



1-2-01

NORTHERN CHEROKEE NATION
OF MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS

578 E. 7 HWY. CLINTON, MO 64735

660-885-7779 FAX 660-885-4257

PRINCIPAL CHIEF CARL GREY OWL GRIGGS

December 27, 2000

Re: Noi

Dear Roger:

I will try to give yo

Our people were know
Spain signed a treaty v
Settlers were a part of
and Arkansas.

Our people left Georg
Bowles and settled in

They lived there for many years in peace, but in 1811/1812 a great earthquake known as the New Madrid struck the boothill. The Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs believed that God was warning them to move west out of this forbidden land.

The Chief called together a council meeting and the council came to an agreement to send a delegation to Washington to talk with the Great White Father (The President) to discuss with him that they should move to other lands.

They obtained permission from the President to move west into Arkansas. The land in Arkansas reminded them of their home in North Carolina with plenty of trees, mountains and wild game. They were given a reservation in Arkansas between the Arkansas and the White River. The Indian Agent assigned to the reservation was Samuel P. Lovely. This event took place in 1817 /18 and was known as Lovely's Purchase.

They were left in peace until the 1830's when the Army and Government Agents began pushing the Cherokee to move to Oklahoma or to just blend into the white population as the government was going to do away with the reservation.

By this time Benjamin Green had been elected Principle Chief. He took some of his people and moved north to Moberly, Missouri and remained there for many years.

Letter to: tribal
recognition
Pls work with try
to resolve

BSC

To Cutler
cover for
reply
coord by
Cutler
cc: Echavere
Rodriguez



**NORTHERN CHEROKEE NATION
OF MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS**

578 E. 7 HWY. CLINTON, MO 64735

660-885-7779 FAX 660-885-4257

Principal Chief Grey Owl Griggs

December 26, 2000

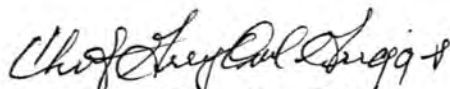
Dear Roger,

Here is the legal description for the five acres currently owned by the Northern Cherokee Nation of Missouri and Arkansas.

If the President were to sign the Federal Recognition for the Northern Cherokee, we would like to place this property in trust.

As Chief of this tribe it has always been my goal to provide for the future of our members. By placing this acreage into trust I can be sure that there will always be a home for the Northern Cherokee Nation of Missouri and Arkansas.

Thank you for your help.


Chief Grey Owl Griggs

THIS CONTRACT, made and entered into this 15th day of December, 1995, by and between Robert S. Thomason, Jr. and Kimberly J. Thomason, his wife, and Linda M. Thomason (hereinafter referred to as "Sellers"), and The Northern Cherokee Nation, a not for profit corporation organized under the laws of the state of Missouri, and Carl Grey Owl Griggs, Principal Chief of the Northern Cherokee Nation (hereinafter referred to as "Buyer"):

WITNESSETH:

Sellers do hereby agree to sell and convey to Buyer upon the terms and conditions as hereinafter set forth, and Buyer does hereby promise and agree to buy from Sellers, upon the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth, the following described real estate located, situated and being in the County of Henry, State of Missouri, to-wit:

A tract in the North Half (N 1/2) of the Northeast Quarter (NE 1/4) of the Northeast Quarter (NE 1/4) of Section Eleven (11), Township Forty-One (41), Range Twenty-five (25), beginning at the Northeast Corner of Section Eleven (11), thence South Sixty-Three and Twenty-Six Hundredths (63.26) feet to the South right-of-way line of Missouri State Highway 7, thence running along said right-of-way line North Eighty-Eight Degrees Eleven Minutes (88° 11') West Ninety-Six and Eight Hundredths (96.08) feet, thence continuing along said right-of-way line North Eight-One Degrees Fifty-three Minutes Seventeen Seconds (81° 53' 17") West Forty-Nine and Thirty-One Hundredths (49.31) feet, thence along said right-of-way line North Eighty-Eight Degrees Six Minutes Forty-Three Seconds (88° 06' 43") West Seven Hundred Thirty-Four and Nine Tenths (734.9) feet for the place of beginning, thence continuing North Eighty-Eight Degrees Six Minutes Forty-Three Seconds (88° 06' 43")

West Three Hundred Twenty and Fourteen Hundredths (320.14) feet, thence South Fifty-Four Degrees Thirty-Eight Minutes Three Seconds (54° 38' 03") West One Hundred Thirty-Nine and Eighty-Two Hundredths (139.82) feet, thence South One Degree Fifty-Two Minutes Thirty-Four Seconds (01° 52' 34") West Two Hundred Sixteen and Thirty-Five Hundredths (216.35) feet, thence South Eighty-Eight Degrees Two Minutes Twenty-Six Seconds (88° 02' 26") East Four Hundred Thirty-One and Seventy-Five Hundredths (431.75) feet, thence North One Degree Forty-Nine Minutes Seven Seconds (01° 49' 07") East Three Hundred One and Fifty-Three Hundredths (301.53) feet to the place of beginning. Also, a tract in the North Half (N 1/2) of the Northeast Quarter (NE 1/4) of the Northeast Quarter (NE 1/4) of Section Eleven (11), Township Forty-One (41), Range Twenty-Five (25), beginning at the Northeast Corner of Section Eleven (11), thence South Sixty-Three and Twenty-Six Hundredths (63.26) feet to the South right-of-way line of Missouri State Highway 7, thence running along said right-of-way line North Eighty-Eight Degrees Eleven Minutes (88° 11') West Ninety-Six and Eight Hundredths (96.08) feet, thence continuing along said right-of-way line North Eighty-One Degrees Fifty-Three Minutes Seventeen Seconds (81° 53' 17") West Forty-Nine and Thirty-One Hundredths (49.31) feet, thence along said right-of-way line North Eighty-Eight Degrees Six Minutes Forty-Three Seconds (88° 06' 43") West Seven Hundred Thirty-Four and Nine Tenths (734.9) feet, thence South One Degree Forty-Nine Minutes Seven Seconds (01° 49' 07") West Three Hundred One and Fifty-Three Hundredths (301.53) feet for the place of beginning, thence North Eighty-Eight Degrees Two Minutes Twenty-Six Seconds (88° 02' 26") West Four Hundred Thirty-One and Seventy-Five Hundredths (431.75) feet, thence South One Degree Fifty-Two Minutes Thirty-Four Seconds (01° 52' 34") West Three Hundred One and Sixteen Hundredths (301.16) feet, thence South Eighty-Eight Degrees Two Minutes Twenty-Six Seconds (88° 02' 26") East Four Hundred Thirty-Two and Five Hundredths (432.05) feet, thence North One Degree Forty-Nine Minutes Seven Seconds (01° 49' 07") East Three Hundred One and Sixteen Hundredths (301.16) feet to the place of

beginning, except a tract being Seventy-Two and Three Tenths (72.3) feet in width off of the entire East side of the above described tracts of land.



NORTHERN CHEROKEE NATION OF MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS

578 E. 7 HWY. CLINTON, MO 64735

660-885-7779 FAX 660-885-4257

PRINCIPAL CHIEF CARL GREY OWL GRIGGS



Some of the Cherokee had chose to stay in Arkansas. After several years, Benjamin Green decided to try to unite the Cherokee so he went back to Arkansas to speak with the Minor Chiefs. He had heard rumors that the government was going to forcefully remove them to Oklahoma. He spoke with the Cherokee that remained in Arkansas and they told him of their fears of being removed to Oklahoma. Once again they voted Benjamin Green to be Principle Chief of all Cherokee in MO. & AR. and asked him to represent them with any negotiations with the government.

After several years Benjamin Green's son became the Principle Chief and a tribal government has existed since those early days.

The Missouri and Arkansas Cherokee tried to live in the shadows and kept a low profile because it was illegal for an Indian to live in the state of Missouri. There was a great fear for the Indian that the government would take their children and place them in Indian schools and they would never see them again.

I, Chief GreyOwl Griggs grew up in Green Forest Arkansas and there was a fear in my family to admit that we were part Indian because we may be taken away from our family and sent to an Indian school.

I was elected Principle Chief of the Northern Cherokee of Missouri and Arkansas in 1994 and am now serving my 2nd term.

I have worked very hard for our people as I know you have as our President. I have been mostly concerned with education for our young, medical and glasses for our people and we keep a food pantry for our needy. We do have to depend on donations and I call different colleges and try to help our young people get into school.

We bought five acres five years ago and we have started a small trading post.

We have our pow wows each year and try to encourage our culture and language.

We have many members in Northwest Arkansas and we meet at least three times a year in Huntsville, AR.

We have 11,000+ members in the Northern Cherokee Tribe of MO. & AR.

We are not looking for the government to support us, we want to be self sufficient and we are not asking for any of our tribal lands back, but we want to help our people with medical, glasses and education like all federal tribes.

A casino is certainly not our major concern.



**NORTHERN CHEROKEE NATION
OF MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS**

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PRINCIPAL CHIEF CARL GREY OWL GRIGGS

I was in the U.S. Navy in WW11. I went in the day I was 16 years old. I know, too young, but I changed my birth certificate as times were pretty hard in those days and I was one of ten children.

I have never asked the government for anything and now I am asking that our tribe be federally recognized, only because it will be easier for me to help our people.

I would appreciate anything you can do for us and we will be forever grateful.

If there is any other information that you need, do not hesitate to call on me.

I thank you in advance.

Chief Grey Owl Griggs

RED DOT

1/2/11

Lisel -

All this appears to be "pardon"
material - Should we just send everything
the Meredith Yes ☒
No ☐

Also make copies of cover notes to
Podesta & for RM? Yes ☒
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Copied
Cable
Podesta

:: 617-227-0224

: 617-227-0856

December 28, 2000

Mr. President,

I have enclosed two letters to me, intended for you, from
Anthony Lewis and Bob Scheer, involving possible pardons.



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McCain

advice on this—
looks like something
importantly shared
Be

FOUNDED 1808 - ERECTED 1923

THE ABYSSINIAN BAPTIST CHURCH

132 ODELL CLARK PLACE

(Formerly 132 W. 138th Street)

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10030

CALVIN O. BUTTS

Pastor

EDWILLARD GREEN
Chairman, Deacon BoardVENIA R. DAVIS
Church ClerkJEWEL T. THOMPSON, Ph.D.
Minister of MusicROBERT L. GORE, JR.
Chairman, Trustee BoardWILLIE R. MOORE
Treasurer

McCall

This is important

As look into

this addition - What's on and then?

December 22, 2000

Be

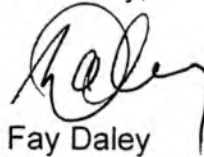
Ms. Capricia Penavic Marshall
 Social Secretary to The President
 The White House
 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
 Washington, D.C. 20502
 Fax: 202-456-6771

Dear Ms. Penavic Marshall:

We are directing the following urgent letter, addressed to President William Jefferson Clinton from Dr. Calvin Butts, to you with a request that you forward same to President Clinton at your earliest possible convenience. We thank you for your assistance.

May God bless you and yours with a merry Christmas and a healthy and prosperous 2001 and beyond.

Sincerely,



Fay Daley
 Executive Assistant

copied
 Cole
 Podesta

Attachment: letter - 3 pages

NORTHERN CHEROKEE NATION
518 E Hwy 7
Clinton, MO 64735

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-2-1

Copied
Cabe
Podesta

Meredith
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comm for communication
10/9 check out -
BC

THE WHITE HOUSE
C/O THE USHERS OFFICE
ATTN. ROGER CLINTON
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE.
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

Meredith

Call her on this
to think there's a
different option than
the one we discussed

THEY HAVE NOT BEEN
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Petition for Pardon



1-2-00
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE DIRECTOR

December 29, 2000

DEC 29 10:41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Jacob J. Lew *JL*

SUBJECT:

Medicaid Upper Payment Limit (UPL) and Louisiana –
INFORMATIONAL

John Podesta suggested that I provide you with an update on the timing of the UPL regulation. Following your conversation with Secretary Shalala, I spoke with Senators John Breaux and Mary Landrieu. I relayed that we would consider making the regulation effective in 60 days, thus allowing Louisiana to lapse into approval, if the State gave assurances that it would:

- restore eligibility to disabled children (what Secretary Shalala calls the Eunice Shriver children); and
- ensure that Federal funding gained through UPL would be used only for net, new health care investments.

The Senators agreed with this strategy and discussed it with the Louisiana Secretary of Health.

Although the details of this agreement are still being finalized, it appears that the State will agree to these terms. This outcome is a significant improvement over what the State had been planning to do and gives the Senators a visible role in securing the outcome. The regulation will be on display at the *Federal Register* next week and any indication that a final decision has been made would decrease our leverage in ongoing discussions with the State. The Senators, and presumably the State, will issue their own press releases next week.

*Copied
Lew
Podesta*



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

1-2-01

THE DIRECTOR

SCARG

December 29, 2000

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Lew
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jacob J. Lew 

SUBJECT: FY 2002 Administration Budget Document -- INFORMATIONAL

To define the budgetary debate and summarize your legacy, we are preparing a current services budget document. It includes an economic overview consistent with yesterday's debt elimination announcement, a technical presentation of current services information, and a programmatic update, similar to the narrative materials included in your FY 2001 Budget, which will review both our successes and pending policy proposals (such as proposals for prescription drug coverage that were not enacted). This memorandum provides a brief summary of the budget document. The Budget Act requires the President to submit a budget to Congress by the first Monday in February. Therefore, the FY 2002 Budget will be submitted by the President-elect.

Driving Discretionary Spending through a Current Service Estimate

When you took office in 1993, you inherited a baseline deficit estimate of \$319 billion, or more than 5 percent of GDP. In addition, President Bush's discretionary baseline estimate was widely criticized as unrealistically low. The concept of a "baseline budget" implied either a hard funding freeze with no allowance for any inflationary or necessary programmatic growth, or cuts to base programs. Without a strong baseline estimate to structure and focus the budget debate, we struggled with the Congress to avoid program cuts and determine appropriate funding levels, including increases for priorities.

A very important objective of your final budget document is to make your current service estimate the starting point for next year's budget debate and the benchmark against which changes will be measured. This is a very solid starting point because of the success of our FY 2001 budget efforts. If this baseline is perceived to be a "budget request" from a departing Administration, there is a real risk that there will be no meaningful benchmark against which to judge new Administration proposals or Congressional action. The strength of this approach was evident yesterday as you very effectively laid out that your current service projections will allow the United States to be debt-free this decade and still allow for responsible tax cuts, prescription drug benefits for Medicare recipients, and investments in key priorities like education and health care if fiscal discipline is maintained.

Highlights

The budget document we have prepared includes a very detailed summary of your impressive accomplishments. As I mentioned to you yesterday, in reviewing the document it is striking how much this Administration has accomplished over the last eight years. The programs you have created and the funding you have secured create a very meaningful benchmark against which the next Administration will be measured.

The budget document we have prepared describes funding increases we have secured and the positive impact these increases have had on the American people. The accomplishments discussed include:

- Improving education with initiatives focusing on accountability and school-system reforms; increased funding for Pell Grants and Work Study Programs; and initiatives to reduce class size, establish after-school programs, improve reading ability, and renovate crumbling schools.
- Rewarding work and “ending welfare as we know it” by rewarding States for moving welfare recipients into jobs, encouraging businesses to hire people from welfare rolls, expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, and increasing funding for child care.
- Making Social Security solvency a national priority with your challenge to “Save Social Security First.”
- Achieving the longest Medicare Trust Fund solvency in a quarter century.
- Dramatically improving the environment, most notably through legislation that will provide \$12 billion over six years in unprecedented, dedicated funding for the conservation of America’s land and costal resources; increased funding for climate change and clean water; and your efforts in fighting numerous environmental riders that would have traded hard-won environmental safeguards for short-term special-interest gains.
- Significantly increasing investments science and technology as the keys to economic growth.
- Funding over 100,00 additional community police officers to make our streets safer.
- Implementing the Uruguay Round, NAFTA, and other major agreements to liberalize trade and financial markets, aid construction of a new global financial infrastructure, and promote economic growth.
- Fighting transnational threats such as HIV/AIDS.

- Improving the security of Americans at home and abroad through increased funding for embassy security.
- Immediately and forcefully responding to natural disasters in Central America and Africa, as well manmade crises in Kosovo, Bosnia, and Indonesia.
- Ensuring the Nation's security with the best equipped, best trained, and best prepared military in the world.

These major achievements, which are only a few of the many funding trends discussed in detail in the budget document, have been accomplished while reducing the debt and creating a smaller government that works more efficiently.

Pending Policy Proposals

Despite the fact that this budget document provides current service projections rather than policy, we do highlight several key areas where Congress has not provided full funding to address your priorities. Examples include:

- Prescription drugs,
- Hate Crimes
- Equity in benefits for legal immigrants,
- A Medicaid buy-in option for children with disabilities in low-income families,
- The Middle East peace process,
- Embassy security,
- International funding,
- Class Size Reduction,
- School Modernization tax credits, and
- Head Start.

We will present a list of key programs where full funding of your request should be considered the appropriate measure.

Conclusion

I was very proud reading through our final budget document and summary of accomplishments. Your achievements over the last years – such as historic funding increases for education, research, and protection of our natural resources to name a few – are truly remarkable. In addition, the fiscal discipline you have demonstrated will shape the budgetary debate well into the future. We hope that this document will be an enduring record for all of us who have shared your vision and those interested in our efforts.

1-2-01

Please forward this
personal note
of thanks

To Mr. Clinton

President Bill Clinton

To Cohen for
Reply?

Mr. Clinton,
1 ago, our children's choir performed
annual Christmas reading to children.
my son, Jake, privileged to be the first
in hand, he got to shake it twice!
a story of how deeply affected you
during the hand of President Kennedy.
we not only grateful to you for the
given to us by you and the first
too we are grateful for the
job that you have done leading our
is our personal belief that you will
history as the greatest President we
ad. Despite a nation distracted by
year, we have noted that you have
your inspired agenda to save the
the underserved. We will sorely
miss you as our President, but desire
knowing that you will continue to
us working for the common good and
your intellect, talent, heart, and
"we ain't seen nothin' yet."

Sincerely, ^{Ms.} Ping Ho, Director (over)

As volunteer director of the school chorus, I held a brainstorming session in Fall 1996 with the K-1-2 children of Santa Monica Alternative School House about their concerns for the world. Thus, came to be "The 12 Eco-Days of Christmas":

On the twelfth day of Christmas, my true love gave to me,
towering redwoods,
safe spotted owls,
homes for the homeless,
food for the hungry,
produce organic,
no cauliflower,
seas I can swim in,
air I can breathe,
all solar power,
no rush hour,
good guys on TV,
and a world where all people are free.
© 1996

In Summer 1998, SMASH parent and documentary filmmaker, Bill Guttentag, committed this signature song to film - complete with bathing suits, sunglasses...and wool hats. After targeting several venues, the film finally fell into the right hands. With seven weeks' notice, the kids became the first group ever invited to perform at President Clinton's annual Christmas reading to children on December 20, 1999. The kids were being given the literal opportunity to voice their concerns to the nation's chief executive.

Afterwards, we recorded the eight inspirational/Christmas songs that we were asked to prepare for the event to remind us of the cascade of miracles that made this journey everything we had hoped it would be and remind us of the power of believing that anything is possible.

Dear President Clinton,

A year ago, our children's choir performed at your annual Christmas reading to children. Not only was my son, Jake, privileged to be the first to shake your hand, he got to shake it twice! I recall the story of how deeply affected you were by shaking the hand of President Kennedy.

We are not only grateful to you for the opportunity given to us by you and the First Lady, but also we are grateful for the tremendous job that you have done leading our nation. It is our personal belief that you will go down in history as the greatest President we have ever had. Despite a nation distracted by an election year, we have noted that you have been pressing your inspired agenda to save the planet and the underserved. We will sorely miss having you as our President, but derive comfort in knowing that you will continue to be among us working for the common good and that with all your intellect, talent, heart, and experience, "we ain't seen nothin' yet."

Sincerely, ^{Ms.} Ping-Ho, Director (over)

P.S. I sent a CD recorded by the children
care of Mrs. Clinton. I also want you
to know that my husband, Loren Bloch,
and I are Stanford classmates of
Maria Echaveste's. I loved seeing you
wear the Stanford hat in the front-page
L.A. Times picture while you were golfing. ☺

Oh, I almost forgot to thank you
for taking the time to sign the White House
photos of yourself and Mrs. Clinton with the
children. It's another example of how much
you genuinely care about each and every
one of us.



2626-33rd St. Santa Monica, CA 90405-3111

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 30, 2000

1-2-01

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY
ADAM ROSMAN AR

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

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Congressional Correspondence (via Casstevens) -- Kay forwards letters from (1) Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin (D-MD), congratulating you on an extraordinary record and thanking you for your devotion to public service; (2) Rep. Rosa L. DeLauro (D-CT), forwarding you a copy of your July 18, 1980 speech to the Connecticut Democratic State Convention; (3) Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey (D-NY), thanking you for your visit to Ulster County and expressing his gratitude for having served his first 8 years in the House during your successive administrations; and (4) Rep. John D. Dingell (D-MI), thanking you for your message to him on the 45th anniversary of his service in the House.

1-2-01

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 30, 2000

1-2-01

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY
ADAM ROSMAN *AR*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- (A) **Berger Memo re: Report of Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy** -- Sandy forwards the report of the Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy, established in May 1999 to advise you and the Secretary of State on effective diplomacy programs to ensure U.S. leadership on worker rights and respond to 21st Century international labor challenges. The Committee recommends, among other things, that U.S. ambassadors be personally involved in labor diplomacy; that State substantially increase the number of U.S. labor officers and make labor tours more attractive to Foreign Service generalists; and that DOL play a greater role in State's labor diplomacy program. Madeline has convened a working group to respond to the Committee's recommendations.
- (B) **Marshall Memo re: Hoan Bridge** -- Goody forwards a DOT memo explaining the events leading up to the demolition of the Hoan Bridge in Milwaukee, WI, following a severe snowstorm in early December.
- (C) **Congressional Correspondence (via Casstevens)** -- Kay forwards letters from (1) Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin (D-MD), congratulating you on an extraordinary record and thanking you for your devotion to public service; (2) Rep. Rosa L. DeLauro (D-CT), forwarding you a copy of your July 18, 1980 speech to the Connecticut Democratic State Convention; (3) Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey (D-NY), thanking you for your visit to Ulster County and expressing his gratitude for having served his first 8 years in the House during your successive administrations; and (4) Rep. John D. Dingell (D-MI), thanking you for your message to him on the 45th anniversary of his service in the House.
- very busy*

BENJAMIN L. CARDIN
3RD DISTRICT, MARYLAND

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES

COMMISSIONER
COMMISSION ON SECURITY
AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS
STEERING COMMITTEE

ASSISTANT DEMOCRATIC WHIP

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-2003

December 7, 2000

1-2-01

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As your terms in office comes to a close, I realize how fortunate I have been to be a member of Congress during these eight years. Your extraordinary leadership and commitment to the principles of inclusion have permanently changed our nation for the better. Your economic policy has made it possible for the federal government to be an active partner in dealing with the problems of our communities and its people.

Myrna and I each agreed that your speech at the Democratic Convention gave us an opportunity to reflect on just how special and incredible the last eight years have been. You used every opportunity to advance the goals of our country. Domestically and internationally this nation has never been stronger. Last Sunday night at the Kennedy Center Honors as Hillary and you received the accolades from the performing arts community that you deserved, it was apparent in that room of the great love and respect in which you are held. You are a President that understands the full beauty and potential of our country.

I particularly appreciate the manner in which you engaged each of us who was interested in joining in your mission. Your frequent meetings at the White House and Capitol Hill, the accessibility of your staff, your genuine desire to learn from our experiences and your energy and optimism made your presidency the most productive in recent history.

Congratulations on an extraordinary record. Thank you for your devotion to public service. Because of what you have done, many more young people now believe that our system of government works and that public service is an honorable career.

Myrna and I are proud to call you our friend.

Sincerely





1-2-01

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

ROSA L. DELAURO
THIRD DISTRICT
CONNECTICUT

Dear Mr. President -
As promised, a
copy of your July 18, 1980
speech to the Congress
and Parents - I'm it

too long -

Remember the and now
an important date
for all of us - particularly
the Rev. Miss Dodd - your
good friend and mine.

My warmest wishes to
you - Rose

December

Dear Mr. President -

As promised, a copy of your
July 18, 1980 speech to the
Connecticut State Convention.
Sorry it took so long -
Pertinent then and now -
an important date for all of us -
particularly the Honorable Chris
Dodd - your good friend and mine.

My warmest wishes to you -

Rosa



1-2-01

CONGRESSMAN MAURICE D. HINCHEY
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

December 6, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you so very much for your visit to Ulster County. Both the public and fundraising events were highly successful and the Kingston area residents were thrilled and honored to have you come to visit. My office was flooded with letters, calls of congratulations and gratitude for providing the community the opportunity to see and listen to you. One particular point that still resounds is your very eloquent elaboration on "Why we are Democrats." You summed it up perfectly and, when election night came, the fruits of our efforts paid off. As you can imagine, having Hillary on New York's side is something that I am looking forward to. Working with her on our mutual goals, as we have done over the past eight years, will be most satisfying. She is going to be a great U.S. Senator from New York.

I am honored by your friendship and trust. I will always be grateful for having served my first eight years in the House of Representatives during the successive administrations of William Jefferson Clinton.

Sincerely,

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



JOHN D. DINGELL 12-13-2000

Mr. President, -

Thank you for your gracious message on my Forty-Five Years of Service. It was most kind, and the sort of thing you always do in such a gracious fashion. -

Deborah + I send you + Hillary
Christmas Greetings + good wishes
- over, -

for the New Year.

We have been honored by your friendship + many kindnesses. And, we are proud to have worked with you on the many fine things you have done for the Country. —

You have been a fine President, and you have served the people well.

God guard + protect you,
John

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 11, 2000

Dear John:

Congratulations on your 45th anniversary of service in the United States House of Representatives! Only four other members have served our nation for this long in the people's house.

I am deeply grateful to have been able to work with you on issues of profound importance to our nation such as health care, prescription drug coverage, telecommunications, energy and environmental matters, financial services and others. Your experience and skill are invaluable to your colleagues and to the institution of the House.

As you celebrate your accomplishments and look forward to the challenges ahead, Hillary joins me in extending best wishes to you and Debbie for many more happy and productive years.

Sincerely,

Bill

The Honorable John D. Dingell
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 28, 2000

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA GRAHAM *LG*
CAROLINE SELF *CS*

SUBJECT: JANUARY SCHEDULING DECISIONS

*copied
Graham
Self
Podesta*

- 1) You have been invited to see the panda exhibit at the zoo before the exhibit opens to the public. The zoo director, Dr. Lucy Spelman, has offered to give you a behind the scenes tour sometime before January 9th.

Would you like for us to make this an OTR option for next week?

☒ Yes

☐ No

- 2) Mayor O'Malley of Baltimore has invited you to attend the Ravens v. Broncos playoff game on Sunday, December 31st at 12:30pm.

Since you will be at Camp David, would you like us to regret this invitation?

☒ Yes

☐ No

- 3) We have received additional meeting requests. Please let us know which of these are priorities.

☒ Stanley Sheinbaum. He would like to come by and see you.

☒ General Wes Clark. He wants to see you for a few minutes to talk about Arkansas.

☒ David Steiner. He mentioned that you asked him to come by and see you.

☒ Director McCaffrey (Exit Meeting).

☒ Senator Mike DeWine and Family (Photo Op). Steve Ricchetti recommends.

- 4) Rep. Cal Dooley and Simon Rosenberg have requested a meeting with you to discuss what role you may play in the New Democrat Network agenda next year. Senator Lieberman is interested in attending as well as other New Democrats. Minyon and Chuck recommend that you do this meeting prior to January 20th.

Would you like us to set up this meeting?

☒ Yes

☐ No

*in Chicago
Jan 2-3-4
Jan 7-8-9
Jan 10-11-12*

- 5) UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has asked for a meeting with you to discuss a broad range of issues, though he is most interested in discussing the Middle East peace process and Iraq. Sandy recommends this meeting.

Would you like us to set up this meeting with Kofi Annan?

☒ Yes ☐ No

- 6) You asked us to inform you which Cabinet secretaries have requested that you attend their portrait unveilings. Thus far, we have received requests from Secretary Shalala, Attorney General Reno and Secretary Jesse Brown. However, Cabinet Affairs believes that if you attend one of these events the other agencies will begin to pressure us to do other unveilings. We recommend regretting these events.

Would you like us to regret these portrait unveilings?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If we regret the unveilings, we thought you might want to bring Secretary Jesse Brown in for a brief meeting since we recently learned he was diagnosed with Lou Gehrig's Disease.

Would you like us to set up a meeting with Secretary Jesse Brown?

☐ Yes ☐ No

- 7) You have been invited by John Sweeney to attend the dedication of the newly renovated AFL-CIO building in Washington during their executive council meeting on January 8th. Karen Tramantano recommends that you attend. Currently, you are scheduled to be in New York on January 7th and have the option to remain overnight in Chappaqua with Mrs. Clinton. Should you remain overnight in Chappaqua, you would depart the residence at 8:00am to return to the White House for the Citizens Medal Ceremony and political committee event at the DNC. You then have approximately 3 hours of phone and office time. If you would like to add the AFL-CIO event your phone and office time would be reduced to approximately 2 hours.

Would you like to attend the AFL-CIO building dedication on January 8th?

☒ Yes ☐ No

- 8) Bonnie Englehardt has requested that you tape a video tribute to Senator Lautenberg for a surprise dinner honoring him. The dinner will take place on January 13th at the Rainbow Room and will be attended by about 130 guests.

Would you like to add this tribute to your taping session next week?

☒ Yes ☐ No

Monday, January 8, 2001

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
MONDAY, JANUARY 8, 2001

Draft Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER: 4824

PRESS DESK:

KAREN BURCHARD

HOME: 703-243-3656

OFFICE: 202-456-7193

WHCA PAGER: 4769

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 28, 2000 (7:04 PM)

Monday, January 8, 2001

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
MONDAY, JANUARY 8, 2001
Draft Schedule

8:00	am (T)	THE PRESIDENT departs Private Residence via motorcade en route Westchester County Airport, White Plains, New York [drive time: 20 minutes]
8:20	am (T)	THE PRESIDENT arrives Westchester County Airport
8:35	am (T)	THE PRESIDENT departs Westchester County Airport via Air Force One en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: 1 hour, 15 minutes]
9:50	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base
10:05	am	THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base via Marine One en route The White House [flight time: 10 minutes]
10:15	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives The White House
10:20	am-	MEETING
10:35	am	MAP ROOM Staff Contact: John Podesta
10:35	am-	BRIEFING
10:50	am	MAP ROOM Staff Contact: Lisel Loy
10:50	am-	MEET AND GREET
11:00	am	PAVILION Staff Contact: Lisel Loy Event Coordinator: Kim Widdess
11:05	am-	CITIZENS MEDAL CEREMONY
12:25	pm	PAVILION Staff Contact: Lisel Loy Event Coordinator: Kim Widdess PRESS TBD

December 28, 2000 (7:05 PM)

Monday, January 8, 2001

12:35	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs The White House via motorcade en route DNC Headquarters [drive time: tbd minutes]
12:45	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives DNC Headquarters
12:50 1:35	pm- pm	REMARKS TO COMMITTEE STAFF ROOM TBD DNC Headquarters Staff Contact: Minyon Moore Event Coordinator: PRESS TBD
1: 40	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs DNC Headquarters via motorcade en route West Executive Boulevard, The White House [drive time: tbd minutes]
1:50	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives West Executive Boulevard, The White House
1:55 2:00	pm- pm	STAFF PHOTO DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING STEPS Staff Contact: Nancy Hernreich WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY Note: This will be a group photo with tbd staff members.
2:05 2:10	pm- pm	STAFF PHOTO ROSE GARDEN Staff Contact: Nancy Hernreich WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY Note: This will be a group photo with tbd staff members.
2:10 5:30	pm- pm	PHONE AND OFFICE TIME OVAL OFFICE
5:30 5:40	pm- pm	MEETING OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett

December 28, 2000 (7:04 PM)

Monday, January 8, 2001

5:40 pm- US PARK POLICE MOUNTED PATROL PHOTO OPPORTUNITY
5:50 pm OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Don Flynn
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

Note: There will be approximately 15 guests in attendance.

5:50 pm- PFIAB PHOTO OPPORTUNITY
5:55 pm OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

Note: There will be approximately tbd guests in attendance.

6:00 pm- MILITARY AND PPD DEPARTURE PHOTOS
6:30 pm OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Jake Simmons
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

Note: There will be approximately tbd guests in attendance.

EVENING OFF

BC/HRC RON THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 28, 2000 (7:04 PM)

1-2-2001

1-2-2001

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 30, 2000

*Copied
Streett
Ucelli
Podesta*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT
LORETTA UCELLI

RE: January 9th Midwest Travel

CC: JOHN PODESTA

*VP Podesta
we need
to do this*

Please see site descriptions attached.

OVERVIEW

Your travel to the Midwest could serve as a bookend to your successful trips to the region during the 1992 campaign and your first year in office -- offering an opportunity to highlight the enormous transformation the nation has undergone since 1992 as a result of your leadership. Returning to cities you visited on the campaign trail will give you and the communities you visit a nostalgic look back to where America was prior to your presidency and how far we have come as a nation today. Throughout the day we will identify individuals you met along the campaign trail and who have benefited from your policies to amplify this message.

We considered cities in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, West Virginia and Wisconsin. In developing our recommendation we considered the economic and social progress as well as the political landscape. We recommend a combination of 3 events. The first, a large crowd rally in East Lansing, MI, will offer a retrospective look at the past eight years and how people's lives in East Lansing and across the nation have improved as a result of your Administration's achievements. The second, an education event in Chicago or Chillicothe, OH, will provide a look to the future on education and America's youth, specifically focusing on how your education initiatives have provided children with greater opportunities and prospects of a brighter tomorrow. The third, a supporters rally in Chicago, provides an opportunity to thank some of your most loyal friends and supporters.

OPTIONS

- Option A: East Lansing (Crowd) - Chicago (Education Event and Supporters Rally)
Option B: East Lansing (Crowd) - Chillicothe (Education Event) - Chicago (Supporters Rally)

NOTE: Option B requires you to depart at 7:30 am, returning to the WH at 12:30 am.

Which option do you prefer for your travel on January 9th?

_____ Option A

_____ Option B

ATTACHMENT A: SITE DESCRIPTIONS

EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN (INGHAM COUNTY)

Purpose: Crowd Event

East Lansing has made great economic progress since your first visit in 1992 as part of the bus trip. This event and your subsequent visit there in 1997 drew large crowds. Given the success of the last two visits and the significant economic progress made during your administration, an event here would offer a prime opportunity to discuss the impact of your economic policies and to reach out to some of your Heartland supporters in an enthusiastic environment.

Population: 50,322; 78.7% White, 10.4% African American; 6.3% Hispanic, 3.8% Asian-Pacific Islander
Representative Michael Rogers (R-8); Clinton/Gore 1992: 40%, Clinton/Gore 1996: 49%
Unemployment 1993: 5.1%, Unemployment 2000: 2.2%
COPS program: 16 officers funded; Americorps program: 1

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Purpose: Education Event
Supporters Rally

Chicago has made great strides turning around one of the nation's most troubled school districts by following the formula you've championed throughout your administration: higher standards, ending social promotion, providing extra help after school and in summer school and turning around failing schools, etc. This tremendous progress offers you a great opportunity to visit a school and talk to a community that has greatly benefited from your policies. Chicago is also home to some of your most loyal friends and supporters and would offer you the chance to thank them.

CHILLICOTHE, OHIO (ROSS COUNTY)

Purpose: Education Event

You visited Chillicothe twice during your presidency – in February 1993 and August 1996 – and received a strong, warm welcome on both occasions. As a bookend to your 1993 visit, you could return to Chillicothe High School or another local school with a message about the future for the nation's school children.

Population: 76,143; 91.1% White, 7.4% African American, 0.7% Hispanic, 0.55% Asian-Pacific Islander
Representative Ted Strickland (D-6) and Representative David Hobson (R-7)
Clinton/Gore '92: 33% 7th District, 39% 6th District; Clinton/Gore '96: 41% 7th District, 44% 6th District
Unemployment 1993: 10.1%, Unemployment 2000: 6.2%
COPS program: 2 officers funded; Americorps program: none

1-2-01

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 27, 2000

'00 DEC 27 PM 6:59

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA GRAHAM
CAROLINE SELF

SUBJECT: JANUARY 7th SCHEDULE

We have attached a draft schedule reflecting the day with these additional events should you choose to do them.

You are scheduled to preach at Foundry at 11am on January 7th. You had also expressed interest in attending services at AME Church or St. John's prior to leaving office. Both churches have 8:00am services. Since this would be your last opportunity to attend Sunday services, we recommend that you attend AME Church on January 7th prior to preaching at Foundry. We could then organize a prayer service at St. John's with administration officials during the week of January 15th.

Would you like to attend the 8:00am service at AME Church on January 7th?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Additionally, the official New York swearing-in for Mrs. Clinton will take place at Madison Square Garden at 3pm on the 7th. She would like for you to attend this event before you both attend the Israel Policy Forum dinner.

Would you like to attend the Madison Square Garden swearing-in?

☒ Yes

☐ No

Mrs. Clinton will be overnighting in Chappaqua on the night of January 7th.

Would you like to overnight in Chappaqua as well?

☒ Yes

☐ No

Put 1 hour to Clinton to look at office space - I can do a swearing in and before 1st dinner?

Let them know about dinner?

*copied
graham
self
Podesta*

Sunday, January 7, 2001

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 2001

Draft Schedule

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER: 4824

PRESS DESK:

KAREN BURCHARD

HOME: 703-243-3656

OFFICE: 202-456-7193

WHCA PAGER: 4769

WEATHER:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sunday, January 7, 2001

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 2001
Draft Schedule

7:30	am	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady (T) depart The White House via motorcade en route Metropolitan AME Church [drive time: tbd minutes]
7:45	am	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady (T) arrive Metropolitan AME Church
8:00	am- (T)	CHURCH SERVICES
10:30	am	METROPOLITAN AME CHURCH Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD
10:40	am	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady (T) depart Metropolitan AME Church via motorcade en route Foundry Methodist Church [drive time: tbd minutes]
10:50	am	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Foundry Methodist Church
11:00	am-	REMARKS
12:30	pm	FOUNDRY METHODIST CHURCH Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD
Note: There will be approximately 500-600 guests in attendance.		
12:35	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Foundry Methodist Church via motorcade en route The White House [drive time: tbd minutes]
12:45	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive The White House
12:55	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart The White House via Marine One en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: 10 minutes]

December 27, 2000 (6:51 PM)

Sunday, January 7, 2001

1:10	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Andrews Air Force Base
1:25	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One en route John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, New York [flight time: 55 minutes]
2:20	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive John F. Kennedy International Airport
2:35	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart John F. Kennedy International Airport via Marine One en route Wall Street Landing Zone [flight time: 15 minutes]
2:50	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Wall Street Landing Zone
3:00	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Wall Street Landing Zone via motorcade en route Madison Square Garden [drive time: tbd minutes]
3:15	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Madison Square Garden
3:20	pm- (T)	HRC TRIBUTE
4:45	pm	ARENA Madison Square Garden Staff Contact: Patti Solis Doyle Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD
5:00	pm (T)	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Madison Square Garden via motorcade en route Waldorf Astoria Hotel [drive time: tbd minutes]
5:15	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Waldorf Astoria Hotel
5:15	pm-	DOWN TIME
7:15	pm	PRESIDENTIAL SUITE Waldorf Astoria Hotel

Note: The following event is Black Tie.

7:25	pm	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady proceed to Room TBD, Waldorf Astoria Hotel
------	----	---

December 27, 2000 (6:51 PM)

Sunday, January 7, 2001

7:30 TBD	pm- pm	ISRAEL POLICY FORUM GALA DINNER ROOM TBD Waldorf Astoria Hotel Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD
TBD	pm (T)	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Waldorf Astoria Hotel via motorcade en route Private Residence, Chappaqua, New York [drive time: 45 minutes]
TBD	pm (T)	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Private Residence
BC RON		PRIVATE RESIDENCE (T) CHAPPAQUA, NEW YORK
HRC RON		PRIVATE RESIDENCE CHAPPAQUA, NEW YORK

December 27, 2000 (6:51 PM)

maureen
Hudson
will let her
Person Robyn
family too

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mrs. John V. Lindsay
14 Outerbridge Circle
Hilton Head Island, South Carolina 29926

Dear Mrs. Lindsay:

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn of your husband's death, and our hearts go out to you and your family.

Throughout his life and distinguished career, John was a champion for those whose voices too often go unheard: the poor, minorities, immigrants, and refugees. During his tenure in the U.S. House of Representatives and his two terms as Mayor of New York City, he worked with skill and compassion to promote civil rights, to revitalize urban communities, and to bring help to those in need. He was devoted to his city and its people, and he dedicated his time, talents, and boundless energy to make life better for those he served and to bring new hope to long-neglected neighborhoods.

I hope you can take comfort at this difficult time in the loving support of your family and friends and in the knowledge that John left an inspiring legacy of public service. Hillary and I are keeping you in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Bia

I will always be
grateful for his kindness
to me



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Two-Term New York Mayor John V. Lindsay Dies at 79

By Adam Bernstein

Washington Post Staff Writer

Thursday, December 21, 2000; Page
B07



E-Mail This Article



Printer-Friendly Version

John V. Lindsay, 79, the charismatic and well-heeled mayor of New York City from the mid-1960s to early 1970s who championed better race relations, had a dynamic impact on the depressed city and was known for his later switch from the Republican to the Democratic Party, died Dec. 19 at Hilton Head Medical Center on Hilton Head Island, S.C.

He had Parkinson's disease and had two strokes in the last decade. He moved to Hilton Head last year from Lyme, Conn., and New York.

A still-debated question about Mr. Lindsay's mayoralty was whether the great notions of hope he engendered among the city's dispossessed -- the minorities and poor -- overshadowed the tidal waves of money he spent on reenergizing a demoralized city long in financial doldrums.

New York columnist Murray Kempton said at the time of Mr. Lindsay's election in 1965 what became an oft-quoted line: "He is fresh and everyone else is tired."

By the end of his terms, there were wildly divergent viewpoints.

A former congressman from the so-called Silk Stocking District that included swank sections of Fifth and Park avenues, Mr. Lindsay was never a hard-liner in the Republican Party. During his House tenure, he would tell crowds: "I happen to be a Republican. I hope you won't hold it against me."

Indeed, in his four terms in Washington, Mr. Lindsay became a forceful proponent on matters affecting constitutional rights and civil liberties. He was also outspoken on immigration, particularly on promoting the rights and dignity of refugees. At the time, one observer dubbed him the "Republican Kennedy," referring to the president.

Upon resigning his House seat after three terms to become New York's mayor in January 1966, Mr. Lindsay was hailed for his seemingly awesome political achievement -- a tall, handsome, boarding-school-educated WASP and Republican who ascended to the

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Mayor of NYC
1966-73
U.S. Rep.
1959-65

coming school educated man and Republican who ascended to the most powerful position in a multiethnic and Democratic stronghold. He was the first non-Democrat elected mayor since Fiorello H. La Guardia won his final race in 1941.

His mayoral tenure lasted through a time of national civic strife -- race riots in cities such as Los Angeles and Newark, protests against the Vietnam War -- and Mr. Lindsay was held in high esteem in many minority communities. His high-profile journeys into the ghettos of Harlem and other long-neglected neighborhoods lent symbolic weight to his efforts to resuscitate those areas. They also helped act as a salve to prevent rioting in New York after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.

"People would grab him and hold him and kiss him," said former D.C. mayor Walter E. Washington, who served Mr. Lindsay as housing authority chairman. "He would visit areas hardly any others would tend to visit -- the Lower East Side, Harlem and Brooklyn. And I saw people just trying to touch his garment. . . . He gave people a feeling of belonging and hope."

Mr. Lindsay was a magnet for attracting young talent, and among those who worked for him were Leon Panetta, later White House chief of staff, and Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger, who became national security adviser.

The mayor also opened what were called satellite city halls, including one in Harlem, to work with minority youth. A longtime arts advocate known to feature the work of contemporary artists on his office walls, he established the Mayor's Office of Film, Theater and Broadcasting.

While successful at getting New York City vast increases in federal and state spending, he also announced the city's first income tax, among other unpopular financial measures.

Many other decisions caused distress among Mr. Lindsay's constituents. He was reviled among many low- and middle-income whites for his school decentralization plan, which incited a two-month teachers strike.

Other labor unions were no less vociferous. Mr. Lindsay's first day in office was marred by the start of a 13-day strike by the city's subway workers, and he presided over a series of expensive settlements with their union and others. Not until much later did his relationship with union leaders improve, and by the end of his second term, the city was one of the first with a binding arbitration law.

The era was also pockmarked by an increase in transit fares from 15 cents to 50 cents, a massive increase in welfare rolls, police corruption hearings that involved the celebrated informant Frank Serpico and a water commissioner who was found guilty of taking kickbacks.

Mr. Lindsay lost the Republican nomination in 1969 but won his second and final four-year term on the Liberal Party ticket. He won partly for his

undeniable charm.

"This is a guy for whom charisma is not a cliché. It just reverberated for him," said Steven L. Isenberg, a former chief of staff for Mr. Lindsay and publisher of what was New York Newsday. He added that the mayor once went skiing with Robert Redford, and "was arguably better looking than Redford."

The mayor maintained a palpable presence on the city streets, appearing in shirt sleeves, mingling with hippies and black and Hispanic residents with equal charm and naturalness.

Then there were unfavorable reviews for just such appearances.

"He's probably the most outstanding electronic performer in the country's history," Edward Costikyan, a longtime Democratic fixture in the city, said of Mr. Lindsay in 1971. "He's superb -- he just doesn't have any talent for governing. . . . Lindsay looks for the immediate solution which gives a good public appearance, but the secondary consequences are not given the slightest thought."

Others viewed his long-term legacy as laudable. In 1974, the New York Times editorial page praised Mr. Lindsay for his "unprecedented eight-year effort to reinvigorate and reshape this great metropolis. Despite all the setbacks and difficulties, this leader of verve and imagination achieved far more than he was generally given credit for."

Mr. Lindsay, who was long considered ambitious on a national scope, maintained a national reputation by publicly challenging major leaders -- even in his own party.

An early critic of the Vietnam War, he told a crowd of black ministers in 1969: "It's time to ask whether we should really spend \$6 billion on an anti-ballistic missile system when the security of the cities really depends on the chance for safety and decency and dignity in their neighborhoods."

The mayor changed political affiliations in 1972 and lost the Democratic Party's presidential nomination that year to Sen. George S. McGovern (S.D.). Eight years later, he lost the Democratic primary for the Senate seat won by Republican Alfonse M. D'Amato.

John Vliet Lindsay, a New York City native, was the son of an investment banker. He was a history graduate of Yale University, where he received a law degree in 1948. He served in the Navy during World War II and participated in the invasions of Sicily and the Philippines.

At Yale law school, he became a follower of Herbert Brownell Jr., a New York lawyer and Republican Party activist who became attorney general under President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953. Through a Brownell connection, Mr. Lindsay began practicing law in a Wall Street law firm.

He also became a board member of the New York Young Republican Club and a founding member of the Youth for Eisenhower crusade.

Brownell made Mr. Lindsay his executive assistant in 1955, and the future mayor's move to Washington gave him a prominent role in shaping legislation affecting civil rights and immigration, particularly after the Hungarian uprising in 1956.

He was instrumental in using the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which often excluded immigrants, to get 33,000 Hungarian refugees to the United States under the act's parole section.

Mr. Lindsay resigned in December 1956 to run for Congress and was elected to the Republican-held district despite a strong Democratic challenge.

From the start, he established himself as a freshman force, typically an oxymoron and one generally frowned on. He publicly criticized elder statesmen and was the sole dissenter on a bill imbuing the postmaster general with the authority to confiscate allegedly obscene mail.

During his second term, Mr. Lindsay sponsored a bill to create a federal, Cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs.

He declined an invitation to run as the Republican candidate for New York mayor in 1961 and instead became campaign chairman for that election. He also was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1960, 1964 and 1968.

He played down his party affiliation and ran for mayor against an entrenched Democratic Party in 1965, defeating Abraham D. Beame by more than 130,000 votes. It was a race that William F. Buckley Jr., the conservative publisher and a fellow Yale, also entered in protest of Mr. Lindsay's dismissal of Barry Goldwater's presidential candidacy a year earlier.

After his second term as mayor and flirting with seeking the presidency, Mr. Lindsay practiced law until the early 1990s and was a substitute host of ABC's "Good Morning America" in the 1970s. He wrote two volumes of memoirs and a novel, "The Edge," published by W.W. Norton in 1976.

Survivors include his wife since 1949, Mary Anne Harrison Lindsay of Hilton Head Island; a son, John Jr., of Old Lyme, Conn.; three daughters, Katharine Lake of Darien, Conn., Margaret "Margi" Picotte of Palm Beach, Fla., and Dr. Anne Lindsay of Springfield, Mass.; a brother; and five grandchildren.

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Two-Term New York Mayor John V. Lindsay Dies at 79

By Adam Bernstein

Washington Post Staff Writer

Thursday, December 21, 2000 ; Page B07

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By the end of his terms, there were wildly divergent viewpoints.

A former congressman from the so-called Silk Stocking District that included swank sections of Fifth and Park avenues, Mr. Lindsay was never a hard-liner in the Republican Party. During his House tenure, he would tell crowds: "I happen to be a Republican. I hope you won't hold it against me."

Indeed, in his four terms in Washington, Mr. Lindsay became a forceful proponent on matters affecting constitutional rights and civil liberties. He was also outspoken on immigration, particularly on promoting the rights and dignity of refugees. At the time, one observer dubbed him the "Republican Kennedy," referring to the president.

Upon resigning his House seat after three terms to become New York's mayor in January 1966, Mr. Lindsay was hailed for his seemingly awesome political achievement -- a tall, handsome, boarding-school-educated WASP and Republican who ascended to the most powerful position in a multiethnic and Democratic stronghold. He was the first non-Democrat elected mayor since Fiorello H. La Guardia won his final race in 1941.

His mayoral tenure lasted through a time of national civic strife -- race riots in cities such as Los Angeles and Newark, protests against the Vietnam War -- and Mr. Lindsay was held in high esteem in many minority communities. His high-profile journeys into the ghettos of Harlem and other long-neglected neighborhoods lent symbolic weight to his efforts to resuscitate those areas. They also helped act as a salve to prevent rioting in New York after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.

"People would grab him and hold him and kiss him," said former D.C. mayor Walter E. Washington, who served Mr. Lindsay as housing authority chairman. "He would visit areas hardly any others would tend to visit -- the Lower East Side, Harlem and Brooklyn. And I saw people just trying to touch his garment. . . . He gave people a feeling of belonging and hope."

Mr. Lindsay was a magnet for attracting young talent, and among those who worked for him were Leon Panetta, later White House chief of staff, and Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger, who became national security

adviser.

The mayor also opened what were called satellite city halls, including one in Harlem, to work with minority youth. A longtime arts advocate known to feature the work of contemporary artists on his office walls, he established the Mayor's Office of Film, Theater and Broadcasting.

While successful at getting New York City vast increases in federal and state spending, he also announced the city's first income tax, among other unpopular financial measures.

Many other decisions caused distress among Mr. Lindsay's constituents. He was reviled among many low- and middle-income whites for his school decentralization plan, which incited a two-month teachers strike.

Other labor unions were no less vociferous. Mr. Lindsay's first day in office was marred by the start of a 13-day strike by the city's subway workers, and he presided over a series of expensive settlements with their union and others. Not until much later did his relationship with union leaders improve, and by the end of his second term, the city was one of the first with a binding arbitration law.

The era was also pockmarked by an increase in transit fares from 15 cents to 50 cents, a massive increase in welfare rolls, police corruption hearings that involved the celebrated informant Frank Serpico and a water commissioner who was found guilty of taking kickbacks.

Mr. Lindsay lost the Republican nomination in 1969 but won his second and final four-year term on the Liberal Party ticket. He won partly for his undeniable charm.

"This is a guy for whom charisma is not a cliché ½. It just reverberated for him," said Steven L. Isenberg, a former chief of staff for Mr. Lindsay and publisher of what was New York Newsday. He added that the mayor once went skiing with Robert Redford, and "was arguably better looking than Redford."

The mayor maintained a palpable presence on the city streets, appearing in shirt sleeves, mingling with hippies and black and Hispanic residents with equal charm and naturalness.

Then there were unfavorable reviews for just such appearances.

"He's probably the most outstanding electronic performer in the country's history," Edward Costikyan, a longtime Democratic fixture in the city, said of Mr. Lindsay in 1971. "He's superb -- he just doesn't have any talent for governing. . . . Lindsay looks for the immediate solution which gives a good public appearance, but the secondary consequences are not given the slightest thought."

Others viewed his long-term legacy as laudable. In 1974, the New York Times editorial page praised Mr. Lindsay for his "unprecedented eight-year effort to reinvigorate and reshape this great metropolis. Despite all the setbacks and difficulties, this leader of verve and imagination achieved far more than he was generally given credit for."

Mr. Lindsay, who was long considered ambitious on a national scope, maintained a national reputation by publicly challenging major leaders -- even in his own party.

An early critic of the Vietnam War, he told a crowd of black ministers in 1969: "It's time to ask whether we should really spend \$6 billion on an anti-ballistic missile system when the security of the cities really depends on the chance for safety and decency and dignity in their neighborhoods."

The mayor changed political affiliations in 1972 and lost the Democratic Party's presidential nomination

that year to Sen. George S. McGovern (S.D.). Eight years later, he lost the Democratic primary for the Senate seat won by Republican Alfonse M. D'Amato.

John Vliet Lindsay, a New York City native, was the son of an investment banker. He was a history graduate of Yale University, where he received a law degree in 1948. He served in the Navy during World War II and participated in the invasions of Sicily and the Philippines.

At Yale law school, he became a follower of Herbert Brownell Jr., a New York lawyer and Republican Party activist who became attorney general under President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953. Through a Brownell connection, Mr. Lindsay began practicing law in a Wall Street law firm. He also became a board member of the New York Young Republican Club and a founding member of the Youth for Eisenhower crusade.

Brownell made Mr. Lindsay his executive assistant in 1955, and the future mayor's move to Washington gave him a prominent role in shaping legislation affecting civil rights and immigration, particularly after the Hungarian uprising in 1956.

He was instrumental in using the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which often excluded immigrants, to get 33,000 Hungarian refugees to the United States under the act's parole section.

Mr. Lindsay resigned in December 1956 to run for Congress and was elected to the Republican-held district despite a strong Democratic challenge.

From the start, he established himself as a freshman force, typically an oxymoron and one generally frowned on. He publicly criticized elder statesmen and was the sole dissenter on a bill imbuing the postmaster general with the authority to confiscate allegedly obscene mail.

During his second term, Mr. Lindsay sponsored a bill to create a federal, Cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs.

He declined an invitation to run as the Republican candidate for New York mayor in 1961 and instead became campaign chairman for that election. He also was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1960, 1964 and 1968.

He played down his party affiliation and ran for mayor against an entrenched Democratic Party in 1965, defeating Abraham D. Beame by more than 130,000 votes. It was a race that William F. Buckley Jr., the conservative publisher and a fellow Yale, also entered in protest of Mr. Lindsay's dismissal of Barry Goldwater's presidential candidacy a year earlier.

After his second term as mayor and flirting with seeking the presidency, Mr. Lindsay practiced law until the early 1990s and was a substitute host of ABC's "Good Morning America" in the 1970s. He wrote two volumes of memoirs and a novel, "The Edge," published by W.W. Norton in 1976.

Survivors include his wife since 1949, Mary Anne Harrison Lindsay of Hilton Head Island; a son, John Jr., of Old Lyme, Conn.; three daughters, Katharine Lake of Darien, Conn., Margaret "Margi" Picotte of Palm Beach, Fla., and Dr. Anne Lindsay of Springfield, Mass.; a brother; and five grandchildren.

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LINDSAY, John Vliet, 1921-

LINDSAY, John Vliet, a Representative from New York; born in New York City November 24, 1921; graduated from the Buckley School in New York City in 1935, St. Paul's School, Concord, N.H., in 1940; Yale University, B.A., in 1944, and from the law school of the same university, LL.B., 1948; joined the United States Navy in May 1943; discharged as a lieutenant in March 1946; was admitted to the bar in 1949 and began the practice of law in New York City; executive assistant to the United States Attorney General from January 1955 to January 1957; delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1960, 1964, and 1968; elected as a Republican to the Eighty-sixth and to the three succeeding Congresses, and served from January 3, 1959, to December 31, 1965, when he resigned to become mayor of New York City; reelected in November 1969 for the term ending in 1973; changed party affiliation to Democrat in 1971; resumed the practice of law in New York City; unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic nomination to the United States Senate in 1980; is a resident of New York City.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 20, 2000

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn of the death of John Lindsay. As a member of Congress, and later as Mayor, John Lindsay built a remarkable rapport with the people of New York City -- people of every race, in every neighborhood, in every walk of life. In times of great change, John Lindsay was a progressive yet pragmatic force for the public interest. New Yorkers and all Americans will miss not only his confident style, but his commitment to social progress for all.

30-30-30

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 20, 2000

**STATEMENT BY THE
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER
SAMUEL R. BERGER**

I was saddened to learn of the death of John Lindsay. I had the privilege of working for him briefly when he was Mayor of New York and I have been a strong admirer of his since. He was a man of high principle, strong integrity and passionate commitment to his city and country. He was a fine public servant and a very good man.

30-30-30

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Friday, December 22, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
c/o Nancy V. Hernreich
VIA FAX: (202)456-6703

*Sandy
I think we are
already on the
R*

Dear Mr. President:

I know that at this time you are considering the annual renewal decision and report on the national emergency in regard to Libya that was created on January 7, 1986 by Executive Order 12543. I have had an opportunity to study the recent actions of Libya to comply with the requirements of the United Nations and United States.

I wanted to personally discuss these issues with you, as I know that you have worked extremely hard on improving relationships with many countries that the previous administrations may have labeled as pariahs of the world community. Many things of the past have tended to cloud an objective review of the present situation and the actions that Libya has taken to regain acceptance in the world community. Your efforts working towards peace in the middle east has given hope to the Libyan people that they can have a productive dialogue with the United States in reference to the areas of concern that our government has had.

I believe that Libya has demonstrated by concrete actions a commitment to meet the requirements that have been established by the United Nations Security Council Resolutions and United States Policy. Libya's full compliance with the United Nations Security Council Resolutions was recognized by the report of Secretary-General Kofi A. Annan to the Security Council on June 30, 1999. Furthermore, the State Department has recognized in testimony before the Congress, that Libya has reduced its support for terrorism and not recently been implicated in any terrorist acts. In fact the State Department has even stated that Libya's expelling of terrorist groups has even subjected Libya to terrorist threats.

I recognize that your decision and report is due is a matter of days. I am in Washington today in hopes that I might be able to briefly speak personally with you. This would help to assure Libya that their actions have not be in vain. I look forward to hearing from you.

*Copied
Bergen
NSC WWBerk
Podesta*

Sincerely

Q. Byrum Hurst, Jr.
Q. Byrum Hurst, Jr.



**Ronald E. Neumann, Deputy Assistant Secretary
Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs**
Testimony Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Subcommittee for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
Washington, DC, May 4, 2000

U.S. Policy Toward Libya

I appreciate the invitation to speak to you on current U.S. policy toward Libya and welcome the opportunity to address a topic of interest to many members. We have achieved significant success in meeting long-established goals, but this is a continuing story whose ending is as yet unclear.

U.S. policy and policy goals vis-a-vis Libya have remained consistent through three Administrations. Our goals have been to end Libyan support for terrorism, prevent Tripoli's ability to obtain weapons of mass destruction, and contain Qadhafi's regional ambitions. Since Lockerbie, we have added additional aims, including bringing the persons responsible to justice. I would like to discuss current developments in the context of U.S. policy goals and unilateral and multilateral efforts on behalf of these goals, and consider what remains to be done.

Prior to the Qadhafi regime, we enjoyed a generally warm relationship with the Libyans and pursued policies centered on our interests in operations at Wheelus Air Force Base with its 4,600 Americans the considerable U.S. oil interests, and other key issues.

After Qadhafi's 1969 coup, the relationship quickly soured. Concerns about Libya's foreign policies came to dominate our policymaking. Chief among these concerns are state sponsorship of terrorism, support for groups violently opposed to Israel and the Peace Process, preventing of Tripoli's efforts to obtain weapons of mass destruction, and unhelpful activities in neighboring African states. Since that time, the U.S. policy agenda toward Libya has been focused on these concerns.

Although our commercial relationship with Libya flourished throughout the 1970s, the political relationship deteriorated, marked by confrontation and by intermittent reconciliation attempts on both sides. In the 1980s, we ended the longstanding commercial relationship and rejected any possibility of reconciliation so long as Libya pursued its policies of concern. We imposed sanctions piece-by-piece in response to Libyan support for terrorism, beginning with the disapproval of all further military sales to Libya and the designation of Libya as a state sponsor of terrorism in 1979. We ultimately imposed comprehensive sanctions on all commercial and financial transactions with Libya under an executive order in 1986. The unilateral sanctions regime against Libya has remained one of the most comprehensive.

Also, in 1986, we identified Libya as responsible for the La Belle Disco bombing, and in retaliation bombed select military and terrorist-related targets in Tripoli and Benghazi. Our judgment on Libyan responsibility for the bombing was recently given additional credibility by new testimony in the Berlin trial of the La Belle bombing suspects.

In the wake of the La Belle bombing, our European allies finally began to coordinate efforts against Libya. The EU resolved to reduce Libyan diplomatic presence abroad, embargo arms sales to Libya, and encourage policy and security cooperation against Libyan support for terrorism.

We obtained UN Security Council support against Libya for its sponsorship of terrorism following evidence of Libyan involvement in the tragic 1988 Pan Am 103 and 1989 UTA 772 bombings. In 1992 and 1993, the Security Council passed a series of resolutions calling on Libya to surrender the suspects, accept responsibility for the actions of its officials, pay appropriate compensation, disclose all it knew of the crime and cooperate with the criminal investigation, cease all forms of terrorist action and assistance to terrorist groups, and prove its renunciation of terrorism by concrete actions. The Security Council imposed civil aviation, financial, and diplomatic sanctions against Libya.

Carefully targeted, UN sanctions against Libya were for many years one of the most successful multilateral sanctions regimes. Rigorously observed sanctions succeeded in isolating Libya and limiting its access to dollars and other hard currencies for almost a decade. However, 2 years ago, support for the international sanctions began to fade. Deliberate violations by some states were increasing. We found little support to upgrade or even maintain the international sanctions.

For 10 years, the United States made every effort to bring the perpetrators of the terrorist bombing of Pan Am 103 to justice. Libya's surrender of the Pan Am 103 suspects came as a result of our intensive efforts to bring them to trial. Beginning in the fall of 1997, along with the British and the Dutch, we developed a detailed plan for a trial before a Scottish court seated in the Netherlands. After we unveiled the plan in August 1998, the UN Security Council unanimously endorsed the initiative and again urged Libya to surrender the suspects. International opinion welcomed this proposal, Libya finally turned over the suspects, under the terms we had laid out. The U.S. engaged in no negotiations and placed no restrictions on the prosecutors' freedom to follow the evidence. The Scottish trial in the Netherlands will be a genuine criminal proceeding, conforming with the rules and traditions of Scottish jurisprudence, and the prosecution will follow the evidence wherever it leads. Since the Libyan suspects' surrender, they have awaited trial in a Scottish jail in the Netherlands. The trial began yesterday and is expected to take some time.

Over time, faced with UN and U.S. sanctions, as well as the attendant political isolation, Libya has reduced its support for terrorism and sought to distance itself from terrorist groups. As reported in *Patterns of Global Terrorism* for the last 2 years, Libya has not been implicated in any international terrorist act for several years and has taken important steps.

Libya has expelled the Abu Nidal Organization, uprooting its infrastructure and seeking to eliminate any ANO presence in Libya. It has cooperated with other intelligence services in the region to deport remaining ANO members from Libya. Ironically, the ANO has publicly threatened terrorist retaliation against Libya.

In addition to withdrawing its support from Palestinian groups that oppose the peace process, Libya has thrown its support to Chairman Arafat and the Palestinian Authority. The Libyan Government has told all Palestinians that the Palestinian Authority is the only

address for their concerns. Given Libya's status as one of the original Arab radical states, this support for the Palestinian Authority represents an historic policy shift toward peace that we should all welcome.

In the last year, Libya has imposed visa restrictions to limit the ability of terrorists to enter its territory as a haven.

Libya has also cooperated with Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen against terrorist groups. In the context of the Arab League Interior Ministers' agreement to cooperate on counterterrorism, we have seen the extradition of a number of suspected terrorists between Libya and Jordan and Libya and Yemen.

While we recognize positive steps Libya has taken, a number of issues remain on which Libya must act. One key question is what else remains for Libya to do on terrorism to show that the break is permanent and not just opportunistic. Libya should comply with the UN Security Council Resolutions, including payment of appropriate compensation, acceptance of responsibility for the actions of its officials, renunciation of and an end to support for terrorism, and cooperation with the Pan Am 103 investigation and trial. In October 1999, Libya allowed the Scottish investigators to travel to Libya and obtain access to requested witnesses and documents. We will insist that any similar, future requests be granted and that Libyan witnesses be able to testify in The Netherlands unimpeded. Such Libyan cooperation is an explicit UN Security Council requirement before UN sanctions are lifted. It is also a concrete way for Libya to demonstrate that it has changed its policy, not just its rhetoric, on terrorism. *has done*

We want to see Libya sever all remaining ties with and support for terrorist groups. That would include terminating all contacts, travel on Libyan soil, and financial assistance. We also seek clear and concrete Libyan support for the peace process, including the underlying principles of the Madrid process. Such steps would be a concrete, definitive way for Libya to demonstrate its abandonment of violent opposition to the peace process and cessation of its support for opponents of peace. In this regard, we are closely watching Libya's talks with the EU and possible participation with Israel and the Palestinian Authority in the Barcelona Process. Looking to the future, we would like Libya to join and comply with certain international antiterrorism conventions, which it has indicated a willingness to do.

We remain concerned about Libyan programs to develop weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and missile delivery systems. British authorities at London's Gatwick Airport recently intercepted Scud missile parts interdicted at Gatwick bound for Libya. We seek to prevent Libya's efforts to acquire WMD and delivery systems and encourage other countries to do the same. Multilateral efforts to contain these Libyan programs have, thus far, achieved substantial success. We would like to see Libya join the Chemical Weapons Convention and comply with the CWC and the Biological Weapons Convention. These actions would signal its seriousness of purpose and be an important, concrete step toward more responsible behavior.

Libya's recent record on intervention outside its borders is less clear and requires close attention. Libya continues to be deeply engaged in Africa, including Sierra Leone, Congo, Ethiopia-Eritrea, and Sudan. We want to see it play a constructive role. For example, Libya has joined with Egypt to push for a negotiated resolution of the longstanding

conflict in Sudan. We support the mediation efforts led by East African states under the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, because its Declaration of Principles spells out the key issues which must be resolved for achievement of a just, lasting settlement. At same time, we have stepped up effort to cooperate with Egypt in the search for peace, as a single, unified process stands the best chance of achieving a settlement in Sudan. However, given the long history of dangerous intervention by Libya outside its borders as well as more recent reports of providing arms throughout the region, we will continue to take steps to ensure that Libya seeks to resolve, rather than aggravate, regional conflicts.

There has been intense press speculation and some Congressional interest about possible changes to travel-related restrictions for Libya. In March, the Secretary authorized a consular trip to Libya for the specific, limited purpose of assessing whether there continues to be an "imminent danger" to U.S. travelers. An "imminent danger" was the factual, legal basis for imposing a restriction on the use of an U.S. passport for travel to, in, or through Libya in 1981. Based on all reports, we believed it was appropriate to assess the situation on the ground for ourselves. The Department is still reviewing the trip findings as well as other relevant information, including reports from European diplomats, our Protecting Power, and travelers to Libya. Speculation about the outcome of this review would be premature; however, knowing of your interest in the matter, we will continue to stay in close contact with you on this issue.

On our key concerns--terrorism, opposition to Middle East peace, and regional intervention--Libya no longer poses the threat it once did. On WMD and missiles, our efforts to impede Libya's programs have had substantial success. That said, we must continue to watch Libya closely and will maintain pressure until all of these concerns are fully addressed. Our goal continues to be to deter Libyan policies of concern. An improved bilateral relationship is not, in itself, an end. We will oppose lifting UN sanctions against Libya until we are satisfied that Libya has met all the relevant UN Security Council requirements. The provisions of the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act regarding investment in Libya's petroleum sector will continue to be considered until, as the statute prescribes, the President has determined and certified to Congress that the UNSCR requirements have been met. Also until that time, we expect to maintain core unilateral economic sanctions prohibiting U.S.-Libyan business. *has done*

Again I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to appear in front of the Subcommittee on these important issues, and would welcome the opportunity to address any specific questions you might have.

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S/1999/726

30 June 1999

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SUBMITTED PURSUANT TO

PARAGRAPH 16 OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 883 (1993)
AND PARAGRAPH 8 OF RESOLUTION 1192 (1998)

>I. INTRODUCTION

1. On 27 August 1998, the Security Council adopted resolution 1192 (1998). In paragraph 8 of the resolution, the Council decided that the measures set forth in its resolutions 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) should be suspended immediately if the Secretary-General reported to the Council that the two Libyan nationals accused of the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 had arrived in the Netherlands for the purpose of trial before the Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands and that the Libyan Government had satisfied the the French judicial authorities with regard to the bombing of UTA flight 772.
2. In the same resolution, the Security Council reaffirmed the provisions of paragraph 16 of its resolution 883 (1993), in which the Council, *inter alia*, expressed its readiness, following the suspension of the measures, to review the measures with a view to lifting them immediately upon fully compliance by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with the requests and decisions in resolutions 731 (1992) and 748 (1992). The Secretary-General was requested, within 90 days of such suspension, to report to the Council on Libya's compliance with the remaining provisions of its resolutions 731 (1992) and 748 (1992).
3. In a letter dated 5 April 1999 (S/1999/378), I informed the Security Council that the requirements of paragraph 8 of Security Council resolution 1192 (1998) had been met. Upon receipt of my letter and in accordance with resolution 1192 (1998), the measures set forth in resolutions 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) were immediately suspended on 5 April 1999 at 1400 hours eastern standard time.
4. In the light of the foregoing, I submit, herewith, the present report pursuant to paragraph 16 of Security Council resolution 883 (1993) and paragraph 8 of resolution 1192 (1998) within the time period of 90 days defined by those resolutions.

II. INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE EVENTS OF 5 APRIL 1999

5. At the meeting of the Security Council held on 8 April 1999, the President of the Council made a statement on behalf of the Council (S/PRST/1999/10), welcoming my letter of 5 April 1999. The Council took note that the two persons accused of the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 had arrived in the Netherlands for the purpose of trial before the court described in paragraph 2 of resolution 1192 (1998) and that, with regard to the bombing of UTA flight 772, the French authorities had informed me that I might indicate, in reporting to the Council, that the conditions set forth in resolution 1192 (1998) had

been met, without prejudice to the other requests concerning the bombing of Pan Am flight 103.

6. The Security Council also expressed deep appreciation to me, the Governments of the Republic of South Africa and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and other countries for their commitment towards reaching a satisfactory conclusion relating to the matter of Pan Am flight 103. The Council further noted the role played by the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in this regard.

7. The Security Council noted that, with my letter of 5 April 1999, the conditions set forth in paragraph 8 of resolution 1192 (1998) for the immediate suspension of the measures set forth in resolutions 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) had been fulfilled. The Council recalled that, in accordance with resolution 1192 (1998), the measures set forth in resolutions 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) had been immediately suspended upon receipt of my letter on 5 April 1999 at 1400 hours eastern standard time. The Council also noted that this development had been immediately acknowledged by the Council through a statement of the President of the Security Council to the press on the same day following consultations of the whole (press release SC/6662).

8. The Presidency of the European Union issued a statement on 5 April 1999 (S/1999/407, annex) welcoming the handover of the two persons accused, thus "bringing about the suspension of United Nations and European Union Lockerbie-related sanctions against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya". The European Union expressed its conviction that the arrangements made for the Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands would guarantee a fair trial for the accused. It stressed that full compliance with the stipulations of all relevant Security Council resolutions would enable the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to regain its position as a full member of the international community in the near future. The European Union felt that the suspension and, in due course, the lifting of the sanctions against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya would open up new perspectives for the social and economic development of the country.

9. On 8 April, Tunisia, on behalf of the States members of the Council of the League of Arab States, welcomed the press statement of the President of the Security Council announcing the suspension of the "coercive measures imposed on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, following the substantive and practical measures taken by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to settle the dispute peacefully" (S/1999/397). The States members emphasized that it was important for the Security Council to adopt a resolution confirming the suspension as well as the need to lift "as soon as possible" the measures imposed on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, "within not more than 90 days". They invited the Security Council to call on all States that have taken measures and decisions in implementation of resolutions 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) to announce their suspension.

10. On 13 April, Uganda, on behalf of the Group of African States at the United Nations, took note of the fact that the Security Council had promptly and unanimously responded to the Libyan handover of the two accused by suspending all the measures imposed against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Group felt that the suspension should have been effected through a formal resolution of the Security Council in order to "put the matter on a sound legal basis", and requested the Security Council to consider the adoption of a resolution for the complete lifting of the sanctions imposed against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya as a matter of urgency, taking into account that it had fully cooperated and fulfilled all the requirements of resolutions 731 (1992), 748 (1992), 883 (1993) and 1192 (1998). The Group was of the view that, since the legal process was before the Scottish court, as agreed upon by all the parties concerned, "the politicization of this legal dispute in whatever form or manner and by any one is not acceptable. The matter is sub judice and all parties should abide by the decisions of the Scottish Court sitting in the Netherlands".

11. In a letter dated 20 April 1999 addressed to me, the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the

United Nations, in his capacity as the Chairman of the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, informed me that the member States of the Movement had been following with utmost interest the latest developments of the Lockerbie question. They commended the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the flexibility and rationalism it had demonstrated in dealing with this question from the beginning of the dispute. The Movement expressed the view that "the suspension of the sanctions should have been effected through a formal resolution of the Security Council in order to put the matter on a sound legal basis". It also felt that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had "fully cooperated and fulfilled all the requirements of Security Council resolutions 731 (1992), 748 (1992), 883 (1993) and 1192 (1998), including the requirements of resolution 731 (1992), to ensure that the Security Council adopts a resolution lifting completely the sanctions imposed against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya". The Movement also expressed the view that "since the legal process is before the Scottish Court, as agreed upon by all the parties concerned, the politicization of this legal dispute in whatever form or manner and by any one is not acceptable". The matter was "sub judice and all parties should abide by the decisions of the Scottish Court sitting in the Netherlands".

12. On 22 April, Qatar, on behalf of the Islamic Group at the United Nations, commended the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the flexibility and reasonableness with which it had tackled the Lockerbie issue since the dispute first began (S/1999/466). The Group expressed its view that, in addition to the press statement of 5 April 1999 and the presidential statement of 8 April 1999, the suspension of sanctions should also have been embodied in a resolution adopted by the Security Council so as to place the question in its correct legal framework. The Group requested the Council to speedily adopt a resolution definitively lifting the sanctions imposed on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya which "has cooperated fully, has discharged all of its obligations under Council resolutions 731 (1992), 748 (1992), 883 (1993) and 1192 (1998) and has responded to the requests to which reference is made in resolution 731 (1992)". The Group expressed its view that now, since the legal process had gone before the Scottish court as agreed by all the parties concerned, "the politicization, in any form and by any party whatever, of this legal dispute would be unacceptable and that, inasmuch as the matter is sub judice, all the parties must comply with whatever verdict is reached by the Scottish court convened in the Netherlands".

III. MEASURES SET FORTH IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

731 (1992) AND 748 (1992)

13. By paragraph 3 of its resolution 731 (1992), adopted on 21 January 1992, the Security Council urged the Libyan Government to provide immediately a full and effective response to the requests of France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America referred to in the last preambular paragraph of that resolution so as to contribute to the elimination of international terrorism. By paragraph 4 of the same resolution, the Council requested the Secretary-General to seek the cooperation of the Libyan Government to provide a full and effective response to those requests.

14. By paragraph 1 of its resolution 748 (1992), adopted on 31 March 1992, the Security Council reiterated that the Libyan Government must comply without any further delay with paragraph 3 of resolution 731 (1992) regarding the aforementioned requests contained in documents A/46/825-S/23306, A/46/827-S/23308 and A/46/828-S/23309. By paragraph 2 of the same resolution, the Council decided that the Libyan Government must commit itself definitively to cease all forms of terrorist action and all assistance to terrorist groups and that it must promptly, by concrete actions, demonstrate its renunciation of terrorism.

15. Document A/46/825-S/23306 contains requests made by France in connection with the judicial inquiry conducted on the attack on the UTA flight 772 that occurred on 19 September 1989 and resulted in 171 deaths. France demanded that the Libyan authorities cooperate immediately, effectively and by all means with French justice in order to help to establish responsibility for this terrorist act. Libya was called upon: (a) to produce all the material evidence in its possession and to facilitate access to all documents that might be useful for establishing the truth; (b) to facilitate the necessary contacts and meetings, inter alia, for the assembly of witnesses; and (c) to authorize the responsible Libyan officials to respond to any request made by the examining magistrate responsible for judicial information.

16. Document A/46/827-S/23308 contains requests made by the United Kingdom and the United States, in the form of a joint declaration, with regard to the bombing of Pan Am flight 103, which resulted in the loss of 270 lives. The British and United States Governments declared that the Government of Libya must: (a) surrender for trial all those charged with the crime and accept responsibility for the actions of Libyan officials; (b) disclose all it knows of this crime, including the names of all those responsible, and allow full access to all witnesses, documents and other material evidence, including all the remaining timers; and (c) pay appropriate compensation. Both Governments expected Libya to comply promptly and in full.

17. Document A/46/828-S/23309 contains a tripartite declaration of 27 November 1991 issued by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States following the investigation into the bombings of Pan Am flight 103 and UTA flight 772. In the declaration the three Governments reiterated their insistence that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya comply with their aforementioned requests and, in addition, demanded that it commit itself concretely and definitively to cease all forms of terrorist action and all assistance to terrorist groups. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was requested to promptly, by concrete actions, prove its renunciation of terrorism.

IV. COMPLIANCE WITH THE REMAINING PROVISIONS

A. Requirements emanating from document A/46/825-S/23306

18. It should be noted that, in the case of UTA flight 772, France did not demand the extradition of the suspects but preferred to try them in absentia and to seek action from the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya if they were found guilty. On 10 March 1999, a French court in Paris convicted, in absentia, Abdallah Senoussi, Abdesslam Issa Shibani, Abdesslam Hamouda, Abdallah Elazrag, Ibrahim Naeli and Musbah Arbas for the 1989 bombing of UTA flight 772. France has issued international arrest warrants for the six Libyan nationals convicted of the bombing. On 31 March the French court issued 17 decisions regarding payment of indemnities to the plaintiffs.

19. On 11 March 1999, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement expecting that the Libyan leadership would uphold the life sentences handed down against the six Libyan nationals in accordance with pledges made, notably in a letter by the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi to President Jacques Chirac dated 26 March 1996, namely to punish those found guilty and to compensate the victims. France had formally informed the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya of the verdict through diplomatic channels. On 12 April 1999, Libyan Prime Minister Mohammed al-Mangush confirmed that his country would respect its commitment to France.

20. With reference to the requests of France referred to in document A/46/825-S/23306, I already reported in my letter to the Security Council of 5 April that I had been informed by the French

authorities, through a letter dated 13 October 1998 from the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, that I might indicate that the conditions set forth in resolution 1192 (1998) had been met, without prejudice to the other requests concerning the bombing of Pan Am flight 103. In doing so, I also reported that, when the discussions were held in October and November 1998 between the United Nations Legal Counsel, Mr. Hans Corell, and a Libyan legal team, headed by Mr. Kamel Hassan Maghur, legal issues related to the implementation of Security Council resolution 1192 (1998) were resolved to the satisfaction of all those concerned, with the assistance, *inter alia*, of the Government of France.

21. With respect to the investigation of the bombing of UTA flight 772, I have subsequently been informed by the French authorities that the requests they had made in the documents referred to above have, on the whole, been satisfied. Furthermore, I have been informed that the French authorities expect that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will abide by the obligations that follow from the judgement handed down by the French court, all in accordance with the undertakings of the Libyan Government.

22. As the requirements referred to in document A/46/825-S/23306 have been met, it may be concluded that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has thus complied in this regard with the relevant requirements of Security Council resolutions 731 (1992) and 748 (1992).

B. Requirements emanating from documents A/46/827-S/23308

and A/46/828-S/23309

1. Cooperation with the Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands

23. With reference to the requests contained in document A/46/827-S/23308, I wish to recall that, as I reported to the Council in my letter dated 5 April 1999, upon arrival in the Netherlands of the two Libyan nationals accused in the bombing of Pan Am flight 103, as provided for in paragraph 7 of Security Council resolution 1192 (1998), they were detained by the Dutch authorities, pending their transfer for the purpose of trial before the Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands. Following the completion of the Dutch extradition procedures, they were handed over to Scottish justice officials at Camp Zeist, the seat of the Scottish court in the Netherlands.

24. Scottish procedures require that, at the initial stage of prosecution, an accused person, who is arrested, must be brought before the Sheriff for examination within 48 hours of that arrest. Therefore, on 6 April 1999, the two accused appeared before Sheriff Principal Graham Cox. When the two accused appeared on 14 April 1999 before Sheriff Cox for a second time, they were fully committed for trial, which, under Scottish law, was supposed to start within 110 days from 14 April 1999. However, on 7 June 1999, the Scottish court granted a request by defence lawyers of the two persons concerned to delay the trial for six months. A court statement indicated that "trial is scheduled to start on or before 4 February 2000".

25. Since the requests contained in document A/46/827-S/23308 relate to actions which could only be undertaken by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya during and following the conclusion of the trial of the two persons charged with the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 by the Scottish court sitting in the Netherlands, and the trial has been postponed, it appears that, under the circumstances, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya may only be expected to provide assurances of its commitment to comply with those requirements, particularly as it regards access to witnesses, relevant documents and other material evidence. It is worth

noting, in this regard, that paragraph 2 of resolution 1192 (1998) provides that all States shall cooperate to that end and that, in particular, the Libyan Government shall ensure that any evidence or witness in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are, upon the request of the court promptly made available at the court sitting in the Netherlands for the purpose of the trial.

26. For that reason, I am not in a position to provide any factual information on that country's compliance with the relevant requirements. However, I would like to point out that the Libyan authorities have, indeed, provided assurances that they will cooperate with the Scottish court. Such assurances, on behalf of the Libyan authorities, were given to the United Nations Legal Counsel, Mr. Hans Corell, by Mr. Kamel Hassan Maghur, the head of the Libyan legal team, during their discussions in October and November 1998. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya reconfirmed these assurances in a letter addressed to me by Mr. Omar Mustafa Muntasser, the Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, dated 19 March 1999 (S/1999/311). According to that letter, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya "undertakes to cooperate with the investigation and the proceedings within the limits permitted by the law and the legislation in force in the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya".

2. Payment of compensation

27. As to the requirement concerning the payment of compensation, it appears that since the Scottish court has not yet completed its proceedings, much less found the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya responsible for the bombing, it would be contrary to the purpose of resolution 1192 (1998) to anticipate that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya should be expected to accept responsibility and pay compensation now to the families of the Pan Am 103 victims before the trial is completed. At the same time, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has publicly stated on several occasions that it will comply with the conclusions of the Scottish court, whatever they may be, and if required will pay the necessary compensation. In the 19 March letter, Mr. Muntasser also emphasized that "the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya reaffirms what it stated previously with regard to compensation in the event that the suspects are found guilty and a final verdict is rendered to that effect".

28. With reference to such previous statements, I would like to bring to the attention of the Security Council the fact that, in a report of my predecessor submitted to the Security Council pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 731 (1992) (S/23672), the Council was informed that in the course of two meetings held between Under-Secretary-General Safronchuk with Colonel Qaddafi, the Libyan leader had pointed out that it was "premature to discuss the question of compensation, which can result only from a civil court decision. However, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will guarantee the payment of compensation awarded as a result of responsibility of its suspected citizens if they are unable to pay it themselves". The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya later pledged to officially undertake to pay appropriate compensation if its responsibility for the Pan Am 103 incident is established (S/23918).

3. Renunciation of terrorism

29. As noted above, paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 748 (1992) and the tripartite declaration circulated in document A/46/828-S/23309 request that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya commit itself definitively to cease all forms of terrorist action and all assistance to terrorist groups and that it must promptly, by concrete actions demonstrate its renunciation of terrorism. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

has stated, on numerous occasions, that it was opposed to terrorism in all its forms and condemned all terrorist acts. For the purpose of this report, I shall recall some of the statements by which the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has conveyed its position to the Security Council.

30. According to a letter of the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation, transmitted by the Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on 14 May 1992 (S/23918), his country accepted Security Council resolution 731 (1992), with a view to strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security and declared that it "definitively renounces all form of international terrorism of whatever origin". The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya pledged to sever relations with all groups and organizations involved in international terrorism of any kind and to affirm that there are no terrorist training camps or terrorist organizations or groups in its territory, invited a committee from the Security Council, the United Nations Secretariat or any appropriate United Nations body to investigate this matter at any time and, furthermore, pledged that it will not in any way permit its territory, its citizens or its institutions to be used directly or indirectly for the perpetration of terrorist acts. It was prepared to impose the severest penalties on anyone proved to be involved in such acts and promised to undertake to respect the national options of all States and to base its relations on mutual respect and non-intervention in internal affairs.

31. In another letter, dated 8 December 1992 (S/24961), the Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya stated that his country had severed its relations with all groups and organizations suspected of involvement in acts of terrorism and did not permit its territory, its nationals or its institutions to be used for the commission, directly or indirectly, of acts of terrorism and was prepared to impose the severest penalties on anyone proved to have been involved in such acts. It also declared that there were no camps in its territory for the training of terrorists. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had invited the Security Council or any international body it may appoint to verify that fact on the spot and had cooperated constructively with the Government of the United Kingdom, as attested by British officials themselves, with a view to tracing those elements and organizations accused by the United Kingdom of involvement in terrorist acts.

32. In a letter dated 26 July 1994 (S/1994/900), the Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation reaffirmed that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had declared, in numerous letters, its total renunciation of terrorism in all its forms and its condemnation of all acts of terrorism. Consequently, it had enacted specific measures, including the severance of contacts with all groups and factions involved in what was characterized as terrorist activities and the affirmation that there were no terrorist training camps or terrorist organizations in its territory, and had renewed its invitation to receive a technical mission to ascertain this matter, despite the absence, thus far, of any response to this objective and logical proposal. In demonstration of its good faith, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya fully cooperated with British authorities in enhancing their capacity to counter terrorist activities and had provided all the information in its possession that might have strengthened the capacity to counter and contain terrorism. Moreover, it had announced its complete readiness to cooperate with the French authorities investigating the bombing of UTA flight 772 and had pledged to provide all possible facilities to the French examining magistrate. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya informed the Council that contacts continued between the judicial authorities in the two countries with a view to reaching agreement on a programme to assist the French examining magistrate in completing his task.

33. At the 3864th meeting of the Security Council, held on 20 March 1998, the Secretary of the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya made a statement in which he pointed out that his country had "never supported terrorism but has assisted in the liberation struggle - and there is a big difference between the two" (S/PV.3864). He emphasized that his country declared its condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations in

several letters to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the President of the Security Council, such as those contained in documents S/23396, S/24209, S/24961 and S/1994/900. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had repeated this declaration at various levels of responsibility and, furthermore, had called for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to consider the question of terrorism (A/46/840). It had also announced its readiness to formulate an agreement, or bilateral or multilateral agreements, which would define the methods required to eradicate international terrorism and to enter into bilateral or multilateral talks to achieve this end (S/23672).

34. The Secretary of the General People's Committee pointed out that, in addition, his country had announced that it would never allow its territory, citizens or institutions to be used in any form to commit terrorist acts, directly or indirectly, and expressed its readiness to punish severely those proved to be involved in such acts (S/23417). He further declared that his country had no objection to inquiries inside the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya by the Secretary-General or one of his representatives in order to refute or confirm these claims, and that it committed itself to providing all facilities and information that the Secretary-General or his representative deemed necessary to uncover the truth (S/23672 and S/23417). He recalled that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had called on the Security Council and the Secretariat to send a committee, an envoy or envoys to ascertain the fact that it had nothing to do with terrorism (S/26500, S/26760, S/1996/73, S/1996/609, S/1997/378, S/1997/503, S/1997/518, S/1997/549, S/1997/857, S/1997/880).

35. In a statement issued on 20 November 1995 (S/1995/973), the Government of the United Kingdom confirmed that it had, on 31 October 1995, received the Libyan Government's answers to a fifth set of questions about its links with the Provisional Irish Republican Army. It was noted in the statement that there remained gaps and omissions in the information given by the Libyan Government. However, considering the Libyan disclosures in their entirety the British authorities were satisfied with them since they largely met their expectations. The British Government acknowledged that the Libyan readiness to answer its questions was a positive step towards the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular towards the renunciation of terrorism, a path, it was hoped, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will continue to follow. The United States Government has stated that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has not however taken similar steps with regard to its support for other terrorist organizations.

36. With respect to the requirements of resolution 748 (1992), I have also been informed by the Government of France that it considered recent acts by the Libyan authorities to be indicative of the Libyan Government's renunciation of terrorism.

V. FINAL OBSERVATIONS

37. The present report is based on a concrete mandate given to me by the Security Council, which is contained in resolutions 731 (1992), 748 (1992), 883 (1993), with their cross-reference to the requests of the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, as indicated in documents A/46/825-S/23306, A/46/827-S/23308 and A/46/828-S/23309, and resolution 1192 (1998). I am aware and recognizant of political and legal developments on a national level related to the bombing of UTA flight 772 and Pan Am flight 103 in the three countries concerned. However, this report does not provide a total and comprehensive view of all the events and developments related to the aforementioned tragic events but rather a specific and, thus, limited picture in line with the Security Council's mandate.

38. By its resolution 883 (1993), the Security Council requested me to report on compliance by the

Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with the remaining provisions of its resolutions 731 (1992) and 748 (1992). The findings of the present report, which are contained in section IV, speak for themselves and there is no need for me to summarize them once more in the final observations.

39. As I pointed out in my 5 April letter to the Security Council, the arrival of the two persons accused in the Netherlands for the purpose of trial by the Scottish court and the subsequent immediate suspension of measures set forth in Security Council resolutions 748 (1992) and 883 (1993) would not have been possible without the demonstration of goodwill by all the parties concerned and without their commitment to resolving all the issues related to the implementation of Security Council resolution 1192 (1998) in a satisfactory and mutually acceptable manner. I also expressed the hope that the spirit of cooperation now established will be maintained and that the start of the trial will mark the beginning of a process leading to the normalization of relations among all parties concerned for the benefit of the international community as a whole.

40. I am pleased to report that on 11 June 1999 I hosted a tripartite meeting between the Permanent Representatives of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the United Kingdom and the United States in order to assist the participants in clarifying the positions of their Governments regarding the requirements of the aforementioned Security Council resolutions for the lifting of measures imposed by the Council on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The participants exchanged views and ideas and agreed that there was need for a follow-up meeting. I hope that further contacts will help to develop a constructive dialogue between the parties concerned and will eventually lead to the normalization of relations among them.

[\[Back to Listing of the Secretary-General's Reports to the Security Council in 1999\]](#)

[\[Back to Listing of Security Council documents\]](#)

United States Senate
Office of the Democratic Leader
Washington, DC 20510-7020

'00 DEC 29 PM 1:20

December 22, 2000

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

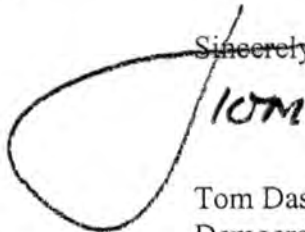
Dear Mr. President:

Edward R. Downe, Jr., has petitioned for a Presidential Pardon. I have known Ed Downe since the mid 1980's and write to encourage your serious review of his case.

I do not have any knowledge of his misdeeds and have never discussed them with him. I do know, however, that at sentencing the judge saw fit to give Mr. Downe probation and community service. His community service consisted of teaching a number of different courses at the Brooklyn Campus of Long Island University. And, although that community service was completed four years ago, he has continued to teach each fall and spring semester for which the only compensation is the gratification of helping young, primarily minority, students improve their lives.

Ed is a devoted family man, has two children and four grandchildren and is deeply remorseful for the blight he has cast upon himself and those he loves. Ed has had time to seriously reflect on his past. I believe that his request for a pardon is heartfelt and deserving of serious consideration

Sincerely,



Tom Daschle
Democratic Leader

TO COUNSEL

cc: LEG

AFFS

FOR

REPLY

W

1/2/01



1-2-01
To Cohen for
Reply

**NORTHERN CHEROKEE NATION
OF MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS**

578 E. 7 HWY. CLINTON, MO 64735

660-885-7779 FAX 660-885-4257

PRINCIPAL CHIEF CARL GREY OWL GRIGGS

December 27, 2000

Re: Northern Cherokee of MO & Ar.

To The Honorable President Clinton:

I am asking that you may grant our tribe federal recognition. We have 11,000 members. Opening a casino is not our major concern as I feel there are other businesses that would allow us to be self sufficient as much or maybe even more than a casino. I know some casinos are very successful, but not all.

Being federally recognized would make it easier for us to get help from private parties. It would make it easier for our people to go to school and get better educations and they would have the advantage of medical help if they qualify.

Right now we own 5 acres and have a trading post. It doesn't do great because we don't have the money to expand. We are not asking the government to take care of us. If we get federally recognized, we can get enough outside help to take care of our tribe.

The Oklahoma Cherokee have 200,000+ members. I have a good relationship with them, but that doesn't do us much good when it comes to education and health.

I am 76 years old Mr. President and I would give anything in the world if I could attain federal recognition for my people before my time is up. I am on my 2nd term now, and I will go on as long as I can.

I want to thank you in advance and may God bless you and your family.

Chief Carl Grey Owl Griggs



**NORTHERN CHEROKEE NATION
OF MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS**

578 E. 7 HWY. CLINTON, MO 64735

660-885-7779 FAX 660-885-4257

PRINCIPAL CHIEF CARL GREY OWL GRIGGS

December 27, 2000

Re: Steven Griggs

The Honorable President Clinton:

I am pleading with you from the bottom of my heart hoping that you will consider commuting our son, Steven's sentence. Steve has been incarcerated for 7 years because of a drug conviction. Steven realizes his mistake and has done nothing but study to improve himself and now has an Associates degree and is a Certified Paralegal plus many other awards and certificates for classes he has taken. He works in the law library at the Federal Transfer Center in Oklahoma City.

Steven has been married for about 20 years. He has a son, Steven Jr. who is attending Texas Christian University where he is a sophomore. His daughter Kim is in her 2nd year of high school. These two children are as close to perfect as a child could be. Steven Sr. calls them everyday and is a big part of their life and they would give anything for their Dad to be home with them. Kim says, "Grandma if my Dad gets to come home, I will be able to hug him any time I want." It breaks my heart. Steven says if I ever get out I will never do anything that would separate me from my kids again. He idolizes them. My husband and I are in our 70's and naturally we think of our age and our son still in there. If you can help us Mr. President, we will be grateful to you forever and I will guarantee you that our son will be one of the most law abiding persons there is. One thing that I want to say too is that our family thinks and I don't mind telling anyone who thinks differently that you are the greatest President that this country has ever had. I really do mean this.

I thank you in advance and I wait for your answer and pray that you will help us. You can check with the Transfer Center and I know they would give you nothing but good reports on Steve. Steve has never been in trouble since he has been incarcerated.

It is a terrible thing to be under such stress when you get old, but we will be until he comes home. Steven has a job with an Attorney in Dallas, Tx. As soon as he is released.

Thank you so much Mr. President

Chief Grey Owl Griggs
Steven Griggs

Barbara Hagler, Executive Secretary to
Dr. Robert Schuller
Crystal Cathedral Ministries
12141 Lewis Street
Garden Grove, CA 92840
714-971-4075

Carolyn

Records Mgmt was
checking on letters we
sent... I don't think
they have responded. *B*

nsmittal

12-01

To Cohen for
Reply ✓

11:03

Fax:

Date: December 29, 2000

Re: Robert H. Schuller

Pages: One

CC: None

☐ Urgent

☒ For Review

☐ Please Comment

☐ Please Reply

☐ Please Recycle

Betty:

I was wondering if you had heard anything regarding Dr. Schuller's letter of request to use the two letters he received from President Clinton in his upcoming autobiography.

I'm sending a copy of the request letter for your information.

If there is a specific office I could call to check on this, I'm happy to make that call.

Hope you had a wonderful Christmas!

Barbara

Barbara Hagler, Executive Secretary to
Dr. Robert Schuller
Crystal Cathedral Ministries
12141 Lewis Street
Garden Grove, CA 92840
714-971-4075

Barbara Hagler, Executive Secretary to
Dr. Robert Schuller
Crystal Cathedral Ministries
12141 Lewis Street
Garden Grove, CA 92840
714-971-4075

facsimile transmittal

1-2-01
To Cohen for
Reply

11:03

TO: Betty Curry Fax:

From: Barbara Hagler Date: December 29, 2000

Re: Robert H. Schuller Pages: One

CC: None

☐ Urgent ☒ For Review ☐ Please Comment ☐ Please Reply ☐ Please Recycle

Betty:

I was wondering if you had heard anything regarding Dr. Schuller's letter of request to use the two letters he received from President Clinton in his upcoming autobiography.

I'm sending a copy of the request letter for your information.

If there is a specific office I could call to check on this, I'm happy to make that call.

Hope you had a wonderful Christmas!

Barbara



ROBERT SCHULLER

December 11, 2000

Dear Mr. President:

Of the many letters I have received in my lifetime, two, which in my mind have great significance, have come from you. Because these letters are of such significance to me, I am seeking your permission to use the letters in my autobiography, which I am currently working on.

As always, there is a time consideration, and I would appreciate receiving your comments as soon as possible. Thank you for taking time from your extremely busy time to consider this request.

May your holiday season be filled with blessings and the upcoming transition filled with peace.

With respect and esteem,

Original signed by

Robert H. Schuller

President Bill Clinton
The White House
East Wing, Room 214
Washington, DC 20500

RHS/bae

AVATAR FOUNDATION

DECEMBER 29, 2000

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

RE: OFAC LICENSE APPLICATION NO.CU-186474

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

IN JULY OF THIS YEAR I SUBMITTED AN APPLICATION FOR A TREASURY LICENSE TO ORGANIZE A US FOOD TRADE SHOW IN CUBA IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE USDA/FAS. THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT DENIED THE LICENSE BASED ON THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECOMMENDATION THAT IT WAS NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH US FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS CUBA.

I DISAGREED WITH THE DECISION BASED ON THE FACT THAT A US HEALTH TRADE SHOW WAS HELD IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR AND THAT A US FOOD TRADE SHOW WOULD ENHANCE PEOPLE TO PEOPLE CONTACT WHICH IS ONE OF THE ADMINISTRATIONS PRIORITIES AS WELL AS PROMOTING US FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND SALES.

THIS TRADE SHOW WAS ENDORSED BY USDA SECRETARY GLICKMAN AND THE USDA/FAS WILL BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE PROJECT. I'M ATTACHING A LETTER TO THAT EFFECT. THE TRADE SHOW IS PLANNED FOR JUNE 26-29,2001 IN HAVANA, CUBA

AS A CUBAN-AMERICAN WHO CAME TO THIS WONDERFUL COUNTRY THROUGH OPERATION PETER PAN IN 1961, I HAVE BEEN IN A FOOD AND MEDICINE DONATION PROGRAM IN CUBA FOR THE PAST 3 YEARS. I REALIZED THROUGH MY TRIPS THAT YOUR POLICY TOWARDS CUBA HAS BEEN EXCELLENT. THE MORE PEOPLE TO PEOPLE CONTACT BETWEEN AMERICANS AND THE PEOPLE OF CUBA THE BETTER PERCEPTION THEY WILL HAVE OF US AND THE US AND THEREFORE ERASE THE NEGATIVE IMAGE THEY HAVE IMBEDDED IN THEIR MINDS ABOUT THE US AND AMERICANS.

THIS EVENT WILL BE VERY POSITIVE FOR THE US AND AMERICANS IN THAT THEY WILL COME IN CONTACT IN A BUSINESS AS WELL AS A PERSONAL SETTING.

AVATAR FOUNDATION IS A HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATION THAT PROVIDES FOOD AND MEDICAL AID TO CUBA AND PROMOTES FREE ENTERPRISE.

EVEN THOUGH YOUR TIME IS LIMITED, I HOPE YOU WILL CONTACT THE OFAC OFFICE AND MR. STEVEN PINTER AT 202-622-1621 TO EXPEDITE THE APPROVAL OF THIS LICENSE.

525 NW 27TH AVE, MIAMI, FLA.33125 TEL:305-220-5356 FAX:305-220-7735
E-MAIL:AVATAL@BELLSOUTH.NET

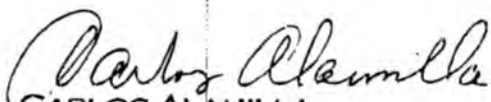
01 JAN 2 PM 12:43

1-2-01
To Cohen, for
Reply

[Handwritten signature]

AVATAR FOUNDATION

I WISH YOU THE BEST IN YOUR FUTURE ENDEAVORS AND I CONSIDER YOU AN
EXCELLENT PRESIDENT OF THE GREATEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.


CARLOS ALAMILLA
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



United States
Department of
Agriculture

Farm and Foreign
Agricultural
Services

Foreign
Agricultural
Service

1400 Independence
Ave, SW
Stop 1052
Washington, DC
20250-1052

Mr. Carlos Alamilla
President
Avatar Ltd Corp.
525 NW 27th Ave Suite 205
Miami, Florida 33125

Dear Mr. Alamilla,

As you know, this office was very pleased to receive from Secretary Glickman the approval of our request to partner with your organization in recruiting exhibitors for your proposed U.S. food trade show this December in Havana. The Secretary made two points in his reply: One is that such a show is in the interests of the United States and we are committed to supporting this opportunity. The second is that the U.S. presence must have the full approval of all relevant Government entities.

We are aware that with the show date approaching, we must move quickly on a number of fronts. We are also hopeful that you are able to obtain the needed approvals expeditiously so that this exciting initiative will have the maximum possible success.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Dan Berman".

Daniel K. Berman
Director
Agricultural Export Services
Foreign Agriculture Service, USDA

Nov-28-2000 10:26am From:MARRIOTT BUSINESS CT

+3053750597

T-872 P.002/002 F-315

Kay M. McClanahanIICA - Apartado 55-2200
Coronado, Costa RicaThe President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

November 28, 2000

Dear Mr. President:

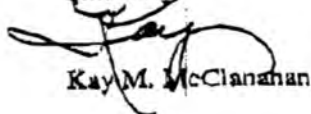
First, I want to say congratulations to your whole family for Hillary's exciting success. Everywhere I go people are thrilled that she will be in the Senate - not just for New York's sake, but for the good of the country.

Second, I wanted to call to your attention a project that has been proposed for a Food and Beverage Trade Show in Cuba. Secretary Glickman and the Foreign Agricultural Service positively and enthusiastically received the idea. Soon thereafter, you signed into law the new legislation that allows food sales (under certain conditions) to Cuba. The original proposal was submitted by Carlos Alamilla of Miami - a Cuban refugee at age nine who came to the U.S. on one of the Peter Pan flights of the '60s. He has been in the food export business for many years and has recently organized a number of charitable flights of food and medicine for Cuba. Mr. Alamilla also coordinated a Pharmaceutical Fair in Cuba last January that was very successful.

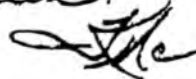
In spite of the fact that a fair to promote U.S. food products in Cuba would appear to be in keeping with the policies of the Clinton Administration, progress on carrying out the event has been stalled at Treasury. The persons responsible for making the decision on whether to approve the Food Show are Clara David and Steven Pinter in the Office of Foreign Assets Control at the Department of Treasury (202-622-1621). The License Application number is FAC#CU-186474.

Please let me know if there is anything I can do to help expedite this process. I am currently in Miami working on a World Trade Center Hemispheric Project with USDA (and helping out in Dade County whenever I can).

Sincerely,


Kay M. McClanahan

P.S. The name of Mr. Alamilla's organization
is AVATAR Foundation.



AVATAR FOUNDATION

FAX LETTER

TO: WILLIAM CLINTON
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

FAX: 202-456-6703

DATE: DECEMBER 29, 2000



01/23/41

800 Marshall St., Little Rock, Arkansas 72202-3591, (501) 320-1400

Jonathan Bates, M.D.
Chief Executive Officer

800 Marshall Street, Little Rock, Arkansas 72202-3591



Turn staff secret

Dear Ms. Hemreidi:

Ship Rutherford suggested I send
this request to you and ask you to
please pass it along to the President.
A copy of the entire package is enclosed
for your use and we have also
sent a copy to Mr. Bruce Lindsey.

If you have any questions,
please call me at 501 607 1116
anytime.

Thank you very much!

Jim Bates

1/2/11

Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Agency Liaison
person
Ced



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WASHINGTON

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WASHINGTON

ROUTING SLIP

DATE: January 3, 2001

1-2-01

~~THE~~ PRESIDENT

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SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

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Action ☐

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~~only / a Riv~~
~~Burke~~
~~COS~~

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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DATE: January 3, 2001

1-2-01

~~THE PRESIDENT~~

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SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

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FOR YOUR INFORMATION

only / a Rind
Durham

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: January 3, 2001

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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~~THE PRESIDENT~~

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ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

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FOR YOUR INFORMATION

*only / a Reid
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Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

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TO:

~~THE PRESIDENT~~

FROM:

SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: ~~Summary~~ FOR YOUR INFORMATION

To Henry / a Rine
Dinner

PARTISAN CONVERSATION

Senator John Ashcroft



Missouri's Champion of States' Rights and Traditional Southern Values.

John Ashcroft has made a career of public service in Missouri. After serving as Auditor (1973-75), Assistant Attorney General (1975-76), Attorney General (1976-84), and Governor (1984-1992), he was elected to the U.S.

Senate in 1994. In his short time in Washington, Senator Ashcroft has already become known as a champion of states' rights and traditional values. He is also a jealous defender of national sovereignty against the New World Order. His bold leader-

ship on these issues and others makes this Border State senator a natural for the pages of Southern Partisan. Senator Ashcroft serves on three committees: Commerce, Foreign Relations, and Labor & Human Resources.

Southern Partisan: Senator, our subscribers followed the rise and fall of the McCain tobacco bill very closely. The legislation was quite shocking in that it was even proposed, then so many Northern Republicans jumped on-board with it. For those of our subscribers who don't know anything about the tobacco legislation, what exactly happened there?

Senator Ashcroft: The bill turned into a massive taxing and spending bill. It was a way to extend government substantially under the guise of a program to curtail smoking among teenagers. However, it didn't do anything to place any responsibility on teenagers. The bill would have increased taxes, in my judgment, by a minimum of \$868 billion, and it would have created, according to the bill itself, about 17 new boards, commissions and agencies. I was the only person to stand up and vote against that bill in the Commerce Committee. (I guess so many people thought that it was a lead pipe cinch, that the American people would join with the President and his rhetoric rather than look at the reality of the bill.) But, when we began to expose the nature and extent of governmental extension in the bill, the first thing the proponents of the bill did was to take some of the labeling out of the bill so that the new boards and commissions would have a function. They were de-labeled and tucked into existing Departments so that the extension of government became a stealth extension.

This bill was going to be rushed through prior to the Memorial Day recess after an hour of debate. That's when I decided I would have extended debate! I don't know how much you remember, but earlier in the Memorial Day week, I spent four hours debating the bill without yielding the floor and signaled my willingness to do so for an extended period of time. When they realized they were not going to be able to carry this through at the high velocity they wanted (you know, velocity is the enemy of reason) they fell back.

Tucked into this bill were just incredible things, like the \$350 million a year to be spent subsidizing overseas studies about the cost of smoking in

other cultures. I mean, \$350 million a year! That averages \$7 million a state. This was flying under a masthead of teen smoking, but it turned out to be everything from big government to internationalism, all financed under a tax on cigarette companies. But it wasn't a tax on the cigarette companies at all. 59.4% of the taxes would have been paid by people earning less than \$30,000 a year. So what you'd have is a massive tax for an extensive extension of government, and when the American people found out what it was, my colleagues decided that they could afford to join me in opposing it.

Southern Partisan: So many of us remember Ronald Reagan and his campaign against big government, but we can't assume that every Republican is against a more powerful Washington. Still, I'm surprised that so many Republicans fell for this one.

Senator Ashcroft: Well, you know, I'll have to tell you, when the President lines up on something, when he's the power behind something, so many of our guys run to the pole, lower the flag and basically do what he thinks. Frankly, we need to be looking at the substance of things to see if there is something there worth fighting for. If there is, then we ought to take the President on.

Southern Partisan: Another issue to do with the President is this idea of an International Criminal Court. You've again been one of the few that has been willing to stand up against that.

Senator Ashcroft: It's an outrage! It has the potential of subjecting Americans citizens... (at least for their actions abroad and maybe for their actions at home) to vague criminal charges that would spring from so-called "crimes against humanity."

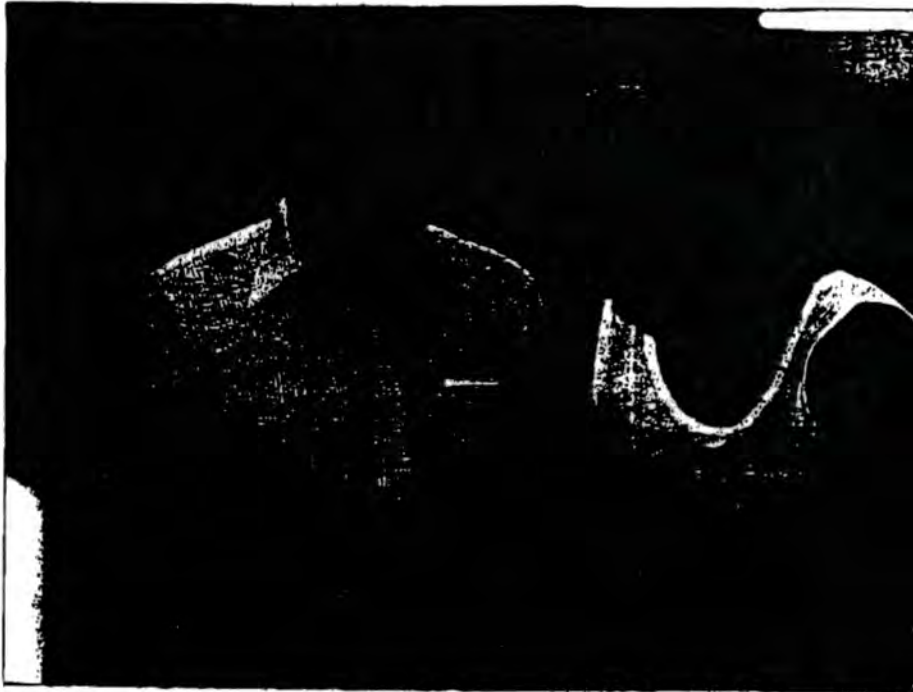


Some of the things they're listing as crimes against humanity are "enforced pregnancies." There are lots of people who wonder if the culture would decide not to make abortion available, would that mean that they were "enforcing a pregnancy"? For heaven's sake, that would make *withholding* of an abortion a crime against humanity when many Americans believe that providing an abortion is a crime against humanity. This is a part of this administration's effort at international government, and in order to govern internationally, they have to sacrifice sovereignty at every turn.

You mentioned Ronald Reagan. Let me just run something by you. Ronald Reagan had a profound impact in terms of the way the world operates. But it wasn't because he would sacrifice sovereignty. Ronald Reagan did not see himself as a governor of the world, he saw himself as a leader of the world. Instead of sacrificing to some coalition or committee bits of U.S. sovereignty as a way of influencing the course of world events, he would strengthen the position of the United States and lead the world to his point of view. That's a profound difference.

Southern Partisan: On the local and national front, we have another effort at twisting meanings and twisting history. It's this idea of national history standards...

Senator Ashcroft: Revisionism is a threat to the respect that Americans have for their freedoms and liberty that was at the core of those who founded



this country, and when we see George Washington, the founder of our country, called a racist, that is just total revisionist nonsense, a diatribe against the values of America. Have you read Thomas West's book *Vindicating the Founders*?

Southern Partisan: I've met Professor West, and I read one of his earlier books, but not that one.

Senator Ashcroft: I wish I had another copy: I'd send it to you. I gave it away to a newspaper editor. West virtually disassembles all of these malicious attacks the revisionists have

brought against our founders. Your magazine also helps set the record straight. You've got a heritage of doing that, of defending Southern patriots like Lee, Jackson and Davis. Traditionalists must do more. I've got to do more. We've all got to stand up and speak in this respect, or else we'll be taught that these people were giving their lives, subscribing their sacred fortunes and their honor to some perverted agenda.

Southern Partisan: A young lady in North Carolina was recently was

sent home from school because she had a Confederate flag on her knapsack. What do you think about those kinds of incidents?

Senator Ashcroft: Well, you know, I was down in Texas the other day, and someone asked, "Where was Missouri in the Civil War?" I said, "Frankly, it was in Texas." After Fort Sumter, the legislature seceded, and they were run out when the federal troops came in and they set up a government in exile down in Texas.

The right of individuals to respect our history is a right that the politically correct crowd wants to eliminate, and this is just not acceptable. Take those history standards: the standards make no mention of Lee's military genius! I guess there's too much space devoted to Madonna.

Southern Partisan: As Southerners we worry a lot about states' rights because we have been fighting for these rights for a long time; since the founding of this country. Do you think states' rights is dead? Is there any hope for restoring a true federal system?

Senator Ashcroft: A few years ago, when they celebrated the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights, they asked me to be one of the guys who wrote the Tenth Amendment portion. The Tenth Amendment was on life support systems then, there's no question about that. But I think we're on the road back. Maybe this is just an old patriot's desire to see a glimmer of hope in the embers and ashes of a situation, but during my time as governor, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision called *Gregory vs. Ashcroft*. That was one of the first Tenth Amendment cases that expressed a hint that there was still life to be had. Justice O'Connor wrote, "In the tension between federal and state power lies the promise of liberty." Those are profound words. If we lay to rest the states' powers, there's no place, according to Justice O'Connor, for liberty to reside. God help us if we no longer have a place for liberty!

That really was a fight that I waged against federal authority as governor, because our law said that I could

retire judges when they hit 70. They appealed and said no, under federal age discrimination laws they had the right to stay *ad infinitum*. I said, "I'm the Governor here. I'm appointing your replacement." So we went all the way to the United States Supreme Court to defend that. The Supreme Court said the State of Missouri had the right to legislate in that area and that those judges were history. When the Court said those judges were history, it basically said the Tenth Amendment wasn't history.

We come to *U.S. vs. New York* and now the Lopez decision. All I'm saying is that these indicate there is still some fire left in states' rights. I'm not saying we've arrived, but from my perspective, I agree with Justice O'Connor: "in the tension between federal and state power lies the promise of liberty." I believe that the Tenth Amendment, which was the capstone of our Bill of Rights, does appropriately reserve powers to the states, and it is time for Washington, D.C. to rediscover this founding principle, especially given the fact that the courts have made something of a discovery of it.

I have to say this: I have been as critical of the courts as any other individual, probably more than any other individual in the Senate. I have stopped judges and I have argued against liberal expansionism and I will continue to do so, but there are a couple of areas where the courts have regarded the Constitution with respect, and I haven't seen the Congress do it. Frankly, the court is signaling it's time for us to recognize as a federal government, (and that would include the Congress), that there are rights, not only inherent in, but protected by, the Tenth Amendment to the states.

Secondly, in the most recent affirmative action case (the *Aderand* case in Colorado) the Court has indicated that quotas and preferences are not consistent with the Constitution. What disappoints me is that the Senate, even after that had been done in the United States Supreme Court, continues to pass into law the same quota and preference system that was struck down in the *Aderand* case.



Southern Partisan: That's great. I did not realize that you'd been such a big part of fighting the states' rights fight.

Senator Ashcroft: Well, frankly, there aren't any big parts. There are just a lot of soldiers, and I happened to have been one of the soldiers at whom they fired a shot. Like Churchill said: "There's nothing quite as exhilarating as to be shot at and missed." They tried to take me out of appointing the judges of the State of Missouri on the basis of an interventionist federal age discrimination statute, and they missed on that. That put my name in the history books.

Southern Partisan: My last question has to do with education: it seems that whether you're a standard Old-Right conservative or a religious conservative, education issues continue to rise to the top. What do you see as far as education and particularly the danger of a power grab from Mr. Clinton and his allies on Capitol Hill? Does it look like we're going to be able to stem the tide against nationalization of education?

Senator Ashcroft: Well, you know my role in this. When they came along with the federalized testing system, I was the only person in the Senate to stand up and speak against it on the floor. I got 12 Senators to vote with me at the time, but since then we've fought back. The last time we took a vote on this, there were 52 votes and Jesse wasn't there, so it's safe to say that

there are 53 votes to deny any federal funding for the development, implementation, deployment, or field testing of a national testing system. If you control and specify the tests, you're going to control and specify the curriculum.

For me, education is far too important a thing to cede to faraway bureaucrats. Education happens best at the hands of those closest to those being educated. Moms and dads, school board members, teachers, and the local community are the best educators, and whenever we try to expropriate from them and endow bureaucracy here in Washington as replacements for moms and dads, school boards and local communities, we seriously damage the educational potential of America. We simply have to do everything we can to make it possible for people at a fundamental level of society (it's cultural base, it's families, communities, school districts) to make decisions which will result in far greater educational achievement. Being against federal intermeddling in education is perhaps one of the strongest things you can do in favor of student achievement in education.

Southern Partisan: Well Senator, we thank you so much.

Senator Ashcroft: I'll be seeing you! ☐



NAVIGATE

① CBS News | Eye on Politics

Ashcroft Controversy Brewing

*Bush's Pick For Top Cop Helped Linda Tripp, Paula Jones
Also Hailed Confederate War Heroes As 'Patriots'
But Advocates Say He'll Be Strong Enforcer Of Civil Rights Laws*

Dec. 27, 2000



AP

Sen. Ashcroft with President-elect Bush

As his soon-to-be former colleagues in the Senate prepare for confirmation hearings, the Missouri senator's conservative views are being scrutinized for what they may foreshadow of his views as attorney general.

Ashcroft has also advocated an increased role for charities while opposing federal money for drug treatment, saying government assistance shouldn't further the **"lowest and least"** conduct.

And a decade ago he refused to sign a presidential panel's report that concluded America was falling behind in efforts to bring equality to minorities, calling it too negative.

Democrats and critics have made clear they intend to make Ashcroft's civil rights record an issue.

On CBS News' *Face The Nation*, Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., said the Senate grants Cabinet picks **"a presumption of correctness,"** but there will be **"a lot of questions"** for Ashcroft.

Another Democratic senator, John Breaux of Louisiana, said that while Ashcroft **"is probably more conservative than over 95 percent of his fellow colleagues in the Senate, I think he still will be confirmed. I think he's a man of integrity."**

Ashcroft's record shows he vigorously sought to end abortions, advocated a larger role for charities, pushed amendments that would permanently alter the Constitution for various conservative causes and sent what critics say is a mixed message on race and poverty issues.

In a 1998 interview with *Southern Partisan* magazine, Ashcroft criticized efforts by some historians to portray early Americans, like slave-owning George Washington, as racist, calling them **"malicious attacks"** and **"revisionist nonsense."**

"Your magazine also helps set the record straight," Ashcroft told the two-decade-old periodical that has published articles defending Confederate soldiers and political figures, and once sold a T-shirt commemorating Abraham Lincoln with the phrase his assassin uttered, **"Thus always to tyrants."**

"You've got a heritage of ... defending Southern patriots like

Interactive



Follow the transition Bush takes over the from Bill Clinton.

In a 1998 interview *Southern Partisan* magazine, Ashcroft criticized efforts by some historians to portray early Americans, like slave-owning George Washington, as racist, calling them **"malicious attacks"** and **"revisionist nonsense."**

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(Gen. Robert E.) Lee, (Gen. Stonewall) Jackson and (Confederate President Jefferson) Davis," Ashcroft said in an interview. At the time, he was courting conservatives for a possible presidential candidacy.

"We've all got to stand up and speak in this respect or else we'll be taught that these people were giving their lives, subscribing their sacred fortunes and their honor to some perverted agenda," he added.

During the campaign last winter, Bush's campaign criticized John McCain for using a consultant who wrote for and helped edit *Southern Partisan*, calling the consultant's writings in the magazine **"offensive" and "out of line."**

But Juleanna Glover Weiss, a spokeswoman for Bush's transition, said Ashcroft's comments reflected that he **"believes in an exact reading on history."**

"He holds sacred the legacies of Jefferson, Washington and Martin Luther King," she said. **"Senator Ashcroft's favorite historical figure is Abraham Lincoln. He has been an avid student of history."**

She added, **"he will be an exceptionally strong enforcer of the civil rights laws as he has been a proponent in Missouri and throughout his career."**

As Missouri governor from 1985 to 1993, Ashcroft signed into law a state holiday honoring Martin Luther King Jr.; established musician Scott Joplin's house as Missouri's only historic site honoring a black person; created an award honoring black educator George Washington Carver; named a black woman to a state judgeship; and led a fight to save Lincoln University, which was founded by black soldiers.

And when he considered becoming Republican Party chairman in 1993, he urged Republicans to be **"tolerant"** and to avoid being **"mistakenly portrayed as petty, divisive and mean-spirited."**

But in 1989, when former President George Bush appointed Ashcroft to a federal commission to study the plight of minorities in America, he refused to sign the panel's final report.

That report concluded that the nation was slipping in its efforts to achieve equality for blacks, Hispanics and Indians and that many minorities were **"afflicted by the ills of poverty and deprivation."**

Ashcroft was one of only two people on the 40-member panel, which included former presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter and King's widow, Coretta, to refuse to endorse the findings.

Ashcroft's office said at the time that he believed the report's portrayal of minorities was too negative and that its **"generalizations about setbacks in progress are overly broad and counterproductive."**

A decade later, Ashcroft found himself under attack from black leaders after he helped scuttle a federal judgeship for Missouri Supreme Court Judge Ronnie White, the first black on the state's high court.

Ashcroft said he considered White to be soft on criminals, and noted he had supported 23 of the 26 nominations of black judges during his Senate tenure. But black leaders pledged to work against Ashcroft's re-election.

He again came under fire for accepting an honorary degree and giving the commencement speech at Bob Jones University, which once opposed interracial marriages and dating.

Ashcroft said he was unaware of the university's views when he gave the speech but declined to return the degree.

In February 1999 as he sat in judgment of President Clinton during the Senate impeachment trial, Ashcroft's political action committee

sold access to his fund-raising mailing list to Tripp, whose secret tape recordings of Monica Lewinsky prompted the investigation, so she could raise money for a legal defense fund.

Federal records show Ashcroft earlier rented the same list to Paula Jones, who had sued Mr. Clinton for sexual harassment.

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Questions for Ashcroft

Bush's choice for attorney general is lugging some heavy conservative baggage, and Congress should take a close look.

Commentary

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President-elect George W. Bush repeatedly promised during his campaign that he would govern from the political middle. But his nomination late last week of outgoing Sen. John Ashcroft as attorney general raises troubling questions about the sincerity of that promise.

If confirmed, as is likely, the Republican senator from Missouri will become the nation's highest law enforcement officer in January. His responsibilities will range widely, from civil rights and antitrust enforcement to oversight of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Drug Enforcement Administration. He probably will also have strong influence on Bush's judicial nominations. The job comes with enormous legal and political clout as well as a national bully pulpit.

The attorney general's post is one of two in the Cabinet that Bush's conservative backers consider "must-have," the secretary of Health and Human Services (yet unannounced) being the other. With Ashcroft's nomination, they scored a huge win.

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The 58-year-old politician is a devout Pentecostal Christian, as staunch an opponent of abortion and gun control as he is a supporter of the death penalty. He has a troubling record in the area of civil rights, and he's no conciliator. "Two things you find in the middle of the road," Ashcroft once said, are "a moderate and a dead skunk."

Such rigid views could present a real problem in the wake of a bruising presidential election, one that saw Bush barely win the electoral vote while losing the popular vote. Democrats, including Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-S.D.), have indicated they won't oppose their colleague in his quest for the attorney general's office, but they promise tough questioning during his confirmation hearings. Those questions should fully explore Ashcroft's views on the issues he will face once in office.

What are his views, for example, on enforcement of voting rights laws? The question is particularly pertinent given the problems spotlighted in Florida, where, it was alleged, aged and inaccurate voting machines were disproportionately found in poor, minority neighborhoods.

On abortion, how vigorously will Ashcroft enforce federal laws protecting clinic personnel and patients from violent protests?

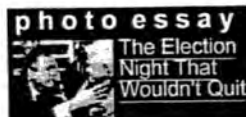
Ashcroft led a nasty, partisan charge last year against the confirmation of a prominent, moderate black jurist, Ronnie White, to the federal bench. White's stinging loss in the Senate--the first defeat for a federal judicial nominee in many years, following Ashcroft's absurd allegation that White was soft on crime--has rightly angered many civil rights groups and should trouble all Americans. Ashcroft, though he did not oppose other black nominees, should expect aggressive questioning on why he blocked White's nomination.

When introduced last week by Bush, the Missourian promised that as attorney general he will enforce all the nation's laws. In his Senate confirmation hearings Ashcroft must flesh out that vow on the record.

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This May Be a Pre-Mortem of the 2000 Campaign

Think Bush is going to win (a lot of people do)? A BBC documentary provides remarkable insight into Dubya's devilishly clever campaign against Al Gore

BY MARTIN LEWIS

If George W. Bush overcomes the revelations about his drunk-driving conviction and wins on Tuesday, you can thank — or blame — "Oppo."

That's the name for the backroom boys (and gals) who, by well-aimed research, managed to change Al Gore's image from that of wooden Boy Scout into untrustworthy liar — and may have cost him the election.

Of course, every presidential election season has its new tactics and campaign strategies — the Rapid Response teams run by James Carville that helped bring President Clinton to power is the most recent example — but the latest ways in which the electorate has been persuaded don't usually become apparent until magazines do election retrospectives or books are published.

But for those who pay attention to the men behind the proverbial curtain, Britain's BBC has unveiled something of a first: a glimpse deep inside the 2000 campaigns that has been seen before the election. Last week the British TV network premiered "Digging the Dirt," a documentary that exposes the rough-and-tumble tactics of both the Bush and Gore campaigns.

The film delves into many aspects of this year's battles. We see close-ups of how Bush decimated McCain by brutal push-poll phone calls and how Gore trounced Bradley by savage attacks on his health care proposals.

But the overwhelming message of the film is the insight it brings to the Republican version of Carville's War Room — the seething research room at RNC headquarters in D.C. where GOP head of research Barbara Comstock and her deputy, Tim Griffin, ply a rough trade.

The key ingredient of the 2000 elections is undoubtedly the enormous growth in the past four years of the people who do "oppo," the nickname for the opposition research departments in each campaign.

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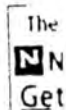
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That both sides maintain teams dedicated to unearthing material on the other is not new. What is new is the intensity of the digging, the sheer breadth and depth of the search, and, most of all, the now seamless and instant deployment of the results directly into the mass media.

In fact, the film reveals how much the media has come to depend on the "Oppo" research for material. Traditionally, newspaper journalists and TV producers have conducted independent research of charges made by a campaign. That has now dwindled, both due to news organizations being more and more stretched and because the media believes that the backfire effect on the campaigns would be far too devastating if the information provided were wrong.

In the film we see RNC glee as the Associated Press accepts their oppo research on a Gore misstatement during the first presidential debate. During their months of filming BBC producers also observed producers for NBC's Tim Russert, among others, calling to enquire if the team had any new material. This was apparently normal practice.

"It's an amazing thing," says RNC researcher Griffin in the film, "when you have top-line producers and reporters calling you and saying 'We trust you.... We need your stuff.'"

This increasing dependence on the zeal of the oppo teams has paid far richer dividends for Bush than for Gore. And for two reasons: First, the Bush/RNC team has been far more assiduous and painstaking in its work. And second, the fruits of its labors have been of considerably more value to its overall strategy.

For instance, one of the Gore/DNC campaign objectives has been to discredit Bush's Texas record, in much the same way that President Bush successfully trashed the Massachusetts Miracle that was Dukakis' intended trump card in 1988. The Gore campaign has achieved its task in pure terms — there is certainly an awareness that Texas isn't quite the Garden of Eden that Bush has been portraying. But at the same time they were also trying to convey the belief that Bush, as a one-and-half-term governor of a state where the chief executive has very little power, would therefore lack the hands-on experience necessary to run a nation. Highlighting the fact that the Texas legislature meets for only four months every two years makes the case well. But the corollary is that it has weakened the overall argument against Bush. It is difficult to make the case that the Texas governor can be held very accountable for failures if the gubernatorial power is so weak.

Meanwhile, the Bush campaign came up with a much more effective plan. It was apparent early on to the Bush team that the election could not be won on what are traditionally described as "the issues." As the polls continue to show, the majority of the issues favor Gore and the Democrats.

Instead, said the RNC tacticians, Bush had to

ensure that the election be about personality and likeability. But it also had to subtly be about Bill Clinton. So the primary remaining task has been to color Gore not just as less likable than Bush. There had to be a way of linking him to Bill Clinton so that Bush could run against Clinton.

Gore has done everything he can to dodge this tactic, principally the questionable tightrope act of declaring that he is "his own man" and in the process both distancing himself from Clinton and the eight-year boom that has accompanied his presidency. This left the Bush team with one key objective. To redefine the popular image of Al Gore.

If one looks back a couple of years, the prevailing conventional wisdom about Gore was not about lies, deceits, exaggerations and embellishments. It was how wooden he was. Robo-Veep. Gore even made fun of it, often making a self-deprecating quip that he was so boring that his Secret Service code name was Al Gore. Yes, there had been the Buddhist temple incident and the White House fund-raising phone calls, but those seemed to be viewed as technical breaches of obscure laws rather than examples of outright mendacity. His overall image was of a boringly earnest Boy Scout. His Rose Garden defense of a just-impeached Clinton, an act of understandable loyalty.

That was not enough to run against. With those clothes, Gore could run as a dull Clark Kent whose biggest sin would be his lumbering and pious integrity. The Bush team had to find a way to make this uncharismatic cipher take on the hue of Clinton. Gore's chameleon-like approach to the campaign played into their hands.

As Gore stumbled from alpha male to Prozac-ed debater — like an over-the-hill teen pop star searching for a comeback image — the Bush team decided on its plan. It would take all of Gore's perceived weaknesses and find a way to define them as all being part of the same character flaw. And the kicker would be that it was the same defect that the public had detected in Clinton.

The Bush team had a willing accomplice in this. Gore, like many politicians, has a long-identified habit of decorating his speeches with self-aggrandizing filigree. But it is usually dismissed by the public as being par for the course. The Bush campaign's intuition was that if this trait could be vulcanized as being the core of Gore rather than just one of the many traits — good or bad — then they were made.

How to do this? Simple. Establish a massive database of every utterance in Gore's 26 years in public service — and then pounce on any and every discrepancy like a bulldog lawyer seeking to discredit a witness. It wouldn't matter how tiny the variance. Any deviation could be characterized as an embellishment, an exaggeration, an untruth, a dishonesty. And then finally the word that would superglue Gore to Clinton. A lie.

And so, on the night of the first debate we see a pumped-up Tim Griffin barking orders to his large

team of "oppos." Jim Lehrer tosses Gore the question about him having cast doubt on whether Bush has sufficient experience to lead. Gore demurs and parses his response. Griffin leaps into loud action. Within minutes, his team have tracked down an obscure Gore quote buried within the transcript of a lengthy speech. Gotcha! "It directly contradicts what he just said in the debate! He just lied!" crows Griffin. Seconds later Griffin has fed the contradiction to the Associated Press. This is beyond post-debate spin. This is play-by-play impeachment. And incredibly effective.

Moments later the topic is the Balkans. Gore speaks of how World War I started there and says "my uncle was a victim of poison gas there." The RNC oppo staff giggles at this and Griffin bellows: "This family stuff is killing me... let's check his uncle!" There is a flurry of activity — and then palpable disappointment that Gore's uncle really was a gas victim. "OK, so that is not a lie..." Griffin grimaces, and phones the bad news to a waiting colleague: "Hey... we confirmed the uncle tear-gas story...."

But when Gore makes what turns out to be his misstatement about visiting Texas fire sites with FEMA director James Lee Witt, Griffin senses blood. "Have Jeanette take a look at that!" he cries. And his hunch is right. Gore has transposed dates or people. And that gives Griffin another opportunity.

The BBC cameras catch him on the phone exulting to a colleague: "You know what this would be perfect for is... Get one of these AP reporters or somebody on it for the next few days and then we get a lie out of it... and roll a few days with a new lie!"

And "LIE" was what they got. The New York Post trumpets "LIAR LIAR" on its front page — and the post-debate spin cycle becomes about Gore's perceived chronic character flaw. And so it has gone every week since the debates. The image is enshrined.

Did it matter that that Gore has in fact visited Texan fire sites (but with another FEMA executive)? Did it matter that he had made other visits to Texas with James Lee Witt? Were Gore's words a misstatement or a lie? What would have been the benefit in intentionally lying about such a trivial fact? Was it important either way?

To Griffin it didn't matter.

"Research is a fundamental point," he says. "We think of ourselves as the creators of the ammunition in a war. Research digs up the ammunition. We make the bullets."

The enduring legacy of the 1992 campaign was the large sign in Carville's War Room, bearing a phrase that subsequently entered the political lexicon. "It's the economy, stupid."

Behind Griffin in the RNC Oppo Room, the BBC camera captures a large sign he has erected. "On

my command — unleash hell on Al."

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MIAMI-DADE

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Published Thursday, December 28, 2000, in the Miami Herald

Blacks' votes were discarded at higher rates, analysis shows

BY ANDRES VIGLUCCI, GEOFF DOUGHERTY AND WILLIAM YARDLEY
aviglucci@herald.com

In nearly all of Florida's majority-black precincts, presidential ballots were invalidated at higher rates than in mostly white neighborhoods in the Nov. 7 election, a Herald analysis of the state's uncoun- ted ballots shows.

The analysis -- the first to examine precinct-by-precinct trends -- shows that the lopsided loss of black votes occurred throughout Florida and not just in widely publicized instances in Palm Beach and Duval counties.

The study found that poor and less-educated voters of all races were more likely than better-off voters to spoil their ballots. However, Florida's balloting problems affected blacks in greater measure.

The analysis also points to a potential solution: Discard rates for all groups, including blacks, were minimal in precincts where electronic machines scan fill-in-the-oval ballots and immediately alert voters to botched ballots so they can correct them.

Those precinct scanners are critically important, the analysis shows. The optical-scan systems in counties that lack the error-notification feature had discard rates that were higher than in punch-card counties, where the now infamous hanging chad caused so many problems.

THE FINDINGS

Florida's patchwork of punch-card machines and optical-scan systems clearly hurt some voters more than others on Election Day, the study found:

Ballots in majority-black precincts were discarded at a rate three times higher than those in non-black precincts. Nearly one in every 10 ballots in majority-black precincts went unrecorded. In majority-white precincts, the discard rate was less than one ballot in 38.

Eighty-two percent of Florida's 463 majority-black precincts had discard rates above the statewide average of about 3 percent. By contrast, 41 percent of majority-white precincts had higher-than-average discard rates.

Ballots in precincts with high poverty were discarded at a rate nearly double that of better-off precincts.

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Voters in precincts with lower educational attainment spoiled their ballots at a rate 1 1/2 times that of other precincts.

Some experts say the unequal effects on black voters could leave Florida's voting system open to challenges under the federal Voting Rights Act, which prohibits government practices that -- intentionally or not -- dilute minority voting.

The NAACP has said it is contemplating a Voting Rights lawsuit. Experts say such a suit might seek to force the state to mandate and help pay for a uniform, state-of-the-art system across Florida.

"Many African Americans are upset over what happened in Florida, and as your data points out, with some reason," said Louis Seidman, an expert on voting rights at Georgetown University Law School. "I wouldn't be at all surprised to see litigation along these lines."

SEVERAL FACTORS

The balloting disparities were magnified on Election Day by a surge in black turnout that brought to the polls tens of thousands of new or infrequent voters, who are more likely to make mistakes, said David Bositis, senior political analyst at the Washington, D.C.-based Joint Center for Political Studies, which studies issues of concern to minorities.

The problem was compounded by a ballot crowded with 10 presidential candidates, Bositis said, because such long lists make voter errors more likely.

Some local ballot designs led to even more errors, the analysis found: At least 14 counties broke up the presidential candidates into two columns or spread them over two ballot pages -- and had discard rates twice that of the other counties.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will hold a series of hearings in Florida early next year that will focus in part on how black voters fared under the state's voting systems.

The Herald analysis indicates they started off at a disadvantage. The study looked at precinct returns and demographic data for all but three of Florida's 67 counties.

For one thing, a higher proportion of black voters than white voters live in 24 counties that use error-prone punch-card machines. More than half of Florida's black voters are concentrated in five large urban counties, including Miami-Dade, Broward and Palm Beach, that use punch-card systems.

Conversely, blacks are slightly less likely than white voters to live in the 25 counties equipped with optical-scan readers that alert voters to errors -- the places that had the lowest discard rates in the state.

Those machines, which read fill-in-the-oval ballots at the precincts, are typically programmed to return the card if a voter marks more than one candidate in a race. In some places, the machines also return the ballot if they fail to register a vote in a race.

When these electronic readers are used in predominantly black areas, the discard rate drops to 3 percent, the analysis found. In contrast, the discard rate for blacks is 16 percent when they use scanning systems without the correction feature and 11 percent for punch-card machines.

DUVAL PROBLEMS

Nowhere was the trouble with punch cards more obvious than in Duval County in North Florida, where confusing instructions appear to have played a large role in the invalidation of 22,000 ballots for double-voting -- about 9,000 of them from majority-black precincts.

In fact, 19 of the 20 precincts with the highest spoilage rates in the state were heavily black neighborhoods in Duval, the analysis found. All had at least a fifth

of their ballots tossed out. Elections officials blamed first-time voters and "people who didn't follow directions."

Tiny Bradford County, a mostly rural place that is home to Florida State Prison in Starke, has a more-modern fill-in-the-oval system. But voters don't get a chance to correct errors because the ballots from its 20 precincts are read at a central location, not precincts.

In Bradford's Precinct 7, where two-thirds of voters are black, 88 ballots out of 464 cast were not counted. That is 19 percent of the total, a figure that Elections Supervisor Terry Vaughan said worries him.

"I don't want anyone to think there was any systematic way that any group was targeted. There is nothing sinister going on. But we need to figure out why this happened and come up with a solution," he said.

ERROR NOTIFICATION

Some counties have already hit on one.

In Brevard County's Precinct 98, where 95 percent of voters are black and two-thirds of school-age children are poor enough to qualify for free school lunches, the discard rate was only about two votes out of every 100. Scanners at all Brevard precincts return double-punched ballots to voters.

Brevard replaced its old punch-card system with the optical-scan machines about 18 months ago, said Gayle Graham, assistant supervisor of elections.

"Absolutely it's better. The voter isn't being disenfranchised if he makes a mistake," Graham said.

Some experts and many elections officials believe counties have an ethical obligation to make voting as simple as possible for voters, which may mean using systems like the scanners that alert voters to mistakes and lending extra assistance to those who need it.

"The fundamental problem is we have a history of discouraging people from voting and that history is very clear," said Henry Thomas, chair of the political science department at the University of North Florida in Jacksonville. "Casting a vote ought not be rocket science. Ordinary folks should be able to do it."

Yet only 1,720 of Florida's more than 5,885 precincts are equipped with the optical scanners that alert voters to mistakes, in part because they are relatively expensive.

"We don't have that luxury. We could not afford to go to that system," said Bradford County's Vaughan. Its optical system cost about \$35,000, but equipping all 20 precincts would have quadrupled the price, he said.

ERROR IS AN ERROR

In some cases, counties that have the mistake-proof equipment nonetheless don't believe in using it to help voters.

Okaloosa County, in the Panhandle, programs its precinct scanners to spit back fill-in-the-oval ballots only if they are completely blank.

On Election Day, Okaloosa's Precinct 12, where almost two-thirds of voters are black, had 35 uncounted ballots out of 364 cast. That's a discard rate of nearly 10 percent.

Elections Supervisor Pat Hollarn contends that giving voters a chance to redo an erroneous ballot would slow down voting too much. While acknowledging that the precinct has "probably the lowest educational levels" of the county, Hollarn said that voters, not elections officials, are responsible if they fail to follow directions.

"As simple as our system is, if people are functionally illiterate . . . Look, if the directions say fill in the oval, then you fill in the oval. What's so hard about that?"

If you screw it up, you screw it up. When you pander, low expectations make for low results."

Some critics contend that more than economics has influenced county decisions on what kind of equipment and services to offer voters.

'DISENFRANCHISEMENT'

Echoing others, Adora Obi Nweze, state president of the NAACP, alleged that on Election Day many minority precincts were understaffed, run by poorly trained workers and unprepared for the deluge of black voters, who did not get the assistance that may have helped prevent voting errors.

"It's consistent with the overall plan and the overall actions in this state and in this country to treat blacks as though we don't count," Nweze said. "All of it falls under one banner, the disenfranchisement of the black and minority voter."

To be sure, other factors besides voting systems played into whether voters' choices were recorded and tallied.

In Duval County, where so many problems occurred, elections officials distributed inaccurate sample ballots just before Election Day.

The sample listed all presidential candidates on one page and instructed voters to "Vote all pages." But at the polls, the official Election Day ballot instead listed presidential candidates on two pages and instructed voters to "Vote appropriate pages."

Critics say the conflicting directions led many voters to pick two presidential candidates. "A lot of people thought that if you didn't vote on every page that your ballot won't be counted," said Rodney Gregory, an attorney working with the Democratic Party in Duval.

In Gadsden County, the state's only majority-black county, the list of presidential candidates was broken into two columns on the optical-scan ballot -- and 1,900 voters, or 12 percent of the total, marked more than one choice for president. The county lacks the voter-alert system.

When the canvassing board did a manual recount, officials found many voters had marked all 10 candidates and then scrawled Gore's name in the box for write-ins.

DESIGN FLAW

Some majority-white precincts also experienced problems. In heavily agricultural Hendry County, where the presidential ballot also featured a broken-column design, nearly one of every five ballots went uncounted in Precinct 6, where 82 percent of voters are white non-Hispanics. The county has optical scanners but not the error-alert system.

The blue-collar precinct, on the outskirts of Clewiston, is home to many sugar-industry workers and also is poor enough that more than half the children in the local elementary school qualify for free lunches.

County Commissioner Bo Pelham, whose district includes the precinct, said that although 96 presidential ballots were invalidated for overvotes, there were far fewer or no overvotes in his race and several others. That led him to conclude that the crowded ballot was the source of the problem.

"They weren't expecting to see 10 candidates for president," Pelham said.

Exit polls suggest that many of those stumbling over their ballots in majority-black precincts may have been inexperienced voters. Thanks in part to an NAACP get-out-the-vote drive, black voters' share of the state vote rose from an estimated 10 percent in 1996 to about 15 percent this year.

NEW VOTERS

In Okaloosa County's mostly black Precinct 12, Election Day brought out many

new faces from the black community, said poll clerk Aljonia Porter, who lives in the neighborhood. And while she noted that the precinct is home to some elderly white voters who also may have made errors on their ballots, she said, "most of our problem was first-time voters or those who had not voted in a long time."

Some ballots registered as completely blank because voters had made their marks outside the borders of the ovals, Porter said. Those errors were caught. But the readers were not programmed to prevent other invalidating mistakes.

"I had one woman tell me on the way out that she colored in one oval and then wrote in the name of the candidate," Porter said. "That's an overvote. She was just making sure. But it didn't count."

Herald staff writer Brad Bennett contributed to this report.



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John Ashcroft's Rebel Yell

By Joshua Micah Marshall

Posted Tuesday, Dec. 26, 2000, at 10:13 a.m. PT



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Attorney General nominee John Ashcroft looks to be the latest GOP pol to catch grief for an ill-conceived visit to Bob Jones University. But shouldn't we cut the next top-cop some slack? After all it's not like he's off giving interviews to crypto-racist, pro-Confederate magazines, right?

Well ... ummm ... OK, maybe he is.

In October 1998 Ashcroft gave an interview to the *Southern Partisan* magazine in which he lashed out at "revisionists" who make malicious attacks on America's founders, such as charging that George Washington was a racist. (The Q & A's introduction praises Ashcroft as a "jealous defender of national sovereignty against the New World Order.") "Your magazine helps set the record straight," said Ashcroft. "You've got a heritage of doing that, of defending Southern patriots like [Robert E.] Lee, [Stonewall] Jackson and [Jefferson] Davis. Traditionalists must do more. I've got to do more. We've all got to stand up and speak in this respect or else we'll be taught that these people were giving their lives, subscribing their sacred fortunes and their honor to some perverted agenda."

Setting the record straight? Is Ashcroft talking about the 1984 *Southern Partisan* article that argued that "Negroes, Asians, and Orientals (is Japan the exception?); Hispanics, Latins, and Eastern Europeans; have no temperament for democracy, never had, and probably never will"? Or did he mean that 1996 *Southern Partisan* article that cleared up that whole mix-up about slave owners not doing well by slave families? "Slave owners ... did not have a practice of breaking up slave families," the article noted. "If anything they encouraged strong slave families to further the slaves' peace and happiness."

If you're not familiar with the finer points of Southern-fried, right-wing, Confederate-flag-waving political culture, the *Southern Partisan* is the leading publication of the Neo-Confederate movement, a movement which extols the Confederacy, Southern culture, and at least toys with the idea of the South again seceding from the union. Yes, they did once call David Duke "a candidate concerned about 'affirmative' discrimination, welfare proligacy [sic], the taxation holocaust ... a Populist spokesperson for a recapturing of the American ideal." But, hey, they go in for more than just politics. They publish articles on everything from the latest tips on how to re-enact Pickett's Charge to some of the sharper commentary on why Jews "agitate for the radical secularization of our society."

Of course, hob-knobbing with Neo-Confederate wing-nuts won't automatically sink Ashcroft's nomination. Trent Lott praised the white-man-*Uber-alles* organization Council of Conservative Citizens a few years back and he's still Senate Majority Leader. (Lott gave his own interview to the *Southern Partisan* back in 1984.) But before Ashcroft goes before the confirmation committee and starts quoting the *Southern Partisan* about how Negroes and Orientals have no temperament for democracy, someone in the Bush brain trust should intervene and tell him, "John, John, we don't talk that way anymore! It's disgraceful! We now say African-Americans and Asians!"

Photograph of John Ashcroft on the Slate Table of Contents by Larry Downing/Reuters.

Join The Fray  What did you think of this article?

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Reader Comments From The Fray:

Prediction: If this issue develops any traction, Ashcroft and the Southern Partisan's defenders will simply play the multiculturalism card. "Out" groups, they will point out, are entitled to "construct" their own "narratives" that are different from mainstream history. As the losers in the Civil War, and as continued butts of jokes in the mainstream media even when they're big-deal politicians (see Maureen Dowd's "pig trail, Arkansas" column in today's NYT), Southerners are an out group, and anyone not part of their group is not in a position to criticize their narrative. (And, of course, anyone *in* the group who criticizes the narrative is a traitor....)

This will be amusing for most ironists out there--to the extent that irony still has a meaning. Given the contributions of a whole generation of historians to the liberation of history from, say, talking about what actually happened, it's not clear that the irony will even register.

--A.G.Android

1-2-01

WEEKLY REPORTS
FOR THE WEEK ENDING
DECEMBER 29, 2000

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Tab D - copied Johnson, Podestq

1-2-01

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 30, 2000

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached are the following weekly reports:

- (A) **Update on Global Markets/Interest Rates and Stock Prices**
- (B) **Intergovernmental**
- (C) **Communications**
- (D) **Race Initiative**

Adam Rosman *AR*

00-3625-4270

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TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LORETTA UCELLI
SONYA HEBERT

RE: Communications Weekly Report

This week, through events and other message vehicles, we pushed out the message that you continue to lead the nation on issues important to the American people, including integrating America's courts with the recess appointment of Roger Gregory, eliminating America's debt by the end of the decade and providing all children with quality education and nutrition. This week in your weekly radio address, you announced new federal efforts to help Americans confront high energy costs resulting from recent severe winter weather.

On Thursday, you will participate in a White House event to celebrate your Administration's accomplishments in protecting women's health – specifically through your support for breast and cervical cancer research, prevention and treatment. Joined by women's and health groups, cancer survivors, Members of Congress and others, you will announce new guidance from HHS to states to implement the Breast and Cervical Cancer Prevention and Treatment Act of 2000. This legislation provides over \$990 million over 10 years to help thousands of low-income, uninsured women with breast or cervical cancer.

On Friday, at an event at the National Arboretum in Washington, D.C., you will announce the federal regulations to protect 58 million acres of “roadless” lands within America’s national forests – some of our nation’s last unprotected wildlands. Joined by environmentalists, conservationists and others, you will use this opportunity to highlight your Administration’s historic achievements in conserving America’s lands and environmental treasures. To ensure optimal coverage of this announcement, we are working with the Press Office on a communications strategy, including pitching regional validators such as leading environmentalists and elected officials and conducting regional conference calls with environmental reporters.

will announce findings
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Armed Forces Presidential Tribute

On Friday, in tribute to your service to the nation as Commander in Chief of the U.S. Military, you will be honored at the Armed Forces Review and Farewell Tribute – a traditional ceremony hosted by the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to pay tribute to the outgoing President and First Lady. In your remarks, you will highlight the important role the U.S. military has played in contributing to your Administration's foreign policy achievements, your commitment to preparing America's military for the new century and your gratitude to the U.S. Armed Services for serving their nation.

Radio Address

We are considering using next week's radio address to announce new enrollment numbers for the Children's Health Insurance Program. To date, over 3 million children across the nation have enrolled in CHIP. We will use this as a vehicle to convey your commitment to working on behalf of America's children to ensure that all children have access to quality health care.

Domestic Travel

We are working with the Scheduling Office, Political Affairs and others to plan your domestic travel for the week of January 8, including two events in Midwestern states on Tuesday and two events in the Northeast on Thursday. We are considering numerous cities in both these regions that serve as symbols of the progress and prosperity communities across the nation are enjoying as a result of your Administration's leadership.

Clinton?
Clinton?

Legacy Materials

We are working with OPL and the Press Office to distribute final legacy materials to editorial boards, regional press, columnists, key constituency groups and validators. These materials showcase the incredible transformation of America and the world during the last eight years as a result of the Clinton/Gore Administration.

Clinton
Clinton

1-2-01
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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DECEMBER 29, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: BEN JOHNSON

SUBJECT: OFFICE ON THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE FOR ONE AMERICA
WEEKLY REPORT

ACTIONS

Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe--Rev. Wendell Anthony has called me several times concerning federal recognition of the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe of Massachusetts. These American Indians are the descendants of the tribe that befriended the Pilgrims and celebrated the first Thanksgiving in 1621. This tribe has pressed this issue for a long time, but a promise of federal recognition has never been kept. Rev. Anthony asked me to forward a letter to you, which I have attached to this report, concerning the status of the tribe.

*IT
seems to
be a matter
of time in pass*

OUTREACH

Fourth Circuit Appointment--Your recess appointment of Roger Gregory for the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals has been widely acclaimed across the country. I faxed your remarks to influential lawyers in the National Bar Association and prominent civil rights leaders, including the Black Leadership Forum. Many black leaders continued to be impressed by your courage in advancing racial progress. During the briefing, you asked aloud about making additional recess judicial appointments. I, for one, believe you should recess appoint all of your judicial nominees who are pending before the Senate. Given how the Senate has blocked your judicial nominees for some time, I believe that it is only fair to take this action.

American Indian Outreach--We also faxed your statement on the Omnibus Indian Advancement Act to 575 tribal leaders across the country. We sent the act as an example of how, even in the waning days of your administration, you continue to address issues that concern the American Indian community.

CABINET AFFAIRS RACE INITIATIVE WEEKLY REPORT

Cabinet Affairs did not prepare a Race Initiative report this week.

Detroit Branch . . . **NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**



REVEREND WENDELL ANTHONY
President

HEASTER L. WHEELER
Executive Director

December 27, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton, President
United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I write you in behalf of the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe of Massachusetts. As you know, this particular tribe has over the last 400 years been attempting to be recognized, respected, and established in the full mainstream of the American soul and our national conscience. Many of us are quite aware that there is very little doubt that the early arrivals known as the Pilgrims who celebrated their first Thanksgiving in 1621, would never have survived were it not for the spirit and humanity of the Wampanoag Indians. It is because of their great history of being both a charitable and historic body of Native Americans that are a part of the very fabric of our nation, that I write to ask that you might recognize this tribe. I would ask that you would by Executive Order, extend every right and privilege that is due to them symbolizing America's commitment to the descendants of those who blazed a trail for all of us.

The Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe has been written about and discussed in many areas of our nation. They have been the subject of commentaries and news stories for many years. Yet, we believe that through your commitment and as a lasting legacy of your good will to bring "One America in the 21st Century," that this will add to that great cause. The significance of your recognition will add a great deal to the lives and self-appreciation of the children and the elders of this historic tribe. On behalf of the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe, I write this letter in hopes that you will give every consideration recognizing these Native Americans after so many years of hoping and waiting for federal recognition to occur. Thank you very much for your consideration of this matter. God's blessings upon you as you enter into a new phase of your life to serve our nation and world.

Yours for our nation,

Reverend Wendell Anthony

WA:aas

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date 1/3/01

To: SPERLING

From: The Staff Secretary

ANY COMMENT BEFORE
THIS GOES TO POTUS.



Jan 1

GOVERNOR GRAY DAVIS

Mr President,

Thank you very much
for meeting with me last
week. I truly appreciate
your all in help in
keeping the lights on in
California.

Mr President, as I said
in our meeting, there is
no substitute for a price
cap. Best wishes to the
both of you for a Happy
New Year. Gray

STATE CAPITOL • SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA 95814 • (916) 445-2841



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1/3/01

To: SPERLING

From: The Staff Secretary

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STATE CAPITOL • SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA 95814 • (916) 445-2841



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1-3-2001

To: Amy Mall

From: The Staff Secretary

Please call Adam Rosman, extension
62702, as soon as you receive
this document. Thank you.

Stack 1/1r
8/12/15

Cleared
by
NEC
12/24/00

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Charles R. Stack
High, Stack, Palahach & Cruanes
Suite 1108
2655 LeJeune Road
Coral Gables, Florida 33134

Dear Bud:

Thanks so much for your recent letter.
I appreciate your getting in touch with
me about arranging a meeting, and I want
you to know that a member of my National
Economic Council will contact you to
discuss your proposal.

I always value your
you took the time to
good friend.

Hillary joins me in
for a wonderful holiday
New Year filled with

Sincerely,

Kim

1/3/01

POTUS would
like Gene Sperling
to call Mr. Stack -
set up a meeting
with someone important.
Please keep POTUS
informed because he may
stop by mtg.
(per Betty) Carol.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 2000

Mr. Charles R. Stack
High, Stack, Palahach & Cruanes
Suite 1108
2655 LeJeune Road
Coral Gables, Florida 33134

Dear Bud:

Thanks so much for your recent letter.
I appreciate your getting in touch with
me about arranging a meeting, and I want
you to know that a member of my National
Economic Council will contact you to
discuss your proposal.

I always value your advice, and I'm glad
you took the time to write. You're a
good friend.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes
for a wonderful holiday season and a
New Year filled with joy and peace.

Sincerely,

Kim

L. Graham
Any comment
on this
Adm

HIGH, STACK, PALAHACH & CRUANES
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
2888 LEJEUNE ROAD, SUITE 1108
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33184
(305) 443-3388

00 DEC 7 PM8:23

ROBERT KING HIGH (1924-1997)
CHARLES R. STACK, RA.
MICHAEL PALAHACH, RA.
CARLOS CRUANES
MICHAEL W. DWYER
CHRISTOPHER M. RUNDLE, RA. (OF COUNSEL)
KURT R. KLAUS, JR. (OF COUNSEL)
FERNANDO M. PALACIOS (OF COUNSEL)
REED C. CARY (OF COUNSEL)
GREGORY J. DONOGHUE (OF COUNSEL)

December 7, 2000

Lesel -
Stack an old
friend of yours -
He what others
say about his
seeing this

*BOARD CERTIFIED CIVIL TRIAL LAWYER - FLORIDA BAR
BOARD CERTIFIED CIVIL TRIAL LAWYER - NATIONAL BOARD OF TRIAL ADVOCACY

The President of the United States
William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-0001

Dear Mr. President:

I wish very much to visit with you post haste regarding a matter which I believe you will find extremely interesting and very beneficial to the National interests. The idea involves a means of expedited and immediate collection of many millions (if not billions) of tax dollars from funds which went into off shore accounts due to the misguided belief that such funds could thereby be tax exempt.

The Treasury Department (IRS) is presently undertaking the collection task the hard way: subpoenas to Master Card, American Express, Visa, etc., in an attempt to pin down "who, where and how much".

You have the means to make the job of collection easy, quick and effective.

Please honor me with your willingness to allow me to make a brief, but highly informative presentation - personally!

As always,


Charles R. Stack

CRS:smk

P.S. I have never presumed to ask for your time in the past even when it might have been greatly beneficial to me had I done so.

1-3-01

① - 1000 to our
- ④ - 1000 to our

sub signed
Sullivan

Reggie Bennett
13 Hoya Terrace
Largo, Md. 20774
Sullivan

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton

1-3-01

We have enjoyed having you as a guest and warmly welcome you if you would decide to serve our country with tremendous dedication and commitment. We thank you for your commitment to the future.

To Eugenie for reply
after you have seen?

Please accept our best wishes, Mr. President, for your term in office. Frankly, we wish your commitment will be sorely missed.

Yes ☒ No ☐
I.

ed our
future.

u leave
cs, and

Your Friends at the Discovery Channel Store
at the MCI Center in Washington, DC

Jason Crawford
Helmut R. Valdez
Anne P. Toman
Shannon Wang
Reggie B. Bennett
Bridgette Hirsbach
Michael D. Phillips

December 22, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

We have enjoyed having you as a guest in our store for the past three years and would warmly welcome you if you would decide to return again next year. You have served our country with tremendous dedication and have restored the public's optimism for the future. We thank you for your commitment to the American people and recognize your sacrifice.

Please accept our best wishes, Mr. President, for much success and happiness as you leave your term in office. Frankly, we wish you could serve a third term! Your energy, politics, and commitment will be sorely missed.

Very truly yours,

Your Friends at the Discovery Channel Store
at the MCI Center in Washington, DC

Jason Crawford
Helmut R. Valdez
Anne P. Toman
Shannon Wang
Reggie B. Bennett
Bridgette Herbert
William D. Phillips
Michael D. Phillips

Selma Speech + picture

Reggie Bennett
13 Joynton Terrace
Largo, Maryland
20774

Cardyn getting Selma Speech.

Need A/p photo of Potus

1-3-01

checking w/ Terry Good to
see if Reggie Bennett got the
Selma Speech.

1-3-01

Carol -

per Mike Septoff — No record of
Selma Speech going to Reggie Bennett.

December 11, 2000

~~TO NEAL - Fy - Bc~~

To: Walter Higgins (atty - friend of RC)

My name is Gloria St. E; mother of
Mark St. E.Mark has been incarcerated since
June 18, 1992. 1st offense.Mark is now 42 years old. Mark
graduated high school in 1976. East
Jefferson High School, Metairie, La.Mark is also a certified helicopter pilot.
He had his own helicopter business in
1990. Mark grew up a very good boy.
He was never in trouble in school or
as a young man. He always obeys
the law. He didn't even get parking
tickets. He has always been one to
help people. He cares about others.
Somewhere along in the mid 1980's
Mark met some people who
needed help. He became involved
with these people, however, these

copied

Cabe

✓ Podesta

people were involved in drugs.
Mark has served 8 1/2 years in prison.
The remaining years are for gun charges.
that he is not guilty of committing.
He have paid attorney in excess of
\$400,000. to no avail.
Mark was the least likely person to
ever be involved in this kind of
activity. Mark has 2 children, Mark
16 and Catherine 14. They need their
father.

I have 2 other children.
Edward Jr. is my oldest son is
46 years old. He lives in Jackson,
Ms. He has a very successful business
there called NWN Studios. The nature
of his business is televising weather
across the nation.
Edward graduated high school in
1972, attended Southeastern University
and received a BS degree from

Belvoir College in Jackson, MS.
He is a very successful and respected
businessman.

My daughter is Rozalyn St. E. Perrenuto.
Rozalyn is 34 years old, graduated
high school in 1982, received a B.S.
degree in pre-law, political science
from Tulane University in New Orleans.
Rozalyn has been employed by
Darryl Winston, Inc. in New York
for the past 12 years. She is
very successful in her business of
sales and marketing there. She also
lives in New York.

Edward St. E. Jr. my husband
and father of my children died
in 1985. He had a 35 year
career with Shell Oil Company
in Louisiana.

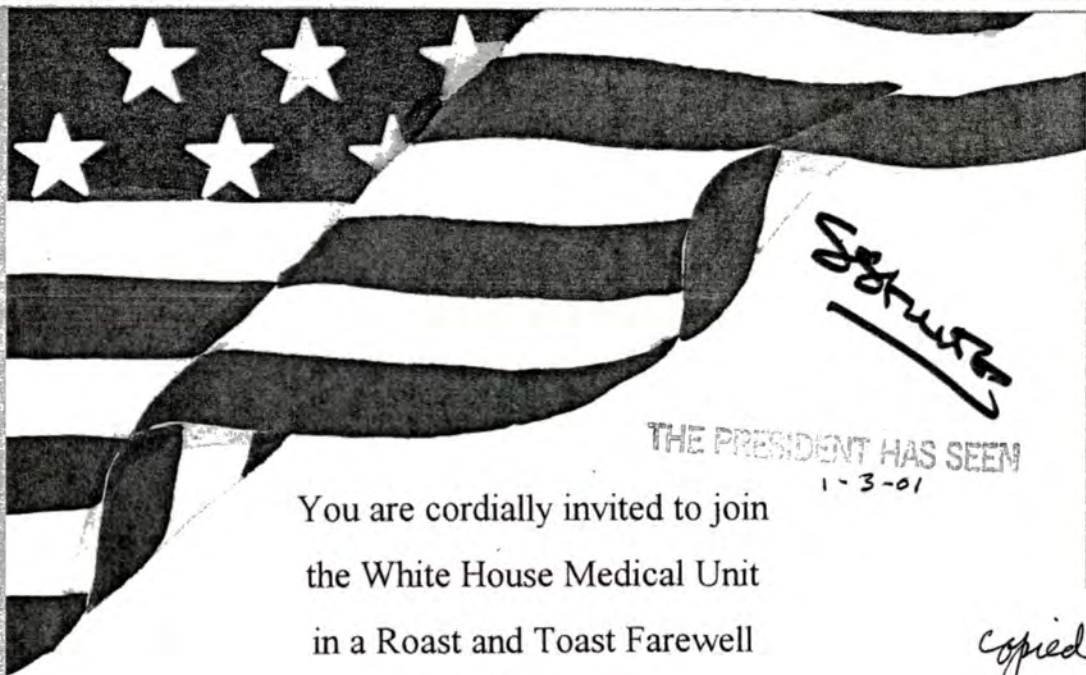
I have resided in New York
for the past 12 1/2 years and live

also been employed by Harry
Winston, Inc. for the past 12 years.
I have 4 brothers. One is a dentist,
the other 3 are well respected businessmen.
They all have their own businesses.

My mom is 85 years old
and has not seen Mark in
8 1/2 years.

Also, I might add, no one in
this family has ever been in
trouble.

Dani



Sehune

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-3-01

You are cordially invited to join
the White House Medical Unit
in a Roast and Toast Farewell
for the First Doctor
The Honorable E. Connie Mariano
Physician to the President
Rear Admiral, Medical Corps, U. S. Navy
on Friday, January 12, 2001
at 4:30 p.m. in the Presidential Hall, Room 450
Eisenhower Executive Office Building
Washington, DC

*copied
Streett
Podesta*

RSVP NLT January 9:
(202) 757-2481 Phyl Green
Please provide DOB & SSN
if not a White House passholder.

Business attire.
Reception in the Indian Treaty Room
immediately after the ceremony.

McMInformation Memorandum

To: The Honorable William J. Clinton, President
United States of America

Copied

Cabe

Podesta

From: Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, President
Rainbow/PUSH Coalition

Subject: REASONS Why (INDEPENDENT of NOAH's AND JJ
Request) EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY (PARDON OR SENTENCE
Commutation) Should Be GRANTED

Discussion

1 - The U.S. Supreme Court's Decision (JUNE 26, 2000)

IN the recent case of Apprendi v. New Jersey, the Supreme Court held that almost any fact which determines the statutory maximum penalty for an offense must be charged in the indictment, submitted to the jury, and proved beyond a reasonable doubt.

One federal statute, 18 U.S.C. 1952 A (subsequently 1958), was chosen by the government in its original and two (2) subsequent succeeding indictments, to serve as the criminal offense basis for three (3) substantive offense counts and all three (3) racketeering conspiracy predicate racketeering acts.

The government had the option of charging Noah with intent (to commit murder), personal injury (to the victim) or death (of the victim). They chose to charge "intent" only, which carries a statutory maximum penalty then (in 1986 of 5 years) and now (since 1988, 10 years)

The Apprendi constitutional rule is applicable to Noah

2- THE U.S. CONGRESS' DECISION (MAY 2000)

THE CONGRESS ENACTED ON MAY 1, 2000, EFFECTIVE NOVEMBER 1, 2000, guideline AMENDMENT ONE, AND VERY SPECIFICALLY MADE IT RETROACTIVE TO (NOVEMBER 1, 1987). THIS AMENDMENT REQUIRES THAT THE SENTENCING COURT STICK TO THE OFFENSE OF CONVICTION WHEN APPLYING GUIDELINE SECTIONS, AND REQUIRES THAT THE GUIDELINE SECTION SELECTED BE DETERMINED BY THE GUIDELINE MANUAL'S STATUTORY INDEX.

THE PROBATION OFFICE (WHICH PREPARED NOAH'S PSI REPORT) AND THE SENTENCING JUDGE [WHO LED THE PRE-INDICTMENT INVESTIGATION OF NOAH WHEN HE WAS STATE POLICE CHIEF, SEE, U.S. v. Boyd, 208 F.3d 638 (7TH CIR 2000), A CLASSIC CONFLICT OF INTEREST IN THE UNANIMOUS VIEW OF THE SEVENTH CIRCUIT] CHOSE TO APPLY A SUBJECTIVE [RATHER THAN THE CONGRESS-DIRECTED] OBJECTIVE PERSPECTIVE, AND LOOKED THE UNDERLYING OFFENSE CONDUCT.

THEY ILLEGALLY CHOSE TO APPLY THE FIRST DEGREE MURDER guideline section, 2A1.1, RATHER THAN THE SECTION 2A2.1 RECOMMENDED BY THE PROSECUTING U.S. ATTORNEYS OFFICE AND MANDATED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS.

THE END RESULT WAS A LIFE WITHOUT PAROLE [RATHER THAN A 3.5 YEAR TO 10.5 YEAR] SENTENCE FOR NOAH WHO HAS, AS OF THIS WRITING, SERVED ALMOST 11.5 YEARS OF CONTINUOUS IMPRISONMENT

3- THE SENTENCING COURT AND PROSECUTION TEAM'S MISAPPLICATION OF THE SENTENCING GUIDELINES MANUAL

THE U.S. PROBATION OFFICE RECOMMENDED, AND THE SENTENCING COURT AGREED, THAT THE 1989 VERSION OF THE

Guidelines Manual should be applied to Noah at his October 1997 sentencing hearing. Note: To the six (6) other trial(s) co-defendants, charged with the identical offenses, they recommended [and the same judge applied] the 1987 and 1988 versions of the Guidelines Manuals.

The government argued that the racketeering [a continuing] offense ended on the date of indictment, October 26, 1989. The sentencing court ruled that the racketeering offense ended March 9, 1989.

In either case, the 1989 version of the Guidelines Manual did not become effective law until November 1, 1989, after the charged racketeering offense had ended. The sentencing court's action and the Probation Office's recommendation, violated both the Ex Post Facto Clause prohibition and the equal protection under the law constitutional protection, guaranteed by the Fourteen Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In addition, Justice Scalia wrote in the 1989 Supreme Court Mistretta decision, that a guidelines misapplication was reversible error per se, because it adversely affected a defendant's substantive due process rights.

4- Noah's Eligibility for Presidential Pardon or Commutation of Parole and Supervised Release in Other Federal and Only State Case(s)

Noah completed the service of his only other federal conviction [Case No. 89CR907-1] in January 1995, and thus is eligible for a criminal record-clearing pardon. In addition, Noah is still subject to a 3 year term of

SUPERVISED RELEASE UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE SAME U.S. PROBATION OFFICE OFICIALS WHO MISAPPLIED THE GUIDELINES MANUAL, THE PROPER GUIDELINE SECTION AND WHO RECOMMENDED THAT A LIFE WITHOUT PAROLE SENTENCE BE IMPOSED. FOR ALMOST ANY PRETEXT, THEY WOULD HAVE THE POWER TO VIOLATE NOAH DURING THE SUPERVISED RELEASE TERM AND SEND NOAH BACK TO PRISON FOR UP TO 3 YEARS

BECAUSE NOAH WAS IMPRISONED SIX (6) YEARS LONGER THAN THE APPENDIX SUPREME COURT SAID THE LAW ALLOWED, BUT FOR THE PROBATION OFFICE AND SENTENCING COURT'S ERROR, NOAH COULD HAVE COMPLETED THE THREE (3) YEAR PERIOD OF SUPERVISED RELEASE MORE THAN THREE (3) YEARS AGO. UNDER THE YOLK OF SUPERVISED RELEASE IN CASE NO. 89CR907-1, NOAH CAN NOT LEAVE/TRAVEL FROM CHICAGO, OR CHANGE JOBS OR ADDRESS, WITHOUT PRIOR COURT OR PROBATION OFFICER SUPERVISION. THERE IS ALSO AN UNPAID \$125,000 FINE ASSOCIATED WITH THIS [89CR907-1] CASE

FINALLY, NOAH'S JUNE 1988 STATE CASE IS BASED ON THE SAME CONDUCT CHARGED IN THE FEDERAL CASE FOR WHICH HE IS IMPRISONED. NOAH WAS PAROLED FROM THE STATE CASE IN AUGUST 1997, AND IS THUS ELIGIBLE FOR A PARDON IN THIS INSTANCE, THAT WOULD COMPLETELY ELIMINATE ANY AND ALL CRIMINAL HISTORY RECORD.

PLEASE REMEMBER, ALL THREE (3) OF NOAH'S CRIMINAL CASE WERE CHARGED AT THE DIRECTION OF TWICE-FIRED (BY THE U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT) ASSISTANT U.S. ATTORNEY WILLIAM R. HOGAN, JR.

1-3-01

THE WHITE HOUSE

Street

It wants me
to do ~~the~~
CIA interview
within before 1 go

BC

copied
Padesta
Streett

1-3-01

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 2, 2001

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JEFF SHESOL *JS*

CC: JOHN PODESTA
KAREN TRAMONTANO
JAKE SIEWERT
NANCY HERNREICH

SUBJECT: ESSAY FOR THE NEW YORKER

I am writing to let you know that the *New Yorker* has asked me to dust off my historian's hat and to write an essay, a few months from now, describing your views on American history. It is a project I am eager to undertake because I think it will provide a new and helpful perspective on your presidency. I have discussed it with John Podesta, Karen Tramontano, and Jake Siewert, and all agree. I hope you will, too – and, if so, I hope you would be willing to participate.

My view is that you have read history more widely, absorbed its lessons more fully, and applied them more intentionally than any President since John Kennedy (and perhaps since Theodore Roosevelt). The breadth of your reading is well documented. But the depth of your knowledge – and, more important, how it has informed your work as President – is worthy of greater attention. That will be my focus.

I hope that you would be willing to talk with me on this subject some time after January 20. You have touched upon your ideas in countless interviews and speeches, but have never really had the chance to *unpack* them – to explore, for example, “the five pivotal points in American history” you identified in your Princeton speech. This could also be an opportunity to discuss your views on the evolution of the presidency; on the long, overlapping shadows of Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison; on John Marshall; on General Grant, the progressive Presidents, or any other subject you regard with interest.

If you prefer, I am of course willing to write the piece on my own. But it goes without saying that you – as every one of your speechwriters well knows – are infinitely more articulate in expressing your own views. Your participation could only make this essay more thoughtful, helpful, and memorable.

I look forward to hearing your thoughts.

copied
Shesol
Podesta
Tramontano
Siewert
Hernreich

01 JAN 2 PM 3:26

*Good idea
Glad to help
JS*

13-01

To Cohen for reply
after you have seen?

1-3-01

Paul M. Glaser
22306 Pacific Coast Highway
Malibu, California, 90265

Do him
culture

Dec. 28, 2000

Dear Bill and Hillary,

As I get older, the turn of the New Year seems to become more intensely colored and textured with feelings and thoughts of times past, passing and the need to reach in towards the heart of the matter and find peace. This transition through the winter Solstice feels to me to be at once a rush into a vortex, and a suspended fall into grace. The need to reach back and hold memories up close to the face, examining them for their significance, yet trying to let it all go and be present with the journey of togetherness that we are all making in our myriad of individual ways.

It's late on a Thursday evening and I can't sleep. (Much like my experience in the Lincoln Bedroom with all those 'ghosts.'). I have been thinking about you. I have been meaning to write to you for quite a while now. To you, Hillary, during your run and at the moment of conquest as you attained your Senate seat and so much more, belated congratulations along with my ongoing respect and admiration for what you have accomplished. To you, Bill, for your amazing tenacity and belief that one can make a difference. What you have accomplished and experienced in your so public journey at the hands of all our expectations and fears, has been truly remarkable. As a citizen I want to thank you. What an amazing thing, to be a politician. Forgetting all the negative connotations, (surely there's another word that better describes what you do), what an art form to balance an ability to connect on social, economical, and religious levels. I have trouble doing that in my own family. It brings to mind the image of a water spider and it's ability to drink from and walk atop a good fifty percent of it's environment.

On a personal level, I cannot thank you enough for what you both have done on my, Elizabeth's, Jake's, our Foundation's, all of our behalfs. Your sensitivity and generosity has been remarkable. Thank you for sharing what you have with us.

We are all fine. Jake is now sixteen, would you believe it, and going to school at Vermont Academy in Saxton's River, Vermont. This was a very big move for both of us, giving him the opportunity to identify himself apart from me and away from a social and school environment that had identified him as primarily an HIV infected boy. He has adapted well and now has to learn that he can do the work.

Tracy and Zoe are fine. Zoe is now three and pretty much ruling the roost. I am well. I just

acted for the first time in 17 years,...and had a good time.

The Foundation is thriving. I am very proud of the work we have done. We have realized the Glaser Pediatric Research Network at long last. It is up and running and we are looking forward to it's expansion in collaborative interdisciplinary research of the inter-relationship of all life threatening pediatric diseases and what they can teach us about their collaborative existence, including HIV, thereby increasing the opportunities for those solutions which always seem to come out of 'left field.' The Call to Action is doing very well and we have identified the need in Third World countries to develop infrastructures by training researchers who can provide the necessary diagnoses and treatment to interrupt the vicious cycle of HIV infection which is decimating these populations and their economies.

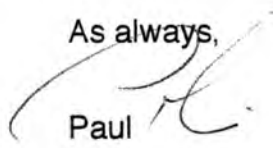
So, across a full spectrum, the Foundation has been able to identify and focus it's mission to provide pediatric researchers in an area of medicine where there is a great lack, to support that research, and to continue to fight for advocacy on behalf of children the world over. I think Elizabeth would be proud.

So, here we are at the true beginning of the new millenium. I hope this letter finds you all well. This is a grand time of transition. I saw your interview with Dan Rather, Bill, and I so enjoyed listening to you. Hillary, I look forward to an infusion of intelligence and caring into the Senate.

I apologize for not writing sooner. However, my thoughts and good wishes have always been with you. I know that I haven't been a major contributor financially, but if there is anything I can ever do for you folks, please don't hesitate to ask. I'll even offer up what there is of my golf game, Bill, whenever you are out here.

God bless you and keep you. My regards to Chelsea.

As always,


Paul

Copy of letter
sent to Helen
to make sure
we acknowledge!

[Signature]

[Signature]

THE PRESENT HAS BEEN

1-3-1

1-3-01

Send to Eugenie

Yes ☒

No ☐

and

Discarded Texts

I bought a digital camera a while ago. I did it because I don't like film. I don't like waiting to see how (and if) the picture will come out. I don't like the idea that I can't edit the image. I especially don't like chemicals and dark rooms. But I do like gadgets. The idea of taking fairly detailed pictures and then seeing them on, and printing them from my computer sounded like great fun.

For the first few weeks I was like a kid with my camera. I snapped pictures everywhere I went. One of those photographs was of the leaf of some sort of history book that had been torn out and left lying in the sun, dappled by the shadow from a chain link fence. I could actually read the text from the picture I took. After that day I noticed other scraps of discarded text all over my neighborhood. Posters, graffiti, names and images etched in cement, signs, notes, warnings, ads, and drawings were everywhere. The city, I found, was awash with discarded texts.

These unofficial texts somehow seemed to document a moment in history that might never be catalogued or remembered. This moment was at once a document of New York in the summer of the year 2000 and a demonstration of my aesthetic and my point of view.

I spent the next two days wandering around Greenwich Village, from west to east, photographing the discarded texts I saw.

There were hundreds of images but I only present 59 to you in this holiday collection. I took all these pictures with my camera and printed them on perishable paper in my apartment.

Holiday Greetings from
Walter Mosley

cc: [unclear]
[unclear]
[unclear]
cc: [unclear]
HRC
The Drug Study

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

copied
-Jennings
HRC

January 3, 2001

William E. Ebbert
1808 Sherwood Drive
Jonesboro, Arkansas 72401

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your letter and kind words of support. I'm so glad to know you are doing better.

Thanks also for sharing your letter to Congressman Delay and your concern about rising prescription drug costs. I hope you'll continue to make your views known.

Happy New Year to you and all your family.

Sincerely,

Bill
I'm so glad you're better

him
HRC
[unclear]
[unclear]

is interesting as

high blood
h our finding
en under

st two years,
Of course, my
st week after
s appreciate our

could return to
l visiting with

er and his
visit the White
nute one

Harvard Club,
cond so he for

I hope that you and your family will have a very happy holiday season and I look forward to your call in the near future.

Your Friend,

[Signature]

William E. Ebbert

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500-2000

1-800-
1-888-737-
633

12/21/00
JL

Mr. President:

It's been some time now since I had an opportunity to visit with you and I certainly have missed you. I know how extremely busy you've been and cannot tell you how proud I am and have been of your achievements and contributions to America. I visit with people who make no mistake about giving you considerable credit for these achievements.

I know too what a difficult time you had in a constant uphill battle with those who have asked far more of you than they have ever asked of themselves. The amount of time and money spent investigating you has been ridiculous when one considers real problems to be addressed and corrected in our Great Country. I've written your wife, Senator Clinton, about her successes, and included a letter I recently sent to Congressman Berry about wild variations in drug costs in our "Village". Hope you find it as interesting as I have. Frankly, it seems rather like a **criminal** problem to me.

* Of course, I received your letter of concern about my illness. They found that the extended high blood pressure and my heart condition contributed significantly to my problems. Fortunately, with our finding the proper medication, my health problems are better and my blood pressure has finally been under control for the last year which has not been the case in my known medical history.

Also, thanks to my Family, the health and related problems are much improved. For the past two years, Mother and my brother, Mike, have worked hard to help and I so much appreciate them. Of course, my Sister, Tommie, Your Great Fan, has experienced her own medical fight with cancer, but last week after completing scheduled treatment, the news was very good for all of us. It surely will help us appreciate our good fortune during the holiday season.

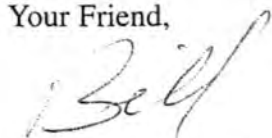
The last time we were together, you pointed out to me that it would not be long before we could return to New York and 5th Avenue for a day and I so look forward to that day. I really have missed visiting with you, but know and understand the schedule requirements.

* If at all possible, I would like to return once again to the White House and bring my Brother and his family with me to give Mike and his boys, Jay, Mitch and Reed, a chance to see you and visit the White House. If this is possible, please let me know the best time for you. Also, please take a minute one evening and call me so I can catch up on how you are doing - 870-935-1700.

Oh, yesterday, I received letters from Lesse Castleberry's children on stationery from The Harvard Club, New York City. Now is that a hoot. His son, Rex, is a Yankee fan with the Mets a close second so he for one loved the World Series, and his daughter, Elizabeth, is the apple of his eye.

I hope that you and your family will have a very happy holiday season and I look forward to your call in the near future.

Your Friend,



William E. Ebbert

William E. Ebbert
1808 Sherwood Drive
Jonesboro, AR 72401

870 935 1700

12/21/00

Honorable Tom Delay
United States Representative
Congressional District of Texas
341 Common
Washington DC 20515

202 225-5951
281 240-3700
12603 SW Freeway #25
Stafford, TX 77477

Congressman Delay:

There have been times, when your staff has contacted me by mail and phone, for various reasons. I've been happy to return the calls and try to work with your office. Three of the last six presidential elections, I have voted Republican.

At this time, I would very much appreciate a small favor from you and your staff. Enclosed is a letter I had prepared for my local Representative, Congressman Marion Berry, informing him of what I believe to be an extreme problem for tax payers and citizens.

The enclosed letter represents my findings on extreme cost variations with one of my medical prescriptions. Oddly, I find this to be a typical pricing structure for pharmaceuticals in our area. Can you check within your District to determine if the same problem exists? If so, I believe this action to be **criminal** and ask that you provide a copy of my letter to your fellow Republicans in the House of Representatives and ask them what might be done on the part of our Congress to correct this problem for the sake of all Americans.

It is one thing to have minor cost variations in a free economy and particularly on luxury goods such as jewelry. However, it is reckless and should be considered **criminal** to have these great variations of price on items of necessity, particularly on copies of the same drug.

I'm now asking for your help to advise your colleagues in House. Show them this extremely clear evidence of the problem and it's magnitude. Then, ask what **you, they** and the **Republicans**, with the help of **Democrats** in Congress can do to help the American Citizens with out of control robbery of the people by the medical community. I look forward to your help and response.

Sincerely,



William E. Ebbert

cc: United States Taxpayers

P.S. I would respectfully suggest to both **you and your staff** that this issue is far more meaningful to United States Citizens, both Republican and Democrat, than the issue of President Bill Clinton's personal life. If only a part of the time spent on Mr. Clinton's personal life could be allocated to this issue, you all could claim real and beneficial results for all Citizens.

I have also enclosed a copy suitable for posting in offices to warn citizens of this problem.

Thank you.

Honorable Marion Berry
United States Representative
1st Congressional District of Arkansas

Local Pharmacy Prices Vary up to 391%

Almost 4 times from the lowest price to highest price

Prices for Labetalol 200 mg quoted to Bill Ebbert by telephone October/November 2000
Jonesboro, Arkansas 72401

Pharmacy	Contact Person	60 tabs	150 tabs	200 tabs	Percent Variation	Order
PROTECT YOURSELF It's wise to obtain prices on prescriptions before you place your order. It's your money!	Chris	\$52.31	\$123.32	\$158.72*	\$391%	14
	Richard	15.31	28.27	39.47	104%	2
	Mitch	14.07	29.11	38.07	BASE	1
	Kimberly	33.99	71.99	95.99	252%	9
	Laura	29.51	52.19	62.03	163%	5
	Frank	28.33	42.84	52.78	139%	3
	Lana	45.49	106.79	140.28	369%	12
	Mort	45.87	112.27	148.08	389%	13
	Tim	35.05	78.65	102.85	270%	11
	Eddie	34.10	81.28	101.50	267%	10
	Julia	28.70	45.00	54.99	144%	4
	Pat	27.00	55.00	75.00	171%	6
	Amy	33.60	68.62	87.92	231%	8
	Pam	27.87	69.84	84.28	221%	7
12/11/00 AARP Membership Discount Price				77.12	203%	

*Generic Brand

Why are these prices so dissimilar?

- These are certainly not marginal differences.
- They create a totally unacceptable range of prices.
- What prices would insurance companies pay?
- Why should our citizens and taxpayers be subject to this?
- Is there any reasonable explanation in support of these facts?

Eventually citizens and taxpayers pay for medical and health care, not the insurance companies. This is absolute and solid evidence that a problem exists. Now what can or will Congress do to work toward a reasonable solution for voters, taxpayers - Citizens?

I look forward to your response.

Bill Ebbert
1808 Sherwood Drive
Jonesboro, AR 72401

870 935-1700

cc: United States Taxpayer

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Lee's Pharmacy	Frank	28.33	42.84	52.78	139%	3
Medicine Shoppe Plaza	Lana	45.49	106.79	140.28	369%	12
Price Chopper Pharmacy	Mort	45.87	112.27	148.08	389%	13
Service Pharmacy	Tim	35.05	78.65	102.85	270%	11
Stone's Pharmacy	Eddie	34.10	81.28	101.50	267%	10
Super D Pharmacy	Julia	28.70	45.00	54.99	144%	4
Super V Pharmacy	Pat	27.00	55.00	75.00	171%	6
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Bill Ebbert 870 935-1700
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The Guardian
The Observer



1-2-01
Itinerary: New York, Washington, Rockies, San Francisco, Piji, Auckland, Christchurch, Sydney, Uluru, Perth, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Namibia, Victoria Falls, Tanzania, Zanzibar, Harobi.

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Special
report
America
decides



Right-wing coup that shames America

Continuing unofficial counts reveal the full extent of Al Gore's lead and the massive abuses that have put George W. Bush into power

Will Hutton
Sunday December 24, 2000

I never thought I would live to see it. There has been a right-wing coup in the United States. It is now clear beyond any doubt that the winner of the Presidential election was Al Gore. In Florida the votes are being counted unofficially in a way the Supreme Court would not permit: he was already 140 votes ahead when counting stopped for Christmas and his final lead promises to be in the thousands. Nationally he leads by over half a million votes. What has happened is beyond outrage. It is the cynical misuse of power by a conservative elite nakedly to serve its interests - and all of us should be frightened for the consequences.

The issue is not George W. Bush's conservatism, opponent though I am of what Bush plans to do; a democracy only has vitality and political tension if its philosophy and stream of thinking is articulated and pitches to win elections. The incontrovertible abuse is that Bush has won power despite losing, and critically he only pulled off this feat because the Republicans control the Supreme Court. The Right has subverted pivotal US institutions to win power - a campaign of which the discrediting and attempted impeachment of Clinton was part - and in the process disgraced the legitimacy of US democracy at home and abroad, and undermined conceptions of the rule of law. It is a poor augury for the twenty-first century.

In Britain the response has been woeful - itself a token of our own lack of hard democratic instincts. The commentary, especially in the right-of-centre press, has been to decry Gore as a poor loser and to insist that he had to accept the rules of the electoral game, respecting the votes in the US electoral college which, when Florida was lost, gave Bush the election. But as the great liberal defenders of freedom, Karl

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the great liberal defenders of freedom, Karl Popper and Isaiah Berlin, both argued when unjust, illegitimate governments win power through subverting the rules it is our responsibility to contest them.

The nine-member Supreme Court, apart from the heady decade of the 1960s when it advanced the cause of civil rights in the South, has always been a bastion of a regressive conservatism. In the 1930s it tried to rule that key elements in Roosevelt's New Deal were unconstitutional. Its defence of the sovereignty of states rights has been fundamental in extending capital punishment and allowing bible-belt states to resist implementing federal legislation banning violence against women. Yet its general prohibition in interfering in a state's rights has been overturned in one instance; the highly politicised intervention in Florida.

The more you examine it, the more outrageous the now famous judgement was. What the Court had to do to serve its political purpose was to find a way of acknowledging a sovereign state's rights and the continuing legitimacy of hand recounts in closely contested elections - after all George W. Bush had passed a law as Governor in Texas in 1998 endorsing hand recounts - but at the same time give the election to their Republican champion by finding that events in Florida were a special case. This was tricky. In the first place, even the conservative judges shared the unanimous view that it was reasonable for hand recounts to be undertaken because, as the judgment concedes: 'Punch card balloting machines can produce an unfortunate number of ballots which are not punched in a clean, complete way by the voter.' Consequently individual states are obliged, when the winning margin is tight, to mount an effort to find out what the 'clear intent' of each voter was. In other words Gore was completely within his rights to demand the hand recount.

The five conservatives had a problem. How could they deliver the coup? The solution was elegant. The process was too subjective, said the Supreme Court, unless the Florida court put in place even more protective measures to ensure impartiality than the Florida legislature had provided for - a position that is constitutionally impossible, as the judges knew, because it meant the Court would have to change rather than interpret Florida law. Hand recounts are thus legal in principle but impossible in practice because of possible partiality. And in a telling aside in its judgment, the Court said that hand recounts would 'cast a cloud' over Bush's 'legitimacy' that would harm 'democratic stability'. It never crossed the five-strong conservative majority's mind that the opposite might be the case; that not counting votes which would give Gore the presidency when nationally he had won half a million more votes than Bush would damage, not democratic stability, but the entire democratic principle.

But then right-wing America is not much interested in the democratic principle. It believes

that its duty is to sustain America in its unique destiny as a Christian guardian of individual liberty, a place - I joke not - that will deserve Christ's second coming. It sees itself in a holy war against a liberal enemy within, and it uses every tool at its disposal ruthlessly to dispose of its foe.

The Right enjoyed 12 years of power under Reagan and Bush, lost the Presidency to Clinton in 1992 when Ross Perot split the conservative vote and pledged to continue their jihad against what they saw as his illegitimate victory from the beginning. Hence the fantasies of Whitewater. Hence the Starr inquiry into the Lewinsky affair, where now we learn key evidence was fabricated. Hence the attempted impeachment. Mud sticks, they reckoned, and even though they knew impeachment would fail, they calculated it would put any Democrat presidential candidate in 2000 in a presentational bind - association with the successful Clinton years would be attacked as an association with immorality.

But for all their efforts American public opinion remained stubbornly tolerant, sceptical of tax cuts and moderately centrist. To win Bush had to outspend his rival two to one in the last month and build on the strategic dilemma faced by Gore about the Clinton years. But even then it has taken the Supreme Court to complete the coup.

For all the talk of reconciliation Bush is building a tribal conservative administration bent on supporting business at home and asserting US unilateralism abroad. His next Treasury Secretary has been picked not for his capacity to negotiate the US and the world through the minefield of a fragile international financial system, but his interest in feathering the nests of corporate America. And so it goes on, offering the US and the world a policy and perspective not wanted by the majority of Americans.

The consensus view is that within months the whole Florida affair will be forgotten, and Bush will be installed as a legitimate US President. I don't agree. The value of democracies is they produce administrations broadly in tune with the times and will of the people, and thus able to marshal both consent and the correct policy responses for the varying crises that hit them.

Not so in America. Whether the need to respect international treaties abroad or the desire to universalise medical protection at home, the US has the man in power it did not want and whose instincts are opposite to those of the majority. This will prove a disastrous administration for America and the world, and the coup will become widely understood as a moment of partisan infamy. It is a brutal lesson for us liberals. Never, never forget the treachery and poison on the Right.