importance to you
because these issues concern me greatly. Lynn Cutler, my senior
advisor on Native American issues is with you today. After the
forum is over, she will give me a full report on all that you have
discussed.

So that there can be no doubt as to my position on this, I want to
start by assuring you that my Administration firmly supports the
subsistence rights of Alaska Natives and other residents of rural
Alaska. In fact, I have always been committed to protecting the
human and civil rights of Alaska's Eskimo, Indian, and Aleut
people.

I will tell you who shares my beliefs – the Alaska voters. For
years, public opinion polls have shown that 60% of the voters
would approve a state constitutional amendment that would enact a
rural priority statewide.

Subsistence is a fundamental human and civil right. If Alaska
Natives and others are to continue their way of life and maintain
their culture, Alaska must comply with the Alaska National Interest
Land Conservation Act, or ANILCA. This federal law protects
subsistence fishing. Alaska must protect it also. Our position is
not one simply of words. We are ready to take action. Secretary
Babbitt has made it known that, if necessary, he will move to take

VIDEO DRAFT SCRIPT
PAGE TWO

over fisheries management in order to maintain your subsistence rights.

We hope that such action will not be necessary. But if it is, I will not hesitate to do everything that I can to protect a noble and honorable 10,000 year old way of life.

Before I finish, let me say one more thing. The danger that Alaska's people are facing is one that threatens all Americans. If subsistence living becomes a thing of the past, we all lose. This country's greatness was and is dependent on its diversity. We cannot become careless with the right of Americans to live their lives in traditional ways. I promise you that I will fight to preserve the values that one generation has so faithfully passed down to the next.

Thank you again for giving me this opportunity to speak to you. I will always try to match the courage you have shown in defending your way of life.

SCHEDULING PROPOSAL

DATE: August 25, 1999

✓ Accept Regret Pending
9/1 **99 AUG 24 13:16**

TO: Stephanie Streett
Assistant to the President and Director of
Scheduling

FROM: Thurgood Marshall, Jr. T.M.
Assistant to the President and
Director of Cabinet Affairs

Larry Stein LS
Assistant to the President and
Director of Legislative Affairs

Minyon Moore M
Assistant to the President and
Director of Political Affairs

REQUEST: To prepare a videotape address in honor of
the late civil rights leader James Farmer at
the request of Representative John Lewis (D-
GA).

BACKGROUND: On September 10, 1999 there will be a special
tribute to James Farmer at The Kennedy
Center. Because the President will be on
foreign travel and unable to attend the
ceremony, Representative Lewis has requested
that the President prepare a video tribute
for the event. Farmer was the founder of the
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), organizer
of the freedom rides, and considered one of
the big six leaders of the movement. He
passed away in July of this year.

DATE AND TIME: Taped prior to September 10, 1999.

DURATION: TBD.

PARTICIPANTS: The President.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: TBD.

REMARKS: Yes.

RECOMMENDED BY: Representative John Lewis (D-GA)

CONTACT: Janelle Erickson x62092



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

JOHN LEWIS
FIFTH DISTRICT
GEORGIA

August 11, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President of The United States
1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to invite you to participate in a special tribute to civil rights pioneer James Farmer to be held at The Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts Opera House on Friday, September 10, 1999 at 11:00 a.m. As you know, Mr. Farmer passed away in July of this year.

James Farmer was the founder of the Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE). He was the organizer of the "freedom rides" and one of the "big six" leaders of the civil rights movement. As a recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, I know that you recognize the great contributions made to our nation by James Farmer.

A group of Mr. Farmer's friends and family have formed the James L. Farmer Tribute Committee to organize this event and pay a fitting tribute to this man and his contributions. I am serving as the honorary chairman of the committee. We anticipate approximately 1200 people attending the event.

I am hopeful that you will be able to join us and lend your eloquent voice to those honoring Mr. Farmer. Should you or your staff have questions regarding the tribute, please contact Lacreteria Hill in my office at (202) 225-3801.

Thank you for your consideration of this request. Your presence would make what I know will be a memorable event even more special.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John Lewis".
John Lewis
Member of Congress

Draft
James Farmer Tribute

Thank you very much for that warm introduction. I am very pleased and delighted to be here in this heartfelt tribute to my friend and brother Mr. James Farmer. I am very honored to be in the company of the Farmer family, my distinguished colleagues, and friends and admirers of the late James Farmer. You are lucky. You are more than lucky. You have been blessed to have been products of the life works of James Farmer.

38 years ago when I first came to Washington to

participate in something called the freedom rides.

13 of us were recruited 7 whites and 6 Blacks to test the decision of the United States Supreme Court banning discrimination in interstate bus travel.

Indeed, the freedom rides were more dangerous. We actually did not know if we would return. We had been warned that we would not make it to the end of our destination. People thought we would surely die. The night before we began the rides we ate at a Chinese restaurant here in downtown Washington.

One of the participants said that we should eat well, because this may be like the last supper. We were

met by mobs and beaten bloody. The bus was burned and many of us ultimately found ourselves in prison at Parchmen penitentiary in Mississippi. Such was the price paid for freedom and equality in the 1960's.

The man who conceived the freedom rides and went to jail with us was James Farmer, the founder of the Congress of Racial Equality. The Freedom Rides was above all the most daring accomplishments of the non-violent actions taken by Mr. Farmer.

James Farmer was a powerful man. He carried a

Baritone voice that could shake heavens gates. I remember when he used to sing those old Negro spirituals and labor songs. His ability to improvise those old freedom songs lifted the spirits of all around. I can still hear that voice shaking the cell doors in Parchmen when he sang, *Which Side Are You On*. I can still hear him now, "Which side are you on Boy, which side are you on." I could never match the powerful voice or sing as he could.

Mr. Farmer was a wonderful man. Jim had a great sense of humor, he loved to crack jokes on everybody, and with the spirit of the movement he

would crack them on himself also.

James Farmer was a follower and believer in the philosophy and discipline of nonviolence long before it became fashionable. Jim Farmer was sitting-in and protesting during the 1940's and 1950's long before Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery bus in 1955. James Farmer was truly one of the founding fathers of what I like to call the "New America". He was one of what was called the "Big Six" leaders of the civil rights movement.

James Farmer was not just a leader of the

movement for equal rights and equal liberties in this country. He was a strategist, an activist and a visionary. He was a man who dreamed of a better America, and he worked everyday of his life to help create that America. In doing do so, James Farmer helped liberate not just a people but an entire nation.

Throughout his life, even in his later years and in poor health, James Farmer never stopped preaching the Gospel of tolerance. He never stopped believing in the idea of an inter-racial democracy and he never stopped working to build the beloved community.

Schopenhauer once said, "All thrust passes in three stages: First, it is ridiculed, Second, it is violently opposed, third, it is accepted as being self-evident." The life work of James Farmer is a clear indication that freedom, and equal rights for all humankind is universal.

It was Horace Mann who said, " we should be ashamed to leave this Earth before having made a contribution to it." Of James Farmer it can only be said he had nothing to be ashamed of, His daring, his vision and his action changed America forever. As a Nation and a people, we mourn the loss of this

great man. And so it is fitting and appropriate that we from the movement and lovers of freedom everywhere are here joining together today to pay tribute to this great American. Jim past not long ago, but the impact he made on our nation and the lives of millions of Americans will be felt forever.

James Farmer changed the way Americans look and deal with the issue of race. He worked to destroy the divided house created by bigotry and racism and has helped rebuild this old House...our House, One Housethe American house.

Just as Jim along with others in the movement

would say, "Don't give up...don't give in... keep the
Faith, and keep your eyes on the Prize."

VIDEO PROPOSAL MEETING
Wednesday, September 1, 1999

Video for the National Forum on the Future of Alaska Natives

September 9

Staff Contact: Lynn Cutler

Location: Smithsonian Museum of Natural History

Duration: 10-15 min. brief, 2 min. video

Viewers: Members of the Alaskan native community, rural Alaskan community and leaders of the Alaska Federation of Natives.

-The representatives of the Alaska Federation of Natives are concerned about the subsistence right of Alaska natives. This video will reiterate the Administration's support of Alaska Natives' subsistence rights and the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA).

Video Honoring James Farmer

September 10

Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr., Larry Stein, Minyon Moore

Location: Kennedy Center, Washington, DC

Duration: TBD

Viewers: Attendees of the Kennedy Center Tribute to James Farmer

-Representative John Lewis (D-GA) requests that POTUS tape a video honoring the late civil rights leader, James Farmer, to be shown at the Kennedy Center Tribute to Farmer. Farmer founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and was considered one of the big six leaders of the movement. Farmer passed away in July, 1999.

Video for CNN's Larry King Live 75th Birthday Celebration of President Carter

September 14

Staff Contact: Joe Lockhart

Location: Los Angeles, CA

Duration: 1-3 min video

Viewers: Viewers of CNN Larry King Live

-The video will be shown during the Larry King Live show. President Ford and Vice President Mondale are also recording videos for this.

Video Tribute Honoring Jim Kimsey's 60th Birthday

September 15

Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

Location: Washington, DC

Duration: 1 min video

Viewers: Kimsey family and friends attending the birthday celebration

-To send Jim Kimsey birthday greetings. Kimsey is the founding CEO and Chairman Emeritus of America Online and a major supporter of the President.

Video Greetings to the FORTUNE Global Forum in Shanghai, China

September 20

Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

Location: Shanghai, China

Duration: 3 min video

Viewers: Attendees of the Global Forum, including 500 CEO's of major Multinational corporations and 160 Chinese CEO's.

-This Forum is the largest gathering of major multinational CEO's ever in China and would give POTUS a chance to convey greetings to the group. Chinese President Zemin is giving the keynote address and Henry Kissinger and Bob Rubin are speaking as well.

NTL

Video Remarks to be used at Four Improving America's Schools Conferences

September 21

Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

Location: Washington, DC; Tampa, FL; Salt Lake City, UT; Chicago, IL

Duration: 3-5 min video

Viewers: Educators from across the country who attend these four conferences

-The Department of Education requests that POTUS tape this video to be shown at the four Improving America's Schools Conferences this fall.

VP

Video for a WWII Documentary to be Aired on the History Channel

September 27

NOTE: the documentary will not be aired until January, 2000

Staff Contact: Loretta Ucelli

Location: TBD

Duration: 1 hour

Viewers: 2 million viewers of the History Channel

-This will be a three-question video interview for a World War II documentary to be aired on the History Channel. The video will add prestige, relevance and urgency to the World War II Memorial Campaign.

Video for the National Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences and MusiCares Honoring Mr. Les Brown with the MusiCares' President's Merit Award

September 28

Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

Location: Regent Beverly Wilshire Hotel, Los Angeles, CA

Duration: 1 min brief, 3-5 min video

Viewers: Approximately 1200 people attending the dinner

-This video will honor Les Brown for his outstanding contributions to the music industry and will be shown at the dinner.

Video for the AFL-CIO's "Working Family Convocation" Convention

October 9

Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano

Location: Los Angeles, CA

Duration: 5-10 min video

Viewers: Union leaders, working families from Los Angeles, religious leaders and community leaders.

TM

-This video will be shown at the AFL-CIO Convention and will focus on creating good jobs and strong communities through creative partnerships between labor and the community.

Video for the Orthodox Union's Institute for Public Affairs Dinner Honoring Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan

October 11

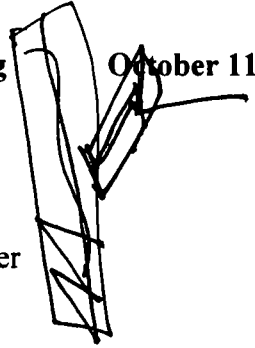
Staff Contact: Ann Lewis

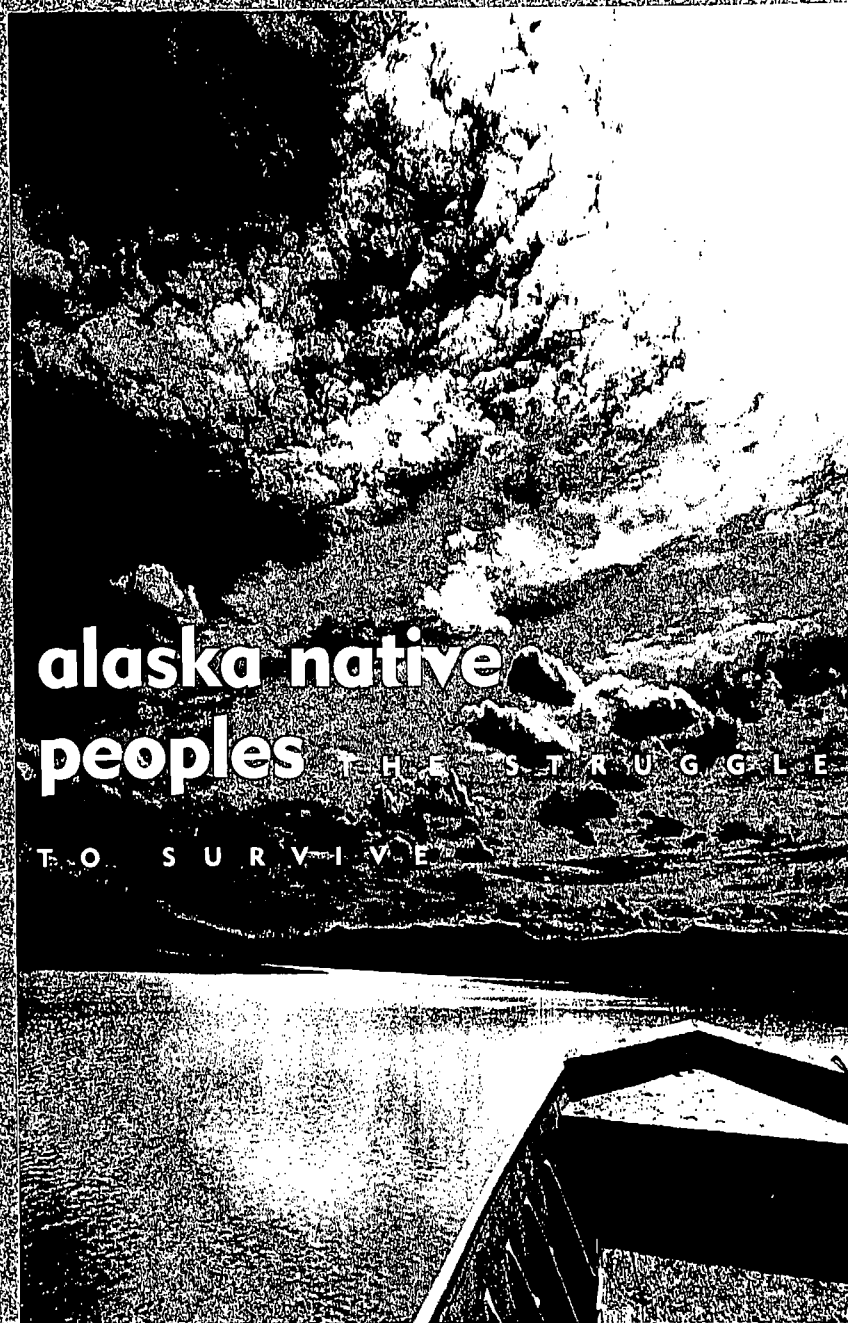
Location: Grand Hyatt Hotel, New York City

Duration: 5 min video

Viewers: Attendees of the Orthodox Union's Inst. for Public Affairs Dinner

-The Orthodox Union has requested a video since ROTUS and HRC are serving as Honorary Patrons for this Dinner.





PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The New York Times

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MONDAY, JULY 12, 1999

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Monica Almeida/The New York Times

Mary John and her granddaughter Kimberly Kassaiuli prepared herring for drying in Newtok, Alaska.

Alaska Torn Over Rights to Live Off the Land

By SAM HOWE VERHOVEK

KWETHLUK, Alaska — In the clearings along the broad Kuskokwim River where the Yup'ik Eskimos set up what they call their "fish camps," this is a busy time. Families are racing to catch, cut and cure the fish that will last them a year, and salmon turn scarlet as they hang by the hundreds to dry in the early summer sun.

James Nicori and his family were up until 3 the other morning, stringing fish and stoking the alderwood in the smokehouse, not that the time of

day matters too much at a point in the season when it does not get dark at all. In August it will be time for gathering berries and wild celery out in the bush. In the fall the men will hunt caribou.

To a remarkable degree, thousands of native people still live off the land here in the Alaskan tundra, taking 90 percent or more of what they eat every year from the great back country, the rivers and the Bering Sea. "This," Mr. Nicori said,

beckoning to the Kuskokwim and the vast bush land beyond, "is our super-market."

But 40 years after Alaska became a state, 20 years after land-claim disputes in the oil rush led Congress to give the people known as "subsistence gatherers" priority rights to fish and game, and 10 years after the state's highest court declared that protection unconstitutional because such natural bounty was for the "common use" of all Alaskans, the debate has reached a crisis point.

Cheering the natives but enraging

172 DAYS TO GO! THE NEW YORK TIMES Magazine Millennium Countdown sponsored today by Chopard. — ADVT.

Continued on Page A13

Alaska Torn Over Granting Rights to Live Off the Land

Continued From Page A1

sportsmen's groups and the state's commercial fishing industry, which are both largely white, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt announced recently that the Federal Government would take over allocation of fishing rights and schedules in federally owned sections of Alaska, nearly two-thirds of the state, on Oct. 1 unless the State Legislature acted. State lawmakers could keep Washington from doing so, Mr. Babbitt said, if they agreed on a constitutional amendment to guarantee a "subsistence priority" in times of shortage for those who rely on the land and rivers here for their primary food supply.

But the state's Republican-controlled Legislature has not reached accord on a measure to put before the voters, prompting the Democratic Governor, Tony Knowles, to warn that they could be letting in "the Trojan horse of Federal management" in a state that fiercely values its last-frontier style of independence.

In many ways, the debate over Alaska's subsistence culture starkly echoes those elsewhere over affirmative action, creating similar racial tensions. The natives say the issue is their civil rights, while the sportsmen say the natives are demanding "special rights" and unfair quotas.

But this fight is not over schools, contracts or employment, but over food and a way of life that in some respects has remained strikingly unchanged for centuries.

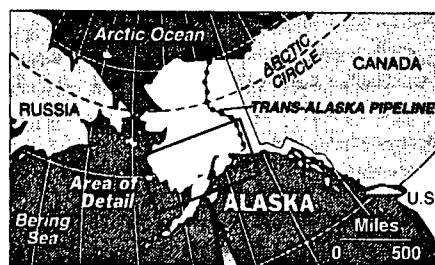
"This is not 19th-century history here, some historical injustice we can do nothing about today," said George Irvin, policy director for the Alaskan Federation of Natives, which represents the Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts in their battle for subsistence rights. "These are the last aboriginal Americans still striving to live as they always have, on their homelands. There has to be room in the American system for them to survive."

To an outsider, the dispute at first seems eminently solvable. After all, the subsistence gatherers take only 2 percent or 3 percent of the state's fish and game harvest a year, and polls show that at least 60 percent of Alaskans favor granting priority rights to such people. And the issue mainly arises in times of scarcity, which come every few years when regulators determine that fish are running low in some rivers or that caribou or moose herds have thinned.

But allocating these rights can be immensely complicated, which partly explains why the Legislature has so far failed, despite years of trying, to resolve the issue.

Who, exactly, should be defined as a subsistence gatherer? Although subsistence is rooted in native cultures, some white people also live off the land, while many natives live in Anchorage and Fairbanks and are just as likely to shop in a supermarket or eat at McDonald's as a nonnative.

Furthermore, insuring subsistence gatherers the ability to carry out a traditional way of life sometimes means, say, closing off rivers for several weeks to everybody else. That not only irritates those who fish as



The New York Times

Subsistence gatherers in Kwethluk are party to a debate over fish and game.

a hobby but possibly makes the difference between profit and loss in the season of a commercial fishing operator.

Beyond the logistical considerations, it is clear that the issue has touched a deep emotional nerve.

That is particularly true for nonwhite Alaskans, or native peoples, as they prefer to call themselves, who were the majority in Alaska into the 1940's but now make up only about 15 percent of the state's population. Many native leaders complain of mistreatment by the white majority, a sentiment clearly in evidence at a rally in Anchorage in May in which native groups pressed for protection of subsistence rights.

"Apartheid is alive and well and it lives in the Arctic, it lives in our schools, and I'm sad to say it lives in the halls of the State Legislature," Desa Jacobsson, who is Gwich'in Indian on her mother's side and Yup'ik Eskimo on her father's, told the crowd. Ms. Jacobsson, who ran unsuccessfully for Governor last year as the Green Party candidate, was jailed briefly several years ago after a subsistence fishing protest.

But strong emotions are also felt by many whites, whose numbers swelled from migration in the oil rush of the 1970's, but also include many who were born here and feel they, too, are natives.

"Our adversaries marched for 'special rights' — and called it civil rights," says a brochure produced by the Alaska Outdoor Council, one of the principal groups representing sportsmen and sportswomen in the state. It urges members to fight efforts to "enshrine that terrible Federal subsistence law in our state's Constitution."

That law, Title VIII of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, was passed by Congress in 1980, establishing a subsistence priority, loosely defined as applying to rural residents of the state and thus covering what it termed the "customary and traditional" uses of subsistence gatherers. That measure guaranteed that in years of low yield, steps should be taken to guarantee that those gatherers had first



Monica Almeida/The New York Times

By the Niutak River in Newtok, Stanley and Elizabeth Tom, with some of their children, who help to preserve fish for days ahead.

rights to the harvests of fish and game. It grew out of an agreement a decade earlier, reached in the rush to clear a right-of-way for the building of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline, that native subsistence rights would be protected.

But those are the protections that the state court later deemed unconstitutional. And, after years of prodding the state to change its Constitution, the Federal Government is set to wield its hammer, in the form of Secretary Babbitt's threat to take over

Native peoples and sportsmen clash over fish and game.

fishing management on federally owned property in Alaska.

The state has been managing fishing on those lands and has asked to keep doing so while it tries to work out language to protect subsistence rights, but Mr. Babbitt said earlier this month he was disappointed that the Legislature had not brought the issue before voters and that it was time to act.

About half of Alaska's 100,000 native peoples live off the land to a significant extent, according to the Alaska Federation of Natives. For some, that may mean taking only a third or so of their food from the land. But thousands, like Mr. Nicori and his family here on the Kuskokwim, get 90 percent or more this way.

The food involved runs the gamut, from

berries and roe air seaweed to fish, moose, caribou, arctic hare and the parka squirrel.

The natives who live off the land are hardly living in the past. In many of their villages, there are motorboats and snowmobiles, satellite television dishes and Coca-Cola.

"There's no way you can stop it completely," said 64-year-old Mary John, laughing as she skinned a huge bucketful of herring one recent afternoon with her 14-year-old granddaughter Kimberly Kassaiuli in the village of Newtok, in southwestern Alaska. "Kids do like the taste of potato chips."

Across the village, hard by the Niutak River, several of Stanley and Elizabeth Tom's eight children were inside the house, watching a Disney "Mighty Ducks" cartoon movie as they also gutted and intricately braided fish with tundra grass, then hung them for drying.

Except for a big bowl of rice, lunch that afternoon at the Toms' small home came from the land: half-smoked salmon, dried herring dipped in seal oil, salmon berries preserved last fall.

"This is a big part of who we are and what we are all about," said Mr. Nicori, here on the Kuskokwim, who had nearly 100 king salmon and hundreds of smaller reds and chums hanging on the lines and in the smokehouse at his fish camp. "It is something we must never lose, no matter how modern the world becomes."

Under the current system, the state gives priority in some cases to subsistence gatherers. For instance, they were allowed to fish in the Kuskokwim for several weeks this year before it opened to commercial operators. But critics challenge that system, saying it is not strong enough to guar-

antee protection in all cases, as would the Federal law, which Mr. Babbitt wants enshrined in the state Constitution.

From 1994 to 1998, several rivers in southwest Alaska had poor fish runs, and around Bristol Bay, the state had to deliver fish caught elsewhere to nearly 100 communities, an act of compassion that was also deeply wounding to those who survive off the land.

Governor Knowles is expected to call one more special session, probably in September, in a last-ditch bid to avert the Federal takeover of fishing regulations on the Government's lakes and rivers.

Though both sides say they are open to compromise, it is not clear that much common ground exists. And an unlikely alliance of forces may work against an agreement: natives who favor the Federal action and conservative lawmakers who could reap considerable political hay out of the anger that a Federal intervention could spark among many white Alaskans.

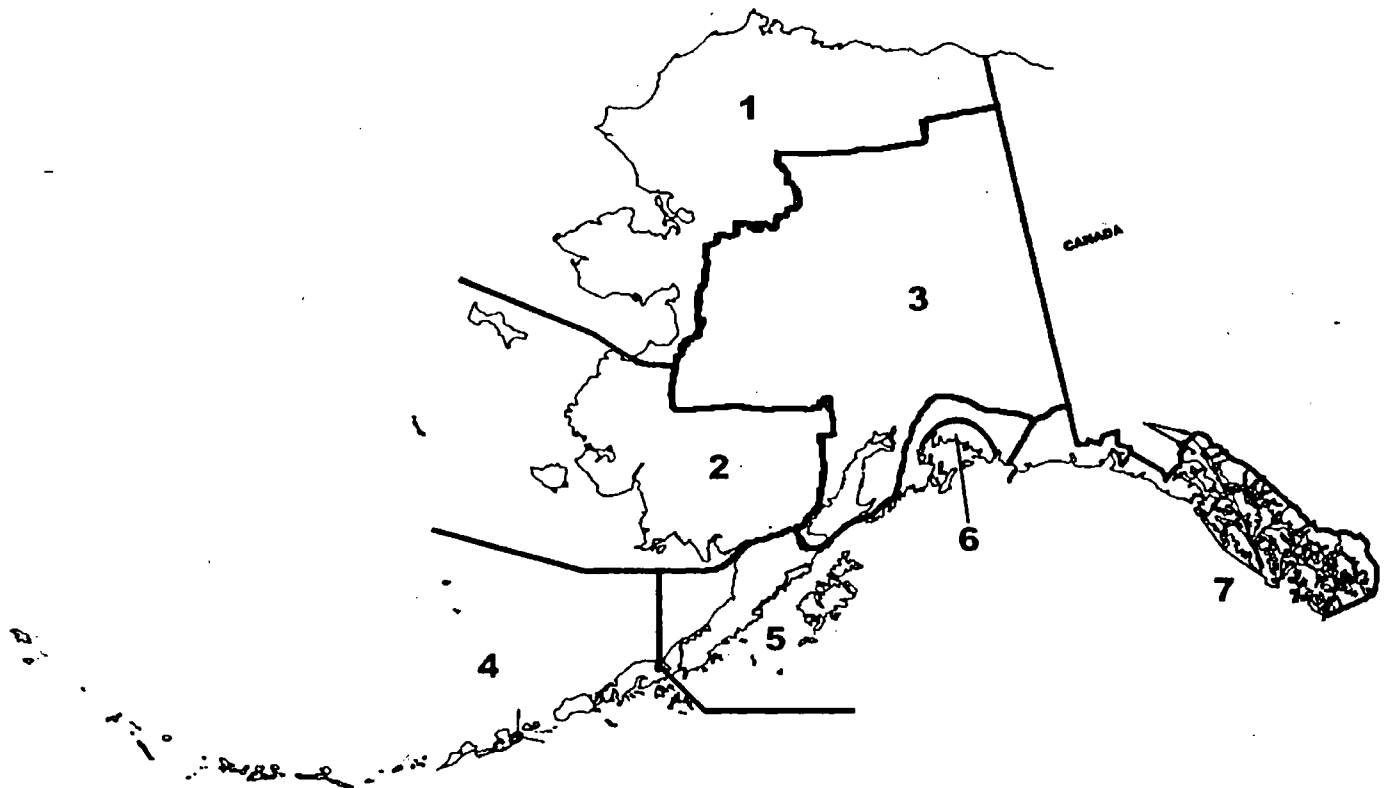
Ron Somerville, a board member of Territorial Sportsmen Inc., one of the oldest and largest sportsmen's groups in the state, said it made no sense "to allow our state to institute a bad Federal law that discriminates against our own residents."

But Myron Naneng, president of the Association of Village Council Presidents, representing 56 native villages here in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta of southwest Alaska, put the matter in very different terms.

"We are a very law-abiding people," Mr. Naneng said. "But when obeying the law means that our children go hungry, something is wrong with the law."

Alaska Native Peoples

A Map of Languages and Cultures



1. Inupiaq
2. Yup'ik
3. Athabascan
4. Aleut
5. Alutiiq
6. Eyak
7. Tlingit / Haida / Tsimshian

Alaska Native Peoples

For More Information

For additional information about the Alaska Federation of Natives or about subsistence issues in Alaska, please contact the following individuals:

Primary Contact:

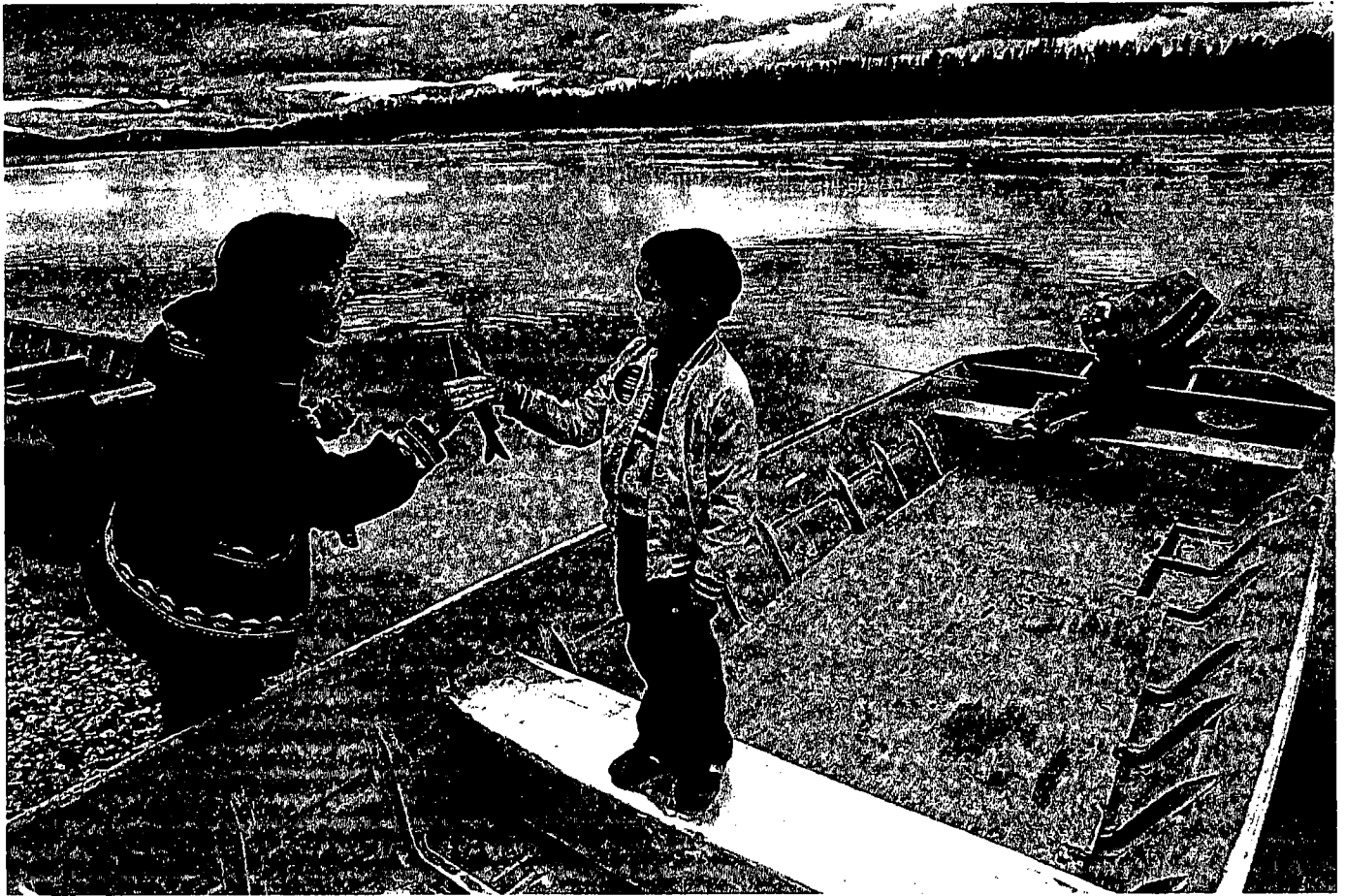
Anna Pickett Chamberland
Special Assistant, Communications
Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN)
907.274.3611
907.276.7989 fax
1577 "C" Street, Suite 300
Anchorage, AK 99501

Julie Kitka
AFN President
907.274.3611

Albert Kookesh
AFN Co-Chair
907.465.3473 (Legislative Session Phone)
907.465.6828
907.788.3615

Rosemarie Maher
AFN Co-Chair
907.778.2331
907.452.4755

Rosita Worl
AFN Subsistence Committee Chair
907.364.3873
907.723.8742 Cellular



"In the sharing tradition of Alaska Natives, an Inupiaq Eskimo woman from Barrow receives a small fish caught by an Athabascan Indian boy. Fish is the most important food to Natives throughout Alaska, providing for the majority of their diet."

Photo by Bill Hess

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Seattle WA 98101

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Fax 206.374.7798

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FAX TRANSMISSION

TO: Laura Schiller

COMPANY: Office of the First Lady

FAX NUMBER: 456-6244

FROM: Joe Cerrell

DATE: 8/25/99

TIME:

TOTAL # OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER) 46

COMMENTS:

Attached is a background paper and draft script for the First Lady's videotaping on 9/7. If you have any questions or need additional information, please call me at 206-374-7788 x19. Thanks.

**SUBSISTENCE ISSUES FOR THE FIRST LADY
TO CONSIDER IN HER VIDEOTAPE MESSAGE TO THE
"NATIONAL FORUM ON THE FUTURE OF ALASKA NATIVES"
(SEPTEMBER 9, 1999)**

The Forum is a White House Millenium event, to be held on September 9 at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural Hlstory in Washington, D.C. (AGENDA ATTACHED). A principal issue to be discussed there is continued federal protection of Alaska Natives' subsistence hunting and fishing rights.

Here is the factual background:

1. For more than 10,000 years, Alaska Natives (Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts) have fed and clothed their families by hunting, fishing and gathering from the land and waters. This subsistence economy remains a necessity for the survival of Native villages today.
2. There are now more than 100,000 Native people in Alaska, most of whom live in 230 self-sustaining villages, each of which with populations between 50 and 900.
3. There are very little economic resources or job opportunities in Native villages. The average family survives each year by combining tiny cash resources with an essential protein base of wild foods gathered for subsistence uses.
4. Without subsistence, most remote Native villages are doomed to erode and disappear. It is literally the only way in which these American citizens can feed themselves.
5. The subsistence rights of Natives and other rural Alaskans are protected by Title VIII of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980.
6. ANILCA also offered to the State the right to manage subsistence hunting and fishing on Alaska's federal, state and private lands, if it would enact a rural priority statewide. The State did that.
7. But, in 1989, the Alaska Supreme Court ruled that the rural subsistence priority in state law violated the Alaska Constitution, thereby putting the State out of compliance with federal law.

8. In 1990, the United States reasserted management authority over subsistence hunting on federal land; and a 1995 federal appeals court ruling held that subsistence fishing is also protected by ANILCA.
9. Implementation of that order has been blocked for four years by congressional moratoria, giving the Alaska Legislature more time to submit to the voters a state constitutional amendment permitting a rural priority.
10. A minority of state legislators has consistently refused to put such an amendment on the ballot - because they know how the Alaskan electorate would respond. For years, public opinion polls have shown that 60% of the voters would approve such an amendment. But, anti-subsistence legislators are now determined to remove federal protections through amendments to ANILCA.

Suggested remarks for the First Lady:

1. Although unable to be with you in person, I am pleased to be able to address by video the National Forum on the Future of Alaska Natives.
2. I believe that what is now unfolding in Alaska is a struggle that deserves national attention. Tens of thousands of rural Alaskan Natives who have lived a traditional way of life for generations, are being threatened by legislative challenges to their rights to hunt, fish and gather from the land. Many Alaskan natives feel that this threat to their subsistence culture is a violation of their fundamental rights to adequate food for themselves and their families – rights that are protected under the the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
3. There should be no question that Alaska's traditional Native communities are a national treasure. They are one of the last places in America where Native people still practice their traditional ways of life on their own aboriginal homelands. Their culture is one that we should celebrate in the 21st Century. To do this, however, we must ensure survival of their way of life.
4. More than any other issue in the state, the way in which Alaska resolves this subsistence issue will impact the future of all Alaskans, Native and non-Native alike.
5. Although there is nothing that you or I can do that could somehow alter past injustices to Native American people in the 18th and 19th Centuries; what we can do is help ensure that this never happens again.
6. I have enjoyed working with the Alaska Federation of Natives, which most of you know is a White House Millennium Community. I have enjoyed learning about the unique culture of Alaskan Natives and their current struggle to preserve this way of life. I applaud AFN on their efforts to help raise the awareness of Americans on the goals and aspirations of Alaska Natives.
7. I wish you a successful conference.

NATIONAL FORUM ON THE FUTURE OF ALASKA NATIVES

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1999

SPONSORED BY THE ALASKA FEDERATION OF NATIVES

IN COOPERATION WITH THE

**NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS, NATIVE AMERICAN RIGHTS FUND,
ALASKA INTER-TRIBAL COUNCIL, AND RURAL ALASKA COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM**

Tentative Forum Agenda

- 7:30 a.m. Registration**
- 8:00 a.m. Northern Lights Dancers**
- 8:30 a.m. Invocation**
Peter Jack, Tlingit Elder (Invited)
- 8:35 a.m. Welcome to the National Museum of Natural History,
Smithsonian Institution**
Mr. Robert Fri, Director
- 8:40 a.m. Welcome Comments**
Alaska Federation of Natives
Albert Kookesh, Co-Chair
Rosemarie Maher, Co-Chair
- 8:50 a.m. Keynote Themes**
The Honorable Georgianna Lincoln, Alaska State Senator
Byron I. Mallott, Executive Director, Alaska Permanent Fund Corporation
- 9:10 a.m. The Honorable Tony Knowles, Governor (Invited)**
State of Alaska
- 9:20 a.m. The Honorable Ted Stevens, U.S. Senator**
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations
- 9:35 a.m. The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye, U.S. Senator**
Vice-Chairman Senate Indian Affairs Committee
- 9:50 a.m. White House Address**
Lynn Cutler, Deputy Assistant to the President and Senior Advisor to the Chief of
Staff for Indian Affairs and Special Projects
- 10:05 a.m. The Honorable Bruce Babbitt, Secretary**
Department of the Interior
- 10:15 a.m. Break**

- 10:40 a.m. Panel Discussion: Alaska Natives and their Relationship to the Land**
Since time immemorial, the Eskimo, Indian and Aleut people have been one with the "Great Land." The earth and its waters provide them with food, clothing and shelter – as well as with language, culture, social structure and faith. Any discussion of the future of Alaska Natives must be rooted in the land and resources that sustain their traditional communities.
- 12:00 p.m. Lunch**
- 1:30 p.m. Panel Discussion: Securing an Economic Base to Support our Cultures and Communities into the Next Century**
Despite Alaska's vast natural resource base, most of the state's population and economic development are concentrated in three cities. The Native future will be shaped by the extent to which rural villages can maintain and develop "mixed" economies, combining currency-based, modern economic development with a far older economy based on hunting, fishing and gathering.
- 3:00 p.m. Break**
- 3:15 p.m. Panel Discussion: Honoring our Past - Imagining our Future**
Native elders traditionally have provided wisdom, knowledge and skills to young people. The cultural upheaval in rural villages has altered these relationships significantly. Increased substance abuse, suicide and the breakdown of families are the initial indicators of the toll taken on the Native community. A stable future depends on the ability of Native people to balance old and new values.
- 4:30 p.m. Performance**
Northern Lights Dancers
- 4:45 p.m. Closing Remarks and Conclusion of Forum**
- 5:00 p.m. Special Showing of the Exhibit "Ainu Spirit of a Northern People"**
Hosted by Dr. William Fitzhugh, Director, Arctic Studies Center
National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution
- 6:00 p.m. Forum Reception**
Senate Committee on Indian Affairs Hearing Room
Russell Senate Building, Room 485
Hosted by: Senator Ted and Mrs. Catherine Stevens
Senator Frank and Mrs. Nancy Murkowski
Representative Don and Mrs. Lu Young
Senator Daniel K. Inouye
Alaska Federation of Natives

PYRAMID

COMMUNICATIONS

Call Joe

who is
doing me here?

Evan,

Enclosed is an informational packet
on the Alaska Federation of Native's
national campaign on subsistence.
Please give me a call when you
receive at 206-374-7788 ext. 19

- Joe Cerrell

1032 First Ave Suite 502

Tel 206.374.7788

Fax 206.374.7798

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Seattle WA 98101

PYRAMID

COMMUNICATIONS

MEMORANDUM

TO: Patti Solis Doyle
FR: Joe Cerrell
DT: 8/2/99
RE: Cover Memo Attachment
CC: Evan Ryan

Smithsonian

Sept. 9, 1999

Greetings from the Northwest. I hope you, Jim and Lee are well and enjoying the summer.

I am writing this memo as an attachment to the accompanying scheduling requests. The requests are on behalf of the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN), an organization that represents more than 100,000 of the state's native population. AFN also was designated last April a White House Millennium community.

AFN has had the privilege of working with the First Lady on the issue of subsistence rights in Alaska. They are extremely impressed with her thoughtfulness and insight on the subject. In a recent phone conversation, the First Lady acknowledged how important it is to raise the awareness of Americans on the goals and aspirations of Alaska Natives. She also commended AFN on their efforts to engage young people who make up 50% of the state's population.

> who gave
of cash

The requests I am forwarding include the following:

A brief meeting the week of August 2, 1999

Julie Kitka, President of AFN, is in Washington, D.C. all this week. Although she and I both realize the very last-minute nature of this request, we are hoping that the First Lady might have 15 minutes to meet with Julie to get a progress report on the upcoming Forum and, in general, the issue of Alaskan subsistence. Secretary Madeline Albright recently met with Julie on her way to Asia and discussed the critical nature of this subject.

Participation in the National Forum on the Future of Alaska Natives

AFN is hoping to have the First Lady participate in the National Forum on the Future of Alaska Natives. We understand that this may pose a conflict, as the First Lady may be at the APEC meetings in New Zealand. However, AFN asks that if Mrs. Clinton can't be at the event that she consider a taped video message for playback at the conference.

The attached requests have additional information for you to review and consider. I have also enclosed a packet of materials, including a recent New York Times article that outlines the issue.

I will call you shortly, after you have a chance to review this. Thanks for your help.

**Alaska Federation of Natives
A White House Millennium Community
1577 C Street, Suite 300
Anchorage, Alaska 99501
907/274-3611**

August 2, 1999

Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

As you may know, the Alaska Federation of Natives was designated a White House Millennium community on April 28, 1999. We are very excited about this designation because it helps highlight the important role of Alaska Native people and our cultures to the United States. This letter is a request for your participation on September 9, 1999, in a National Forum on the Future of Alaska Natives, to be held at the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History.

This event will provide an opportunity to bridge the gap between Alaska Natives and decision-makers and public opinion leaders on the national level. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, Senator Daniel Inouye, Senator Ted Stevens have all confirmed their attendance.

If your schedule does not permit you to attend, we also respectfully request that you consider submitting a videotaped message, which we would play to the audience of several hundred that will be in attendance. We are also requesting that the President submit a similar video message for the Forum.

Alaska Natives stand at a critical point in our history. We have tremendous opportunity, but we are in grave danger of losing our unique identity, our place, our culture and another generation of young people. The state's Eskimo, Indian and Aleut people find themselves in a civil rights battle over their right to continue the traditions that have shaped their lives and assured their survival for over 10,000 years.

In this distant corner of the country, more Native American people live in a traditional manner on their aboriginal homeland than in any other part of the United States. They continue to follow a traditional way of life and feed their families by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild foods. These practices are known as "subsistence" uses of fish, wildlife and other natural resources.

This conference will help establish an ongoing dialogue about the future of Alaska's Native peoples, and your participation would contribute greatly to this success of this effort. Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Julie E. Kitka
President

**Alaska Federation of Natives
A White House Millennium Community
1577 C Street, Suite 300
Anchorage, Alaska 99501
907/274-3611**

August 2, 1999

Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

As you may know, the Alaska Federation of Natives was designated a White House Millennium community on April 28, 1999. We are very excited about this designation because it helps highlight the important role of Alaska Native people and our cultures to the United States.

This letter is a request for an opportunity to meet with you very briefly this week, while I am in Washington, D.C. Specifically, I would like to: (1) have an opportunity to update for you the progress on our Millennium activities; and (2) invite your participation on September 9, 1999, in a National Forum on the Future of Alaska Natives, to be held at the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History.

In a conference call that took place shortly after the White House Millennium Community announcement, you thoughtfully acknowledged how important it is to raise the awareness of Americans on the goals and aspirations of Alaska Natives. You also emphasized how important it is to engage our young people who make up 50 percent of our population and complimented on our work toward this end. At that time, you also asked all of us to update you on our progress and efforts.

Alaska Natives stand at a critical point in our history. The state's Eskimo, Indian and Aleut people find themselves in a civil rights battle over their right to continue the traditions that have shaped their lives and assured their survival for over 10,000 years.

In this distant corner of the country, more Native American people live in a traditional manner on their aboriginal homeland than in any other part of the United States. They continue to follow a traditional way of life and feed their families by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild foods. These practices are known as "subsistence" uses of fish, wildlife and other natural resources.

I hope you will consider our request for a meeting this week. I will be in Washington D.C. this week and am available to meet at your convenience. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Julie E. Kitka
President

Alaska Native Peoples

The Struggle to Survive



One important fact about modern Alaska may come as a surprise to residents of the other 49 states: most of the 100,000 Alaska Native people (Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts) who reside in the state continue to follow a traditional way of life and feed their families by hunting, fishing and gathering wild foods. These practices are known as "subsistence" uses of fish, wildlife and other resources.

In this distant corner of the country, more Native American people live in a traditional manner on their entire aboriginal homelands than in any other part of the United States.

Always Getting Ready: An Alaska Native Way of Life

Life in modern Native communities requires tremendous effort and constant preparation. All winter long, people are *getting ready* for spring, when the salmon arrive. Fall hunting season requires advance preparation of equipment and supplies. This all encompassing way of life is summed up by the Yup'ik Eskimo word *upterrlainarluta*, meaning "the wisdom of knowing what to prepare for, including the unpredictable." They are always *getting ready*.

Subsistence activities provide not only protein, fats and carbohydrates, but also a daily participation in the natural world in which animals and human beings are linked. Local culture, language, faith and family cohesion are rooted in subsistence, as is the entire social structure of the village. Such practices are the foundation of Native life from Ketchikan to Barrow and from the Canadian border to the tip of the Aleutian Chain.

Unfortunately, more than 230 Alaska Native villages now find their economies and cultures threatened by other people's laws and politics. No longer do climate and distance protect them from the outside world.

"During my first visit I was given the loan of a snowmachine and a flight map so that I could visit a nearby village 18 miles away. I was traveling alone on a noisy old machine, quite terrified that the thing might quit and strand me far from town in the bleak winter whiteness. I wondered what had ever possessed me. Then I noticed a dog team coming toward me. As we passed, I spotted the driver sitting contentedly in his sled covered by a skin of some sort. He had a big grin on his face as his team trotted down the river. I was astonished to realize that Yup'ik people were living quite comfortably in this region that I perceived to be so cold and desolate. I wanted to know who they were."

— Photographer James Barker
on his first trip to the
Kuskokwim Delta in 1970



The Protections of Law

From the time of statehood in 1959, the rights of Alaska Native people have been sacrificed to the benefit of new development and a growing non-Native population in Alaska. The survival of this unique way of life will take place only if protections guaranteed by federal law are enforced, not weakened. Population growth, commercial fishing, changing weather patterns and other factors necessitate continued legislative protections for Alaska Native people. Congress should protect hunting, fishing and gathering activities for all Alaska Natives. So should state law.

Funding for Subsistence Education and Outreach

Additional funding is needed to support the efforts of Alaska Native people to fight for their cultural survival. Here are some examples of how others have helped.

In Hooper Bay, Alaska, the parents of Head Start children, who feed their families from the land, raised \$100 for the cause. Volunteers at a suicide prevention center in Toksook Bay raised and donated \$100 by selling balloons. There is nothing more important to Alaska Native people than the survival of their traditional way of life.

How can you help? Contact AFN for more information:

The Alaska Federation of Natives
1577 "C" Street, Suite 300
Anchorage, Alaska 99501
(907) 274-3611 (phone)
(907) 276-7989 (fax)
afnpr@arctic.net (email)



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Alaska Native Peoples

The Struggle to Survive

One important fact about modern Alaska may come as a surprise to residents of the other 49 states: most of the 100,000 Alaska Native people (Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts) who reside in the state continue to follow a traditional way of life and feed their families by hunting, fishing and gathering wild foods. These practices are known as "subsistence" uses of fish, wildlife and other resources.

In this distant corner of the country, more Native American people live in a traditional manner on their entire aboriginal homelands than in any other part of the United States.

Always Getting Ready: An Alaska Native Way of Life

Life in modern Native communities requires tremendous effort and constant preparation. All winter long, people are *getting ready* for spring, when the salmon arrive. Fall hunting season requires advance preparation of equipment and supplies. This all encompassing way of life is summed up by the Yup'ik Eskimo word *upterrlainarluta*, meaning "the wisdom of knowing what to prepare for, including the unpredictable." They are always *getting ready*.

Subsistence activities provide not only protein, fats and carbohydrates, but also a daily participation in the natural world in which animals and human beings are linked. Local culture, language, faith and family cohesion are rooted in subsistence, as is the entire social structure of the village. Such practices are the foundation of Native life from Ketchikan to Barrow and from the Canadian border to the tip of the Aleutian Chain.

Unfortunately, more than 230 Alaska Native villages now find their economies and cultures threatened by other people's laws and politics. No longer do climate and distance protect them from the outside world.



"During my first visit I was given the loan of a snowmachine and a flight map so that I could visit a nearby village 18 miles away. I was traveling alone on a noisy old machine, quite terrified that the thing might quit and strand me far from town in the bleak winter whiteness. I wondered what had ever possessed me. Then I noticed a dog team coming toward me. As we passed, I spotted the driver sitting contentedly in his sled covered by a skin of some sort. He had a big grin on his face as his team trotted down the river. I was astonished to realize that Yup'ik people were living quite comfortably in this region that I perceived to be so cold and desolate. I wanted to know who they were."

— Photographer James Barker
on his first trip to the
Kuskokwim Delta in 1970



Alaska Federation of Natives

Background Information

The Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) is the largest Native organization in Alaska. Its membership includes 178 villages, 13 regional Native corporations and 12 regional non-profit associations. Membership in AFN includes voting rights, which are exercised through representatives on the 37-member Board of Directors, and at the annual convention held each October.

History

The Alaska Federation of Natives was formed in October 1966, when Alaska Natives came together for a statewide conference in Anchorage to address the need for a settlement of Alaska Native aboriginal land claims.

Between 1966 and 1971, AFN worked to attain passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). When this goal was achieved in December of 1971, it was not an end for AFN, but a new beginning.

As Alaska Natives began the task of implementing ANCSA, AFN offered technical assistance and managed a number of statewide human service programs. As the strength and independence of the regional associations grew, the human service programs were transferred to these associations.

Today, a primary function of AFN continues to be the representation of Alaska Native concerns before the U.S. Congress, the Alaska State Legislature, and federal and state agencies. AFN is an advocate for Alaska Natives on issues including the implementation of ANCSA and protecting subsistence rights, tribal rights, the delivery of health and social services, education and the preservation of Native cultures.

Mission

The mission of AFN is to enhance and promote the cultural, economic, and political interests of the entire Alaska Native community. AFN's major goals are to:

- Advocate for Alaska Native people
- Foster and encourage preservation of Alaska Native cultures
- Promote understanding of the economic needs of Alaska Natives and to encourage development consistent with these needs
- Protect, retain and enhance all lands owned by Alaska Natives
- Promote and advocate programs that instill pride and confidence

Alaska Native Peoples

Facts To Consider

- Before the arrival of non-Natives, the hunting-fishing-gathering way of life was the only form of economic production by which Native populations fed, clothed and housed their families.
- Until WWII, Natives were the majority of the population in Alaska. Today, 60 years later, Natives make up only 16% of the population.
- Today, the hunting-fishing-gathering way of life continues to provide the food base for Alaska's Native families, especially for those living in rural villages.
- Subsistence hunting, fishing and gathering remain central to the economies and traditions of many cultural groups in Alaska including the Aleut, Alutiiq, Athabascan, Haida, Inupiat, Tlingit, Tsimshian and Yup'ik.
- Approximately 43.7 million pounds of wild foods are harvested annually by Alaska's rural residents, about 375 pounds per person per year.
- Approximately 100,000 Alaska Natives participate in hunting, fishing and gathering for food during the year.
- The United States government recognizes 227 Native tribes (225 villages and 2 regions) in Alaska. The U.S. maintains a special government-to-government relationship with these tribes.
- 96 to 97% of all fish harvested in Alaska are taken by commercial and sport users. The remaining 3 to 4% are taken for subsistence (food), not for recreation or sale.
- The majority of subsistence activities occur on federal lands in Alaska, since the United States government owns more than 60% of all land in Alaska.
- Communities connected to urban centers by road, rail or ferry report annual per capita subsistence harvests 69% below those of non-connected communities. Approximately 150 of 220 Native villages are non-connected.



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Frequently Asked Questions & Answers

What does a "Subsistence way of life" mean?

The American Heritage College Dictionary defines the word "subsist v. To maintain life." It also defines "subsistence n. A means of subsisting, esp. one barely sufficient to maintain life."

State and federal laws define subsistence as the "customary and traditional uses" of wild resources for food, clothing, trade, etc.



What are some of the characteristics of a subsistence-dependent community in Alaska?

Rural – The farther a community is from any large city, the larger its harvest of wild foods.

Remote – Communities connected to urban centers by road, rail or ferry report annual per capita subsistence harvests 69% below those of non-connected communities. Approximately 150 of the 220 Native villages are non-connected.

Cash poor – The less cash there is in the local economy, the greater the dependence on fish and game.

Ethnicity – The higher the percentage of Native population in the community, the larger the subsistence harvest.

What is the impact of Native subsistence fishing?

Subsistence fishing accounts for just 4% of all the fish harvested in Alaska each year. The remaining 96% is harvested by commercial and sports fishers who are mostly non-Native.

Who currently qualifies for subsistence hunting and fishing in Alaska?

The federal and state governments have different definitions of who is eligible for subsistence:

State law dictates that all Alaska residents qualify for subsistence.

Federal law states that rural Alaska residents are given priority over all other users of fish and game on federal public lands in Alaska, including reserved waters.

What is the economic impact on rural Alaska if this traditional way of life is lost?

Without subsistence, most rural Alaskan families would have to travel hundreds of miles to purchase affordable groceries. The State of Alaska estimates it would cost rural Alaskans \$3-\$5 per pound to replace subsistence foods with food from the grocery store. This could cost rural Alaskans some \$20 million per year. Because they will never have such cash, villages will gradually deteriorate and disappear by out-migration.

When the fiscal cost of such social and economic breakdown falls on the federal government, the state and the taxpayers, it will be enormous. Likewise, the non-economic cost will reduce the quality of life for Alaskans in every part of the state. Whether they realize it or not, all Alaska residents have a vested interest in the success of the villages.

What is the debate all about?

There is a legal conflict between Alaska's state constitution and the federal Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA). Title VIII of ANILCA requires that subsistence use by rural Alaska residents be given priority over all other uses on federal public land.

The Alaska State Supreme Court ruled that a rural priority for subsistence violates the "common use" clause of the Alaska Constitution. The court held this "rural priority" to be unconstitutional.

Because of this conflict, the federal government plans to take over subsistence management on federal waters from state agencies on October 1, 1999. For the past decade, the federal government has managed subsistence hunting on federal lands.

Why doesn't Alaska pass a law that complies with ANILCA?

State law cannot comply with ANILCA unless the Alaska Constitution is amended to allow a rural priority for subsistence. Aside from calling a constitutional convention, the Alaska Constitution can be amended by a 2/3 vote of both legislative houses to place the question on the next general election ballot, and then by a simple majority of votes cast by the electorate. The Alaska legislature refuses to submit such an amendment to Alaskans.

Is the federal takeover of subsistence management good for Alaska Natives and rural residents?

Many Native people, especially those living in and around federal lands, would welcome federal subsistence management. Other Natives living where there is a lot of state-owned land, would prefer that the state provide adequate protection. Most people recognize that the most effective way of managing subsistence is through a unitary management system.

Is this an "Urban vs. Rural" or a "Native vs. Non-Native" issue?

It's both. About 20% of Alaska's population reside in rural areas, and approximately one-half of this rural population is Native. But subsistence is first and foremost a Native issue. The form of the federal law's priority may be "rural," but it was enacted to protect Native people and their villages from urban competition for fish and game resources. The law was also passed under Congress' constitutional authority to regulate Indian Affairs (Commerce Clause of the U.S. Constitution).

Alaska Native Peoples

Timeline of Subsistence Policy

Time Immemorial

For thousands of years, Alaska Native people have survived by living from Alaska's land and waters. Hunting, fishing and gathering constitute the spiritual, medicinal, nutritional and cultural foundation of Alaska's indigenous peoples and their village cultures.

1867 – The Treaty of Cession

The United States purchased Alaska from Russia.

1940 – Native Majority Displaced by New Alaskans

Natives were a majority of the population prior to 1940. During World War II, they became a minority and today represent only 16% of the population.

1959 – Alaska Statehood

The Alaska Statehood Act gave the new State of Alaska the right to regulate hunting and fishing for all Alaskans, including Natives.

1971 – Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA)

In settling Alaska Natives' aboriginal land claims through this Act, Congress also extinguished aboriginal hunting and fishing rights, but mandated that the State of Alaska and the Secretary of the Interior protect Native subsistence rights.

1980 – Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA)

Congress passed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA). Title VIII of the Act, adopted because the State and the Interior Department were not protecting Natives in rural villages, stated that on all federal lands and reserved waters in Alaska, rural residents would have a priority for subsistence fishing and hunting. The State was offered the right to manage subsistence on all Alaska lands and waters if it would enact a State law giving rural residents the same subsistence priority statewide. The State did so by regulations and statutes during the 1980's.



1982 – Subsistence Supported in Statewide Vote

Ballot Proposition #7 sought repeal of the rural subsistence priority from state law. 58.38% of voters voted against it, demonstrating broad public support for subsistence.

1989 – *McDowell v. State of Alaska*

The Alaska Supreme Court, in a case brought by anti-subsistence groups, struck down the state's rural priority as a violation of the Alaska Constitution. Without such a priority in state law, ANILCA required the federal government to assume management of subsistence on federal lands and waters.

Alaska Native Peoples

Timeline of Subsistence Policy

1990 – Federal Management of Game Begins

When the federal government took over subsistence management on federal lands, it did so only for hunting on land, not for subsistence fishing on federal waters. Natives had to sue the federal government to prove that the term "federal public lands" included waters (*Katie John, et al. v. United States*).

1994 – Subsistence Fishing Protected by Federal Law

The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in favor of Katie John and extended federal subsistence protection to all inland navigable waterways reserved to the United States. However, implementation of these federal protections has been postponed for four years by a series of riders on Interior Department appropriation bills.

1998 – Federal Takeover Deadline Set

Last year's moratorium against federal takeover of subsistence fishing was extended to October 1, 1999. Congress warned the Alaska legislature that this would be the last moratorium and that if the State of Alaska continued to refuse to comply with ANILCA, the Secretaries of the Interior and Agriculture would come in to manage subsistence fishing on reserved water ways.

October 1, 1999 – Federal Takeover

This deadline comes after two years of disastrously low salmon runs in the state. Subsistence fishing, as guaranteed by ANILCA, must be enforced if Alaska's rural Native population is to survive.



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What People Are Saying

"People need to understand that subsistence is our life. The relationship that Alaska Natives have with animals goes beyond food. It's not only sustenance for our bodies, it's a cultural necessity and a right."

Fred Anderson, Naknek

"I know it is hard for people who live in a city to imagine the kind of life we live out here.

Subsistence is survival. It is our spiritual center. It has been our way of life for thousands of years.

Subsistence means independence and not having to depend on government hand-outs to survive."

Mike Williams, Akiak, Chairman of Alaska Inter-Tribal Council

"We don't know how long our subsistence will continue under this cloud of uncertainty, and our people are getting more impatient. We, as leaders, need to be prepared for civil disobedience.

We must advocate nonviolent civil disobedience. The ANCSA settlement terms are being threatened, diminished and arbitrarily changed without our involvement. Subsistence as a human right is being relegated to the status of a privilege. I believe that the gloves should be taken off."

Robert Loescher, Juneau, CEO of Sealaska Corporation

"For your families ... depending on what you hunt or catch, fishing is a matter of survival. That's why, at the federal level, we approach Alaska subsistence fisheries management as a matter of life or death."

Bruce Babbitt, Secretary of the Interior

"Our nation has failed to keep its word, for it has failed to uphold its commitment to forever protect the subsistence hunting and fishing rights of Alaska's Native People. And by failing to keep faith with our Native American brothers and sisters, the Nation has failed to keep faith with all Americans."

Kweisi Mfume, President, NAACP

"For Alaska's Native people, hunting, fishing and gathering represent the economic well-being of communities. Subsistence embodies their cultural values which recognize a special and spiritual relationship to the land and animals, and it unifies them as tribal groups through their seasonal harvests and the sharing of their harvests."

Rosita Worl, Juneau, Anthropologist

"We are not the only ones who are passionate about this beautiful land. Many recreational fisherman and hunters are as well. The difference is that it is not sport for us. We cannot understand catch-and-release fishing. To us, it is playing with our food."

Steve Ginnis, Fort Yukon, President of Tanana Chiefs Conference



Alaska Native Peoples

What People Are Saying

"Subsistence is not about poverty; it is about wealth. This wealth is expressed in the harvest and in the sharing and celebration that result from the harvest."

Eileen MacLean, Barrow

"One day, I asked my uncle, 'How can grandma and grandpa eat a whole deer?' He said it enables grandma to share with friends or help a family in need, or it could be used as a peace offering between families, and most importantly, she can come forward with a contribution at cultural activities."

Jeffrey Anderson, President, Alaska Native Brotherhood

"We must never forget that subsistence is a Native issue. Title VIII's rural priority was enacted for the protection of Natives. They are what this is all about."

John Shively, October 28, 1991

"We are a very law abiding people. But when obeying the law means that our children go hungry, something is wrong with the law."

Myron Naneng, Bethel, Alaska



Alaska Native Peoples

The Evolution of Alaska's Subsistence Issue

Something very important to the conscience of America is happening in Alaska as we all prepare to enter a new century and millennium. Most citizens of the United States have never heard of it, but it involves the most divisive and dangerous issue in the politics of the largest state. The way in which it is resolved will have a greater impact on the future of all Alaskans than any other public question. On the larger scale of history, it will tell us whether we Americans have learned anything from our country's past mistakes.

As used in modern Alaska, the word "subsistence" means the hunting, fishing and gathering activities that have provided food to Alaska's Native people for more than 10,000 years. These practices continue to flourish in most areas of the state today.

Before the arrival of non-Natives, subsistence was the only form of economic production by which the aboriginal populations fed, clothed and housed themselves. Conducted in seasonal cycles by small, semi-nomadic bands within recognized territories, subsistence utilized traditional, small-scale technologies for harvesting and preserving foods, and it distributed the resulting production through communal networks of sharing and barter.



During the past 250 years, the technologies of Native subsistence have changed profoundly, as people have adjusted to modern tools of harvest, transportation and storage. On the surface, today's subsistence activities look very different from those of pre-contact times. But beneath this visible level, with its manufactured equipment and store-bought supplies, older patterns of behavior and values continue.

How Native people practice subsistence today has changed, but what they are doing is mainly what they have always done. And what they have always done is very different from the economic organization and social relationships of a modern mass culture.

Native people (Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts), most of whom lived in tiny villages, were the majority of Alaska residents until World War II. By Statehood (1959), the non-Native, urban majority had been growing slowly but steadily for years.

1960's

Following Statehood, hunting and fishing in Alaska were open to all residents during specific seasons, and no user group (sport, commercial, personal use or subsistence) had legal priority over any other.

1971

Congress passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), which extinguished Native aboriginal title to all 374 million acres of land in Alaska and replaced it with fee title to 44 million selected acres and \$962.5 million in compensation for the lands taken. This settled the Natives' claims of ownership and cleared right-of-way title for the Trans-Alaska Pipeline.

ANCSA also extinguished aboriginal hunting and fishing rights; and although Congress was concerned about subsistence in 1971, it did not enact federal statutory protections over public lands and waters belonging to the United States. Instead, the Conference Report put this burden on the State and the Department of the Interior.

Natives had advocated that legal protections of subsistence be built right into ANCSA's text; but in the rush for Prudhoe Bay, Congress would not postpone the land settlement in order to deal with subsistence. Indigenous people had to settle for what they got.

1971-1980

With the pipeline boom and large population growth, increased competition for limited fish and game resources began to threaten the survival of subsistence-dependent Native villages. In nine years, Alaska's population grew by 36%. Now, there were too many human users of fish and game, and public allocation of resources was unavoidable.

Congress's 1971 expectation of the state and federal administrators went unfulfilled. The 1970's saw a series of state laws, regulations and court decisions that steadily took fish and game from the poorest and most traditional people in the United States and handed them to the urban, non-subsistence majority which controlled state policy by the weight of its vote. Four examples:

- In 1972, Congress took management of marine mammals away from an indifferent, often adversarial, state government, and enacted a general ban on hunting such species - which included a specific exemption for Native subsistence.
- In 1976, the Northwest Arctic Caribou Herd crashed, causing food shortages in local villages; but when State regulators tried to allocate the remaining tiny surplus to local subsistence needs, non-Native sport hunters from Fairbanks got the state courts to throw out the regulations as a discrimination among Alaska residents. Sport users got their trophies, and the state spent huge sums flying emergency food into villages.
- In 1978, State officials arrested several Indian elders for the crime of operating subsistence fishwheels on the Upper Tanana River during a period exclusively reserved for sport dipnetting by the urban RV crowds that lined the riverbank.
- By 1978, even the Alaska Legislature became concerned for subsistence and enacted a preference for subsistence *use* over other consumptive uses (sport, commercial and personal use). But it defined subsistence *users* as being all Alaskans, making no distinction between 50,000 rural Natives and 450,000 urban residents (who could go into the bush as protected subsistence users and compete with villagers for limited resources.)

1980

Congress enacted the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA), Title VIII of which was a statutory remedy for the preceding decade of subsistence mismanagement. It imposed on federal lands and waters, in times of resource shortage, a legal priority for the subsistence practices of rural Alaska residents.

People who qualify for the priority (rural subsistence users) are the last to be cut when shortages require that human takings be reduced. Other ANILCA protections are in place at all times, but the priority kicks in only in time of cutbacks.

Not wishing to create two conflicting systems on different lands and waters, Title VIII offered the State the right to manage subsistence on the federal (as well as state and private) domain, if it would pass a state law giving the same rural priority on all lands and waters.

Natives had wanted a Native priority, not just a rural priority (based on socio-economic traits that would change over time); but Congress, in response to the State's requests, would not define subsistence users by race or culture. Again, although "rural" was inadequate, Natives had to settle for what they could get.

1980-1989

For the next nine years, the State of Alaska complied with ANILCA by placing the rural priority in state regulations and statutes. In 1982, sport hunters and fisherman gathered enough signatures to place on the general election ballot a proposition to repeal the rural priority from state law. It failed. 58.38% of the electorate rejected the repeal and supported the rural subsistence priority.

On December 22, 1989, the Alaska Supreme Court, in *McDowell v. State of Alaska*, struck down the rural priority in state law as unconstitutional. The rural priority had functioned well during the 1980's, but some urban user groups were determined to remove it, first from state law and then from ANILCA; and they succeeded at the state level in 1989.

McDowell created a dual system of subsistence management: a rural user priority on federal public lands administered by the United States, and an "all Alaskans" use priority on state and private lands and waters implemented by the State. This impasse continues to the present day.

1990

The State of Alaska's refusal to come back into compliance with ANILCA led to direct federal management of subsistence on public lands owned by the United States. But, when federal managers took over on their own domain, they did so only for hunting on lands, not for fishing in federal navigable waters. (There are not as many participants or as much money in hunting as there are in fishing. Commercial and sport fishing involves hundreds of thousands of people and billions of dollars. Those groups had the clout to keep federal agencies from implementing ANILCA over subsistence fishing in federal waters.)

But fish provide 59% of the subsistence diet in rural Alaska, the remainder being marine mammals, birds, ground mammals and other species. A failure to protect fishing would eventually wipe out most Native villages. So, Natives were forced to go to federal court, in *Katie John v. United States*, to prove that Congress' 1980 use of the term "federal public lands" included navigable waters.

1994

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that all navigable waters reserved to the United States (inland waters that flow through or touch federal lands) are protected by ANILCA's rural priority.

1995-1999

Implementation of the *Katie John* ruling by federal agencies (Interior and Agriculture) has been blocked for the last four years by a succession of congressional moratoria. In each such year, enforcement of a valid act of Congress was postponed to give the Alaska Legislature more time to comply with ANILCA. But state legislative majorities have refused to submit to the voters a constitutional amendment that would permit such a statute.

The only two ways the Alaska Constitution may be amended is: 1) for a 2/3 majority of each legislative house to submit the proposed amendment to the voters at the next general election, and then the amendment can be adopted or rejected by a simple majority of the votes cast; or 2) by a constitutional convention.

In the decade since *McDowell* created an impasse between the state constitution and federal law, three governors, two secretaries of the Interior, ten regular legislative sessions, and four special sessions have tried to resolve the issue through passage of a constitutional amendment. Each time, the amendment failed because a core of anti-subsistence legislators blocked the 2/3 vote needed. Poll after poll has shown that a solid majority of the Alaskan electorate would approve a constitutional amendment permitting a rural priority in times of shortage.

1999

Anti-subsistence forces now demand crippling amendments to Title VIII of ANILCA as a condition of their complying with it. This "compromise" solution would require Natives to give up something they have (limited federal protections) and anti-subsistence forces to give up something they want (complete elimination of Title VIII).

What would happen if there were no Title VIII of ANILCA? The State could do away with the subsistence priority entirely. Any priority that might remain could be given to all Alaskans or to specific Alaskans by individual permitting. Under an "all Alaskans" priority, any Alaska resident could go anywhere in the state for subsistence. Individualized permitting would rip the social fabric of every village by making some Natives subsistence hunters and fishers, while denying other Natives in the same community or family that right. There would be no requirement that the State Fish and Game Boards accommodate "customary and traditional uses," without which, age-old Native practices could be disrupted, even in times of plenty. Subsistence users would lose the little influence they now have on the state regulatory process. The State would not be required to have regional subsistence advisory councils, as now flourish under Title VIII. Huge non-subsistence use areas (where no one could hunt or fish for subsistence) would spread. Disputes over state regulations would be resolved by state courts, in the absence of federal court oversight. Customary trade (traditional sale for cash of limited amounts of subsistence product) would be restricted or eliminated entirely.

The Alaska Legislature has been told that, if it does not come into compliance by October 1, 1999, direct federal management of subsistence fisheries, as well as of hunting, will ensue. But will that ever happen? The entire subsistence issue in Alaska now comes down to one question: whether Congress will again yield to the Alaska Legislature, turn its back on the Natives, and eviscerate Title VIII of ANILCA.

Alaska Native Peoples

The Evolution of Alaska's Subsistence Issue

Perspective

In 1971, Natives had wanted federal subsistence protections, didn't get them, and were stuck with a Conference Report that the State never fulfilled. In 1980, Natives had wanted a Native priority, didn't get it because the State objected, but did get "rural" and tried to make it work. In 1989, the State unilaterally put itself out of compliance with even the rural priority - and since then has refused to return. It now demands control of the federal law.

That is a classic example of how Indian affairs have always been conducted in this country. What is happening in Alaska has happened thousands of times before, in every county of every territory and state west of the Appalachians during the 19th Century. Those earlier battles between Native Americans and state governments may have been over railroad rights-of-way, farm land, water, timber, town sites, minerals, fish and game, or anything else. But in retrospect, we can see that each step in the sequence was one small part of a massive, long-term expropriation; and each temporary "settlement" of the conflict lasted only until the state's majority could muster the political strength to take more than it had got a decade or so before. If you are Native American, it is never done to you all at once; it always comes piecemeal; and it stops when everything is gone.

Nothing that modern Americans can do would reach back into previous centuries and make right what was done to the aboriginal peoples of the other 49 states. The best that can be hoped of our generation, Native and non-Native alike, is that we prevent it from happening again. At the end of the 20th Century, a long, dark tradition of American history has finally come for the Alaska Natives; and by October 1, 1999, we will find out whether this nation is capable of better.



Alaska Native Peoples

What is a Subsistence Way of Life among Alaska Natives?

When modern Native people hunt, fish and gather for subsistence, they are not doing it for recreation. In order to put food on the family dinner table, they work in an economy composed of production, transport, storage and distribution. Their culture, language, faith and family cohesion are rooted in subsistence, as is the entire social structure of the village.

If you are an 84 year-old Tlingit Indian elder from Sitka, a leader of the *Kaagwaantaan* clan, a member of the Southeast Regional Advisory Council on Subsistence, and a subsistence hunter and fisherman, you might reminisce about your youth this way:

"According to Tlingit custom, I was trained by my uncles in traditional ways of subsistence....[T]his was my 'Tlingit schooling.'

"My family was very lucky in selecting Deep Bay or *L'ukanax* for their customary and traditional subsistence use. My family moved to Deep Bay each May after the herring roe harvest in Sitka Sound.

"Black and ribbon seaweed are picked from the beaches in Salisbury Sound....The uncles taught the young people the names of the places, which months, and during which tides, to pick the seaweed. The next lesson was how to dry the seaweed and preserve it for use year-round.

"Next, our uncle...took us into the narrows outside of Deep Bay. He showed us the halibut fish hole, which he called *eet* in Tlingit. We learned how to line up the halibut *eet* by lining up two points on the beach. Today, I still use this *eet* to catch my subsistence halibut for drying.

"Our uncle noticed how we enjoyed fishing and told us that to fish...for fun would waste our food supply - to do so would offend the Holy Spirit and cause us to lose our blessing and go hungry.

"The berry picking places were out in the straits...among all the islands. Each island had a Tlingit name so we could remember where the blueberries were...when we get old enough to go on our own.

"The next project was to go seal hunting. Only the older boys were taken and I was lucky to go....After many misses by each hunter, we finally learned the proper way to shoot seals in the water. Our uncle showed us how to skin the seals and save the fat, meat and skins.

"This education was what made each Tlingit a good citizen...The young people learn to respect the land they live on,...to take only what each family needs to make it through the year. We need to keep teaching our children our subsistence lifestyle, culture and religion. Without this education, our Tlingit cultures will be lost forever."

-Herman Kitka, Sr.,
in *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Fall, 1998

Alaska Native Peoples

What is a Subsistence Way of Life among Alaska Natives?

If you are a ten year-old Yupi'k Eskimo girl, you have been taken to fish camp every summer since your birth. Until last year, your duties consisted of baby-sitting, helping with meals and cleaning the tent. But now, you are old enough to cut fish. As your father, uncle and older brothers bring the salmon to the riverbank, you stand at an old board table that gets covered with guts and scales, and you clean fish for hours at a time. It's hard work, but there is a lot of laughter, too. Once cleaned and cut for drying, the salmon are handed over to your grandmother - because it's her smokehouse. For weeks, the fish will hang there, soaking up all that smoke from the fire she tends every hour. All winter long, you will chew on these salmon strips, and your diet will be healthier than anything your parents could afford from the village store. Your dad tells you what a good job you've done, your mom whispers that she loves you, and that night, in the tent, your grandmother retells that special story about the little mouse.



If you are a 71 year-old Inupiaq man, too old to join a spring whaling crew in the skin boat, you pick your way down to the beach with your cane and watch the younger men loading up and discussing strategies. They ask your advice on cloud cover, and you respond with an encyclopedic knowledge. By looking hard at the weather, you can *feel* what it will become six hours from now. The men listen to you and pack extra gear. When they leave, you stand there watching until your eyes can't pick them out any longer among the ice leads. Perhaps they will come back empty-handed, but if they radio that one has been taken, the village comes alive. Four hours later, the whale is landed, and everyone is standing on the beach. The principal has closed school for the afternoon, and the 40-ton bowhead is hauled up on land by a hand pulley system. If the whole community does not bend its back to the rope, the harvest will sink. Along with all the laughter and congratulations, this is brutal work. You have your buckets and a plastic washtub to carry your portion of the meat and fat, which is handed out then and there, and everyone gets a share. You turn yours over to your granddaughter for storage. Raw muktuk is passed out, and everyone seems to be chewing and talking all at once. Your share is large - because you are an elder, because you helped, and because no one will ever be able to write down what you know.



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If you are an eleven year-old Aleut boy, your father and uncles take you hunting for geese for the first time. They lend you a small rifle or shotgun; and as the birds fly past, and you raise your gun and shoot as you have been taught. All the geese keep right on flying, except for the one your dad got. Three hours later, after many misses, you bring down a bird. On the camp's CB radio, you call home to the village. "Ma! Ma! I got my first goose!" Everyone in the community has the CB on and hears your voice. Before starting back, you bag another and carry both home on your shoulders, walking tall. By the time you are in your mom's kitchen, your sisters have laid cardboard sheets on the old linoleum for the plucking and cleaning. As the women work, they discuss who will get the geese. Five will be frozen for your immediate family; three go to Grandma Aggie; two go to the old tribal chief who was widowed last year; one will be given to the young, single woman with two babies; and one goes to the white teacher. Everyone eats, and you have become a young man.



If you are a 43 year-old Athabascan woman, and if an elder in your village passed away yesterday, the burial will take place tomorrow; but weeks from now, a memorial potlatch to feed the spirit of the deceased man will be held in the community hall. Even the Episcopal bishop will fly in from Fairbanks to take part in a ceremony that mixes new faith with older beliefs. Your husband was asked by the village council to bring in a moose for the potlatch because he is one of the best hunters. Your family is one of six or seven that produce 2/3 of all wild foods consumed in the community; and you are constantly distributing fish, game and berries along lines of kinship and obligation. Older households, headed by grandparents, don't have the labor force or the duty; younger households with small children can't be expected to harvest much. But you and your husband are the producer generation, and you feed the village. As his gun sight is on the moose's heart, just before he squeezes the trigger, he silently declares his respect and asks the animal's permission. When the huge slabs of meat are brought to your door, your aunt and the older girls spend three days with you, cooking, baking and cleaning the hall. You also need to dig into the coffee can where you have saved forty-five dollars because gifts like work gloves, buckets, ropes and shotgun shells will be given away to all who attend. Your mother is going to give the bishop that marvelous birch bark basket she made. Even when the potlatch is over, there is still work to be done cleaning up. But relationships have been reaffirmed; people are comforted; and the soul of Old Paul, who lived alone for so many years in that little cabin down by the slough, is at rest.



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Subsistence provides life in many ways. It tells you who you are, what you are worth and who loves you. It assigns roles by gender and age. It obliges you to work for others; and when you are old, it guarantees that they will provide for you. The language of your ancestors, with all those words for different kinds of snow, is built on it. Subsistence connects you to the seasons and the land.

If all this were suddenly taken from you, the government would probably send in USDA surplus foods from places like Iowa and California, even though everyone knows that welfare is a sad, sick way to live. But no one can fly in culture or community. When a village dies, as the last resident gives up and moves away, a wondrous thing that once thrived by its own genius and hard work disappears; and it will never come again.

