

Betty E. Kane
11 Holden Road
Cherry Hill, New Jersey 08034
Phone (856) 779-8667 Fax (856) 779-88
e-mail: bbkane2000@aol.com

TO
MAUNEEN
H.
C/11-11-00

October 6, 2000

Dear Mayor Rendell,

Our mutual friend, Lewis Katz, will be honored by the Jewish Federation of Southern New Jersey at its Allied Jewish Appeal Inaugural Dinner this coming Wednesday evening, October 11th, 2000. He will be presented with the Tikun Olam Award for his generosity and immeasurable service to our community.

As a personal friend of his and as the immediate past National Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal Women's Campaign, I was given the honor to make the presentation to Lewis that evening. Knowing of the relationship Lewis has with President Clinton and his great admiration for him, I believe that he would be extremely touched by a personal letter of congratulations from Mr. Clinton to him. I would be most appreciative if you could help me secure the letter which I will be honored to read publicly in the course of my presentation. I intend for my remarks to be personal and anecdotal and would appreciate if the president's letter could read "Dear Betty, etc..."

I cannot tell you how grateful I am to you for your assistance in this matter. Incidentally, this request - and the letter - are meant to be a surprise to Lewis.

I thank you in advance for all your efforts and wish you a sweet New Year. May it bring all of life's blessings to you and yours and peace in the world.

Respectfully,

Betty E. Kane

betty e. Kane

10-11-00
Betty just brought this
to us - Mignon Moore
has asked that this be
done today (event is
tonight). Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒
No ☐

and

Betty Kane

Suzanne

Thank you so much for
all your help.

Sorry for the delay
but I got stuck in traffic.

Betty

FROM : DAVID STEVENS INC

PHONE NO. : 6097798898

Oct. 06 2000 02:57PM P1

Dear Suzanne,

If it is not too much trouble,
could you call me at 856-779-1561
or fax me at 856-779-8898
to let me know you received my
letter to Mayor Rendell.

Thank you.

Steve

P.S. I assume the letter will be
mailed to me prior to Wed. 10/10.

RENDELL '95
200 SOUTH BROAD STREET--SUITE 430
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19102
215-545-4553 PHONE
215-545-9121 FACSIMILE

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO:	Minyan Moore	FROM:	Edward G. Rendell/Suzanne Itzko
COMPANY:	White House	DATE:	10/8/00
FAX NUMBER:	202-783-7492 0007	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER:	2
PHONE NUMBER:		SENDER'S REFERENCE NUMBER:	
RE:	Lewis Katz	YOUR REFERENCE NUMBER:	

☐ URGENT ☒ FOR REVIEW ☐ PLEASE COMMENT ☐ PLEASE REPLY ☐ PLEASE RECYCLE

NOTES/COMMENTS:

Minyan—

Attached is the letter we spoke about on Friday. I will follow-up with you on Tuesday.

Thank you so much for your help with this!!



October 6, 2000

VIA FAX: 202-647-0708

The President
The White House
c/o Debra Schiff, Assistant Chief of Protocol
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington DC 20500

Dear Debra:

100 AVENUE OF THE CHAMPIONS
BOX 109601

PALM BEACH GARDENS
FLORIDA 33410-9601

TELEPHONE: (561) 624-8400

FAX: (561) 624-8452

www.PGA.com

WILL MANN
President

JACK CONNELLY
Vice President

M.G. O'BENDER
Secretary

KEN LINDSAY
Honorary President

JIM L. AWTRY
Chief Executive Officer

On Friday, November 10, 2000, Will Mann, The PGA of America's 31st President, will be honored by more than 700 of his peers at The PGA's 83rd Annual Meeting in Charleston, S.C. As the Association's leader, Mr. Mann has promoted the growth of the game and advanced the role of the PGA Professional as a skilled businessperson, teaching expert and community leader.

During the two years of Mr. Mann's term as President, The PGA of America has witnessed the continued growth of the golf profession through the development of extensive training and education programs, as well as expanded employment services. He has been committed in directing The PGA to promote interest, participation and enjoyment in the game of golf for everyone, everywhere.

We would like to request a personal letter from President Clinton to Mr. Mann marking his farewell as President.

Please address the letter to: Mr. Will Mann, Quarry Hills Country Club, 2240 Country Club Trail, Graham, NC, 27253-0027. Please do not fold the letter, and return to me by Friday, October 27. Please mail to: Jamie Roggero, PGA of America, 100 Avenue of the Champions, Palm Beach Gardens, FL 33418.

I've attached Mr. Mann's biographical information and background information on the PGA of America for your use. Please do not hesitate to call me if you have any questions. My telephone number is (561) 624-8446. Thank you so much for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Jamie Roggero
Jamie Roggero, Manager
Public Relations and Media Relations

Attachment

Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒
No ☐

10-11-00

C



FACT SHEET

WHAT IS THE PGA OF AMERICA?

Origin: A group of New York area golf professionals and prominent amateurs met at a luncheon on Jan. 16, 1916, at Rodman Wanamaker's department store in New York City. They discussed forming a national organization to promote interest in the game of golf and help elevate the vocation of golf professionals. Charter membership was 35 that year, and today there are more than 25,000 PGA Professionals, making The PGA the world's largest working sports organization.

A Mission: The mission of The PGA is to promote the enjoyment and involvement in golf among amateurs and to contribute to the game's growth by providing services to golf professionals and the industry. The PGA seeks to accomplish this mission by enhancing the skills of PGA Professionals and the opportunities for amateurs, employers, manufacturers, employees and the general public. In so doing, the PGA elevates the standards of the PGA Professional's vocation, enhances the economic well-being of the individual member, stimulates interest in the game of golf, and promotes the overall vitality of the game.

PGA Professionals: Today's PGA Professionals are several generations removed — in skills, knowledge, training and business acumen — from the golf professionals of the early 20th century. Extensive training in The PGA's comprehensive Golf Professional Training Program provides the groundwork for an education unparalleled in the sports world. The PGA Professional, who is an ambassador of the game to amateurs worldwide, is not only a talented teacher and player, but also a tournament director, merchandiser, rules administrator, skilled businessperson and community leader.

PGA Sections: The PGA of America is divided into 41 geographical sections of the United States, each with an office which conducts golf tournaments and regional golf promotions. Each Section is guided by an executive director and conducts annual elections of officers, events, educational programs, workshops and seminars for its members.

Championships: Since 1916, The PGA of America has organized tournament golf at the highest level for the enjoyment of the general public. The PGA plays host to major events such as the PGA Championship, Ryder Cup Matches, PGA Seniors' Championship and PGA Grand Slam of Golf. The PGA conducts more than 30 tournaments for its members and apprentices including the PGA Cup Matches, PGA Club Professional Championship, PGA Senior Club Professional Championship, PGA Assistant Professional Championship, PGA Tournament Series and Reebok Golf PGA Winter Tournament Program. The Association also hosts the world's largest golf tournament, the Oldsmobile Scramble, as well as one of the major championships of the junior circuit, the PGA Junior Championship, and the PGA Junior Series held each summer.

PGA Foundation: The PGA Foundation is a nonprofit charitable, educational and research organization founded in 1954. It is funded through the support of major golf associations and charitable contributions received from individuals and corporations. The Foundation distributes funds to golf instruction and community golf programs, research and education, minority golf programs, and junior golf tournaments, and promotes the game through national public awareness campaigns.

A Corporate Family: No other golf organization has the reach and respect of The PGA of America. It enlists more than 40 national and international companies in providing an umbrella of services for its members. Included in the PGA corporate family are Fortune 500 companies such as Oldsmobile /General Motors, IBM, Pepsi-Cola Company and Delta Air Lines.

Other Special Events: The PGA of America calendar showcases such events as the PGA Teaching & Coaching Summit and the PGA Annual Meeting. The PGA Teaching & Coaching Summit, held biennially, attracts the world's best golf instructors and nearly 1,200 golf professionals, sharing ideas about the science of teaching the game. The PGA Annual Meeting brings together all segments of the membership, providing an invaluable forum for discussion, review and change. Some of the major developments in the game find their roots in this meeting.

Forging Ahead: The organization continues to address such vital issues as junior golf programs, speed of play, environmental concerns and access to facilities. The PGA of America strives to meet the challenges of the growth of the game and take the industry's lead into the 21st century and beyond.

For information contact:
Julius Mason, 561-624-8444 or
the Communications Department, 561-624-8455

www.PGA.com



Lincoln Center
for the Performing Arts, Inc.

✓ cc: Lisei Loy

DATE: October 10, 2000
TO: John Podesta
FROM: Alina Bloomgarden
SUBJECT: Letter and Proposal for the President from Wynton Marsalis

I am forwarding this letter to you as written by Wynton Marsalis at the suggestion of Bill and Dorothy McSweeney. It is Wynton's hope that the President will have an opportunity to read the following proposal.

As you will see in reviewing the proposal, the hope is to launch this initiative during President Clinton's watch or in some way that it be associated with him since it aptly reflects his values and spirit. If that were not possible, it would be great if the idea had the President's imprimatur, and perhaps advise, so that it could be most effectively directed.

Wynton is very interested in moving this forward and would adjust his schedule if a meeting were called for to discuss the idea and its implementation.

We look forward to receiving response to this proposal. I can be reached at Lincoln Center at (212) 875-5371, fax (212) 875-5330, or email Bloomsy@Aol.Com.

Thank you for your help.

Alina Bloomgarden

cc: Delia

Tim

return

@

10-11-00

**Wynton Marsalis
3 Lincoln Center
New York, NY 10023**

September, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

I feel privileged to have spoken with you on several occasions and to have had the chance to support you. I have recently been approached about an initiative that rang so true for me and I thought you would share my excitement about it.

Based on your strong support for the arts and arts education, I know you share my belief in the "power of music to transcend race, age, nationality and language." You said so yourself in your letter to the Statesman of Jazz upon their trip to Japan in September 1997.

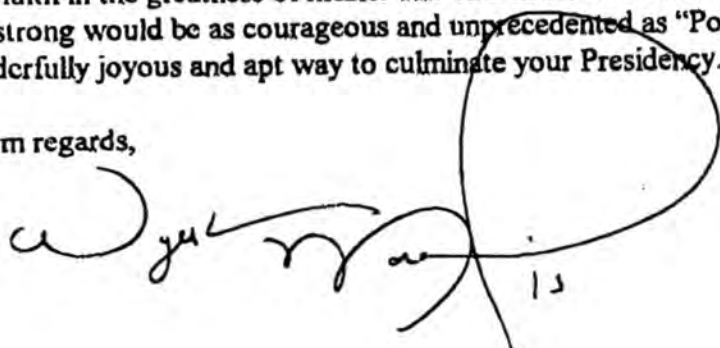
As all of us approach the last few months of your Presidency, I feel there should be something celebratory and ongoing to keep alive the vitality and power of your presidency and your vision for America - something joyous, deeply soulful and swinging.

It is with this in mind that I am compelled to reach out to you about the following proposal: The creation of a national holiday dedicated to music in all its forms in honor of Louis Armstrong. This holiday would stand as an enduring contribution to our cultural identity. It would give us the opportunity as a nation to celebrate the importance of music itself to American life and culture, to honor the only truly American musical genre - jazz, and to place in our national identity for all time one of America's greatest cultural icons, Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong.

While many organizations and institutions will celebrate the centennial of Louis' birth (which takes place on August 4, 2001) it seems appropriate that we create something larger and more lasting to perpetuate the magnitude of "Pops" who was and remains such a beacon for decency, humanity, artistry, unity and the American dream.

Even though many things have happened since 1997, I'm sure that nothing has shaken your faith in the greatness of music. The enactment of a national holiday for Louis Armstrong would be as courageous and unprecedented as "Pops" himself and a wonderfully joyous and apt way to culminate your Presidency.

Warm regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Wynton Marsalis', with a large, stylized loop at the end.

Proposal for the Institution of

National Music Day in honor of Louis Armstrong

Louis Armstrong was a man who was truly universal. He was loved in Africa. He was loved in Europe. He was loved in Japan. He was loved everywhere he went not just because he smiled. He was loved because the sound of that horn was pure spiritual essence; the sound of America and the freedom that it's supposed to offer.

Wynton Marsalis

Louis Armstrong turned jazz into individual improvisation that didn't break away from the backing of the ensemble but set the spotlight on one individual." *George Avakian*

Jazz holds a unique place in our nation's musical heritage. In its dynamism, innovation, and diversity, it speaks to our souls and gives voice to our joys and sorrows. Jazz remains a vibrant part of our cultural that is cherished by music lovers here and around the world. *President William Jefferson Clinton*

**Submitted by:
Wynton Marsalis
Alina Bloomgarden
Kim Hargraves**

PROPOSAL

In identifying a meaningful way to celebrate Louis Armstrong on the centennial of his birth, we propose a day set aside in the nation to honor music itself and its important and vital role in American life. There's no better ambassador for the power of music to elevate, express and heal than Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong, one of the founders and expositors of the uniquely American music - Jazz. A national holiday for music designated on the centennial of Louis Armstrong's birth provides an opportunity to not only celebrate the life journey and contributions of one human being but what this human being stood for in his country and in the world that will continue far beyond the events on one day or even one year.

He is a person who used the democratic ideal to distinguish himself by utilizing his God-given talents to become master of his odds;

He codified the art of improvisation in jazz, the only truly American music form.

He came from humble beginnings and became America's goodwill ambassador to the world.

He developed a language through his music that transcended barriers.

He understood that a basic spiritual presence inhabits all people regardless of their station in life and this he loved.

He was an innovator who captured the American essence in sound and taught and defined for the entire nation and the world what America sounded like.

He was an African American who rose above the imposed confines of race to become a man for all time and all nations.

He is a perfect hero for our times and for all times.

Whereas Louis Armstrong, the man and his music, touches all that is identifiable, enduring and noble about the land we call America, we propose the creation of

National Music Day in honor of Louis Armstrong

A day to give pause for all to enjoy and partake of America's musical bounty.

American National Music Day in honor of Louis Armstrong

This holiday will be designated each year to take place on the date of Louis Armstrong's Birthday, August 4th. The nation and its businesses will remain open with an air of celebration. Music will be at the center of the nation's day, available and accessible to all. Every town and city, institution and business, camp and conservatory, community and neighborhood, school and home will celebrate the power of music on this sonorous national holiday.

There are many forms this celebration can take:

- f* - Musicians and institutions will proudly participate in this goodwill endeavor by offering performances that are free and accessible.
- f* - Composers will debut their compositions.
- f* - Children and youth in bands, orchestras, choirs and theater will find a productive focus for their summer in preparation for festive community concerts.
- f* - Neighborhoods and communities will present concerts, music fairs and parades.
- f* - Live music will be performed in hospitals, retirement homes, and other facilities where populations are confined.
- f* - Companies and their employees will determine various ways to recognize this day in their own offices.

Activities of National Music Day will be instituted and guided by a non-profit organization established to commemorate and celebrate the power of music of all genres in the spirit of Louis Armstrong.

Wynton Marsalis, Pulitzer Prize winning composer, noted jazz and classical trumpet player and artistic director of Jazz at Lincoln Center.

Alina Bloomgarden, originated and produced Classical Jazz with Wynton Marsalis and Stanley Crouch which led to creation of Jazz at Lincoln Center. Currently administers educational programs at Lincoln Center and produces Reel to Real for families.

Kim Hargraves, managed and developed music education programs for The ASCAP Foundation and is now principal of a firm specializing in strategic partnerships between corporations and non-profits.

**RECENT INFORMATION ITEMS
FOR THE WEEK ENDING
OCTOBER 6, 2000**

- Tab A - copied 1st page of cover memo and Tab A to Berger, Sperling, Frampton, Ballentine, Podesta**
- Tab B - copied Berger, wwdesk, Podesta**
- Tab C - copied Berger, ww desk, Podesta**
- Tab D - copied 2nd page of cover memo and Tab D to Kerrick, Podesta**
- Tab E - copied Cutler, Podesta, Cohen for Reply**
- Tab F - copied Daley, Sperling, Podesta**
- Tab G - copied 2nd page of cover memo and Tab G to Podesta, Cohen for Reply to Father Hesburgh**
- Tab H - copied 2nd page of cover memo and Tab H to Podesta, Cohen for Reply to Neal Lane**

OK
10-14-00

10-9-00

RECENT INFORMATION ITEMS
FOR THE WEEK ENDING
OCTOBER 6, 2000

10-9-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 8, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *LL*
ADAM ROSMAN
JUSTIN COLEMAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (A) **Berger/Sperling/Frampton/Ballentine memo on Climate Change negotiations** -- In a detailed memo, Sandy et al update you on negotiations and critical policy issues re: COP6, the Sixth Conference of Parties to the Framework Convention, to be held November 13-24 in The Hague. Expectations for this conference, the most important since Kyoto in '97, are high; we have sought to lower them, resist arbitrary deadlines for ratification, and focus on making progress on major outstanding issues re: Kyoto architecture. While the formal agenda is to resolve remaining design issues for the Kyoto "flexibility mechanisms," the role of "sinks," and the compliance regime, two issues not on the formal agenda -- the role of developing countries and cost issues -- are most critical for our domestic audience and for Senate consideration of the Protocol. (*See attached memo for detail*).
- (B) **Berger Memo re: U.S. Peacekeepers Behavior** -- In response to your question about a *USA Today* article on U.S. soldiers' behavior in Kosovo, Sandy reports that following the trial and conviction of Staff Sergeant Ronghi for raping and killing an 11-year old Kosovo Albanian girl (Ronghi is serving a life sentence with no chance of parole), Brigadier General Sanchez investigated Ronghi's battalion, and found that members of one company behaved unprofessionally; exceeded military authority by using excessive force to question Kosovar civilians; and inappropriately touched Kosovar civilian females while purporting to conduct searches. As result of the investigation, 4 Army officers and 5 enlisted men received punishment. Bill has expressed "grave concern" and stated publicly his support for additional efforts underway to address leadership and discipline within the unit.
- (C) **Berger Memo re: Luigi Einaudi Appointment** -- In response to your inquiry about how Luigi Einaudi was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Organization of American States, Sandy responds that after a distinguished civil service career at State, Einaudi campaigned very hard for this job, received broad support from Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru, and that it was in the Administration's interest to support him, particularly given wide hemispheric support. Sandy reports that Einaudi is bringing much needed energy to OAS, and that he is already involved in an effort to reduce tensions between El Salvador and Honduras and is now engaged on Haiti.

(D) **Kerrick Memo re: Sale of Radar Systems to Syria** -- in response to your comment, "probably should ok," on a report regarding Raytheon's proposed sale of 3 radar systems to Syria, Don reports that State, Defense and Commerce have reviewed ~~and approved the sale, subject to conditions that will ensure against military use of the systems.~~ The radar systems, worth \$30M, will be installed at international airports in Syria and will help improve civil air safety in the region.

(E) **Cutler Memo re: Fort Reno Lands** -- In response to your question about the return of Fort Reno lands to the Cheyenne-Arapaho people, Lynn writes that although the Administration has tried very hard to make it happen, Sen. Nickles continues to successfully oppose it, adding an amendment to both last year's and this year's Agriculture Appropriations bills that prevents Secretary Glickman from acting on Fort Reno. With Sen. Inouye agreeing with the amendment and Sen. Campbell refusing to take on Nickles, OMB advises the amendment will pass.

(F) **Note from Glickman re: Articles on Farm Assistance** -- Dan encloses two articles that report on the record amount of financial assistance to farmers and ranchers in FY00 (\$28B). He argues that while the assistance has saved thousands of farmers from insolvency, it also points to the failure of the 1996 Farm Bill and the need to amend it.

(G) **Note from Harris Wofford re: Father Hesburgh letter on National Service** -- At Father Hesburgh's request, Harris encloses a copy of Hesburgh's letter to Hastert, Lott, Daschle, and Gephardt in which he asks them to support reauthorization of the Corporation for National Service. Harris says that he hears Father Hesburgh's letter was "particularly impressive" to Hastert.

OTG to
Hesburgh

(H) **Note from Neal Lane** -- Neal writes to thank you for allowing him to have Socks in his home last weekend and for the commemorative "Space" stamps you gave him. He also informs you that he has accepted a Professorship at Rice University that will begin after the end of the administration.

Do Longue

Item executed on your behalf:

Due to your travel schedule this week, we executed on your behalf a letter to Prime Minister Costas of Greece supporting the selection of General Dynamics' MIA2 Abrams tank in the Greek procurement competition. French, British, Ukrainian, and German firms are also competing for the contract, valued in excess of \$2B; no other U.S. firm is bidding. State and DoD support the sale; Cohen handcarried your letter to the Greek Defense Minister in England on Friday.

10-9-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 8, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *LL*
ADAM ROSMAN
JUSTIN COLEMAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (A) **Berger/Sperling/Frampton/Ballentine memo on Climate Change negotiations** -- In a detailed memo, Sandy et al update you on negotiations and critical policy issues re: COP6, the Sixth Conference of Parties to the Framework Convention, to be held November 13-24 in The Hague. Expectations for this conference, the most important since Kyoto in '97, are high; we have sought to lower them, resist arbitrary deadlines for ratification, and focus on making progress on major outstanding issues re: Kyoto architecture. While the formal agenda is to resolve remaining design issues for the Kyoto "flexibility mechanisms," the role of "sinks," and the compliance regime, two issues not on the formal agenda -- the role of developing countries and cost issues -- are most critical for our domestic audience and for Senate consideration of the Protocol. (*See attached memo for detail*).
- (B) **Berger Memo re: U.S. Peacekeepers Behavior** -- In response to your question about a *USA Today* article on U.S. soldiers' behavior in Kosovo, Sandy reports that following the trial and conviction of Staff Sergeant Ronghi for raping and killing an 11-year old Kosovo Albanian girl (Ronghi is serving a life sentence with no chance of parole), Brigadier General Sanchez investigated Ronghi's battalion, and found that members of one company behaved unprofessionally; exceeded military authority by using excessive force to question Kosovar civilians; and inappropriately touched Kosovar civilian females while purporting to conduct searches. As result of the investigation, 4 Army officers and 5 enlisted men received punishment. Bill has expressed "grave concern" and stated publicly his support for additional efforts underway to address leadership and discipline within the unit.
- (C) **Berger Memo re: Luigi Einaudi Appointment** -- In response to your inquiry about how Luigi Einaudi was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Organization of American States, Sandy responds that after a distinguished civil service career at State, Einaudi campaigned very hard for this job, received broad support from Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru, and that it was in the Administration's interest to support him, particularly given wide hemispheric support. Sandy reports that Einaudi is bringing much needed energy to OAS, and that he is already involved in an effort to reduce tensions between El Salvador and Honduras and is now engaged on Haiti.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 6, 2000

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER
GENE SPERLING
GEORGE FRAMPTON
ROGER BALLENTINE

RE:

UPDATE ON CLIMATE CHANGE NEGOTIATIONS

The Sixth Conference of Parties to the Framework Convention (COP6) is to be held November 13-24 in The Hague. This will be the most important climate change negotiation since the Kyoto conference in 1997. On September 15, in Lyon, France, parties concluded the last preparatory meeting before COP6. This memorandum updates you on the international negotiations and summarizes current policy issues.

I. International Atmospherics and Agenda for COP6

Expectations for COP6 are very high in many quarters. In Europe and among environmental NGOs, there are strong calls for COP6 to resolve all issues necessary for ratification of the Protocol by 2002, or ten years after the Rio Earth Summit where the Framework Convention was completed. Despite these high expectations, there is enormous breadth and complexity in the issues on the agenda for COP6. We have sought to lower expectations, resist any arbitrary deadlines for ratification, and focus on making progress on major outstanding issues related to the Kyoto architecture.

The formal agenda for COP6 is to resolve remaining design issues for the Kyoto "flexibility mechanisms," the role of "sinks" (i.e. carbon-absorbing and carbon-storing sources such as trees and soils) in the Protocol and the compliance regime. The main mechanisms are emissions trading between industrialized countries and the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) (a mechanism by which developed countries or private sector entities can fund greenhouse-gas reducing projects in developing countries and receive "credits" in return).

Two issues not on the formal agenda that are among the most critical for our domestic audience and for Senate consideration of the Protocol are the role of developing countries and questions of cost. While we are indirectly but actively addressing questions of cost in the discussions of the mechanisms, realistic approaches to addressing the role of developing countries at COP6 are limited.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

100016--1001
COPIC d
Berger
Sperling
Frampton
Ballentine
Podesta

II. Kyoto Mechanisms, "Sinks," and Compliance

Limited progress has been made so far to resolve major outstanding issues concerning the design of emissions trading and the CDM and the role of "sinks" in the treaty. On emissions trading, there is growing support within the E.U. for domestic trading systems and some prospect that this will lead to less vociferous calls for quantitative "caps" on international trading; however, many hard-liners remain. A "cap" requirement would restrict how much nations could use trading (versus domestic actions) to achieve their Kyoto target. There are several variations on such "cap" proposals, but all would substantially restrict use of trading to achieve emissions reductions.

The high profile oil crisis in Europe may now introduce a note of realism into E.U. attitudes on emissions trading, as governments understand that meeting their Kyoto targets exclusively through domestic measures may be more difficult than anticipated. We continue to underscore the economic efficiency of unfettered trading and are working with the Russians to diffuse the criticism of their so-called "hot air" allotments ("hot air" is the term used to deride the large amount of Russian allotments available for trading due to a generous Kyoto target and unexpected contraction in the Russian economy resulting in unforeseen emissions reductions). The E.U.'s fear that Russia will be able to sell a large portion of its emission reduction allotments in part drives their call for "caps" on trading.

Regarding CDM design, we face two main challenges. First, there is a real prospect that the rules envisioned will be so complex as to preclude much significant use of the CDM by the private sector. Second, there are strong calls for exclusion of "sinks" and nuclear power from the CDM. "Sinks" in the CDM would allow companies credit for reforestation or protecting tropical forests. Its inclusion is important to segments of our business community and certain conservation NGOs and is a high priority for our negotiators; however, there is strong opposition from many quarters. We have consistently opposed restrictions on the CDM.

With respect to the general role of "sinks" in the Protocol, we face the challenge of including a broad definition of sinks that would allow us to (1) gain credit for our status as a net reforestation country and, (2) create incentives for agricultural interests to be involved in fighting global warming by expanding the definition of sinks beyond just forests. We anticipate seeking a broad set of definitions, but agreeing to "phase in" the broad approach to limit the benefit we could derive from sinks in the first commitment period target (2008-2012). This approach is intended to be responsive to criticisms that broad inclusion of "sinks" will fundamentally alter the "level of effort" required to reach our Kyoto target. In fact, many scientists agree that, in theory, the U.S. could meet as much as half of its Kyoto target without any change to its current forestry practices.

Regarding the treaty compliance mechanism, we have taken the position that we favor legal consequences for failure to comply with the Protocol. We disagree with the E.U. over what such consequences should be. The E.U. favors a financial penalty paid to an international fund. We have favored an approach that would require countries to borrow at a premium against a future emissions reduction commitment to make up for missing a target.

III. Developing Countries and New Approaches to Cost Control

There is little appetite among the parties to consider the role of developing countries at COP6. Likely the only prospect for establishing a "new dialogue" over the role of developing countries in combating climate change would be to link it to a discussion of new sources of funding. Nonetheless, enormous hurdles remain because developing countries themselves are unified in opposition to making any new commitments; to the contrary, they are currently seeking substantial additional commitments from industrialized countries in the form of additional financial resources as part of any deal at COP6. We are exploring innovative ideas to be responsive, but there are obvious challenges related to any new funding.

Issues of the role of developing countries in the fight against climate change are enormously challenging. The 1997 Byrd-Hagel Resolution, passed 95-0, urged the Administration not to sign on to a treaty that would bind the United States without similarly binding developing countries like China and India. On the other hand, the dynamic in the international community is that we are virtually isolated in arguing that resolving a role for developing countries should be a priority for COP6. In essence, the rest of the world thinks it would be deeply inequitable for us to try to hold developing countries to the same standard as industrialized countries.

Our overall strategy on has been to continue to cultivate a set of actions by developing countries that we can characterize as sufficient to meet our test of "meaningful participation by key developing countries," but not attempt to resolve these issues definitively at COP6. At best, we might negotiate a commitment to a process that would examine this issue after COP6. We believe that our bilateral diplomacy with countries like India and China, along with a functioning CDM and a range of non-Kyoto type commitments to clean energy, is a promising approach to help change the dynamic beyond COP6. We are also continuing to seek new and innovative roles within the Protocol for developing country actions, such as creating a treaty mechanism to recognize voluntary actions by developing countries to adopt Kyoto emissions reduction "targets" (such as those taken by Argentina, Kazakhstan, and Bolivia).

On issues of cost control, our position has been that the best way to mitigate costs is through the robust use of the flexibility mechanisms, such as trading. Others, including Brazil, have raised the notion of a "safety valve" or limit on the overall cost per-ton that any country would have to incur to meet its target in the first compliance period. We continue to engage on these issues.

IV. Constituencies

As we approach COP6, constituencies and the media are increasing their level of engagement in the negotiations. Environmentalists generally view most of our policies as attempts to create new "loopholes" in the Kyoto framework. This is particularly acute in the case of "sinks," but also applies to their calls for "caps" on trading and constraints on the CDM. The business community is also watching closely and, while espousing a wide range of views on the merits of the Kyoto agreement itself, tends to support many of our negotiating strategies. Congress, of course, does not speak with one voice; however, critics of the Protocol are far more vocal than supporters. We expect large delegations of critics from both houses to attend the negotiations in The Hague.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-22-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING
KATHLEEN McGINTY
DANIEL TARULLO
JIM STEINBERG
TODD STERN

SUBJECT: Climate change decision memorandum

This memorandum follows up on our earlier climate change memoranda and meetings with you. It requests specific decisions from you on various elements of our overall climate change policy. We are not looking for final decisions on the precise details of all the elements, but rather for key decisions that could form the basis for a five-point or ten-point plan. Your responses will allow us to put together a climate change policy package that you are scheduled to announce on Wednesday, October 22, while the penultimate negotiations take place in Bonn.

The decisions identified in this memo may be some of the most important and difficult of your Presidency. There does not appear to be any way fully to reconcile four constraints we have previously identified to you -- the environmental imperative, diplomatic realities, economic costs, and political opposition from business, labor and the Hill.

We think it is imperative to think beyond next week's announcement, to the management of this issue for Kyoto and beyond. In the short-term, any decision you make will draw more censure than praise. We can modulate the criticism from different quarters by moving to different points on the policy spectrum, but there is no package that wins universal acclaim. It is important, therefore, to sketch a vision of how your policy will play out in the months and years ahead.

The package we present to you today rests on several premises. First, we understand that you wish to position the United States as a leader on this issue. We present a set of policies that show that the United States is taking this problem seriously and that you are working to build the domestic consensus necessary to address this problem. Second, we recommend that an agreement in Kyoto, while desirable, should not become the measure of success of our policy. The concessions required to reach agreement there could endanger the long-term management of this issue at home. Finally, we believe that our policy can unfold with time. We should advance

a framework that is sufficiently supple to adjust to political, diplomatic, economic, and scientific developments as they occur.

I. Confirmation of your instructions on several elements

Based on your reactions to our previous memos and our meetings with you, we understand that you support the following items as components of an overall climate change policy. The purpose of this section is to confirm that our understanding is correct.

✓ **Tax cuts and R&D:** We held a very productive meeting on Thursday with Secretary Rubin, Director Raines, Deputy Secretary Summers, Chair Yellen, and others to discuss the budget and our climate change proposal. The focus of the meeting was how to structure a package of carbon-reducing tax incentives and other programs that would amount to perhaps \$5 billion over 5 years. Given the constraints on discretionary spending, we decided to explore how to move as many of the initiatives as possible on to the tax side. Treasury is working intensively with DOE, EPA, and other agencies on this front. Some of the preliminary ideas include: a tax credit for the purchase of certain highly efficient equipment for buildings; a tax credit for high fuel economy vehicles; a tax credit for photovoltaic rooftop systems; a tax credit for retiring inefficient electric generating capacity; and a tax credit for industrial cogeneration. The specific proposals could be more fully developed, and final decisions about which activities to encourage through spending or which through tax incentives, as part of the budget process. The offsets for the tax cuts could take the form of reducing current tax preferences for fossil fuels; such offsets would ensure that both the tax cuts and their "pay-fors" advance the effort to reduce carbon emissions.

• Secret
Reg ✓ **Federal energy efficiency:** The federal government spends more than \$7 billion per year on energy. A Federal government energy efficiency initiative is being developed by DOE staff, in conjunction with Defense and other relevant agencies. It would include expanding the use of Energy Savings Performance Contracts, reinventing federal procurement, taking a "sustainable design" approach to federal facilities, and developing more efficient military propulsion systems. The effort would also include a review of existing Executive Orders on purchases, preparation of a new Executive Order to fill any gaps, a directive to federal agencies to prepare greenhouse gas reductions plans and a requirement that all federal agencies assess the greenhouse gas impacts of major federal actions.

✓ **Industry out-reach:** Although we are committed to a binding, rather than voluntary target, it would still make sense to encourage businesses, on an industry by industry basis, to prepare plans in which they tell us what reductions they believe they could achieve on their own and how they could best achieve them. We would ask each relevant industry to prepare a plan over the next 6-12 months and would work cooperatively with industries where appropriate. (For example, the cement industry claims it could reduce CO₂

emissions by 10 million tons/year -- over 2 percent of the total national reduction needed to reach 1990 levels by 2010 -- with a regulatory change in how the industry is permitted to mix cement. We would work with the industry to facilitate such a change if it proved to be appropriate.)

Credit for early action: We would declare that it was crucial that there be no discrimination against firms that take early action to reduce emissions (e.g., that any baseline that might be established would be set prior to any early action -- so that they would not suffer from taking early action and then seeing the baseline moved). Furthermore, we would declare that we would strongly favor appropriately rewarding those who promptly take early action. The details of how such an early credit system would operate, however, are complex and can't be fully articulated until the details of an overall permit trading system are worked out. We should state our support for early action and indicate that early actors will be appropriately rewarded.

5-year science reviews: Under the existing climate treaty, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is charged with reviewing the state of the science every five years. Several corporate and Congressional leaders have suggested supplementing these reviews with additional studies by the National Academy of Sciences or your Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST), on a similar 5-year cycle.

Emphasize long-term goal of stabilizing concentrations. The goal of the existing climate treaty is "to stabilize concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere at levels that avoid dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system." However, the Parties to the climate treaty have never defined precisely what levels are dangerous. Your advisers believe the United States should announce support for developing a specific, long-term goal. The U.S. would urge the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, as well as the National Academy of Sciences, to undertake this task.

Global Environmental Facility. The United States is significantly in arrears to the Global Environmental Facility, which assists developing countries in reducing greenhouse gas emissions. (Of the \$430 million pledged for FY93-FY97, we have been able to contribute roughly \$185 million.) These arrears reduce our leverage with developing countries in negotiations under the climate treaty. Your advisers recommend you reemphasize your strong commitment to the Global Environment Facility and support clearing U.S. arrears at the earliest practical date. Funding for the Global Environment Facility should be pursued as a top priority.

International Financial Institutions. We would work with the international financial institutions (e.g., World Bank and IMF) to boost the importance of carbon reduction efforts in the context of both concessional and non-concessional lending decisions. The purpose would be to ensure that the activities of the international financial institutions provide the proper incentives for countries to undertake efforts to address climate

change.

✓ **Bilateral Dialogues.** We are pursuing bilateral dialogues with key developing countries (including China, Brazil and India) to promote clean energy. Often, interest in energy efficiency and renewable energy is greater in these settings than in the politicized, multilateral setting of the Climate Convention. Discussions focus on regulatory structures for clean energy development, technical assistance, export credit and related items. Work is underway in this area in connection with the Jiang Zemin state visit later this month. Your advisers recommend that we pursue these dialogues with increased effort in the years ahead.

✓ **Transition Assistance.** While we should not dwell on transition assistance as a major focus of your plan, you should nonetheless state as one of your principles that we will work cooperatively with labor and Congress to insure that we give proper assistance to any workers who are dislocated by the changes in energy usage inherent in any climate change plan. This both makes sense and is very important to labor.

_____ Approve the above components

_____ Do not approve

_____ Discuss further

II. Overall policy approach, including targets and timetables

The most difficult decisions you must make involve targets and timetables under the climate treaty, and how explicit to make the protections against excessive economic costs as part of your announcement. You have already heard the pros and cons of different courses of action.

To put the target, timetable, and safety valve discussions in context, it may be helpful to examine the overall vision that we have for your policy package. The sections below then describe possible variations on this basic package.

The plan involves three stages. Only after we had accumulated experience during the first stage (of tax cuts, R&D, and industry out-reach) and accumulated more experience during the second stage (of a trial trading program), would we enter the period under which we would be bound by the international treaty to reaching 1990 levels. Possible budget periods are explored below.

Our approach recognizes the novelty of the task that we are undertaking, and the uncertainty surrounding its potential impact, by creating regular reviews of how effectively the economy was responding to the carbon emissions reduction effort, and how effectively other

countries were responding. Such a review would include the impact of the effort on overall energy prices, an analysis of how technology was developing to meet the need for low-cost carbon reductions, an evaluation of progress toward an international permit trading regime, an assessment of the Federal government's own efforts to conserve energy, an evaluation of the efforts undertaken by other countries to meet their targets, and a recommendation on how best to proceed. The review could be conducted every four years, starting with one in 2004 and another in 2008.

In addition to these regular reviews, the basic vision involves three stages:

- **Beginning as soon as possible: Tax cuts, R&D, and industry outreach.** Before 2005, we would start with the policies that we have outlined above: tax cuts, R&D, federal energy efficiency, industry out-reach, and a commitment to rewarding early action.
- **2005-2008 or 2005-2010: Trial emissions trading program.** The emissions trading system would start in 2005, as a trial project that would allow us to learn how the system operates before entering the period in which our binding international obligations would hold. Gene would prefer that we include an explicit ceiling in this period, to ensure that the permit price does not rise above \$25 per ton. Katie opposes naming a specific ceiling price. This issue is explored in more detail below.
- **2008-2014 or 2010-2015: Return to 1990 emissions levels.** Only after we had accumulated experience during the first stage (of tax cuts, R&D, and industry out-reach) and accumulated more experience during the second stage (of a trial trading program), would we enter the period under which we would be bound by the international treaty to reaching 1990 levels. Possible budget periods are explored below. We would also commit to further reductions, to levels below 1990, after the end of the first budget period.

Why wait

This structure is designed to phase-in implementation of the program, thereby minimizing costs. We thus start with two periods -- amounting to a decade's worth of experience -- in which the pain is relatively low, and the economy has a chance to adapt to some of the new constraints being imposed on it. Only after reviewing our experience under these two periods would we determine precisely how we would make adjustments in the binding international period.

But it is crucial to recognize that even with this strategy, we are still very exposed to attacks about the credibility of our plan or the potential costs involved in meeting the target and timetable. The vast majority of outside, credible *economists* will predict that reaching 1990 levels by the 2010 or 2015 timeframe will involve significant economic costs -- making it awkward for top Administration economists to simultaneously argue that we will meet our target and avoid significant economic costs. Other experts, such as those who look at the unused technological potential in many sectors, will be prepared to support these claims. We

will be forced to face very difficult questions about whether we are willing to accept the costs that most credible outside analysts believe will be necessary to reduce emissions to 1990 levels by the 2010 or 2015 timeframe. But if we try to protect ourselves against such attacks, we will expose ourselves to attacks that the target is not truly binding. Gene's view is that our best hope is to argue that future Congresses and Presidents will decide how best to proceed at the relevant point (see further discussion below).

At the same time, we will also face strong attacks from the environmental and international community on the ground that our target and timetable are too weak. Two weeks ago, Japan proposed 0-5 percent reductions from 1990 levels by 2008-2012, and was harshly criticized. The vast majority of the environmental community expressed outrage when press reports indicated that you were not even considering reductions below 1990 levels in the 2010 timeframe.

Within this overall framework, there are several possible variations:

A. Trial emissions trading program (2005-2008 or 2005-2010)

The framework delineated above would start a domestic emissions trading system in 2005. The first few years of the system -- before any internationally binding obligation would take hold -- would involve a relatively mild constraint (i.e., only a small reduction off the business-as-usual emissions path).

The benefit of an early start is that it allows time for the system to become operational in the run-up to the internationally binding goal, and begins to deflect emissions from the business-as-usual path. The cost is that in order to affect emissions, it moves forward the time at which energy prices will rise from their business-as-usual path.

Gene would prefer to impose a ceiling price on the permit system during this trial period, to ensure that the constraint was mild. The principal benefits of this specificity are that it builds credibility and provides a way to beat back the \$200 per ton (50 cents per gallon) attack. In response to such attacks, we could argue that the price increase would be limited until after the trial budget period (at least 2008) and, that after that date, we would not expect a future President or Congress to impose excessive costs on the economy. To environmental groups, we would argue that the \$25 ceiling applies only to the trial trading period, before the first internationally binding period.

Katie opposes naming a ceiling price. The cost of the \$25 ceiling approach is that it gives opponents a specific, Administration-approved figure to attack. Specifying the ceiling price for the trial period allows opponents to attack on that basis (\$25 per ton of carbon translates into approximately almost \$40 billion per year), and these figures would continue to be identified with the Administration's climate change program even if there is no agreement in Kyoto. We could argue that the figures would explicitly be a *ceiling* and that the prices

could be lower. A specific price would also be opposed by some in the moderate business community at least in part because they think such a price would interfere with their ability to do lucrative joint implementation projects in developing countries. Some in the business community are already arguing that any price of this kind would, whether correctly or not, be perceived as a *floor*.

During the last several days, opposition to a trial program has begun to emerge from utilities and others. We are consulting and will pass along further information as soon as we receive it.

_____ Approve starting the permit system in 2005

_____ With \$25 ceiling on permit price

_____ Without specific ceiling on permit price

_____ Do not approve

_____ Discuss further

B. Targets and timetables under the climate treaty

It is vital to keep in mind that we should discuss targets and timetables as only one part of a three-piece international agreement that must also include provisions for international emissions trading and joint implementation, as well as clear obligations for developing countries. Arguing for this three-part framework allows you to take the high ground by calling for a truly global approach to the problem.

The integrity of this framework is also critical to the economic and political defense of our position. For one, the flexibility for low-cost reductions that trading and JI afford is key to our ability to defend as achievable any target that seeks to reduce emissions to 1990 levels in the 2010 timeframe. As for developing countries, insisting on their meaningful participation deflects the criticism that U.S. competitiveness is at risk and also makes the strong environmental point that the problem cannot be solved without all major greenhouse gas emitters doing their fair share.

The targets and timetables will inevitably remain the focus of enormous attention at home and abroad. Constituencies and other countries will pay more attention to this piece of our policy package than to any other. Based on our meeting with you, we understand that you would like to support a position within the current international mainstream, that you are inclined toward a first target of 1990 levels by roughly 2010 or 2015, and that you would support additional reductions in roughly the 2020 or 2025 timeframe. Based on this understanding, we suggest two possible approaches. (There are, of course, many variations that would accomplish similar goals.) Both

approaches reflect the U.S. position in support of multi-year targets, intended to smooth out annual variations in emissions caused by weather, business cycle, and other factors.

- 1990 levels by 2008-2014; reductions below 1990 levels in the next budget period
- 1990 levels by 2010-2015; reductions below 1990 levels in the next budget period

The basic dynamic is that an earlier timetable would please the environmental and international communities more, while a more gradual timetable would be less opposed by business and labor. Neither of these approaches is likely to win actual praise from the environmental groups or your negotiating partners.

Internationally, the EU and much of the rest of the world will criticize either of these options, since neither calls for reductions below 1990 in the first budget period. (The Japanese were criticized for their plan by much of the international community; we could expect even stronger criticism.) 2008-2014 would be received better than 2010-2015. Similarly, environmentalists will be very disappointed by the absence of reductions below 1990 in the first budget. The commitment to reductions below 1990 levels during the second budget period could help somewhat.

Most business and labor will not be happy with either of these options. The hard-core business opposition will attack either of them with great vigor, but more moderate companies and utilities, of the kind you hosted in the Cabinet Room in August, would feel much better about a more gradual approach (e.g., 2010-2020), but could probably live with 2010-2015 -- *if* we made clear that we were insisting on a full international package as part of the deal: joint implementation, international trading and developing country participation. The AFL-CIO has argued for a 2020 timetable.

Some of your advisers -- including Gene, Dan, and Todd -- would prefer to see a target and timetable more in the 2015 or 2020 range, and the economic agencies would prefer something beyond that. Others -- including Katie, Jim Steinberg, Jack Gibbons and Madeleine Albright -- are inclined toward an earlier target, closer to the 2010 timeframe. It is our understanding that you would prefer something closer to 2010. We have therefore presented two options in that range. Not surprisingly, those who favor something in the 2015-2020 range or beyond would prefer the option below that is less stringent.

Over the weekend, Katie has been engaged in intensive efforts to shape a coalition of business and environmental concerns that might stand up to support your policy next week. Key players are BP, several utilities, and the Environmental Defense Fund. The key components of a policy that might win support from these groups and companies appears to be: (1) 1990 levels by 2008-2014; 1990 levels minus 5 percent by 2015-2021; (2) strong commitment to credits for early action (i.e., before 2008); (3) strong support for existing elements of the U.S. position (flexibility in meeting targets and participation of developing countries), (4) no "safety valve" or

"escape clause", and (5) no trial permit period as above. At this writing, the results are uncertain. We will keep you closely apprised.

Gene notes that while initial validation is important, we must carefully weigh any possible benefits from policy changes intended to capture initial validation against possible cons from those changes if they might expose us to attacks in a larger political arena.

- _____ 1990 levels by 2008-2014; reductions below 1990 levels in the next budget period
- _____ 1990 levels by 2010-2015; reductions below 1990 levels in the next budget period
- _____ Discuss further

C. Protecting against excessive costs during the international target period

At a minimum, we would announce a general principle that it would be unreasonable to expect you or any future President to impose excessive costs on the economy in implementing this program. The question is whether we go beyond a statement of principle, by announcing some mechanism for protecting the economy against significant damage. *The fundamental tension involved is how to balance the need for protection against charges of high economic costs against the "binding" nature of the international target.* The statement of principle provides the least protection against charges of high economic costs, and the most protection against charges that the target is not binding. In addition to that approach, there are three different visions that build upon a simple statement of principle to provide somewhat more protection against the economic damages argument; the visions vary in trading off protection against charges of substantial costs versus protection against charges that the obligation is not truly binding. You should also keep in mind how any of these approaches influence the effectiveness of your economic team in advocating our policy package.

- Announcing support for a ceiling price in the internationally binding period (e.g., 2008-2014 or 2010-2015). The ceiling price could be defined now or decided in the future following consultation with Congress and other interested parties.
- Announce support for a discretionary safety valve, which would be invoked if costs are judged to be excessive or other countries were not meeting their obligations. This discretionary safety valve would not explicitly specify the criteria (e.g., permit price, GDP growth, unemployment, international trade in permits, other countries' performance, etc.) that would be used in evaluating the costs of the program.
- Announce support for having the Congress and the President review the program immediately before the binding international period, and decide how to proceed at that point. This approach reflects the reality that future Congresses will always have the option to protect the economy or undertake more environmental action -- and thus recognizes that

decisions about whether the United States was willing to bear the costs that could be necessary to meet the target and timetable goal will have to be made at that time.

Approach 1: Ceiling price in internationally binding period

The first approach would involve a statement to the effect that even during the internationally binding period (2008-2014, or 2010-2015), the government would stand ready to sell additional permits at some price, which could be specified now or set after appropriate consultation with Congress and other interested parties. Such a ceiling price would provide the most protection against charges that the costs involved would be excessive, but it would also provide the most ammunition for those who want to charge that the target is not truly binding.

This idea has emerged in the public dialogue on this issue very recently. Last week, due in part to a general discussion of this issue at the White House conference, there was a flood of constituency interest. Environmental groups wrote criticizing the idea in very strong terms. Several corporate leaders (including Tom Casten of Trigen, BP, and several leading utilities) voiced *opposition*. On the other hand, Gene and others believe that it is reasonable to surmise that as many business groups evaluate a specific safety valve proposal, they will be supportive to the extent that such a proposal caps overall costs.

Approach 2: Discretionary approach which would be invoked if costs are judged to be excessive or other countries are not performing

This discretionary safety valve would not explicitly specify the criteria (e.g., permit price, GDP growth, unemployment, international trade in permits, etc.) that would be used in evaluating the costs of the program. Instead, we would announce now that protective steps would be taken under either of two conditions:

- First, if the effort were imposing substantial economic damage on the country.
- Second, if some percentage of other countries were not meeting their obligations.

The principal benefit of this approach is that it would allow us to fend off the high cost estimates of our opponents, without creating a specific Administration figure to attack. In a related vein, this approach frustrates efforts to plug official Administration figures into conventional economic models, in an attempt to show that our policies are unlikely to achieve their objectives. It also offers the most protection against the concern that non-market mandates will be used to fill the gap between a specific ceiling price and the target and timetable.

On the other hand, it could allow all sides to assume the worst: Corporate groups would worry that the safety valve would never be triggered, and environmental groups (which strongly dislike the idea to begin with) would worry that it would be triggered too easily. We are also likely to be faced with a barrage of questions, from those armed with credible outside analysis,

about how we expect to meet the target for a price that was not "excessive." We could be forced into reacting to specific model results -- and thus quickly pressed into specifying the precise conditions under which the safety valve would be used. For example, we would likely face questions such as: "Is a \$100 increase in carbon prices 'excessive'?" If we responded that \$100 was excessive, we could soon fall into the trap of defining the boundary of "excessive."

Approach 3: Announce support for having the Congress and the President review the program immediately before the binding international period

This approach reflects the reality that future Congresses will always have the option to protect the economy -- and thus recognizes that decisions about whether the United States was willing to bear the costs that could be necessary to meet the target and timetable goal will have to be made at that time.

The benefit of this approach is that it provides some protection against the likely attacks, but still allows us to underscore our commitment to the target. But we could be criticized for avoiding the difficult choices involved, and it could allow all sides to assume the worst: Corporate groups that we had committed to the target and timetable, and that the momentum behind the internationally binding treaty would allow environmentalists to win the debate in a decade; and environmental groups that we were not truly binding the country now.

Katie supports announcing a general principle. Larry Summers supports approach 2 and Gene and Todd support approach 3.

- _____ Announce general principle
- _____ Approach 1: Ceiling price in internationally binding period
- _____ Approach 2: Discretionary approach which would be invoked if costs are judged to be excessive or other countries were not performing
- _____ Approach 3: Announce support for having the Congress and the President review the program immediately before the binding international period
- _____ Discuss further

How to define the safety valve

Another question that you had about the safety valve was whether it could be triggered if the economic performance suffered because of the carbon emissions reduction effort. In response to this question, NEC staff have worked with Treasury and CEA to explore different possibilities. They have concluded that it is not technically possible to construct a credible safety valve that triggers

only if the carbon emissions reductions adversely affect economic growth: the baseline issues are simply too complicated. For example, suppose that such a policy reduces GDP growth by 0.25 percentage points in each year. If the economy is otherwise booming, so that growth in the absence of this policy would have been 3.5 percent, then the result of the policy will still be a 3.25 percent growth rate. Given the enormous uncertainties, even after the fact, regarding the effects of environmental regulation on the economy, CEA and Treasury believe that it would be impossible to separate out the role of climate change policies on the economy's growth rate with any degree of confidence.

Including a safety valve in the climate treaty

A final question is whether to reflect a safety valve in the climate treaty. Any attempt to do so would meet with fierce resistance and charges that the United States was backtracking from its call for "binding commitments." But if we fail to seek a safety valve under the treaty, there is a risk that our domestic mechanism would put us out of compliance with our international obligations -- thus causing business leaders to fear that we would not invoke our safety valve if necessary.

Gene, Katie, Dan, Jim, and Todd do not recommend seeking a safety valve under the treaty. The costs of doing so would be high and the need is unclear. In the event a domestic safety valve appears likely to cause the United States to exceed emissions limits under the treaty, the United States could adjust domestic programs, renegotiate the treaty or accept the treaty's non-compliance provisions (which are unlikely to be severe).

_____ Negotiate a safety valve under the climate treaty

_____ Do not negotiate a safety valve under the climate treaty

_____ Discuss further

III. Grandfathering and auctioning

Another issue related to a permit system, and one we touched upon in our meeting, is whether the permits should be auctioned or grandfathered. Your advisers suggest that we not declare at this point our position on auctioning or grandfathering. Announcing either approach could entail considerable costs, and there is little to be gained from taking a position at this time. We would state that the structure of the domestic emissions trading program is important, and that we will work with Congress and other interested parties as we developed our domestic implementing legislation.

_____ Agree: announce that we will develop approach in consultation with key constituencies.

_____ Discuss further

IV. Developing country stance

As we have noted before, your advisers favor a tougher line on developing countries than we have taken to date. In particular, your advisers favor a linkage between the United States' willingness to make commitments and the willingness of key developing countries to do the same. Under the "two-step" approach, we would make a strong statement that the United States would not assume binding obligations under the climate treaty until key developing countries assume adequate obligations in terms of their commitments. This linkage with developing country commitments might be reflected in a "Kyoto Mandate," establishing a new round of negotiations under the treaty.

The position recommended by your advisers on this issue could very well endanger an agreement being signed this December in Kyoto. Even the current U.S. position on developing countries, which seeks additional commitments but does not draw this linkage, has won little if any support abroad. State Department negotiators believe that developing countries are unlikely to agree to a "Kyoto Mandate," and that the odds of such a mandate are close to zero unless the United States accepts targets with *reductions* below 1990 levels in roughly the 2010 timeframe.

_____ Approve linkage of U.S. commitments to developing country commitments

_____ Do not approve linkage

_____ Discuss further

V. Electricity restructuring

We have held two NEC principals meetings on electricity restructuring. Our recommendation is that one of the elements of your climate change proposal should be the announcement of support for electricity restructuring, which if properly structured, could reduce carbon emissions. It is the unanimous opinion of your advisers, however, that it would not make sense to announce your entire restructuring package in the context of climate change -- because it would be drowned out by other aspects of the package, because the Hill is consumed with Fast Track, and because we have not worked out all the details of our proposal.

One remaining issue is whether you would announce some specific examples of restructuring provisions in your climate speech. There is internal consensus in support of several provisions that could help reduce emissions, such as a "renewables portfolio standard" to promote wind, solar, geothermal and biomass and "green labeling" to provide consumers with the information to evaluate the environmental consequences of various sources of electricity. The principal benefit of mentioning these specific examples is that it provides more connection to the climate change issue. However, outsiders following the electricity restructuring issue may wonder why other environmental provisions were *not* mentioned. We are working to resolve this issue.

_____ Approve statement of environmentally-friendly program for electricity restructuring

_____ Do not approve

_____ Discuss further

VI. National Security Exemption

You should be aware that the Defense Department is seeking a "national security exemption" under the climate treaty. The Pentagon puts a high priority on this issue, due to concerns that fuel reduction requirements could hamper military operations. The issue has attracted attention on the Hill.

There is consensus among your advisers that some form of "national security exemption" is warranted. However, there may be disagreement concerning the scope of the exemption. We are working to clarify issues and resolve differences, and expect to provide additional information on this issue early next week.

11-6-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONCapitol
Stern
Steinberg
Spiering
COS

November 5, 1998

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memo from Todd, Jim Steinberg and Gene on the two-week Buenos Aires climate change conference, which opened Monday. I understand you and the Vice President discussed this at your lunch. The memo is mostly informational, but there are two decisions in it — both concern issues of timing.

The first decision concerns whether to sign the Kyoto Protocol during the Buenos Aires conference. All of your advisors agree that Stu Eizenstat should announce next week that the U.S. is signing the Protocol during the conference. *John Podesta concurs.*

The second decision concerns the end date for completing the rules on international emissions trading. Todd lays out three potential options (late 1999, early 2000, late 2000), but all of your advisors agree that the U.S. should seek an end date of December 2000, with the understanding that we would press to resolve as many issues as possible next year. John didn't have a view on the timing of this issue.

Todd, Stu and the State Department team leave for Buenos Aires on Saturday, so they'd appreciate feedback from you at your earliest convenience.

Phil Caplan

Phil

‘98 MITU 5 249:58

November 4, 1998

FROM: TODD STERN
JIM STEINBERG
GENE SPERLING

SUBJECT: Climate Change

Background

Kyoto was an historic achievement, but remains, as we have all recognized, unfinished business. As a practical matter, we will need satisfactory resolution of four key issues in order to have a legitimate chance of ratification in the Senate: developing country participation; the rules and regulations for the so-called flexibility measures (international emissions trading and the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM)); further refinement of the provisions on carbon-absorbing sinks; and compliance.

In general, we expect the Buenos Aires meeting to produce incremental progress rather than breakthroughs. The principal outcome is likely to be a work plan with specific time lines for completing work on trading and the CDM. The issue of sinks -- important to forest and farm state Senators -- is on a schedule that contemplates resolution in late 2000 (a scientific review on the subject by the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) will be completed in May 2000), so it probably won't figure prominently at Buenos Aires. There will likely be some discussion of compliance, but, again, focussed more on the process for working out a compliance regime rather than on the substance of such a regime.

Regarding developing countries, we expect no broad-based progress. Indeed, leading developing countries, including China, have already blocked Argentina's attempt to include on the Conference agenda a discussion about how developing countries could voluntarily assume commitments. On the other hand, Argentina is still considering an announcement that it has decided to take on a target in the 2008-2012 period, with the precise number to be specified after a few more months of analytic work. Such an announcement would be the biggest news of the

Conference. You raised this matter briefly in your pull-aside with President Menem several weeks ago, and we may ask you to follow up with a call in the next few days. Should Menem go forward with this announcement, it could provoke loud protest from China, India, Brazil and others, as well as some unhappiness in the EU. But it would be a big step forward.

Signing the Protocol

As you know, we have not yet signed the Kyoto Protocol. Our current plan is for Stu Eizenstat to announce at the beginning of the second week of the Buenos Aires conference (November 9 or 10) that we are signing. (The actual signing would be carried out by a USG official at the UN in New York.)

There are pros and cons to signing while we are in Buenos Aires, but the consensus view of your advisors (including NSC, State, NEC, CEQ and OVP) is that this is the best time and place to do it. First, it will enhance the credibility of the U.S. and strengthen our negotiating hand. More than 55 nations have signed the Protocol, including all major industrialized countries except the U.S. Second, since we have already said on many occasions that we are going to sign during the one-year signing period, which expires March 15, 1999, it makes sense to choose a moment when it can do us some good. Third, it would be preferable for us to have signed the Protocol when you travel to Japan the week of November 16, on the eve of the one-year anniversary of Kyoto, particularly since NSC is working on an environmental event there that would feature climate change.

There are two potential downsides to signing during the Conference. First, given the press attention in Buenos Aires, critics like Senator Hagel will have a platform from which to attack us. However, even if we wait to sign until after Buenos Aires, we will still get attacked and will still face possible congressional resolutions of disapproval.

Second, signing could arguably jeopardize the release of funds for the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), a multilateral development facility that funds clean energy and other environmental projects in developing countries. You will recall that, in the budget endgame, we did very well on GEF funding, getting the full \$192.5 million needed to clear our GEF arrears. However, the funding was made subject to a notification requirement which, as a practical matter, gives the foreign ops. subcommittee the power to hold up funding. At the time of the budget deal, the House leadership promised to help us secure the GEF funds. But OMB believes anger over signing the Protocol could damage our ability to get the funding released.

Your advisors (including Treasury) believe that the GEF issue should not deter us from signing. As noted, we have always said we were going to sign during the one-year signing period, and signing during the Buenos Aires Conference makes sense for the reasons discussed above. Second, by rights, the assurances we received from the House leadership on GEF shouldn't be

11-6-93

undermined by our signing, since we had declared our intention to sign months before those assurances were given. Third, whether we sign now or not, the GEF fight is going to be difficult, with GEF opponents quite capable of making anti-climate change demands as the price for approving the release of GEF funds. In fact, deferring signing could backfire if GEF opponents decide to hold the GEF hostage unless we agree *not* to sign.

In short, your advisors recommend that you approve signing the Kyoto Protocol during the Buenos Aires Conference.

Approve ✓

Disapprove

Discuss

The Work Plan Agenda: Caps on Emissions Trading

The EU pressed vigorously at Kyoto for a hard cap on trading -- language making clear that countries had to achieve at least 50% of their emission reductions through domestic measures. They lost on this issue; the Protocol says simply that trading is to be "supplemental" to domestic measures, a qualitative term that doesn't impose a hard cap. Nevertheless, the EU continues to press the issue, arguing that the parties must now define "supplementarity." In particular, they are demanding that "concrete ceilings" on emissions trading, expressed in both quantitative and qualitative terms, be included as a specific agenda item in any work plan.

We have taken a strong position against caps in international negotiations and Congressional testimony. According to our analysis, caps on emissions trading would increase inefficiencies in a trading system, raise the cost of meeting our target, and be difficult to administer. (Ironically, caps could increase costs for the Europeans even more.) We argue that we are committed to aggressive action at home *and* to an efficient international trading system. And we cite the results of our own SO₂ (acid rain) trading system as evidence of how important trading can be environmentally as well as economically.

Our concern is that if the cap issue is included in the work plan agenda in the wrong way it could prejudice the work plan against us, leading to a discussion not of whether a cap is appropriate, but of how tight the cap should be.

U.S. business groups -- even moderate ones, who are open to supporting the Kyoto agreement -- strongly oppose caps. And Members of Congress would undoubtedly be concerned about caps, given our reliance on trading to moderate the cost of addressing climate change.

At the same time, most domestic environmental groups either support caps or believe this an issue of secondary importance, and would blame the United States if a debate on caps slowed overall progress in making the Kyoto Protocol a reality. They tend to join the EU in

characterizing our opposition to caps as proof that we intend to buy our emission reductions from abroad and not take serious domestic action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

We are currently exploring whether we can find a means to resolve the work plan agenda in a way that avoids a collision with the EU. But it is still possible that we will face a decision in Buenos Aires either (1) to accept a work plan that undermines our position on caps, or (2) leave Buenos Aires with no work plan and a perception that the Kyoto process had suffered a setback. Should it come to that, we will seek your guidance.

Timing of the Work Plan on Trading and the CDM

The work plan will set an end date for completing the rules that will govern emissions trading and the Clean Development Mechanism. There are, in principle, three options for end dates: late 1999 -- the next scheduled meeting of the Conference of Parties (COP-5); April 2000 -- which would require delaying COP-5 for six months; or late 2000 (probably December) -- the regularly scheduled meeting of COP-6.

Your advisors favor an end date of COP-6 in late 2000, with the understanding that we would press to resolve as many issues as possible at next year's meeting. This outcome makes sense for several reasons. First, the earliest end date, late 1999, is almost certainly unrealistic given the complexity of the issues and the time it takes for the 160-nation Conference of Parties to make decisions. Most of our negotiating partners will assume that these issues can't be resolved in just one year. Second, the moment for resolution of the flexibility issues could be highly contentious and confront us with decisions that, for domestic reasons, we think would be better confronted in late 2000 than before. In particular, on the toughest issue dividing us and the EU -- whether a country's right to trade or use the CDM should be subject to a cap -- there are three possible outcomes: the EU could accept something short of a hard cap (e.g., qualitative language regarding the obligation of all countries to pursue domestic measures); we could accept a hard cap, provoking sharp criticism from the Hill and from business; or we and the EU could collide head-on, leaving the negotiations at least temporarily derailed. The last two of these outcomes would be quite undesirable.

While it is possible that a few may criticize a COP-6 end date as a go-slow approach, it appears that most business and environmental groups are already expecting such an end date. And we can mute potential criticism by underscoring in the work plan that we will strive to finish as many issues as possible by COP-5.

The UK has floated a different approach on timing -- an end date of April 2000, premised on delaying COP-5 until that time. We don't think this is a good idea. First, it could force a showdown on the trading issue at an unattractive moment in the domestic calendar. Second, it would result in at least one issue of importance for ratification -- sinks -- not being resolved until

11-0-13

after your term. (The sinks issue won't be ripe for decision until some months after the IPCC's May 2000 scientific report. If COP-5 were delayed until April 2000, COP-6 would not occur until April 2001 at the earliest.)

Assuming the work plan sets an end date for COP-6 in late 2000, COP-6 would then loom as the next major Conference of the Parties, where the rules on flexibility mechanisms and sinks would be completed. If adequate progress is achieved between now and then on developing country participation, the stage would be set for submission of the treaty to the U.S. Senate in 2001.

There is one last timing issue. The UN climate change secretariat has tentatively suggested that COP-6 be held October 16-25, 2000. Since this would obviously be a bad time for us, we will press to have the date moved. We think it makes most sense to seek an early December 2000 date, after our election but still during your term in office.

Agree on December 2000
end date for work plan ☒

Disagree ☐

Discuss ☐

November 30, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING
KATHLEEN MCGINTY
DANIEL TARULLO
JAMES STEINBERG
TODD STERN

SUBJECT: Kyoto -- Negotiating Guidance

As the climate change negotiations begin in Kyoto, we wanted to update you on the current state of play and identify issues on which your chief negotiators need bottom-line guidance. On a variety of issues, significant differences remain between us and other major players, such as the EU and G-77. An agreement at Kyoto is still possible, but it will require key countries to make significant concessions from their stated positions.

Of the many issues to be resolved at Kyoto, four are likely to require decisions from you: emissions targets, joint implementation with developing countries, overall developing country commitments and a national security exemption. On each of these, Stu Eizenstat will need to know where your bottom line is -- the point to which you could move from a current U.S. position, but beyond which you would consider an agreement unacceptable.

This exercise inevitably raises the question of what would happen in the event we refuse to support an agreement we deem unacceptable. The best case would be to negotiate some form of standstill agreement, in which countries would lock in the progress to date and commit to continued prompt negotiations on the remaining issues. This is the "process outcome" our negotiators would seek, but a more problematic result, with the U.S. relatively isolated and portrayed as the bad guy, is possible as well.

Targets

Among industrialized nations, the most significant outstanding issue is the level of the binding target. Key proposals on the table are as follows: EU -- 15 percent below 1990 levels by 2010; Japan -- 0-5 percent below 1990 levels by 2010, based on a formula that would produce different targets for different Annex I countries within this 0-5 percent range; U.S. -- 1990 levels by

2008-2012; Canada -- 1990 levels by 2010; Australia -- significantly above 1990 levels by 2010. When discrepancies in accounting methods are taken into account (e.g., the treatment of carbon "sinks" or the number of gases covered), we believe our target is somewhat closer to those of the EU and Japan than has been widely reported.

As you know that the EU has been able to be so aggressively green on its target only because of its "bubble". (The bubble allows different countries to have different targets -- the emissions of several EU countries would actually grow compared to 1990 -- so long as the EU as an aggregate reduced by 15 percent. In essence, the entire EU gets the benefit of the special circumstances that have produced significant emissions reductions in the U.K. and Germany.) However, opposition to the bubble is widespread. In order to get the bubble, the EU may well have to give on other points (including, for example, a differentiated regime in which countries without a bubble might get targets somewhat higher than the EU).

To reach a deal at Kyoto containing enough of the key elements of the U.S. proposal (joint implementation, developing country participation), a U.S. target below 1990 levels of greenhouse gas emissions may well be necessary. EU leaders are demanding a reduction below 1990 levels, as are many leaders in the developing world. A "reduction target" -- even a small one -- would allow these leaders to argue more effectively that Kyoto reflects real progress since Rio, where nations agreed to reach 1990 levels by 2000.

Optical reductions. There may be acceptable ways of recharacterizing the U.S. target that would show a reduction but not require greater effort on our part. Your advisors are actively exploring such options now. One such optical change to our target -- agreeing to defer inclusion of certain carbon "sinks" until methodologies improve -- would put us one or two percentage points below 1990 levels without any increased effort, though there could be downsides in such exclusion. In addition, the Japanese have proposed a technical change in the way three of the six covered greenhouse gases are accounted for. EPA is analyzing whether this change is appropriate and how large an optical reduction it could produce (probably no more than one to two percentage points).

Real reductions. You will likely need to decide whether, if it became necessary in the final endgame to get an overall deal, you would be prepared to reduce our target not just in optical terms but in real terms. Such a reduction could in theory come either in a first budget period (2008-2012) or a second budget period (2013-2017), though the EU and developing countries will press much harder for a reduction in the first period.

A. First budget period: The potential real reduction in the first period could be in the 1 to 5 percent range. Any reductions below the target you have already proposed would undoubtedly intensify the criticism by much of industry and many on the Hill. The problem is exacerbated by recent projections from the Department of Energy suggesting that carbon emissions will be 5 percent higher in 2010 on a business-as-usual path than previously thought. However, such

reductions may be necessary to close a deal at Kyoto with other key elements of our package.

B. Second budget period. It is possible that reductions in the second budget period -- presumably 5 percent or more below 1990 levels by 2013-2017 -- could also be helpful. Given the longer time horizon and the likelihood that such a target would be revisited before the second budget period begins, this could be more palatable to constituencies at home. However, other nations seem intent on reductions in the *first* period; it is unclear how much leverage a 5 percent reduction in the second period, or even a 10-15 percent reduction, would provide. Furthermore, committing now to specific reductions in a second budget period could remove leverage in future rounds of negotiations involving developing countries, and we could be criticized for agreeing to two targets before developing countries agree to any.

Joint Implementation

Your recent efforts to gain support for joint implementation have helped to provide momentum for its acceptance, and have sent a strong message to potential supporters that this remains a U.S. priority. Nevertheless, most key developing countries continue to oppose JI, and it remains very vulnerable. The current negotiating text is inconsistent with the U.S. position: it would allow joint implementation only among industrialized countries or with developing countries that voluntarily take on binding commitments under Article 10 (see below), and would postpone any decision on joint implementation with developing countries until after the completion of an ongoing pilot project, in 2000.

We are still working quietly with Brazil on a compromise proposal. However, the prospects for success are unclear.

In addition, you should know that many countries are seeking percentage limits on the use of joint implementation (for example, by limiting credits to 5 percent of a country's 1990 baseline). We have allowed our negotiators to consider qualitative rather than quantitative limits (e.g., "JI credits would be *supplemental* to domestic measures").

Joint implementation remains critically important to those moderate businesses which have been at least tentatively supportive of your plan, such as BP and several major utilities. The importance of JI is further underscored by the difficulty we are having in negotiating developing country commitments (see below). In the absence of strong commitments from developing countries, participation through mechanisms such as joint implementation becomes especially important. In addition, joint implementation and emissions trading are among the key devices that allow us to argue that the overall cost of reaching your climate change goals will be affordable -- well below the \$100-200/ton costs that opponents claim.

The questions for decision are (a) whether we must have joint implementation with developing countries for credit in the treaty; and (b) whether you would, at the limit, accept a quantitative restriction on JI.

Developing country commitments and the two-step process

In your climate change speech on October 22, you said that the "United States will not assume binding obligations unless key developing nations meaningfully participate in this effort." This hinted at, but did not explicitly detail, a "two-step" approach to the developing country issue. Under such an approach, we would reach agreement at Kyoto but not seek to ratify the agreement without further developing country commitments.

You should be aware that Senator Byrd (whose resolution, passed 95-0 by the Senate this summer, lays down a strong marker on this issue) wrote you this week to reject the two-step approach:

"I believe it would be unwise for the U.S. to be a signatory to any treaty that would not be approved by the Senate on its own merits. Those who are concerned about the consequences of climate change should consider that agreeing to only half a loaf --that binds only the Annex I industrialized nations to emissions limitations --will subject a protocol to intense domestic criticism as premature, unbalanced, and inequitable. Further, I believe it would make binding commitments by the developing world less likely as crucial negotiating leverage would have been lost."

Senator Byrd's views notwithstanding, the reality is that there is no prospect for developing countries to sign on to their own binding targets at Kyoto. In fact, the prospects for the strong Kyoto Mandate that our negotiators were once hoping for -- in which developing countries would agree *now* to commence future negotiations over binding targets within some period of time -- are close to nil.

It thus looks increasingly likely that the most we could realistically achieve in Kyoto is an opt-in mechanism (Article 10), under which any developing country could voluntarily accept its own binding target in the months or years ahead, plus a general statement concerning a follow-on process of future negotiations, in all likelihood without any specific reference to binding commitments. At its weakest, this reference to a follow-on process could take the form of a "review of commitments" for the world as a whole, a provision the EU would accept. Such a review could lead to, but would not guarantee, a new negotiation over developing country commitments.

Neither the opt-in mechanism itself, nor a general reference to a follow-on process, would represent "meaningful participation" by developing countries. Those devices are means to the end, not the end in themselves. Consequently, we would need to emphasize that we

would not expect to submit the treaty for ratification until a critical mass of developing countries were participating meaningfully. The reception of such an approach on the Hill and among business would likely be mixed -- but would likely improve a good deal if we had succeeded in getting joint implementation with developing countries.

The issue for decision is whether the two-step approach in this form -- with the Article 10 opt-in plus a general reference to a follow-on process -- is acceptable or falls below your bottom line.

Military/national security exemption

During the past several months, the Department of Defense has expressed several concerns about the climate treaty. DoD is concerned about the impact of emissions restrictions on U.S. military readiness, on basing negotiations with our allies, and on surge operations (e.g., Desert Storm/ Desert Shield and peacekeeping missions such as Bosnia). DoD accepts that its facilities, including buildings and non-tactical vehicles (about 42 percent of its total emissions), should be subject to greenhouse gas limits to the same extent as non-military facilities.

To address these concerns, we have shaped a package under which military operations and training (which account for roughly 0.7% of U.S. emissions) would be held harmless in any domestic emissions trading program. DoD's facilities would be covered by such a program. We have also pursued several issues under the climate treaty, including authority for the United States to take emissions from our military bases overseas into our national totals (which, due to downsizing, would likely make our targets easier to reach). This provision would address concerns about basing negotiations, and now appears achievable at Kyoto.

An outstanding issue, however, relates to surge operations. Our negotiators originally explored a treaty provision exempting emissions from surge operations, but it now appears unlikely that this can be achieved at Kyoto. We are currently exploring a number of weaker procedural devices, including a decision of the parties on this issue and a statement by the chair. Last week, DoD wrote the White House to state that a decision of the parties at Kyoto would address its concerns but that, absent such a decision, the U.S. should not join an agreement. In the event our negotiators are unable to obtain a decision of the parties or other means of addressing this issue, you will need to decide whether to proceed with the treaty nevertheless.

You should know that this issue -- the impact of the climate treaty on the military -- has received growing attention on the Hill and among industry groups opposed to the treaty.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 3, 2000

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER 
SUBJECT: U.S. Peacekeepers' Behavior

Copied
Berger
NSC w/ desk
Podesta

37

On a September 18, 2000, USA Today article entitled "Cohen Concerned Over Some Peacekeepers' Behavior", you asked: "What about this?"

Brigadier General Sanchez convened an investigation to look into the unit climate and state of discipline within the battalion to which Staff Sergeant Ronghi had been assigned while in Vitina, Kosovo. Ronghi raped and killed an 11-year-old Kosovo Albanian girl. He has been tried and convicted and is serving a life sentence with no chance of parole.

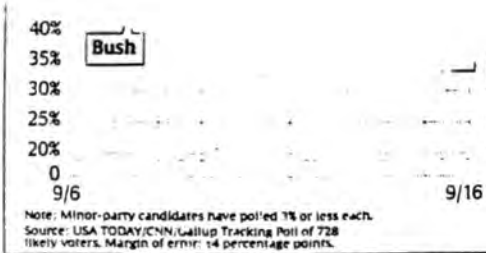
The investigation found that members of one company in the battalion behaved unprofessionally and exceeded military authority by using excessive force to question Kosovar civilians. It also found that members of this company inappropriately touched Kosovar civilian females while purporting to conduct searches. Bill is correct to have expressed "grave concern."

Four Army officers and five enlisted men have received punishment. Bill has stated publicly that he fully supports additional "efforts currently underway to address questions of leadership, readiness, training and discipline" in the unit.

Attachment
Tab A USA Today article

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

A



show style format. The final debate will include questions from the audience. The moderator for all three sessions will be Jim Lehrer of PBS, who moderated the debates in 1996.

The debate between vice-presidential nominees Joe Lieberman and Dick Cheney will be Oct. 5 in Danville, Ky. The candidates will sit at a table with a moderator yet to be named.

Cohen concerned over some peacekeepers' behavior

Defense Secretary William Cohen expressed "grave concern" about a U.S. peacekeeping unit in Kosovo accused of abusing civilians. He said the incidents "reflect behavior that cannot be allowed to recur," but he cautioned that the problem in one Army unit shouldn't tarnish the work of more than 10,000 U.S. soldiers in the Balkans. Officials are expected to release a report today that says members of the 82nd Airborne Division groped women at checkpoints and struck and harassed other civilians. Four Army officers and five enlisted men received punishments that included reduction in rank and forfeiture of pay. The probe was sparked by the murder in January of an 11-year-old girl. A staff sergeant pleaded guilty to murder and sodomy charges and was sentenced to life in prison.



By Matt Campbell, Agence France-Presse

candidate on the ballot, rather than participate in Otis test. The Supreme Court ruled in June that such a system tramples on a citizen's rights. Among the races Tuesday is the Democratic Senate primary in which high-tech millionaire Maria Cantwell and consumer advocate Deborah Senn are seeking the right to take on Republican Sen. Slade Gorton. Voters in eastern Washington also will get to pass judgment on Rep. George Nethercutt, who reneged on his promise to serve only three terms in Congress. Challenging him in the GOP primary is former radio talk show host Richard Clear.

Massachusetts and Oklahoma also hold primaries Tuesday.

Senate poised to vote this week on China trade deal

The Senate is expected to approve legislation this week that would end Congress' annual review of China's trade status and grant the communist nation normal trade relations on a permanent basis. In exchange, China would open its vast markets to more American goods and services. The trade pact has cleared the House of Representatives, and President Clinton has said he would sign it.

The candidates today

- Gore: Las Vegas
- Bush: Little Rock; Kansas City, Mo.

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

9-22-00
00 SEP 22 PM 1:42
Monday
What about
the
PR

USA TODAY • MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2000

SEP 25 13:26

10-9-00

5978

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 2, 2000

*Copied
Berger
wwdesk
Podestq*

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *SB*

SUBJECT: Your Inquiry into Washington Post Article on
Luigi Einaudi

On a Washington Post article regarding the appointment of Luigi Einaudi as Assistant Secretary of the Organization of American States (OAS), you asked "How did this happen?"

Having retired from the State Department after a distinguished career as a civil servant, Luigi was keenly interested in the OAS job and campaigned hard for it. Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru led the effort in support of Luigi's candidacy and asked us to join them in nominating him. It was very much in our interest to support Luigi, particularly as the effort was led by others and was not seen as inappropriate given wide hemispheric support. We worked diplomatically through State to support his candidacy. Luigi won an overwhelming majority of the votes at the Windsor OAS General Assembly meeting in June, defeating a candidate from Panama.

Luigi's presence at the OAS is already paying dividends. He is a breath of fresh air and injects much needed energy into the organization. He has immediately become involved in efforts to reduce tensions between El Salvador and Honduras over border issues and is now engaged on Haiti. At a time when the OAS is taking on increased importance on a range of hemispheric matters stemming from the Summit of the Americas process, it is a good thing to have Luigi there.

Attachment

Tab A Washington Post Article on Luigi Einaudi

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

A

5813

9-14-00

Stealer
(How did
Neil happen?)
H

DIPLOMATIC DISPATCHES

Nora Boustany

American Seeks New Deal With OAS Neighbors

Luigi R. Einaudi formally assumed his post as assistant secretary general of the Organization of American States yesterday after an unprecedented four-country nomination by Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and the United States that led to his election in July.

Einaudi, one of the most decorated U.S. diplomats, has had a distinguished State Department career, crowned recently with successes in resolving conflicts between Ecuador and Peru as well as between Nicaragua and Honduras. He said in an interview yesterday he was committed to democratic principles, but would respect each OAS member country's identity and culture. Unresolved spats in the Americas spanning countries such as El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Chile, Argentina, Ecuador and Bolivia, as well as more active disputes along the Caribbean rim, are costly in terms of outside investments and slow down regional integration, he said.

The United States, which should be an instrument for solutions, has had a tendency not to ignore the OAS, he said. "I think that this hemisphere is our natural neighborhood and instead of being the backyard, it should be treated as the front garden," he added.

"We may be able to go beyond the Cold War finally and get a new hemispheric bargain among neighbors," he said of his mission, which will also tap into his experience in multilateral governance. "I believe in America, not in a restrictive fashion, but in an inclusive definition that understands that we are all immigrants and that we must unite with the indigenous Americans. Our blessing in America is that we are not burdened with the feudalism and traditionalism that has held back Europe for so many years."

There are major headaches ahead, he conceded, such as Haiti and Cuba. "With Haiti, the international community feels as if it has plowed the sea and invested uselessly, yet at the same time, we must not turn our backs on it. We have an obligation to support democratic processes there and to be insistent and patient. We all want the return of Cuba to the OAS, but what we want is the return of a democratic Cuba."

Taiwan Would Welcome Support

Taiwan's new man in Washington, Chen Chien-jen, who has the official title of representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States, told Washington Post editors and reporters Wednesday that his country would welcome an unequivocal declaration that the United States would support it should it come under attack from China.

When asked if such remarks would be harmful, given the Chinese sensitivity over

Taiwan, or useful, he responded: "Of course you are the last superpower with other global considerations. As far as we are concerned, we have no objections if the United States says it will defend us if attacked. It is good not to be ambiguous. I think it would help, not hurt." Taiwan needs a larger security cushion, Chen said, noting that though his country is qualitatively better equipped than China in the area of defense, quantitatively the Chinese are ahead, and in 10 years, Taipei could find itself in a "very precarious position."

When Taiwan's president traveled through Los Angeles last month, the State Department made it clear he could not meet with administration officials and privately pressured him not to meet with U.S. legislators, either. When U.S. representatives and senators travel in Taiwan, there are no restrictions on them, he observed.

Commenting on the tight restrictions on senior Taiwanese officials, who are not allowed to visit Washington or meet with administration officials and only permitted to transit through the United States, Chen said his countrymen and government would like to see the relationship with Washington improve in terms of access to higher officials. Because they live in a democracy, Taiwanese "people are so well educated, they do not like to be treated as second-rate citizens of this world. . . . People aspire to more, they want to be treated better."

Greek Anti-Terrorism Efforts

Michalis Chrysoschoidis, Greece's minister of public order, is meeting with Attorney General Janet Reno today to sign a memorandum of understanding between Athens and Washington on terrorism and organized crime.

Over breakfast at the residence of Greek Ambassador Alexander Pflüger yesterday, Chrysoschoidis said spillover from the Balkans and the migration of populations across changing borders have led to an increase in organized crime. Greece has had to take such new crime-fighting measures as deploying 3,000 guards along its borders, he said. He pointed out, however, that Greece has one of the lowest crime rates in the region. Chrysoschoidis said the problem of terrorism in Greece is a "qualitative" one with the attackers going after selected single targets who are "symbols."

He referred to the case of British defense attache Brig. Stephen Saunders, gunned down while en route to a meeting to discuss possible tank sales to Greece. A communique issued by the November 17 guerrilla group on June 9 reflected Greek nationalist opposition to Allied military action last year against Yugoslavia. No one has been able to identify the political background and affiliation of that mysterious group, he said.

copied
Bergen
USCWW
Desic
Podesta

SEP 14 15:19

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 2000

(U) **Kerrick Memo re: Sale of Radar Systems to Syria** -- in response to your comment, "probably should ok," on a report regarding Raytheon's proposed sale of 3 radar systems to Syria, Don reports that State, Defense and Commerce have reviewed ~~and approved the sale, subject to conditions that will ensure against military use of the systems.~~ The radar systems, worth \$30M, will be installed at international airports in Syria and will help improve civil air safety in the region.

(E) **Cutler Memo re: Fort Reno Lands** -- In response to your question about the return of Fort Reno lands to the Cheyenne-Arapaho people, Lynn writes that although the Administration has tried very hard to make it happen, Sen. Nickles continues to successfully oppose it, adding an amendment to both last year's and this year's Agriculture Appropriations bills that prevents Secretary Glickman from acting on Fort Reno. With Sen. Inouye agreeing with the amendment and Sen. Campbell refusing to take on Nickles, OMB advises the amendment will pass.

(K) **Note from Glickman re: Articles on Farm Assistance** -- Dan encloses two articles that report on the record amount of financial assistance to farmers and ranchers in FY00 (\$28B). He argues that while the assistance has saved thousands of farmers from insolvency, it also points to the failure of the 1996 Farm Bill and the need to amend it.

(G) **Note from Harris Wofford re: Father Hesburgh letter on National Service** -- At Father Hesburgh's request, Harris encloses a copy of Hesburgh's letter to Hastert, Lott, Daschle, and Gephardt in which he asks them to support reauthorization of the Corporation for National Service. Harris says that he hears Father Hesburgh's letter was "particularly impressive" to Hastert.

ATG to
Hesburgh

(H) **Note from Neal Lane** -- Neal writes to thank you for allowing him to have Socks in his home last weekend and for the commemorative "Space" stamps you gave him. He also informs you that he has accepted a Professorship at Rice University that will begin after the end of the administration.

Do Longue

Item executed on your behalf:

Due to your travel schedule this week, we executed on your behalf a letter to Prime Minister Costas of Greece supporting the selection of General Dynamics' MIA2 Abrams tank in the Greek procurement competition. French, British, Ukrainian, and German firms are also competing for the contract, valued in excess of \$2B; no other U.S. firm is bidding. State and DoD support the sale; Cohen handcarried your letter to the Greek Defense Minister in England on Friday.

10-9-00

5719

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 2000

*copied
Kerrick
Podesta*

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DONALD KERRICK *(P)* *Good*
SUBJECT: Sale of Radar Systems to Syria

On a recent Cabinet Weekly Report regarding a proposed sale of three radar systems to Syria you wrote: "probably should ok."

The radar systems would be installed at international airports in Syria and would help improve civil air safety in the region; the Syrians also have requested that the radar have related remote monitoring sites. The radar systems would be provided by Raytheon for a total value of \$30 million.

Because these remote monitoring sites have potential military use, the license request was closely reviewed by the Departments of State, Defense and Commerce. They have now approved the request subject to conditions that will ensure against military use of the systems and will notify Raytheon of this decision.

Attachment
Tab A Cabinet Weekly Report

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

A

- **Community Networking Report:** On September 5, Secretary Mineta released a DOC report entitled *Community Connections: Preserving Local Values in the Information Age*. The report is the sixth in a series of reports from DOC's National Telecommunications and Information Administration that explores the experiences and lessons learned by its Technology Opportunities Program. The stories featured in this report discuss the continued importance of closing the digital divide, particularly as related to community and economic development.
- **Digital Inclusion Tour:** On September 7, Secretary Mineta launched his Digital Inclusion tour at the Philadelphia Senior Center by discussing the importance of seniors learning to use computers and going online. He will announce the national launch of Generations on Line (a software product geared toward teaching seniors how to use the Internet) and celebrate Grandparents' Day by encouraging children to send their e-mail addresses to their grandparents.
- **Radar Systems to Syria:** On August 28, officials from DOC's Bureau of Export Administration hosted an interagency meeting with a U.S. owned Canadian company to discuss the company's proposed \$30M sale of three radar systems to civil aviation authorities in Syria. Transfer of the radar systems to Syria would substantially benefit civil air safety in the region. The U.S.-origin items included in the radar systems are limited, but key to the operation of this system. The system has been under review for some time, but the only remaining issue is the inclusion of three remote monitoring sites for the radars. These remote-monitoring sites may have military uses. Since Syria is designated as a state sponsor of terrorism, the proposal must be carefully reviewed, and may require Congressional notification.
- **Tidal Datum Workshop:** As part of DOC's goal to foster a regional approach to decision-making for safe navigation and coastal protection, DOC's Office of Response and Restoration will host a workshop on September 12-14 to bring together a diverse audience to discuss tidal datum elevations in the context of wetland restoration. The audience will include managers from regulatory and resource agencies with permit authority over proposed restoration projects, technical practitioners and staff who will perform much of the restoration work, and experts in geodesy, tides, and related disciplines from government, academia, and industry.

cc Summary
Pres. Journal
JP

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

- **Bridgestone/Firestone Labor Agreement:** On September 4, Negotiators for the United Steelworkers Union reached a tentative agreement with Bridgestone/Firestone Tire Co., after a session of around-the-clock bargaining following union postponement of a September 1 strike deadline. The three-year agreement, covering about 8,000 workers, provides for significant pay and pension increases that could range as high as 25 percent

10-9-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Copied
Cutler
Podesta
Cohen for
Reply

October 3, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA

FROM: LYNN CUTLER *Lynn*

SUBJECT: FORT RENO LANDS

We're still waiting for a reply - saying we're still waiting for it

In response to your question about the return of the Fort Reno lands to the Cheyenne-Arapaho people: we've worked very hard to make this happen. Secretary Babbitt had recommended to Secretary Glickman that we return the land. There was a long period in which there was an internal battle at agriculture about doing that or keeping a research facility at the location. Just as the Secretary was going to act on behalf of the Indians, Senator Nickels put an amendment on last year's Agriculture bill that prohibited the Secretary from acting on Fort Reno. We fought it, but it passed.

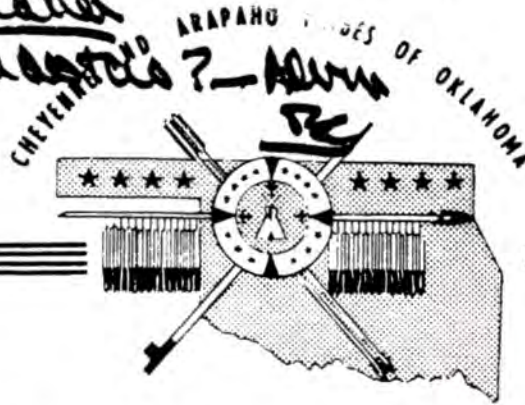
This year, Senator Nickels introduced the same amendment and succeeded in attaching it to Agriculture again. Every SAP we sent up on the bill had a statement in opposition to the rider. Several people in town were helping the Cheyenne-Arapaho, but this is a very personal issue with the Senator. Unfortunately, some of the tribal leadership attacked him very personally in ads in Roll Call and also attacked his wife. You can see that he would not move lightly from his position.

I've just received word from OMB that the amendment is in the bill and that Senator Inouye agreed to it. That left us with little to stand on...it does say, however, that it can be dealt with in the "next administration" next July. Your team worked hard to make this happen, but Nickels overrode a great deal of opposition. I even talked to Senator Campbell about this--it's **his tribe** - and he wouldn't fight Nickels.

Lyndee Carter
Can we get this?
Adrian
RE

JAMES PEDRO
CHAIRMAN

10-2-00
P.O. Box 38
Concho, Oklahoma 73022
(405) 262-0345
Fax (405) 422-1184



September 26, 2000

The White House
Attn: Ms. Hillary Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20003

RE: FORT RENO

Dear Ms. Clinton:

On behalf of the Cheyenne-Arapaho people I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for all the help you have provided to the Native American Community over the past several years. We especially wish you well in your current quest to be the United States Senator from New York. The gifts we offer you are a token of our appreciation for your efforts during these past years.

One of the issues that our Tribes have fought to have closure on over the last several decades is the recovery of the last piece of our Sacred land that was taken from us in 1883 with a promise that it would be returned when the United States military left the property. This land is know as the Fort Reno lands. These lands are located in the west central Oklahoma and are solemn symbol to all that our people had to sacrifice so that America could prosper. As you may know our people were forced to give up just over fifty-one million acres of land throughout the great plains in Americas expansion west. In 1891, when the last of these lands were taken we were compensated just three cents (\$.03) an acre for these properties. In today's terms we were compensated approximately one dollar and ninety cents (\$1.90) an acre for these lands which include downtown Denver. The irony of this situation is that out of all these lands that were forcibly ceded to the United States, Fort Reno was never given up. According to a recent legal opinion by the Government it should have been returned some fifty years ago when the military left.

As you know our Tribes have had many battles withe the Oklahoma Congressional delegation. On several occasions representatives of our Tribes even met with the President himself to try to get the issue resolved. Still yet our prayers have been unanswered as the Oklahoma politicians continue to thwart the cause of justice. Therefore, on behalf of a grateful Tribe I am asking you to please help us get our land back before the President leaves office.

Sincerely,

James Pedro
James Pedro
Chairman
Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma

copied
Cutler
Podesta



10-9-00

THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20250-0100

00 OCT 16 AM 11:55

October 6, 2000

TO: The President
Vice President
John Podesta
Gene Sperling
Martin Baily

FROM: Secretary Glickman

Jan Glickman

*Cl. This with + others
to Phil Bailey -
Gene Sperling*

Attached are two articles describing the record farm assistance for the year just ended. While there is no doubt that this generosity has saved thousands of farmers from insolvency this year, and no doubt has pumped a lot of money into rural America, the level of assistance reinforces the failure of the 1996 Farm Bill and the desperate need for revisiting its provisions next year.

*copied
Daley
Sperling
Podesta*

(105)

Chicago Tribune

10-9-00

10-9-00 Sec 1
p11

Assistance to farmers hits record \$28 billion

Federal crop supports
nearly double in a year

By Michael Kilian
WASHINGTON BUREAU

CT-11

WASHINGTON—Government assistance to farmers and ranchers reached a record high of \$28 billion in the fiscal year just ended, with almost half of all farm income now coming from American taxpayers, Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman reported Monday.

Federal aid to farmers came to \$7.8 billion in 1996 and was \$16.6 billion last year.

Had the government aid not been provided, net farm income would have dropped from \$51 billion nationally four years ago to \$32.1 billion this year, he said.

Illinois farmers in the last fiscal year received \$2.2 billion in federal farm assistance, compared to \$1 billion for Indiana, \$1.5 billion for Iowa, \$596 million for Wisconsin and \$450 million for Michigan.

"I've no doubt that without the government, tens of thousands of farmers would have been forced out of business," Glickman said at a briefing in his office. "There would have been chaos in American farming."

Farm income minus federal assistance is at its lowest point since 1984, when the plight of the family farmer became a national issue, attracting singer Willie Nelson and other celebrities to it as a social cause.

Glickman explained that, while the federal aid amounts to only about 10 percent of farmers' gross income, it comes to 42 percent of what they net after expenses.

He attributed the rise in financial need to competition from high international crop production and the resulting depressed prices, as well as droughts in the South and Southwest, floods in the Northern Plains and destructive wildfires in the West.

Glickman said the federal assistance went mostly to farmers growing what the department calls "program crops"—wheat, corn, cotton and rice.

He complained that federal efforts to encourage farmers to diversify their production led in many cases to growers merely switching from one "program crop" to another.

The dramatic rise in federal aid came just four years after passage of the Republican-sponsored "Freedom to Farm Act," which was designed to streamline the Agriculture Department and its programs and diminish American farmers' dependence on federal handouts.

Glickman recommended that the law and the nation's farm policy be changed in the next administration to better cope with the financial realities of American farming.

"I remain concerned that the 1996 farm bill has left our farmers without an adequate safety net in tough times," he said. "This year, Congress and the administration worked together to strengthen crop insurance, an increasingly important tool for farmers forced to contend with often difficult conditions beyond their control. We also worked together to provide significant additional emergency assistance. We need to do more."

AGR Farm Spending, Bjt,0498

Glickman: Subsidies diminished farm policy as political issue

WASHINGTON (AP) A flood of government farm subsidies over the past year has kept agricultural policy from becoming an issue in the presidential race, Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman said Monday.

While the magnitude of the payments ``underscores the failure'' of the Republican-authored 1996 farm law, ``the amount of dollars going out have shielded people from feeling compelled to storm the gates of Washington,' ' Glickman said.

Glickman said that the government provided a record \$28 billion in direct farm payments during the federal budget year that ended Saturday.

That figure was misleading, however, because it included two years' worth of supplemental income assistance payments that Congress provided to farmers in successive bailout packages for the farm economy.

Last year's payments were released at the beginning of the 2000 budget year, while this year's payments went to farmers in September. Together, the supplemental payments totaled \$11 billion.

Glickman says the 1996 farm law, which ended a Depression-era system of price supports and production controls, didn't provide for sufficient aid when commodity prices collapsed in 1998 and has proposed a new subsidy system that would be tied to swings in farm income.

Glickman criticized a proposal being considered by Congress to double for the second year in a row the amount of crop subsidies that an individual farmer can receive. But he said the proposal, expected to be included in an agricultural spending bill, is not a ``deal breaker,' ' indicating that President Clinton would not veto the legislation over the measure.

``I don't think it's good agricultural policy,' ' he said.

The payment limit for crop subsidies, known to farmers as loan deficiency payments, is currently \$75,000 per producer.

Critics of doubling the cap say it would benefit only a few of the nation's wealthiest farmers.

``The only purpose of this measure is to give an election-year handout to some of the largest, wealthiest farmers in the country, the ones who need it the least,' ' said Clark Williams-Derry, a spokesman for the group.

Fewer than 2,500 individuals and 900 farm businesses nationwide benefited from the higher subsidy limit in 1999, according to a study by the Environmental Working Group, an advocacy organization. The average payment to those 3,400 recipients was \$148,000.

Five states accounted for nearly half of those producers, led by Minnesota with 325, Illinois with 262, Texas with 202, South Dakota with 192 and Iowa with 173, the group said.

=

On the Net:

USDA: <http://www.usda.gov>

Environmental Working Group: <http://www.ewg.org>

(PROFILE

(CAT:Agriculture;)

(CAT:Political;)

(SRC:AP; ST:IA;)

)

(D) **Kerrick Memo re: Sale of Radar Systems to Syria** -- in response to your comment, "probably should ok," on a report regarding Raytheon's proposed sale of 3 radar systems to Syria, Don reports that State, Defense and Commerce have reviewed and approved the sale, subject to conditions that will ensure against military use of the systems. The radar systems, worth \$30M, will be installed at international airports in Syria and will help improve civil air safety in the region.

(E) **Cutler Memo re: Fort Reno Lands** -- In response to your question about the return of Fort Reno lands to the Cheyenne-Arapaho people, Lynn writes that although the Administration has tried very hard to make it happen, Sen. Nickles continues to successfully oppose it, adding an amendment to both last year's and this year's Agriculture Appropriations bills that prevents Secretary Glickman from acting on Fort Reno. With Sen. Inouye agreeing with the amendment and Sen. Campbell refusing to take on Nickles, OMB advises the amendment will pass.

(F) **Note from Glickman re: Articles on Farm Assistance** -- Dan encloses two articles that report on the record amount of financial assistance to farmers and ranchers in FY00 (\$28B). He argues that while the assistance has saved thousands of farmers from insolvency, it also points to the failure of the 1996 Farm Bill and the need to amend it.

(G) **Note from Harris Wofford re: Father Hesburgh letter on National Service** -- At Father Hesburgh's request, Harris encloses a copy of Hesburgh's letter to Hastert, Lott, Daschle, and Gephardt in which he asks them to support reauthorization of the Corporation for National Service. Harris says that he hears Father Hesburgh's letter was "particularly impressive" to Hastert.

(H) **Note from Neal Lane** -- Neal writes to thank you for allowing him to have Socks in his home last weekend and for the commemorative "Space" stamps you gave him. He also informs you that he has accepted a Professorship at Rice University that will begin after the end of the administration.

Item executed on your behalf:

Due to your travel schedule this week, we executed on your behalf a letter to Prime Minister Costas of Greece supporting the selection of General Dynamics' MIA2 Abrams tank in the Greek procurement competition. French, British, Ukrainian, and German firms are also competing for the contract, valued in excess of \$2B; no other U.S. firm is bidding. State and DoD support the sale; Cohen handcarried your letter to the Greek Defense Minister in England on Friday.

OTG to
Hesburgh

Do Longue

10-9-00

CORPORATION
FEDERAL
★ SERVICE

copied
Podesta
Cohen for
Reply to
Father Hesburgh

OCT 2 PM 7:29

2007
Hesburgh

Dear Mr. President,

Father Hesburgh wanted me to
make sure you saw his letter to
Hastert, Lott, Daschle, & Gephardt (copy
attached). It's good! — and I'm told
is particularly impressive to Hastert.

At the ceremony for Hesburgh, I was
greatly moved by your remarks, as was he —
and moved by his remarks about you.

By the way I was the one who alerted
your office it was the day of his 50th year as
a priest — and you called him over to the
White House.

Warmly,
Harris

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556-5629

et Emeritus

Chendure M. Mesburgh Library
Suite 1315

September 19, 2000

The Honorable Dennis Hastert
Speaker
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Speaker Hastert:

After that wonderful occasion in July - a real highlight of my life - at which you gave so much to me, I'm reluctant to ask anything of you. But in the spirit you brought to that event, I'm emboldened to write you about something that I feel is so right and good for our country.

I'm writing to convey to you how important I think it is that this Congress, in its last days, reauthorize the Corporation for National Service and its three programs - AmeriCorps, Learn and Serve America, and the National Senior Service Corps.

We at the University of Notre Dame have had great and beneficial experience with two of those programs. Both AmeriCorps and Learn and Serve America have contributed to the strength of our Alliance for Catholic Education (ACE) program, one of the truly unique teacher-training service programs in the nation. ACE seeks to develop a corps of highly motivated and committed young educators to meet the needs of our country's most under-served elementary and secondary schools by recruiting, training, placing and supporting them as teachers in 11 southern states. The Corporation for National Service has served as ACE's innovative summer teacher-training and service learning program, as well as education awards to all qualifying ACE participants who are thereby considered full-time AmeriCorps members.

The Honorable Dennis Hastert

September 19, 2000

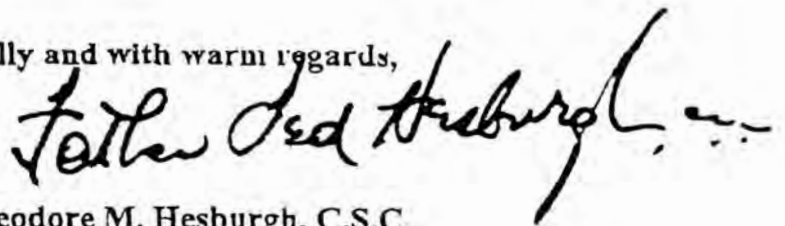
Page 2

As one who worked closely to plan the Peace Corps and then for Notre Dame to run the Peace Corps program in Chile, I've long thought that a domestic Peace Corps was vital for young people coming of age. In fact, in the 1970s I served on a national commission to study the idea of national service and contributed to a final report that proposed a program and structure remarkably similar to what came through the National Service Acts of 1990 and 1993 in the Bush and Clinton administrations.

I've worked closely with Harris Wofford for more than forty years - on the Peace Corps, when he was on the faculty of Notre Dame Law School, on the national service study, and in the late fifties on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. I know he has worked long and hard at the Corporation to make national service a non-partisan enterprise in which our whole country can take great pride, like the military and the Peace Corps.

I realize these last days of session will be difficult ones, with many pressures and demands. I urge you to take this opportunity to reaffirm our common commitment to an idea that transcends partisan politics - that every person be called upon to take responsibility and serve our country. National service makes that call, and I hope you'll support it.

Respectfully and with warm regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Father Ted Hesburgh, C.S.C.", written in a cursive style.

(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President Emeritus

(D) **Kerrick Memo re: Sale of Radar Systems to Syria** -- in response to your comment, "probably should ok," on a report regarding Raytheon's proposed sale of 3 radar systems to Syria, Don reports that State, Defense and Commerce have reviewed ~~and approved the sale, subject to conditions that will ensure against military use of the systems.~~ The radar systems, worth \$30M, will be installed at international airports in Syria and will help improve civil air safety in the region.

(E) **Cutler Memo re: Fort Reno Lands** -- In response to your question about the return of Fort Reno lands to the Cheyenne-Arapaho people, Lynn writes that although the Administration has tried very hard to make it happen, Sen. Nickles continues to successfully oppose it, adding an amendment to both last year's and this year's Agriculture Appropriations bills that prevents Secretary Glickman from acting on Fort Reno. With Sen. Inouye agreeing with the amendment and Sen. Campbell refusing to take on Nickles, OMB advises the amendment will pass.

(F) **Note from Glickman re: Articles on Farm Assistance** -- Dan encloses two articles that report on the record amount of financial assistance to farmers and ranchers in FY00 (\$28B). He argues that while the assistance has saved thousands of farmers from insolvency, it also points to the failure of the 1996 Farm Bill and the need to amend it.

(G) **Note from Harris Wofford re: Father Hesburgh letter on National Service** -- At Father Hesburgh's request, Harris encloses a copy of Hesburgh's letter to Hastert, Lott, Daschle, and Gephardt in which he asks them to support reauthorization of the Corporation for National Service. Harris says that he hears Father Hesburgh's letter was "particularly impressive" to Hastert.

(H) **Note from Neal Lane** -- Neal writes to thank you for allowing him to have Socks in his home last weekend and for the commemorative "Space" stamps you gave him. He also informs you that he has accepted a Professorship at Rice University that will begin after the end of the administration.

Item executed on your behalf:

Due to your travel schedule this week, we executed on your behalf a letter to Prime Minister Costas of Greece supporting the selection of General Dynamics' MIA2 Abrams tank in the Greek procurement competition. French, British, Ukrainian, and German firms are also competing for the contract, valued in excess of \$2B; no other U.S. firm is bidding. State and DoD support the sale; Cohen handcarried your letter to the Greek Defense Minister in England on Friday.

Do to
Hastert

Do Longue



Assistant to the President
for Science and Technology

10-9-00
'00 OCT 12 PM 12:59

October 2, 2000

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for allowing us to have Socha as our guest over the weekend. Everyone had a good time except "Bogel", Joni's Beagle. But, that's OK!

Thank you, as well, for the 'space' stamps from the Postal Service. You are always most generous with your gifts.

I have made arrangements to accept a very nice University Professorship at my academic home, Rice University - but not until the end of the Administration.
Thanks, Neal

copied
Podesta
Cohen for
Reply to
Neal Lane

OFFICERS

President

Rachel L. Trinder
Zuckert, Scoutt & Rasenberger

Vice President

Tulinda Larsen
BACK Aviation Solutions

Treasurer

Shelly Snyder Simi
GAMA

Secretary

J. Spencer Dickerson
AAAE

Immediate Past President

Walter S. Coleman

COMMITTEE CHAIRS

Awards

Robert Land
JetBlue Airways

Congressional Liaison

Sam Whitehorn
Senate Commerce Committee

Education

Glenn Rizner
HAI

Federal Liaison

David Traynham
FAA

Historian

Barry L. Valentine
GAMA

Legal

Warren L. Dean, Jr.
Thompson Coburn LLP

Long Range Planning

Paula P. Bline
Airport Consultants Council

Membership

Michele Schweitzer
Airline Suppliers Association

NASM Liaison

Thomas V. Lydon
Evergreen International Airlines

Policy & Program

Edmund Pinto*
GKMG Consulting Services

Publicity

Susan L. Sheets
NARA

Special Projects

Mary M. Miller
Signature Flight Support

Sponsorship

Robert H. Frenzel
ATA

Wright Memorial Dinner

Henry Ogrodzinski
NASAO

TRUSTEES

Larry P. Barnett
AB Management Associates

Paul P. Bollinger Jr.*
DMJM Aviation

Cassandra J. Bosco
NBAA

Walter Boyne
Author and Historian

Carol Carmody
Aviation Consultant

E. Tazewell Elliott*
Hogan & Hartson

Robert T. Francis II
Farragut International

Jonathan Gaffney
MWAA

Ron Priddy
NACA

Don Skiados
ALPA

David Venz
Airbus Industrie, NA

Pete West*
NBAA

* Indicates Past Presidents
of the Aero Club



Chartered In 1909

October 11, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

00 OCT 11 PM 12:46

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Aero Club of Washington, we wish to extend to you a most cordial invitation to be an honored head table guest at the 53rd Wright Memorial Dinner. The dinner will take place on Friday, December 15, 2000, in Washington, D.C.

The Wright Memorial Dinner is one of American aviation's premier annual events. Each year the dinner of the Wright Brothers Memorial Trust contributed over a lifetime to the commercial aviation. The 2000 honoree is Herb Kelleher, Chairman, Chief Executive Officer of Southwest Airlines.

The Wright Memorial Dinner will be held at the Hilton Hotel on Connecticut Avenue. The reception begins at 6:30 pm with cocktails after dinner. Dress for the occasion is business casual. The First Lady is welcome to join the member's table.

The Board of Governors of the Aero Club of Washington will be able to attend. To allow us to develop a seating plan, a response by November 10, 2000, is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Land
Chairman
Awards Committee

jetBlue

JetBlue Airways Corporation

Robert C. Land
Vice President, Government Affairs
& Associate General Counsel

P.O. Box 1927 Rockville, MD 20849-1927
Tel (301) 279-9727 Fax (301) 279-9728
robert.land@jetblue.com

Cell: 646-734-3004

Post Office Box 17295, Washington Dulles International Airport, Washington, D.C. 20041
Telephone: 1-800-322-3761 • Out of State: 703-327-7082 • FAX: 703-327-9412
E-mail: aeroclub@erols.com • Website: www.aeroclub.org

10-11-00
Send to Scheduling -

Yes ☒

No ☐

Carol



Chartered In 1909

October 11, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

00 OCT 11 PM 12:45

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Aero Club of Washington, we wish to extend to you a most cordial invitation to be an honored head table guest at the 53rd Wright Memorial Dinner. The dinner will take place on Friday, December 15, 2000, in Washington, D.C.

The Wright Memorial Dinner is one of American aviation's premier annual events. Each year the Dinner honors the recipient of the Wright Brothers Memorial Trophy – an American who has contributed over a lifetime to the continued development of U.S. aviation. The 2000 honoree is Herbert Kelleher, President, Chairman, Chief Executive Officer and co-founder of Southwest Airlines.

The Wright Memorial Dinner will be held at the Washington Hilton Hotel on Connecticut Avenue in Northwest Washington. The reception begins at 6:30 pm with the presentation of the trophy after dinner. Dress for the occasion will be black tie or military equivalent. The First Lady is welcome and will be seated at a club member's table.

The Board of Governors of the Aero Club sincerely hopes that you will be able to attend. To allow us to prepare our head table seating plan, a response by November 30th will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Land
Chairman
Awards Committee

OFFICERS
President
Rachel H. Trinder
Zuckert, Scoutt & Rasenberger
Vice President
Tulinda Larsen
BACK Aviation Solutions
Treasurer
Shelly Snyder Simi
GAMA
Secretary
J. Spencer Dickerson
AAAE
Immediate Past President
Walter S. Coleman
COMMITTEE CHAIRS
Awards
Robert Land
JetBlue Airways
Congressional Liaison
Sam Whitehorn
Senate Commerce Committee
Education
Glenn Rizner
HAI
Federal Liaison
David Traynham
FAA
Historian
Barry L. Valentine
GAMA
Legal
Warren L. Dean, Jr.
Thompson Coburn LLP
Long Range Planning
Paula P. Bline
Airport Consultants Council
Membership
Michele Schweitzer
Airline Suppliers Association
NASM Liaison
Thomas V. Lydon
Evergreen International Airlines
Policy & Program
Edmund Pinto*
GKMG Consulting Services
Publicity
Susan L. Sheets
NARA
Special Projects
Mary M. Miller
Signature Flight Support
Sponsorship
Robert H. Frenzel
ATA
Wright Memorial Dinner
Henry Ogrodzinski
NASAO

TRUSTEES
Larry P. Barnett
AB Management Associates
Paul P. Bollinger Jr.*
DMJM Aviation
Cassandra J. Bosco
NBAA
Walter Boyne
Author and Historian
Carol Carmody
Aviation Consultant
E. Tazewell Ellett*
Hogan & Hartson
Robert T. Francis II
Farragut International
Jonathan Gaffney
MWAA
Ron Priddy
NACA
Don Skiados
ALPA
David Venz
Airbus Industrie, NA
Pete West*
NBAA

* Indicates Past Presidents
of the Aero Club

Post Office Box 17295, Washington Dulles International Airport, Washington, D.C. 20041
Telephone: 1-800-322-3761 • Out of State: 703-327-7082 • FAX: 703-327-9412
E-mail: aeroclub@erols.com • Website: www.aeroclub.org