



1-9-01

THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20585

December 29, 2000

aJP/Gus

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✓
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL RICHARDSON BR

I thought you might be interested in the attached article on the success of the SPR exchange.

The article appeared in the most recent issue of *Risk Magazine*, which is considering the exchange as "Deal of the Year."

Attachment

✓
Copied
Podesta
Spelling



Printed on recycled paper

Risk

VOL 13/NO 12 DECEMBER 2000

24 OIL

HOW TIME SWAPS CALMED THE OIL MARKET

by Navroz Patel

The US Department of Energy has used a novel time swap to fund its strategic reserves. One of the reasons for the operation was partly designed by ABN Amro's Brian Harmon de Clare (right), who engineered a detailed structure for the time swaps.

Brian Harmon de Clare,
ABN Amro Futures

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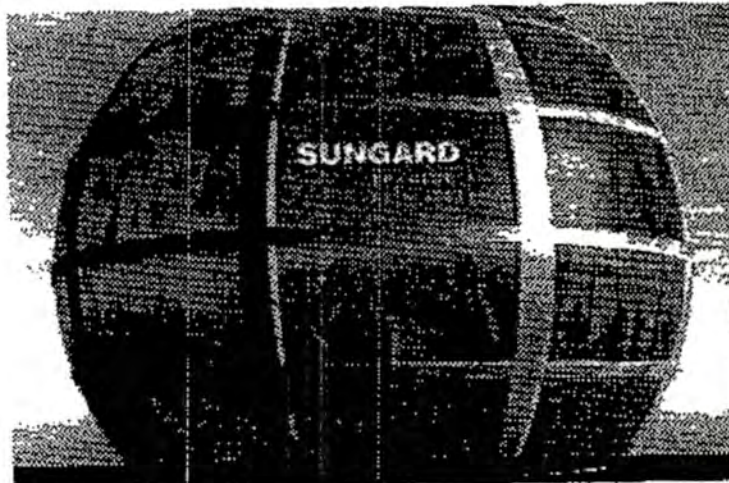
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Reviews of "Risk Management Approaches for Fixed Income Markets" and "Derivatives in Financial Markets with Stochastic Volatility".

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**Harness the
power of the
eWorld**

How time swaps calmed the oil market

The full story of how the US Department of Energy used an ambitious swap transaction to release oil from its strategic reserves. By Navroz Patel

Across the northern US, the first heating bills of what is expected to be another cold winter have been arriving. After a decade of low oil prices, the average US citizen has been getting a shock. Oil prices are around 50% higher than they were a year ago, and heating oil costs around 10% more.

The surprises would have been nastier if President Clinton had not announced, on September 22, that he was authorising the US Department of Energy to release 30 million barrels of oil worth around \$900 million, from its strategic reserves to calm the oil price. At the time tensions were rising in the Middle East. On October 13 – just a week after the names of those companies provisionally awarded oil was announced – television pictures of Israeli helicopter gunships blazing away at Ramallah on the West Bank were flashed around the world.

The oil price moved higher again. However, by releasing oil from its strategic reserves – which were established after the 1973 Arab oil embargo and which are kept in vast caverns at various sites along the Gulf Coast of the US – the Department of Energy succeeded in keeping the price of West Texas Intermediate below \$40 a barrel.

But this was not a straightforward sale of reserves to oil companies, which is the procedure the department used in the past. Instead, it used a time swap. Under the terms of the time swap, the department lent oil to 11 refiners and traders, which pledged to return the original amount of oil plus an additional amount in 12 months' time. Oil companies – including BP Amoco and Eli, and even investment banks such as Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, tendered bids for the their loans, and loans were allocated on the basis of the most favourable exchange ratios.

The impact of the time swap on the market was significant. The crude oil price



'Time swaps allow the government to increase its strategic reserves when the additional oil is returned in a year's time at no cost'

By Navroz Patel, author of 'The Oil Game'

fell by 17% to around \$30 a barrel (see figure 1, page 26). Commodities traders found that arbitrage opportunities closed down. A common arbitrage with heating oil relied on the price differential between Europe and the US. After the time swap, the US Gulf Coast price – which had been around 10 cents a gallon cheaper than in Europe – moved much closer to the European price, and the heating oil arbitrage opportunity was effectively eliminated (see figure 2).

Time swaps may be a useful way of increasing liquidity and calming volatility in the oil market. Oil refiners, traders and even investment banks will have new, lucrative opportunities to hedge and make a profit in the oil market. As world oil production approaches capacity – and demand increases – they provide an effective mechanism for checking large price moves. Given the seemingly successful US time swap, it is likely that other governments with strategic reserves will structure similar deals. Some oil market observers believe a similar oil time swap may occur in South Korea in the near future.

The time swap idea was first discussed in the corridors of Washington five years ago but never used – partly because of political sensitivity over the issue of government intervention in the market, and partly because market conditions were never right. What made the time swap appropriate in September from a market perspective was the backwardation of oil prices. Forward prices on the New York Mercantile Exchange futures contracts were much lower than the spot price. It is only under this circumstance that a time swap will work, because this is the motivation for the refiners to enter into the deal, hedge their commitment by buying forward, and themselves make a profit.

Melanie Kenderdine, director, office of policy at the Department of Energy claims the time swap was a complete success. 'The strategic reserve will get 13

Continued on page 26

ion barrels of additional crude oil in far's time. That's around \$40 million worth of oil for which the taxpayer does not have to pay a cent. We've also mandated to help alleviate heating oil price spikes and shortages in the northeastern states." It is understood that an internal department policy paper has recommended using the idea regularly. This may happen soon: world oil production is approaching capacity and this means that oil prices are likely to remain volatile.

Some of the credit for the Department of Energy's decision to use time swaps goes to Brian Harmon de Clare - now director in charge of commodities at ABN Amro Futures in London, the futures arm of the Dutch bank. In December 1999, de Clare was a managing director in commodities at Deutsche Bank. At that time, crude oil prices were heavily backwardated - the West Texas Intermediate price was around \$30 a barrel, while the one-year forward price was nearer \$20. De Clare went to Washington to suggest how a structure for time swaps might work in fine detail.

He recalls: "In the fourth quarter of 1999 there was considerable pressure on the US government to sell oil from the strategic reserves. The time swap idea seemed an attractive alternative to an outright sale. Not only would there be more crude oil on the market, alleviating the short-term supply shortage, but it would also allow the government to increase its strategic reserves when the additional oil is returned in a year's time at no cost to the government." Holding more oil in reserve allows the US government more flexibility with respect to how they can manage energy risk.

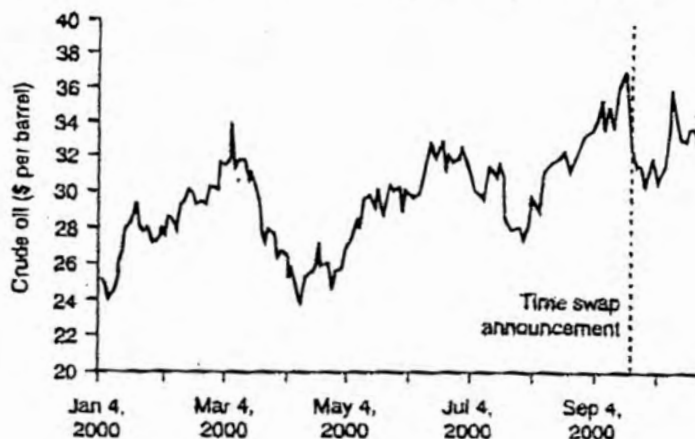
Timing

The department liked the idea, but the timing was not quite right. It takes around two months from the release of crude oil before there is any real impact on downstream prices for heating oil and other distillate products. It was too late in 1999 for a time swap to have the required impact on consumer prices.

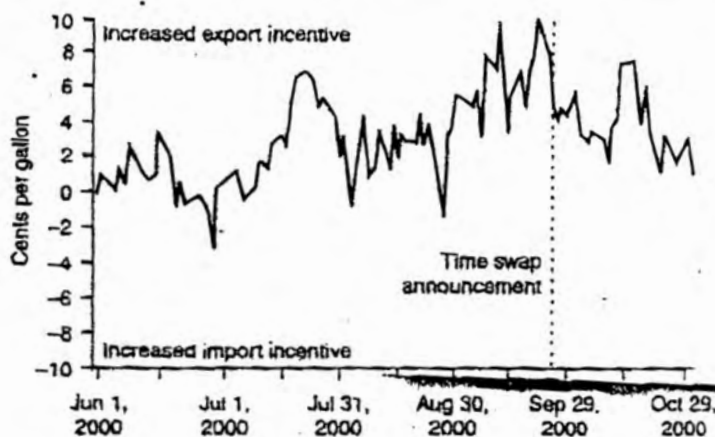
The timing was far better last September, but in practice this was always going to be a sensitive issue. Especially as the months went by and the US presidential election campaigns of Al Gore and George Bush got under way. Bush and his running mate, Dick Cheney, have repeatedly stated their opposition to any government intervention in the oil market. Cheney argued that the September release was politically motivated, that is, designed to boost the Democrat campaign.

There was also some friction between the Department of Energy and the US Treasury, which was, earlier this year, arguing that the government might be setting an unhealthy precedent by releasing reserves outside a national emergency.

1. Nymex crude oil prices



2. Transatlantic heating oil price differential (Europe v. US Gulf Coast no 2 heating oil)



The last occasion on which the US strategic oil reserve was tapped (except for practice drawdowns) had been during the 1991 Gulf War, when the Department of Energy released 17 million barrels. Since 1994, the department has not been granted any funds by government to acquire new oil stocks. As part of its mandate, the Department of Energy is legally required to maximise the amount of oil held in the reserves - up to the maximum capacity of around 700 million barrels.

In late March this year, Opec - the organisation of petroleum exporting countries - announced an increase in output to ease the world shortage of crude oil. The West Texas Intermediate price fell from just over \$30 a barrel to around \$24 by April. But that did not stop a sharp rise in US gasoline prices in June, and heating

oil stocks were at worryingly low levels. Compounding the problem, refiners were switching production from heating oil to gasoline to maximise their profits.

By September, crude oil and heating inventories were seriously depleted. Opec announced a further 800,000-barrel-a-day increase in production. The oil price increased to around \$38 a barrel because the market realised Opec was now approaching production capacity and the US government had not yet intervened directly. On September 21, vice-president Gore announced his support for a time-swap and one day later, came the announcement the government was acting.

Interested buyers were invited to submit bids for the amount of oil they wanted.

Continued on page 28

at the prevailing spot price, along with the amount of oil they would need in 12 months' time. It had been decided that 30 million barrels of high-grade jet crude oil would be released. Even at the September time swap, the level of the reserves is only around 540 million barrels of oil.

By negotiating the additional oil payment from the oil companies, the Department of Energy is fulfilling its obligation to increase the overall reserve stock. A key issue in the deal was the release rate: releasing too much oil in one go might remove some of the deal's critical backwardation of the oil price. After taking advice from industry experts and some sophisticated in-house modelling, the Department of Energy estimated that the optimal release rate would be 1 million barrels a day over 30 business days.

Eleven successful bidders were announced on October 16. BP Oil Supply, a division of BP Amoco, was the biggest buyer, at 6 million barrels. The successful bidders were those deemed to be able to return oil - of a similar or higher grade - with the highest exchange ratio, that is, in the largest quantities. None of the individual exchange ratios struck with the buyers have been made public.

Shortly after the provisional list of successful bidders was announced, two of the bidders found that they were unable to obtain the letters of credit. The letters were required by the Department of Energy as insurance against any contractor defaulting on their obligation to return oil in a year's time.

One of the rejected bidders was a one-man operation working out of a New York apartment (which he shared with his mother) and the other was a Florida-based company that had only been incorporated two months previously. As a result of the rejections, only 23 out of the 30 million barrels were awarded - a second solicitation was required.

Modified

The process was modified. Offers had to be received by October 23, 2000. The successful bidders for the 7 million barrels - unawarded from the original 30 million release - were required to produce a modified letter of credit and a bid bond. The bid bond guaranteed that in the event of a successful bidder being unable to produce the required letter of credit, they must pay either \$3 million or 5% of the value of the bid - whichever is greater.

Also, the letter of credit was set at 110% of the value of the tender. In the first solicitation, the value was set at 100% of the spot price of the crude on the day of the contract award. A significant increase in oil price in 2001 could mean an increased likelihood that a contractor is unable to return

the required volume of oil. The modified letter of credit offers the Department of Energy additional protection against default risk. If default occurs, the money is deposited in the petroleum reserve account. This money is then used by the Department of Energy to purchase oil when market conditions permit more oil to be returned than was originally loaned.

On September 20, 2000, the crude oil price closed on Nymex at \$37.20 a barrel. There was growing concern that Opec was approaching production capacity and also a genuine fear that Iraq may reduce oil exports if they did not receive a favourable UN decision concerning reparations to Kuwait. The release from the strategic petroleum reserves resulted in an immediate fall in crude oil prices to around \$30-32 a barrel. No wonder many of the big oil companies were so opposed to the idea of a release from the reserve. On closer inspection, this punning-back of prices is even more impressive - many energy sector analysts have commented that prices may have exceeded \$40 a bar-

represented a clear arbitrage opportunity. The differential decreased to around one cent a gallon after President Clinton's September 22 announcement - effectively removing the arbitrage opportunity. The small differential also removes the incentive for straight export of heating oil from the US to Europe.

The time-swap deal has been controversial. The official government line is that the release was motivated by a heating oil shortage. However, releasing a significant amount of crude oil on to the open market necessarily functions as a cushion against large price swings. The market intervention has been criticised by many people from the oil industry and beyond. But was the time swap really so different from using taxation to check activities that threaten economic prosperity, or using interest rates to manage the money supply?

Neal Wolkoff, the executive vice president at Nymex, was called before a US House of Representatives committee on 19 October to give an account of the ex-

Was the time swap really so different from using taxation to check activities that threaten economic prosperity, or using interest rates to manage the money supply?

rel had the US government not taken any action.

In the three weeks immediately preceding September 22, 2000, backwardation was manifest. Crude oil one-month forward prices were around \$1.30 a barrel higher than three-month forwards. As had been expected, the release significantly reduced this differential - down to around \$0.32 a barrel. The turmoil in the Middle East caused the crude oil backwardation to return. Again, it seems likely that the backwardation would have been even larger, but for the US government's actions.

Backwardation of heating oil prices was also reduced - to around a \$0.40 a barrel differential on one-month and three-month forwards. Problems in the Middle East did not, however, result in heating oil prices rebounding into a backwardated state.

There were immediate implications for arbitrageurs. In September 2000 - prior to the release - US Gulf Coast prices were about six cents a gallon lower than European heating oil prices. Even with transportation costs factored in, this differential

change's perspective on the release from the strategic reserves. Wolkoff said that the release "interferes with the normal marketplace incentives to be reliable and customer friendly." For example, a commercial supplier may hold a low inventory in the expectation that a release from the strategic reserves will occur. If the supplier were to hold a larger inventory, then a release of strategic reserves would lower the value of their oil stocks in the short term. Consumers could be subjected to shortages and price spikes simply because the commercial supplier had anticipated government intervention incorrectly. Perhaps if further releases are to occur, the market should be given more notice.

The mismatch between oil supply and demand is squeezing the market - crude oil prices will become increasingly volatile. The US government has benefited in two ways: the time-swap deal has eased heating oil shortages, while allowing them to improve their management of energy risk. It seems inevitable that the time swap will be a deal that the oil industry will use again and again. ■

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

1/9/07

To:

Cohen

From: The Staff Secretary

/Rosman

Delia -

Elizabeth Taylor's

Doctor handed me this letter
at the ceremony yesterday.

Go figure.

ATC



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Dr. Leroy R. Perry Jr., D.C., Inc. and Associates - A Chiropractic Corporation
3283 Motor Ave., W. Los Angeles, CA 90034 (310) 559-6900 Fax (310) 836-8664 1213 N. Lake Ave., Pasadena, CA 91104 (626) 797-6441

September 21, 2000

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Please read the enclosed interview with Radio Havana. Cuba taped September 6, 2000.

On behalf of all people, I urge you to lift the embargo against Cuba. This is an opportunity for you to write a heroic chapter in the history of your administration. It is inevitable that the embargo ultimately will be lifted. The only real question is who will get credit for it being lifted, your administration or the next? Foreign interests, including Canada, which is developing oil fields, are already making co-venture deals with Cuba. This is extremely evident at Varadero Beach where international hotels are thriving with tourism.

The embargo no longer makes any sense. It no longer serves any political purpose. It only gives Fidel Castro a propaganda base from which to point at the U.S. and blame us for Cuba's problems. If the U.S. lifts the embargo, Castro will be directly accountable for his country's state of affairs without any scapegoat to blame.

As a five time Olympic doctor I have had the opportunity to work internationally with athletes from over forty countries. I was the doctor for the U.S. bobsled team at the 1980 winter Olympics and have treated U.S. and Eastern Bloc Olympic athletes since 1976. In 1991 I was asked by the Soviet Team to carry the Soviet flag during the closing ceremonies of the Track and Field World Championships in Japan. This was the last time the Soviet flag was ever carried in a public ceremony. I served as the spine care specialist for the Russian Olympic team in 1992. I have worked with Cuban Olympic athletes since 1979. The Cuban people know and trust me.

I would like to volunteer my services as an Ambassador of Good Will to work in any way possible to help the United States and Cuba develop better relations and to lift the embargo. Former Congressman Bob Edgar, now Secretary General of the National Council of Churches (the Cuban Council of Churches as an affiliate) also like to support you in any way possible to bring this chapter of human suffering to an end.

I assure you that on a person-to-person basis, in conversation, on the athletic field, in prayer, the Cubans are ready to embrace a U.S. relationship that is mutually respectful and supportive on both sides.

Reflecting on the overwhelming world response to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Soviet Union, the reinstatement of diplomatic relations with China, Viet Nam and Russia lifting the embargo can be the final chapter of The Cold War. You will go down in history as the president who was responsible for the reunification of our international family, thus answering the universal need of our world's children for health and education.

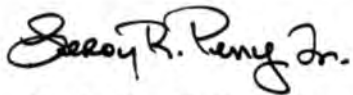
Lifting the embargo is no longer a political issue but rather a humanitarian issue to ensure world peace. All nations will embrace you as a world leader who puts human rights before politics. This can be your finest moment.

To reinforce this position, I have asked numerous friends and patients, many of whom are your personal friends and have been your greatest supporters, to personally write or call you giving their support to lifting the embargo. I realize it takes congressional action to do so, therefore I have started a campaign to contact every Congressperson and Senator asking them for their support and to introduce legislation to help us resolve this issue

Please let me know what I can do to support you in this goal.

I remain yours, one in the faith and belief that you will lead us to a united world and peace for all people.

Citizen, United States of America



Dr. LeRoy R. Perry Jr.

CC: U.S. Vice President Al Gore

U.S. Secretary of State Madeline K. Albright

U.S. Ambassador Vicki Huddleston, Cuba

Rev. Dr. Bob Edgar, Sec. General of the National Council of Churches

Rev. Dr. Reinero Arce, President, Cuban Council of Churches

Caridad Diego, Religious Affairs, Cuba

Msgr. Jaime Ortega, Roman Catholic Cardinal, Cuba

All U.S. Senators and Members of Congress

All Doctors of Chiropractic

All Members, American Back Society

All Members, American College of Sportsmedicine

Julie Andrews

John Frankenheimer

Jack Nicholson

Burt Bacharach

Dennis Franz

Chuck Norris

Marilyn Barrett

Georgia Frontiere

Dale Olson

Warren Beatty

David Geffen

Michelle Phillips

Annette Bening

Daniel Genter

Sidney Pollack

Jeff Berg

Herbert Hafif

Richard Reinjohn

Glenn Braswell

Jami Morse-Heidegger

Jay Rodrigues

Phil Bronstein

Klaus Heidegger

Joe Roth

Jerry Brown

Dustin Hoffman

Alan Rudolph

John Calley

Alex Karras

Winona Ryder

Johnny Carson

Peter Kelly

George Schlatter

Susan Clark

Larry King

Arlene Sorkin

Warren Cowan

Ben Lambert

Paul Sorvino

Tom Cruise

Jackie Lapin

Sharon Stone

Carol Bayersager-Daly

Barry Levinson

Elizabeth Taylor

Robert Daly

Carl Lewis

Robert Towne

Matt Damon

Christopher Lloyd

Alex Wallau

Blake Edwards

John Mackey

Joe Weider

Lou Ferrigno

Shirley MacLaine

Daphna Edwards-Ziman

Bert Fields

Les Moonves

Richard Ziman



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Dr. Leroy R. Perry Jr., D.C., Inc. and Associates - A Chiropractic Corporation
3283 Motor Ave., W. Los Angeles, CA 90034 (310) 559-6900 Fax (310) 836-8664 1213 N. Lake Ave., Pasadena, CA 91104 (626) 797-6441

An interview taped Sept. 6, with Dr. Leroy Perry for Radio Havana, Cuba.

To Cuba With Love

I am not a politician, I am a doctor concerned about the international rights of children to have freedom, health and an education.

I have worked internationally with athletes from the Eastern Bloc since the 1976 Olympics and specifically with the Cuban athletes since 1979. I have been an Official Olympic Doctor five times.

This is my third visit to Cuba. I was invited by the National Council of Churches as an Ambassador of Good Will to observe and participate in the presenting of 1500 school packets to Elian Gonzales' school, meeting his father Juan Miguel, his grandmothers and his great grandmother.

The National Council of Churches asked by the Cuban Council of Churches is directly responsible for the return of Elian Gonzales to his family and Cuba. They have been a major contributor and one of the biggest benefactors in supplying aid to Cuba and many other countries. They have proven they are organized and experts in helping those in need.

I have had the opportunity to meet with religious leaders from the Cuban Council of Churches, of which there are 53 denominations represented. Many Americans believe that there is no religion in Cuba. This is a myth. In fact there are 2300 congregations, 1700 Protestant/Evangelist, over 600 Catholic congregations. In the last five years over 700 new congregations have been formed.

In the 21 years I have worked with Cuban Olympic athletes, I have gotten to know the Cuban people. I know them to be loving, caring and intelligent people who love their families.

They are only 90 miles from the United States. They are tied to us geographically and historically.

It is time for the United States of America to embrace and welcome the Cuban People into our community of the Americas.

I urge President Clinton to lift the Embargo now! If this administration does not lift the Embargo before it's term in office is over, then the next president of the United States will be the candidate who is courageous enough to stand up for the rights and re-unification of our international family. It is important to recognize and act upon the need for freedom, health and education of our world's children.

The U.S. has opened diplomatic and trade relations with Viet Nam, China and the former Soviet Union. It is now time to open our arms, our hearts to the Cuban People. To reunite our international families and secure our own conviction to ensure world peace. We must lead the way!



Eliau Gonzalez' Grandmothers, Dr. LeRoy Perry, Eliau's father Juan Miguel Cardenas, Cuba September 5, 2000

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

To:

Ruby

From: The Staff Secretary

Adam

We're inclined not
to do this -- unless
you/Melanne know
the women and think
we should. If so,
need to run by counsel,
NSC, etc. Let me
know.

FRIENDS OF SHEBA MEDICAL CENTER - TEL HASHOMER, ISRAEL

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Tel Hashomer

Prof. Mordechai Shani, M.D.
Director-General

Prof. Bolek Goldman, M.D.
Director

Dr. Ze'ev Rotstein, M.D.
Deputy Director

January 3, 2001

Lisel Loy
Press Secretary
The White House

Dear Lisel,

Needed: a tribute to Leah Rabin from President Clinton, or from President Clinton and Hillary Clinton.

(Because I thought I could more quickly get it from Hillary's new office and thought Howard Wolfson would handle this, I lost time by sending it there. A mistake—perhaps he is overwhelmed.)

Because of the Clintons' personal relationship with Leah, it would be wonderful to include them in a special tribute issue in Leah's memory of the enclosed publication called "Sheba Clips."

Leah was the International President of the Friends of Sheba Medical Center-Tel Hashomer, the largest and most comprehensive medical in Israel (see information below). I just need two or three paragraphs—either a letter on letterhead, or some sort of approved copy. I don't even need hard copy if you can send me an email attachment I can forward to Israel that they can shoot from, or you could email it directly to the hospital.

I heard Senator Clinton's words at Leah's funeral, and no one said it better or was more articulate about Leah. If you have that copy, something very similar would certainly be more than appropriate.

Thank you for your help. I would be grateful if someone can let me know what the turnaround might be, for they are on a deadline. I would be glad to send a FedEx messenger if that would be helpful.

Sincerely,



Linda E. Frankel

Founded in 1948, Sheba Medical Center-Tel Hashomer is the largest hospital in Israel, and in the entire Middle East. With over 1,900 beds and a 150-acre campus in Tel Aviv, Sheba cares for more than 100,000 inpatients and 600,000 outpatients each year, including Israel's leaders and soldiers. Recognized worldwide as a beacon of medical excellence, research and new technology, Sheba Medical Center holds fast to its philosophical core values: to extend the finest medical treatment, rehabilitation, care and compassion to all, with major emphasis on "the whole person," so that no matter the age or severity of illness, he or she may live life to its fullest potential.

SHEBACLIPS

MILLENNIUM EDITION



Friends of Sheba Medical Center
Tel Hashomer, Israel

LINDA E. FRANKEL
Executive Director

580 Fifth Avenue, 32nd Floor, New York, NY 10017
Deliveries: 145 W. 55th Street, 14D, New York, NY 10019
Tel. 212/265-2135 • 354-8484, Fax 212/265-2136
lfrankel@shebamedical.com

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Photography: Photography Department
The Chaim Sheba Medical Center:
Pol Hoffman, Ilana Yona,
Yael Nissan,
Ido Snir

Articles: Ulrike Haen

**Graphics and
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Public Affairs Division
The Chaim Sheba Medical Center
Tel Hashomer 52621 - ISRAEL
Tel.: 03-5302473
Fax: 03-5356851
E-mail: ulrike@netvision.net.il

Los Angeles Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
9911 West Pico Blvd. * Suite 1220 * Los Angeles
* CA 90035 * USA
Tel.: (310) 8430100 * Fax: (310) 8430600

New York Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
580 Fifth Avenue * New York, N.Y. 10036 * USA
Tel.: (212) 8695570 * Fax: (212) 9442506

Canadian Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
9 Terrydale Dr. * Downsview * Ont. M3H 5M7 * Canada
Tel.: (416) 6335646 * Fax: (416) 6381588

Berlin Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
P.O.B. 121230 * 10606 Berlin * Germany
Tel.: (030) 3234075 * Fax (030) 3249967

Zurich Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
Parking 21 * 8002 Zurich * Switzerland
Tel.: (01) 2020510 * Fax: (01) 2020520

Geneva Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
Quai Gustave-Ador 62 * CH-1207 Geneva * Switzerland
Tel.: (022) 736-4711 * Fax: (022) 736-1888

Austrian Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
P.O.B. 61 * 1043 Vienna * Austria
Tel.: (01) 3196333 * Fax (01) 34422212



Sheba Humanitarian
Award



4

Visitors

SHEBACLIPS

MILLENNIUM EDITION

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- 12-17 Inaugurations
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- 22-27 Inaugurations
- 28-30 Los Angeles Friends

1-9-01

01 JAN 8 PM 7:49

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 8, 2001

Copied
Street
Self
Podesta

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT *SS*
CAROLINE SELE *CS*

SUBJECT: JANUARY INTERVIEWS

Several interviews still need to be scheduled before January 20th. After reviewing the schedule and consulting with Jake and John, we suggest scheduling the following interviews aboard Air Force 1:

- ☒ Interview with Helen Thomas/Hearst—January 9th en route to Michigan
- ☒ Interview with Mark Knoller/CBS Radio—January 11th en route to New Hampshire
- ☒ Interview with Reuters—January 11th en route to Andrews AFB
- ☒ Interview with Mara Liasson/NPR—January 17th en route to Arkansas
- Interview with John King/CNN—We are still working on

Q
Good (Jake and John also suggest that you use the plane ride back from Arkansas to host a small dinner in the Conference Room with select members of the press. We can have Doe's, or another restaurant of your choice, cater this dinner.

Is this schedule acceptable to you?

☒ Yes

☐ No

Not Call

① Ruggie's request
on back

② what about
File exemption

Copied
Cable
Podesta

~~request for presidential pardons~~
Marius Biaggi File

William La gary

Bob Garcia's ^{federal} conviction
was reversed
by Congressman

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN
1-9-01

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

01 JAN 8 4:01

January 8, 2001

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT *SS*
SHANNON BUTLER *SB*

*Copied
Streett
Butler
Podesta*

CC: NANCY HERNREICH
JOHN PODESTA

SUBJECT: NEW JANUARY SCHEDULING DECISIONS

Since the memo that was sent on to you on January 5, we have received several new requests. We have attached this memo along with your schedules for the next two weeks. Please indicate those that you feel are a priority to do before January 20.

Y. Podesta
Meeting/Dinner with Wasatch Group.

✓ Carol Willis. He would like to reschedule the last meeting that he was unable to attend. He would like to discuss some DNC issues.

✓ Jim Griffin. You mentioned to Bruce and me that you would like to meet with him.

Tim Shriver. He would like to discuss the possibility of you becoming the Chairman of Special Olympics.

ASAP

✓ Counsel's office. They would like to meet with you for 2.5 hours to discuss pardons.

Rosemarie Terenzio. Bruce would like you to meet with her.

✓ Meeting with Bob Barnett, John, Bruce, and Karen. This meeting is to discuss Speakersbureau.

✓ Meeting with the 2000-2001 WH Class Fellows. You have not met with this class yet.

✓ Photo-op with Sec Rubin and his granddaughter. He would like to come in on January 16 for a photo-op

1-9-01

There are also some staff members that have requested to meet with you before January 20th. Please indicate those you feel are a priority.

☒ 1 Sid Blumenthal

☒ 2 Lynn Cutler

The following is a list of the outstanding events and dinners.

☒ **Dinner with some select members of the Press corps.** Jake suggests that you do this on the plane on the way back from Arkansas.

☒ **Possible Press Conference.** We have this tentatively scheduled for January 16. There would be a three hour briefing and a one hour press conference.

☒ **Possible Monument Event.** We are looking into scheduling an East Room event on the morning of January 17th before departing for Arkansas. You would sign the rest of the monuments including the Missouri Breaks and give Clark's servant, York, his NCO designation.

Farewell Party for Don Flynn. They are putting together a going away party for Don Flynn on January 18. Once the details are arranged, would you like us to put this as an option on your schedule?

☒ Yes, please put as an option.

☐ No

We have received a few more video requests.

Secretary Albright and Evelyn Lieberman are appearing on Oprah January 17. It has been requested that you tape a surprise video as a tribute to Secretary Albright. Would you like to tape this video?

☒ Yes

☐ No

Senator Alan Cranston passed away and his son requested that you tape a video for his memorial service on January 16. We recommend sending a letter.

☒ Please send letter

☐ Please tape video.

*Can do OK
knew him?
taped him?*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

1/9/01

To:

Deh's

From: The Staff Secretary

/AR

Ms. Frankel is asking for foreword type thing for the attached publication, which we will not do. Can you do a simple response to her?

FRIENDS OF SHEBA MEDICAL CENTER - TEL HASHOMER, ISRAEL

Susan Greenwood
President

January 3, 2001

Philippe Laub
Vice Chairman

Lisel Loy
Press Secretary
The White House

Herbert Gevirman
Treasurer

Jane Gol
VP/Secretary

Dear Lisel,

Julie Laub
Vice President

Needed: **a tribute to Leah Rabin from President Clinton, or from President Clinton and Hillary Clinton.**

01 JAN 8 PM5:58

Suzanne Sloan
Vice President

(Because I thought I could more quickly get it from Hillary's new office and thought Howard Wolfson would handle this, I lost time by sending it there. A mistake—perhaps he is overwhelmed.)

Adam Solomon
Vice President

Because of the Clintons' personal relationship with Leah, it would be wonderful to include them in a special tribute issue in Leah's memory of the enclosed publication called "Sheba Clips."

Frances Aaron
George Aaron
Richard Berman
Lisa Buksbaum
Anne Friedman
Matilda Gevirman
Ishaia Gol
Susan Nachtoni
Inge Rennert
Tamar Spilo
Marion Wiesel

Leah was the International President of the Friends of Sheba Medical Center-Tel Hashomer, the largest and most comprehensive medical in Israel (see information below). I just need two or three paragraphs—either a letter on letterhead, or some sort of approved copy. I don't even need hard copy if you can send me an email attachment I can forward to Israel that they can shoot from, or you could email it directly to the hospital.

Linda Frankel
Executive Director

I heard Senator Clinton's words at Leah's funeral, and no one said it better or was more articulate about Leah. If you have that copy, something very similar would certainly be more than appropriate.

Lea Rabin
President
International Friends of
Sheba Medical Center

Thank you for your help. I would be grateful if someone can let me know what the turnaround might be, for they are on a deadline. I would be glad to send a FedEx messenger if that would be helpful.

Sincerely,



Linda E. Frankel

Sheba Medical Center
Tel Hashomer

Prof. Mordechai Shani, M.D.
Director-General

Prof. Bolek Goldman, M.D.
Director

Dr. Ze'ev Rotstein, M.D.
Deputy Director

Founded in 1948, Sheba Medical Center-Tel Hashomer is the largest hospital in Israel, and in the entire Middle East. With over 1,900 beds and a 150-acre campus in Tel Aviv, Sheba cares for more than 100,000 inpatients and 600,000 outpatients each year, including Israel's leaders and soldiers. Recognized worldwide as a beacon of medical excellence, research and new technology, Sheba Medical Center holds fast to its philosophical core values: to extend the finest medical treatment, rehabilitation, care and compassion to all, with major emphasis on "the whole person," so that no matter the age or severity of illness, he or she may live life to its fullest potential.

Friends of Sheba Medical Center
Tel Hashomer, Israel



LINDA E. FRANKEL
Executive Director

580 Fifth Avenue, 32nd Floor, New York, NY 10036
Deliveries: 145 W. 55th Street, 14D, New York, NY 10019
Tel. 212/265-2135 - 354-8484, Fax 212/262-3687
lfrankel@shebamedical.com

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date

To:

Ruby

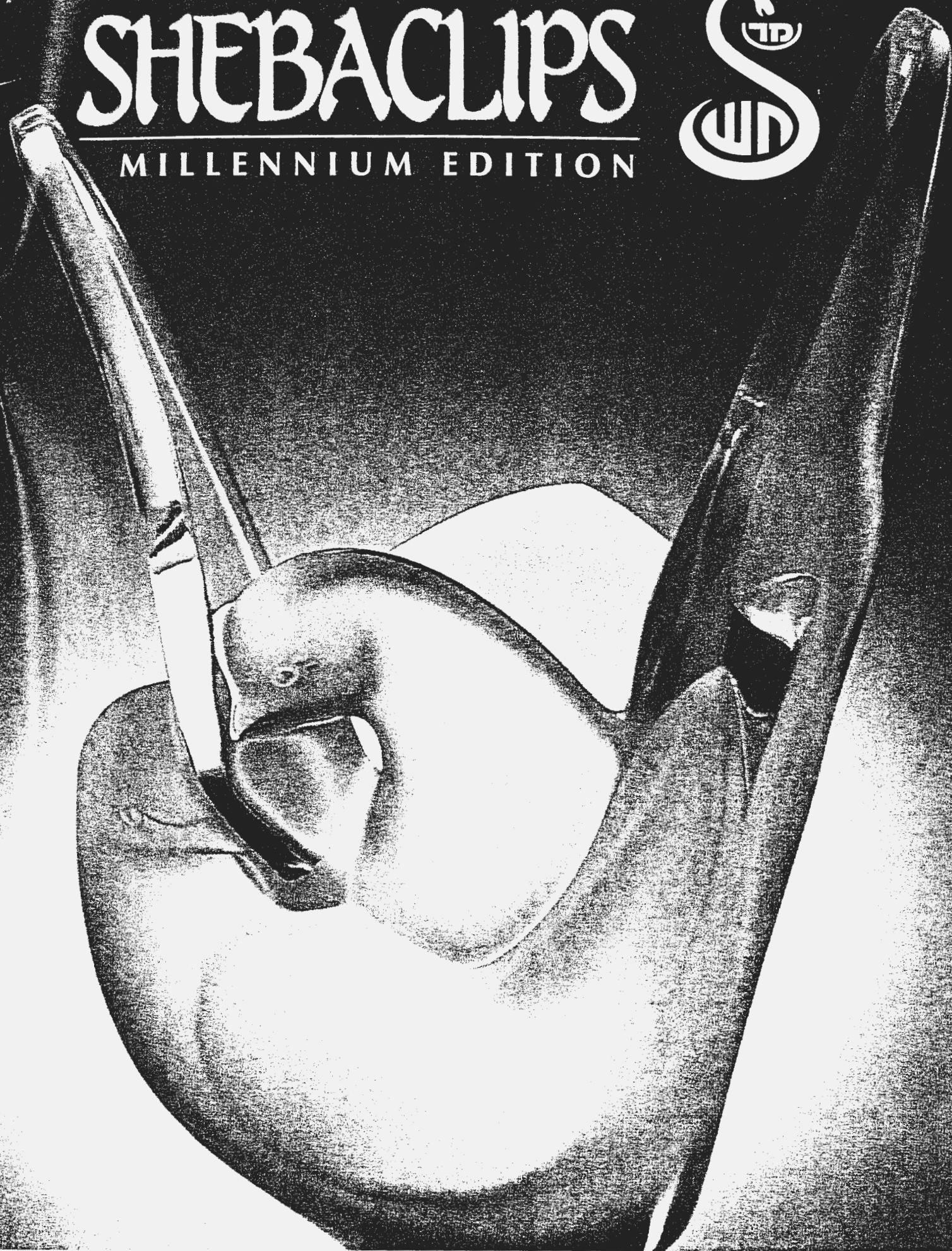
From: The Staff Secretary

Adm

We're inclined not
to do this -- unless
you/Melanne know
the woman and think
we should. If so,
need to run by counsel,
NSC, etc. Let me
know.

SHEBACLIPS

MILLENNIUM EDITION



Editor: Ulrike Haen
Photography: Photography Department
 The Chaim Sheba Medical Center:
 Pol Hoffman, Ilana Yona,
 Yael Nissan,
 Ido Snir
Articles: Ulrike Haen
**Graphics and
 Production:** Hamootal

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 Public Affairs Division
 The Chaim Sheba Medical Center
 Tel Hashomer 52621 - ISRAEL
 Tel.: 03-5302473
 Fax: 03-5356851
 E-mail: ulrike@netvision.net.il

Los Angeles Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
 9911 West Pico Blvd. * Suite 1220 * Los Angeles
 * CA 90035 * USA
 Tel.: (310) 8430100 * Fax: (310) 8430600

New York Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
 580 Fifth Avenue * New York, N.Y. 10036 * USA
 Tel.: (212) 8695570 * Fax: (212) 9442506

Canadian Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
 9 Terrydale Dr. * Downsview * Ont. M3H 5M7 * Canada
 Tel.: (416) 6335646 * Fax: (416) 6381588

Berlin Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
 P.O.B. 121230 * 10606 Berlin * Germany
 Tel.: (030) 3234075 * Fax (030) 3249967

Zurich Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
 Parkring 21 * 8002 Zurich * Switzerland
 Tel.: (01) 2020510 * Fax: (01) 2020520

Geneva Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
 Quai Gustave-Ador 62 * CH-1207 Geneva * Switzerland
 Tel.: (022) 736-4711 * Fax: (022) 736-1888

Austrian Friends of Sheba Medical Center, Tel Hashomer:
 P.O.B. 61 * 1043 Vienna * Austria
 Tel.: (01) 3196333 * Fax (01) 34422212



Sheba Humanitarian
Award



4

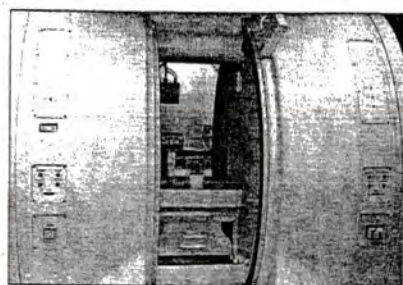
Visitors

SHEBACLIPS MILLENNIUM EDITION

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- 12-17 Inaugurations
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- 28-30 Los Angeles Friends

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Medicine

9



Achievements

10



A last farewell

11



Cap d'Antibes Gala

12-17



Inaugurations

18-19



Berlin Gala

20-21



Thank you, friends...!

22-27



Inaugurations

28-30



Los Angeles Friends



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

1-9-01

January 5, 2001

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THRU: JOHN PODESTA *JP*

FROM: GEORGE T. FRAMPTON, JR. *GTFJR*

SUBJECT: EVERGLADES ARTICLE

Attached is a fascinating article about how a former Florida Governor (Claude Kirk, the model for the swamp-dwelling ex-Governor "Skink" in Carl Hiasson's novels) came to Washington to help Interior Secretary Wally Hickel lobby President Nixon and John Ehrlichman to kill a huge jetport in the middle of the Everglades. They succeeded.

That was actually the environmental battle that crystallized in the mid-1980's the dream of restoring the Everglades, which you have finally put into final form.

*copied
Podesta
Frampton
Personal file*



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

*Send to
POCUS*



DEFEDE

www.miaminewtimes.com

12/21/2000

Destiny's Child

The battle over Homestead is déjà vu all over again
By Jim DeFede

As Bill Clinton's presidency draws to a close, one of his last acts will be to decide the future of Homestead Air Force Base. Miami-Dade County is pushing to have the base turned into a major commercial airport, while environmentalists oppose such a plan, arguing the base's location between Everglades and Biscayne national parks makes it unsuitable for such development. In many ways Clinton's decision is reminiscent of a choice made by President Richard Nixon exactly 30 years ago involving a proposal to build a jetport in the Big Cypress area of the Everglades. The situations are eerily similar.



Past as prologue:
President Clinton could learn a thing or two from Richard Nixon

Nathaniel Reed recalls the moment well. Early January 1970. He was sitting in the Roosevelt Room of the White House with his boss, Gov. Claude Kirk, the first Republican governor of Florida since Reconstruction. Also present were Interior Secretary Walter Hickel and

SEARCH

☒ This section only



More Metro from
December 21, 2000

Doing the Lord's Work Is Never Easy

Especially when you have investigators breathing down your neck and rabble-rousers raising holy hell
By Tristram Korten

Spitball

The Marlins cut a deal, and once again the pathetic public doesn't have a clue what just blew by
By Jim Mullin

Twisp of the Tale

When C.D. Payne stopped writing ad copy, he created a revolutionary teenage hero
By Robert Wilonsky

Department of Transportation Secretary John Volpe.

As the governor's chief environmental advisor, Reed was waiting to meet President Nixon regarding the future of one of the most controversial endeavors in Florida's history: the building of a jetport in the middle of the Everglades in what was known as the Big Cypress swamp.

The fight over the jetport had been raging in South Florida for more than two years. Environmentalists in the state, led by Joe Browder and Marjory Stoneman Douglas, railed against the proposed facility, which already was under construction at the time of Reed's White House meeting. Bulldozers and construction crews had broken ground in October 1968 and had completed a two-mile-long runway, the first of several landing strips in what was envisioned to be the largest airport in the world.

The jetport, located 50 miles west of downtown Miami and just north of the Tamiami Trail, was to cover 39 square miles of marshland, making it four times larger than Miami International Airport. County officials predicted a takeoff or landing every 30 seconds. A high-speed rail line would link the airport to Miami. Led by Dade County Mayor Charles Hall, construction of the facility was promoted as essential to the area's economic well-being.

Governor Kirk was initially supportive of the plan, bowing to South Florida's politicians and business leaders. Reed, however, changed the governor's mind. As Reed remembers it, he received a call one day in 1969 from Bob Padrick, a Gulf Coast Chevrolet dealer who served on the South Florida Water Management District. "Bob called and told me that I had to see for myself what was happening in Big Cypress," Reed says.

So Reed arranged for a state plane to take him over the construction site. "I was absolutely dumbfounded by what I saw," he recalls. "Here in the middle of Big Cypress were bulldozers knocking down trees and tearing through the land. When I got back to Tallahassee, I told Governor Kirk that we'd been had. We were assured by Dade County the impact would be negligible. Clearly that was not the case.

"The governor said to me: 'Oh God, Reed, I've already come out in support of the jetport.' He said he had campaigned on a pledge of increasing business developments and creating new jobs, which this project was going to do. But I told him he had to do something." The governor finally agreed, temporarily halting construction so he could have a chance to

Letters to the Editor

From the issue of
December 21, 2000

Recently in Metro

examine it more closely.

Reed and Padrick may have been the first people with real power to raise concerns about the jetport, but they certainly weren't the first to object to it. "We started working to oppose it as soon as we heard that the county and developers were assembling real estate out there," says Joe Browder, who at the time was president of the local chapter of the National Audubon Society. "The campaign to stop the jetport started before there was any construction." One of those enlisted early in the fight was Miami attorney Dan Paul. "The *Miami Herald* said we were impeding the economic engine of the county," Paul recounts. "I was told that I should be dropped in the middle of the Everglades with a butterfly net."

In those early days of the fight, Browder brought together an unlikely coalition of activists, including hunters and Miccosukee Indians. (Browder's efforts were beautifully documented in the 1993 children's book, *Save the Everglades*, written by Judith Bauer Stamper.) Finally he called on the first lady of the Everglades, Marjory Stoneman Douglas. The scene is recreated in Stamper's book:

"Finally, though, Joe put down his cup [of tea] and began to talk. He explained that he needed her help in the fight against the jetport. He brought up her book on the Everglades and how well known she was. He knew how much she loved the park. He said, 'If the jetport is built and the land is drained, the water for the Everglades will be polluted. Wildlife will disappear. You are more famous than anyone. People will respect you. They will listen to you.'

"Mrs. Douglas smiled. 'Just because I wrote a book doesn't mean they'll listen to me. I'm just one person. People don't listen to one person about anything. They listen to organizations.'

"Now it was Joe's turn to smile. 'So why don't you start an organization?' he asked."

Before she could answer, Browder drove Douglas to the construction site.

"As they drove through the park the sweet sounds of mockingbirds and wrens filled the air. Mrs. Douglas spotted an otter playing in the canal along the side of the road. It slid down the side of the canal and then floated on its back, basking in the warm sunshine.

"As they listened to the birds and watched the otter they grew

quiet. Each of them was reminded once again of how much there was to love about the park. They knew it would be destroyed if the jetport was built.

"At last they reached the jetport site. Joe led Mrs. Douglas to the place where the airstrip was being built. She looked around at the fallen trees and the bald patches of land. She saw the swampland torn apart and drained.

"That's all it took."

A short time later Douglas announced that she was forming an organization to fight the jetport. The group would be called Friends of the Everglades.

By the fall of 1969 the plan of attack was clear. While Browder and Douglas helped educate the public, not just in Florida but throughout the nation, as to the threat posed by the jetport, Reed strode through the corridors of power in Tallahassee and Washington.

Following the governor's order to temporarily halt construction of the jetport, Reed and Browder, working with a cast of scientists and other experts, created a list of 112 questions they wanted Dade County to address. At a subsequent public meeting to hear the county's response to those questions, Reed became infuriated when it became clear county officials refused to give serious consideration to the environmental concerns.

"You are wasting our time," Reed recalls chiding Mayor Charles Hall before a packed audience. "The mayor went ballistic." Hall called Reed and Browder "white militants" and told them to "go to hell." Eventually, Reed says, the mayor became so angry he threw his chair across the stage and stormed out of the meeting.

Through the governor Reed retaliated by yanking all state-required permits for the jetport. Both sides began lobbying Washington for assistance. The Department of Transportation and the Federal Aviation Administration advocated in favor of building the airport. Reed and the governor, meanwhile, lobbied the U.S. Department of the Interior and found an ally in Walter Hickel.

Ironically environmentalists had opposed Hickel's nomination as Interior Secretary, citing his abysmal record as governor of Alaska. But after winning Senate confirmation to the post,

Hickel decided his first official trip would be a two-day camping adventure in the Everglades. Reed acted as tour guide, and remembers how, at the end of the first day, Hickel and Governor Kirk polished off a bottle of whiskey at their campsite and then jumped into canoes in the middle of the night for a tour of Lostmans River, about 25 miles south of Everglades City. "They were bombed out of their minds, and they had these park rangers with them, and they kept asking the rangers what an alligator roar sounds like, and then they'd try to mimic one," Reed says, laughing at the memory. "They just howled away." Hickel ended up proving to be a valuable ally in Kirk's fight against the jetport.

Browder and the National Audubon Society had their own contacts as well. The national president of the society helped convince Nixon's chief of staff, John Erlichman, that the jetport was a mistake.

Environmentalists found an unexpected friend in Julie Nixon. The president sent his daughter on a "fact-finding mission" to the Everglades during the jetport debate. (An alligator hunter was hired by the Secret Service to walk in front of her and scare off any threatening creatures.) Browder prepared a wonderful tour for her, and she returned to Washington opposed to the jetport.

In January 1970 Reed and Kirk were summoned to the White House. After waiting a short time in the Roosevelt Room with Hickel, Transportation Secretary Volpe, and others, Reed says Erlichman suddenly burst into the room and announced that the president had made a decision: The jetport was dead.

Rather than couch the decision in environmental terms, Reed recalls Erlichman saying that the president didn't trust what was happening with the jetport because he believed it was part of a play by Dade County Democrats to get rich from land speculation. As Erlichman was speaking, Nixon walked in. He told the group his decision needed to remain secret for a few days. Volpe would have to privately brief the mayor in Dade County; he also needed to alert key members of Congress. "I don't want any showboating," Reed says Nixon commanded.

As they were leaving the White House, Hickel offered the governor and Reed a ride to the airport. "We hadn't gotten 250 yards from the White House," Reed says, "when Hickel gives Kirk a big slap on the knee and says, 'Who makes the first call?' Kirk says, 'I'll flip you for it.' Kirk calls heads and it turns out to be tails, and so Hickel picks up his car phone

starts to dial the chief environmental writer for the *New York Times*. And I said, "I thought we were sworn to secrecy back there." And Hickel says, "Nathaniel, you don't understand. We are in the middle of one of the great environmental victories of all time. We can't keep it to ourselves." Besides, once word of the decision was leaked, there would be no turning back.

The next morning the story was on the front page of the *Times*. A short time later, Reed fielded a call from Erlichman, who was furious at Hickel and Kirk. According to Reed the president's aide grumbled, "Dealing with those two juvenile delinquents is going to drive me stark-raving mad."

Today the jetport site is used as a training center for airline pilots practicing takeoffs and landings.

In 1971 Reed left the governor's office and went to work for Hickel as an assistant secretary at the Department of the Interior, where he helped develop the plan for the federal government to buy the Big Cypress swamp. The purchase was completed in 1974, and the name was changed to the Big Cypress National Preserve.

As the debate over Homestead Air Force Base heats up in the coming weeks, the names may have changed, but the story remains essentially the same. The FAA is pushing for the development of Homestead, as is the county mayor, who makes the same desperate argument his predecessor did 30 years ago about the county's economic future.

Instead of shady Democratic land speculators waiting to cash in, we have a pack of mostly Republican developers being handed a no-bid sweetheart contract that allows them to cash in on a new airport. "This is just plain old big-city greed," Browder says today.

On the environmental side of the issue, current U.S. Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt has come out strongly against an airport in Homestead, as has Carol Browner, administrator of Environmental Protection Agency, an agency created, coincidentally, by Nixon. Still lurking in the background, though perhaps not as prominently, are Browder, Reed, and in spirit at least, the memory of Marjory Stoneman Douglas.

Only one question now remains: Will President Bill Clinton fulfill destiny's role?

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PETER F. VALLONE
SPEAKER

January 8, 2001

Hon. William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write to express my concern about the continuing initiative by your administration to achieve a Middle East settlement, given the circumstances that currently exist. As you know, the City of New York is home to the largest Jewish population outside of Israel, and I believe many New Yorkers share my concern.

Firstly, let me say without equivocation that I commend all of your very substantial efforts during the past eight years to bring a lasting peace to this troubled part of the world which is so sacred to so many. I have supported those efforts throughout and they have fostered considerable progress over the years.

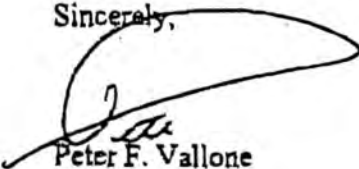
However, since the Oslo accords, Israel has made major territorial concessions in the hope that they would bring a cessation of Palestinian terrorism and violence. Unfortunately, these hopes have yet to be realized. Indeed, it has become increasingly clear over the past three months that the Palestinian leadership has begun to employ organized violence as an important component of their negotiating strategy. I know you believe with me that such tactics must never be allowed to succeed.

It is my view that negotiations should not continue unless and until the Palestinian leadership rejects the violence and causes it to stop. Israel must not be pressured to negotiate and compromise with an adversary that is pointing a gun at her head. Only when the gun is holstered will negotiations again be appropriate.

Peace at any price by the Israeli government is Chamberlain revisited. Of course, it is in the interest of both parties to achieve a fair peace through compromise. That cannot be done while Chairman Arafat seeks to impose his will through violence and terrorism.

My congratulations to Hillary on her wonderful victory; I look forward to meeting with you as my fellow New Yorkers.

Sincerely,


Peter F. Vallone

copied
Podesta
Berger
NSCWW
Desk (for
response)

1/9/01
After you have seen,
we will send to
NSC for reply-



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☒ Deliver immediately ☐ As requested ☐ For review ☐ Please reply ☐ For your information

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850 Viceroy Way
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01 JAN 9 AM 9:50

January 3, 2001

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

Dear President Clinton:

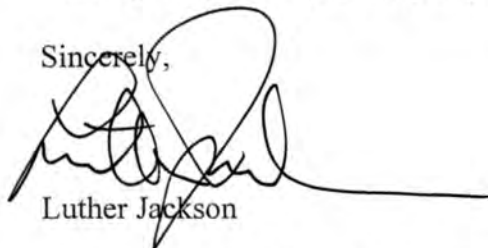
This letter is to sincerely thank you for eight years of positive leadership and to specifically express my family's appreciation for your support after the death of my brother Lee Jackson. Lee was on the U. S. Air Force flight (CT-43A) which crashed in Croatia on April 3, 1996.

We are thankful for your steadfast support of HR3295 and S1958, which sought to increase the amount of monetary damages for victims of tragedies caused by the Federal Government.

As it is now clear that those legislative efforts will not be successful, I am joining with the other Families of the CT-43 crash in asking that you issue an Executive Order directing the Air Force to pay the first \$100,000 of each 14 claims and the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the balance of \$2 million to each governmental employee's family from the U. S. Continuing Emergency Fund.

Thank you again for your ongoing support and for your service to our country.

Sincerely,



Luther Jackson

c: Thurgood Marshall, Jr. (via fax)

1/9/01

Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒

No ☐

coordinate w/ NSC

cc: m. rudman Carl
S. Matthews



5/11/01
SS

1/13/01

Brendan T. Byrne

December 22, 2000

Dear Mr. President:

I do hope that you will meet with John Anderson, Myron Kronisch and myself as suggested in the enclosed letter and that you decide to sign the Rowe Statute this month.

Sincerely,

BRENDAN T. BYRNE

BTB/dla

cc: Myron Kronisch

1/9/01

Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Card note w/ NSC

cc. scheduling Carl

PRESIDENT AND C.E.O.
John B. Anderson

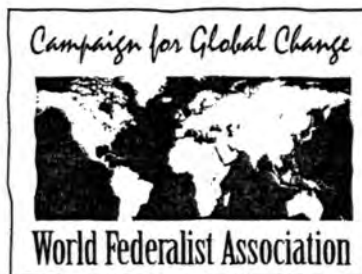
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Fax: 973 994 3903
139 E. McClellan Ave
Livingston, NJ 07039

December 20, 2000

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

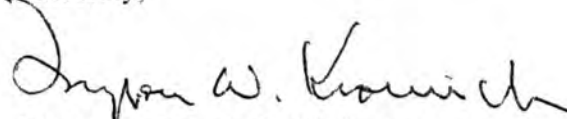
Dear Mr. President:

The contributions by your administration to the building of a more just and peaceful world have been many. I believe that your stand on Kosovo, your support for the International Criminal Court (ICC) and your October 1998 address in Ottawa before the first Global Conference on Federalism will be judged by coming generations as among the most meaningful. The enclosed copy of John Anderson's remarks, as published in the *NY Times*, quotes from your Ottawa address.

The World Federalist Association (WFA) Executive Committee has authorized me to ask that you join Governor Brendan Byrne and Senator Paul Simon on our Board of Advisors which is described in the left margin. Strobe Talbott may have mentioned WFA to you. Enclosed is a copy of his essay for *Time Magazine* which deals with our vision and history.

If it would be convenient to your February or March schedule John Anderson, Governor Byrne and I would be honored to have twenty minutes of your time either in Washington or New York to discuss WFA's short-term and long-term program.

Sincerely,


Myron W. Kronisch, Chairman
Board of Advisors

cc: President John B. Anderson
Governor Brendan T. Byrne, 6 Becker Farm Road, Roseland, NJ 07068
Hon. Strobe Talbott, Deputy Secretary of State, The State Dept., Wash., DC,

The Birth of the Global Nation

THE HUMAN DRAMA, WHETHER PLAYED OUT in history books or headlines, is often not just a confusing spectacle but a spectacle about confusion. The big question these days is, Which political forces will prevail, those stitching nations together or those tearing them apart?

Here is one optimist's reason for believing unity will prevail over disunity, integration over disintegration. In fact, I'll bet that within the next hundred years (I'm giving the world time for setbacks and myself time to be out of the betting game, just in case I lose this one), nationhood as we know it will be obsolete; all states will recognize a single, global authority. A phrase briefly fashionable in the mid-20th century—"citizen of the world"—will have assumed real meaning by the end of the 21st.

All countries are basically social arrangements, accommodations to changing circumstances. No matter how permanent and even sacred they may seem at any one time, in fact they are all artificial and temporary. Through the ages, there has been an overall trend toward larger units claiming sovereignty and, paradoxically, a gradual diminution of how much true sovereignty any one country actually has.

The forerunner of the nation was a prehistoric band clustered around a fire beside a river in a valley. Its members had a language, a set of supernatural beliefs and a repertoire of legends about their ancestors. Eventually they forged primitive weapons and set off over the mountain, mumbling phrases that could be loosely translated as having something to do with "vital national interests" and "manifest destiny." When they reached the next valley, they massacred and enslaved some weaker band of people they found clustered around some smaller fire and thus became the world's first imperialists.

Empires were a powerful force for obliterating natural and demographic barriers and forging connections among far-flung parts of the world. The British left their system of civil service in India, Kenya and Guyana, while the Spaniards, Portuguese and French spread Roman Catholicism to almost every continent.

Empire eventually yielded to the nation-state, made up primarily of a single tribe. China, France, Germany and Japan are surviving examples. Yet each of them too is the consequence of a centuries-long process of accretion. It took the shedding of much blood in many valleys for Normandy, Brittany and Gascony to become part of France.

Today fewer than 10% of the 186 countries on earth are ethnically homogeneous. The rest are multinational states. Most of them have pushed their boundaries outward, often until they reached the sea. That's how California became part of the U.S. and the Kamchatka Peninsula part of Russia.

The main goal driving the process of political expansion and consolidation was conquest. The big absorbed the small, the strong the weak. National might made international right. Such a world was in a more or less constant state of war.

From time to time the best minds wondered whether this wasn't a hell of a way to run a planet; perhaps national sovereignty wasn't such a great idea after all. Dante in the 14th century, Erasmus in the 16th and Grotius in the 17th all envisioned international law as a means of overcoming the natural tendency of states to settle their differences by force.

In the 18th century the Enlightenment—represented by Rousseau in France, Hume in Scotland, Kant in Germany, Paine and Jefferson in the U.S.—

gave rise to the idea that all human beings are born equal and should, as citizens, enjoy certain basic liberties and rights, including that of choosing their leaders. Once there was a universal ideology to govern the conduct of nations toward their own people, it was more reasonable to imagine a compact governing nations' behavior toward one another. In 1795 Kant advocated a "peaceful league of democracies."

But it has taken the events in our own wondrous and terrible century to clinch the case for world government. With the advent of electricity, radio and air travel,

the planet has become smaller than ever, its commercial life freer, its nations more interdependent and its conflicts bloodier. The price of settling international disputes by force was rapidly becoming too high for the victors, not to mention the vanquished. That conclusion should have been clear enough at the battle of the Somme in 1916; by the destruction of Hiroshima in 1945, it was unavoidable.

Once again great minds thought alike: Einstein, Gandhi, Toynbee and Camus all favored giving primacy to interests higher than those of the nation. So, finally, did many statesmen. Each world war inspired the creation of an international organization, the League of Nations in the 1920s and the United Nations in the '40s.

The plot thickened with the heavy-breathing arrival on the scene of a new species of ideology—expansionist totalitarianism—as perpetrated by the Nazis and the Soviets. It threatened the very idea of democracy and divided the world. The advocacy of any kind of world government became highly suspect. By 1950 "one-worlder" was a term of derision for those suspected of being woolly-headed naïfs, if not crypto-communists.

At the same time, however, Stalin's conquest of



ILLUSTRATION BY JIM TAYLOR

Eastern Europe spurred the Western democracies to form NATO, history's most ambitious, enduring and successful exercise in collective security. The U.S. and the Soviet Union also scared each other into negotiating nuclear-arms-control treaties that set in place two vital principles: adversary states have a mutual interest in eliminating the danger of strategic surprise, and each legitimately has a say in the composition of the other's arsenal of last resort. The result was further dilution of national sovereignty and a useful precedent for the management of relations between nuclear-armed rivals in the future.

The cold war also saw the European Community pioneer the kind of regional cohesion that may pave the way for globalism. Meanwhile, the free world formed multilateral financial institutions that depend on member states' willingness to give up a degree of sovereignty. The International Monetary Fund can virtually dictate fiscal policies, even including how much tax a government should levy on its citizens. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade regulates how much duty a nation can charge on imports. These organizations can be seen as the protoministries of trade, finance and development for a united world.

The internal affairs of a nation used to be off limits to the world community. Now the principle of "humanitarian intervention" is gaining acceptance. A turning point came in April 1991, shortly after Saddam Hussein's withdrawal from Kuwait, when the U.N. Security Council authorized allied troops to assist starving Kurds in northern Iraq.

Globalization has also contributed to the spread of terrorism, drug trafficking, AIDS and environmental degradation. But because those threats are more than any one nation can cope with on its own, they constitute an incentive for international cooperation.

However limited its accomplishments, last month's Earth Summit in Rio signified the participants' acceptance of what Maurice Strong, the main impresario of the event, called "the transcending sovereignty of nature": since the by-products of industrial civilization cross borders, so must the authority to deal with them.

Collective action on a global scale will be easier to achieve in a world already knit together by cables and airwaves. The fax machine had much to do with the downfall of tyrants in Eastern Europe. Two years ago, I was assigned an interpreter in Estonia who spoke with a slight Southern accent because she had learned her English watching *Dallas*, courtesy of TV signals beamed over the border from neighboring Finland. *The Cosby Show*, aired on South African television, has no doubt helped erode apartheid.

This ideological and cultural blending strikes some observers as too much of a good thing. Writing in the *Atlantic*, Rutgers political scientist Benjamin Barber la-

ments what he calls "McWorld." He also identifies the countertrend, the re-emergence of nationalism in its ugliest, most divisive and violent form.

Yet Azerbaijan, Moldova and Czechoslovakia were part of the world's last, now deceased empire. Their breakup may turn out to be the old business of history, not the wave of the future. National self-assertiveness in the West can be mighty ugly, especially in its more extreme Irish and Basque versions. But when Scots, Québécois, Catalans and Bretons talk separatism, they are, in the main, actually renegotiating their ties to London, Ottawa, Madrid and Paris.

They are the disputatious representatives of a larger, basically positive phenomenon: a devolution of power not only upward toward supranational bodies and outward toward commonwealths and common markets but also downward toward freer, more autonomous units of administration that permit distinct societies to preserve their cultural identities and govern themselves as much as possible. That American buzz word empowerment—

and the European one, subsidiarity—is being defined locally, regionally and globally all at the same time.

Humanity has discovered, through much trial and horrendous error, that differences need not divide. Switzerland is made up of four nationalities crammed into an area considerably smaller than what used to be Yugoslavia. The air in the Alps is no more conducive to comity than the air in the Balkans. Switzerland has thrived, while Yugoslavia has failed because of what Kant realized 200 years ago: to be in peaceful league with one another, people—and peoples—must have the benefits of democracy.

The best mechanism for democracy, whether at the level of the multinational state or that of the planet as a whole, is not an all-powerful Leviathan or centralized superstate, but a federation, a union of separate states that allocate certain powers to a central government while retaining many others for themselves.

Federalism has already proved the most successful of all political experiments, and organizations like the World Federalist Association have for decades advocated it as the basis for global government. Federalism is largely an American invention. For all its troubles, including its own serious bout of secessionism 130 years ago and the persistence of various forms of tribalism today, the U.S. is still the best example of a multinational federal state. If that model does indeed work globally, it would be the logical extension of the Founding Fathers' wisdom, therefore a special source of pride for a world government's American constituents.

As for humanity as a whole, if federally united, we won't really be so very far from those much earlier ancestors, the ones huddled around that primeval fire beside the river; it's just that by then the whole world will be our valley. ■

Humanity
has discovered
that differences need
not divide.
Empowerment is being
defined locally,
regionally and globally
all at the same time.

In Response to Senator Helms

Cronkite and Clinton make a strong case for recasting the United Nations as a world federation

By John B. Anderson

Recently, Senator Jesse Helms claimed to speak for the American people in opposing the engagement of the United Nations in world affairs. In doing so he acted as a pretender to the American presidency by declaring foreign policy for the United States. Independent polls consistently show strong support by American voters for a strengthened United Nations to take the lead in international relations, contrary to Senator Helms' view.

Last October, President Clinton applauded federalism—the basis for the U.S. Constitution—as “the arrangement of government most likely to give us the best of all worlds—the integrity we need, the self-government we need, the self-advancement we need—without pretending that we can cut all the cords that bind us to the rest of humanity.”

Clinton's address before the first global conference on federalism was attended by representatives of federal systems worldwide. The President noted that “...we become more of a federalist world when the United Nations takes a more active role in stopping genocide...and we recognize mutual responsibilities to contribute and pay for those things.”

The same month, Walter Cronkite received the World Federalist Association's Norman Cousins Global Governance Award for his promotion of world government in his autobiography “A Reporter's Life.”

“Those of us who are living today can influence the future of civilization. We can influence

whether our planet will drift into chaos and violence, or whether through a monumental educational and political effort we will achieve a world of peace under a system of law where individual violators of that law are brought to justice. We need a system of enforceable world law—a democratic federal world government—to deal with world problems,” noted Cronkite.

At present, the United Nations closely resembles the American nation under the Articles of Confederation (1781-1789). The inherent problems with that system demonstrated the need for “a more perfect Union,” a call which Washington, Madison, Hamilton, and others heeded at the Constitutional Convention during the hot Philadelphia summer of 1787. For over two centuries, the Federal Constitution has continued to provide Americans with prosperity and security.

Renowned leaders such as Albert Einstein, Eleanor Roosevelt, Martin Luther King Jr., and Presidents John F. Kennedy and George Bush have recognized that threats to our interests and security at the world level require a system to adequately address global concerns such as genocide, terrorism, and environmental pollution. We need such a system—democratically accountable to the world's people—that will complement the work of individual nations in these areas.

Senator Helms does not speak for the American people on foreign affairs. President



John B. Anderson, a former ten-term Republican member of Congress from Illinois and 1980 independent presidential candidate, is the President and CEO of the World Federalist Association.

Clinton does. He and Walter Cronkite have joined the distinguished figures mentioned above and millions of Americans who want a better United Nations capable of securing global solutions to global problems, and only global problems.

WFA's Partners for Global Change participate in a monthly conference call with Members of Congress, media experts and policy researchers. High-impact projects, such as media events, letter writing campaigns and meetings with elected officials give each Partner group an opportunity to help build a better United Nations. Call the national office for more information on how you can make a difference.

The World Federalist Association

“Dedicated to establishing a democratic UN federation limited to achieving positive global goals that nations cannot accomplish alone.”

**CORPORATE AFFAIRS**

100 Universal Plaza, Building 10
Universal City, CA 91608
phone: 818/733-6336
fax: 818/733-6129

01 JAN 9 PM 12:47

PAGE 1 of 3

To: President William Jefferson Clinton
c/o Betty Currie

Company:

Fax: 202/456-1210

From: Andy Spahn

Date: January 8, 2001

Message:

Dear Mr. President,

Hope the attached will be of interest.
Thanks, again, for your attention.

Best,
Andy Spahn

Send to Cabe 1-9-01
Cohen
Yes ☒
No ☐

CONFIDENTIAL

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Opinion; Opinion Desk

THE NATION PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE Put a Close to This Sad Chapter

Kevin McKiernan

Kevin McKiernan covered the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation for National Public Radio from 1973-1976. He was the co-producer of the PBS "Frontline" program "The Spirit of Crazy Horse."

01/07/2001

Los Angeles Times

Home Edition

M-2

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SANTA BARBARA -- I don't know which American Indian killed FBI agents Jack Coler and Ronald Williams in a notorious South Dakota shoot-out 25 years ago. Nor do I know the identity of the federal lawman who shot and killed Joe Stuntz, the American Indian Movement (AIM) member, whose body I photographed afterward. But I was there on June 25, 1975, outside the Jumping Bull ranch on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, when some of the bullets were flying. A stray round hit my pickup, and my memory is still fresh of crouching low behind the truck with my portable tape deck, recording the exchange of gunfire for a National Public Radio broadcast.

The government has never produced an eyewitness in the deaths of the agents, and prosecutors admit they still don't know who actually killed Coler and Williams. But AIM leader Leonard Peltier, one of the estimated two dozen Indians present on the 40-acre reservation that day, has admitted that he participated in the firefight. A U.S. appellate court upheld his murder conviction as an aider and abettor, but the court chastised the FBI for its use of "fabricated" evidence in securing Peltier's extradition from Canada and for withholding from the jury an exculpatory ballistics test conducted on a rifle attributed to Peltier.

Amnesty International maintains that Peltier, who is 56 and has been in jail for the last 25 years, did not get a fair trial. Now, in the waning days of the Clinton administration, the organization is one of several groups petitioning the president to commute Peltier's sentence.

Two other AIM members were acquitted in the case, on grounds of self-defense, despite testimony that they had fired in the direction of the agents. The jury also heard evidence about COINTELPRO, the FBI's counterinsurgency program used against AIM, and a representative of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission testified to the "climate of fear" on the reservation before the 1975 shootings. Other testimony challenged FBI assertions of neutrality in the tribal civil war that followed AIM's takeover of the historic reservation village of Wounded Knee two years earlier. Two Indians were shot to death at Wounded Knee; a dozen Indians and two lawmen also received gunshot injuries during the 10-week takeover.

There have long been allegations that the FBI chose sides in the internecine conflict that took place from 1973-75 between AIM-led traditionalists and a vigilante group of mostly mixed bloods who called themselves the GOONS (Guardians of the Oglala Nation). But testimony concerning FBI activities on the reservation before the 1975 killings was excluded by the judge in the case of Peltier, who was tried separately from the other two defendants.

In fact, the climate of fear back then was all too real, and it matched anything I have experienced reporting from war zones like El Salvador and the Middle East. In those days, the reservation seemed like the Wild West, and almost everyone was armed. I once was threatened with guns in my face when I tried to film a GOON squad roadblock; another time I was slammed up against a wall by GOONS, who tended to perceive the entire press corps as AIM sympathizers. The brakes on my car were cut, and, on one occasion, a high-powered rifle blew a hole in an automobile in which I was riding. My experiences pale by comparison to the beatings, fire-bombings and drive-by shootings were common during the period; at least 25 murders of Indians still remain unsolved. Former South Dakota state Sen. James Abourzek said that the near-lawless atmosphere on the reservation approached "total anarchy."

District U.S. Judge Fred Nichol, who tried many of the Wounded Knee cases, once told me in a filmed interview that "The FBI and the GOON squad worked pretty much together . . . because they were against AIM." In a 1984 televised interview, which I conducted for PBS's "Frontline," a leader of the GOON squad claimed that FBI agents provided his group with intelligence on AIM and, in one instance, "armor piercing" bullets for use against AIM members who, like the GOONS, were heavily armed at the time.

A few years ago, Gerald W. Heaney, chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals that upheld Peltier's conviction, petitioned the White House to commute Peltier's sentence. Heaney stated in a letter that the FBI shared the blame for the two agents and one Indian killed in the South Dakota shoot-out. He said that the government "overreacted" to

the 1973 occupation at Wounded Knee. Instead of "carefully considering the legitimate grievances of Native Americans," he said, "the response was essentially a military one that culminated in a deadly firefight on June 26, 1975.

Before he leaves office, President Bill Clinton can provide closure to a difficult and divisive period in Indian history. As Heaney wrote in his clemency plea, "At some time, the healing process must begin. We as a nation must recognize their unique culture and their great contribution to our nation."

PHOTO: Indian activist Leonard Peltier;

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RICHARD M. ZUCKERMAN
RUBINBAUM LLP
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA - 29TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10112
(212) 698-2243
FAX: (212) 698-7825
rmz@rubinbaum.com

December 22, 2000

Via Fax: (202) 456-2461

Hon. William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

History will regard your signing the Rome Treaty for the International Criminal Court (ICC) before the December 31, 2000 deadline as an act of statesmanship and humanity. The court represents one of the most important advancements in human rights protection since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As a strong proponent of justice for the victims of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, you would leave an important legacy by signing the court's treaty.

As a supporter of Human Rights Watch, I have had the opportunity to follow the establishment of the court more closely than the average American. I believe that the court will be an effective mechanism for bringing to justice those responsible for the most serious human rights crimes: genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. While I fully support the work of the ad hoc tribunals set up to investigate and prosecute those responsible for atrocities in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, this system of ad hoc justice is too slow, inefficient, and limited in scope to be adequate. The United States should support a permanent court to bring the most egregious human rights violators to justice regardless of where they commit their heinous crimes. One-hundred-and-twenty governments have already signed the Rome Treaty and twenty-five of those have ratified it. Among the court's supporters are virtually all of America's closest allies. The pace of signature and ratification has greatly increased over the last six months, and Human Rights Watch anticipates that the treaty will enter into force by mid-2002, once the sixty ratifications needed to establish the court have been secured. The issue is no longer whether the court will be established – that moment will soon be upon us – but whether the United States will join in endorsing this historic institution.

I appreciate the concern expressed by some U.S. government officials that the court could become a vehicle for politically motivated prosecutions. However, U.S. negotiators

1/9/01
Send to Cohen
Yes ☒
No ☐
Coordinate w/ NSC

RICHARD M. ZUCKERMAN

Hon. William J. Clinton
The White House

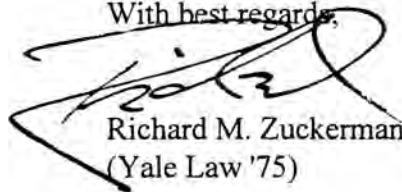
December 22, 2000
Page 2

have obtained multiple safeguards that make the likelihood of unwarranted prosecutions small – a risk that is far outweighed by the court's enormous benefits. The court is set up to be a fair and impartial judicial body with provisions to protect the rights of the accused and guarantee the highest standard of due process. Most important, under the court's "complementarity" provision, the U.S. government can ensure that no American is ever brought before the court by pursuing long standing U.S. policy to conduct a good-faith investigation and, if appropriate, prosecution of any servicemember who might commit such terrible crimes.

At this stage, the most important thing the U.S. government can do to ensure that the court lives up to its potential as a fair and objective institution is to embrace the court and play a major role in shaping its culture and practice in this formative early period. I understand that ratification is not politically possible. Your signature would be the next best thing for giving the United States a central role in setting the court's direction.

We look forward to welcoming you and Hillary to New York.

With best regards,



Richard M. Zuckerman
(Yale Law '75)

cc:

Via Fax: (202) 456-2883
Hon. Samuel R. Berger
National Security Advisor
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Via Fax: (212) 736-1300
Human Rights Watch

Via Fax: (202) 647-1533
Hon. Madeleine Albright
Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
Washington, DC, 20520

red dot 1-9-01

Send to Cohen
Yes ☒
No ☐
cc: S. Matthews.
M. Anderson

Dr. and Mrs. Joseph I. Hoffman, Jr.
3400 Kilby Place, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Telephone: (404) 233-5467 Facsimile: (404)

January 3, 2001

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton:

We are writing to congratulate you and your administration on an unprecedented healthy economy, unprecedented diversity in your cabinet and administration, unprecedented understanding, support and courage demonstrated by a couple and family through horrendous scrutiny and personal indictment. We applaud your grace, intelligence, and ability to lead us even as you transition out of office on January 20, 2001. We imagine that you are feeling great anticipation and perhaps relief as you look forward to a life in the private sector.

As an African American family who were the parents of beautiful and dedicated, Kathryn Hoffman, as well as personal friends of the late Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, his wife Alma and their children, Michael and Tracy, we celebrate your many stellar victories. We also felt your pain during one of the most scrutinized presidencies of our century. If you were to ask the majority of African Americans or Americans for their vote as president for another term, we are confident that you would receive it.

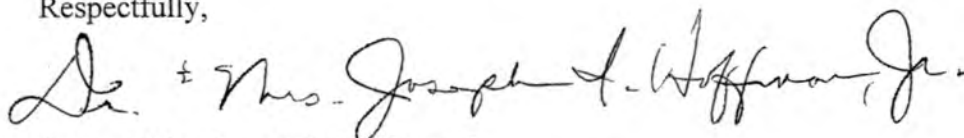
As you depart, Mr. Clinton, we the families of the CT-43, implore you to take another brave step in honor of Ron Brown, our Kathy who adored you, and all of the other public servants (14 families) who were killed in the Croatian plane crash over four years ago and who never received compensation. This act on your part would be an altruistic gesture that would greatly assist us who were never compensated for the tragic accident that robbed us of valued lives as were those in the private sector. We are requesting you issue an Executive Order from the Air Force or the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the balance of \$2 million to each government employee's family from the U.S. Continuing Emergency Fund.

While we have two other daughters who we love dearly, Kathy was the oldest and the first child. We miss her tremendously. We hope that as you prepare to leave the White House, you will take the necessary action to help us and the other families bring this unfair and tragic situation to closure.

We thank you in advance for your past support of all of our efforts as we have painfully navigated through committees, countless meetings and briefings for over four years ultimately to no avail. We need your decisive executive order.

Thank you and God bless you, Hillary and Chelsea in your new lives and endeavors.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Dr. & Mrs. Joseph I. Hoffman, Jr." The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Dr. and Mrs. Joseph I. Hoffman, Jr.

Wauthelet Jacques
rue Jouay, 99
6240 Pironchamps
BELGIQUE

01 JAN 9 PM 1:33

Mr the President,

I have honor to present has you and has your family

my best wishes for the year 2001

as well as all my congratulations for your work at the

White House.

Would like to send me to you the address of your future

residence.

Of advance i thank you for it again my best wishes.

Handwritten signature

1-9-01

Carole -
See card - wants
plus future
address.

Season's Greetings
Beste wensen
Meilleurs vœux
Frohe Festtage
Auguri
Feliz año nuevo

1-9-01

How are these
requests?

103B

White House Gift Record

Presented: 11/08/2000
Arrival: 11/14/2000
Entered: 11/14/2000

Gift ID: 5049019/GIFTINT1

Donor Information

Mr. and Mrs. Bob Gaskill
1006 East Alabama Avenue
Albertville, AL 35950

01 JAN 9 PM 4:37

Acknowledged By: Cards - Form Acknowledgements

BC Gift Card

Gift Information

Intended: President

Disposition: Archives

Description:

Location:

8" x 10" piece of wood with a laser engraving of the
President's birthplace.

POTUS holding shelf.

Total Gift Value is \$50

1-8-01

Potus wants
"nice" letter sent.

1/2

1-9-01

Send to Cohen?

Yes

No

BC 5/6?

cel

Can we do
letter? B

1/8/01

01 JAN 9 PM 3:07

Hi Betty,

This darling letter for the President is from Cory Pesaturo, a young accordion player who has entertained several times at the White House during this administration. Cory appeared in the recent holiday entertainment line-up.

I am sending it along to you, as the President has enjoyed Cory's letters in the past. It arrived with letters for Capricia and me.

His address is:
19 Thompson Hill Drive
Cumberland, RI 02864

Let me know if I can be of further assistance. Thanks.

Michelle M
X66312

1/9/01

Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Carl

Dear President Clinton,

Happy New Year! I hope 2001 will be a GREAT year for you since you will be starting a whole new life! I know you will be successful no matter what you do after seeing how you can run a whole country! It was super as always to see you and Mrs. Clinton again, and to finally meet Chelsea. She is really nice! My Grandmother was so impressed with the White House and with your family that she's still speechless!

I hope in the future to visit your library in Arkansas when it's completed. That will really be something since I've followed your Presidential terms and will understand what I'm seeing and reading. I have a new accordion now since I've grown, but I still have the "Titan" that I played for you the first time I met you, as well as the State Dinner for the President of Hungary, and the second Christmas I saw you! It means too much

to me to give away to anyone, but if you ever need it for your Presidential Library to show kids what can be accomplished when you try to do something, I would be HONORED to lend or give it to you.

It would be great if you could give me your address at your office in Manhattan or wherever possible, so I can always keep in touch with you. I really do look up to you, Mr. President.

your musical friends,

Cory Persauto

STANLEY S. SHUMAN

Tam B. 2002:07
01 JAN 3 12:07

Dear Mr. President,

I want to thank you so very much for the privilege of serving as a member of your Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. It was a fascinating involvement; the tasks were important, and my colleagues were first rate.

In a larger sense, I want to thank you for what I am confident history will record as being an outstandingly successful administration under your remarkable leadership. Obviously there were disappointments, but we will all look back on "the Clinton days" with admiration and gratitude. You will be sorely missed!

As you and Hillary each enter other phases of your lives, I am sure you will both find meaningful and absorbing challenges - and you will

1/9/01

Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒

No ☐

cc: Sperling ☒

Yes ☒

No ☐

keep original here -
send copy to Cohen for reply
Carol

cc: Gene Sperling

Bobus wants a
response

STANLEY S. SHUMAN

2/ June 8, 2001

reap the rewards from meeting them successfully. Sydney and I hope that you will end up spending much time in New York as you pursue your future endeavors and that we will see you often.

Cordially,

Stan

P.S. In looking through my records, I found a short letter and memo I wrote surrounding your early economic summit, and I have taken the liberty of attaching it for your interest.

STANLEY S. SHUMAN

Oct 5, 1992

Dear Bill,

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You have been terrific - keep it going!

Best regards,

Stan

To: President Elect Bill Clinton
From: Stanley S. Shuman
Re: Economic Conference

Revisiting my short letter to you of October 5th (copy enclosed), my observations regarding the broad goals of your economic policy have not been significantly altered by the exhaustive interchange at the Conference. It has become more clear, however, that there is little risk to stimulating now in a manner which improves the short term cyclical malaise and at the same time is consistent with the necessity for structural change that reverses our untenable poor secular trends. A conversion from consumption to investment spending well described in Putting People First is necessary to improve productivity and competitiveness, and in so doing, our national ethos. This must be coupled with a cogent deficit reduction program over time which includes an immediate assault on health care costs.

The vetting of options has been complete and brilliantly managed. I do not presume to be expert enough to specify the optimal mix of the wide variety of options available for your definitive plan. But as you now go forward, it is important to recognize that our democratic system, responsive to electorates, performs least well when attempting structural change based on long term planning. In a system that is essentially reactive, change occurs most easily in times of crisis. In my many years of experience in working with New York City's fiscal crisis as well as its voluntary child care system, we continue to deal with yearly bandaids which protect the political prerogatives of the Mayor, Governor and others. Despite significant progress, the structural problems remain, and we sit on a time-bomb. The failure of Gramm-Rudman is another such example. So we ponder how to create a crisis that we can then manage for the desired result. Absent this opportunity, it is essential that you continue your constant efforts to educate and explain with a view to consensus building. There must be a common sense of sacrifice fairly distributed with the goal of ultimate rewards in which we all will participate.

Hopefully you will conclude that what is right for our social fabric and economic well being will be consistent with your long run political interest and therefore worth taking the heat. It is a watershed period in our history, and the country desperately cries out for strong leadership.

You have made a great beginning. It is now critical, while your political capital is strongest, to immediately set forth a credible, balanced and complete plan which should include achievable milestones with enforcement provisions built in where possible. Your resolve to keep the nation on course with a program that may transcend your eight years will be the pivotal factor for success.

Thirty-Eight Close Road
Greenwich

Ken + Jane
Bartels

December 27, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

If you could help the
Peace Garden in any way,
I'd be most grateful.

Hope house-hunting is going
well.

Will miss you as President.
Wish we could change the
Constitution.

You'll always be my
favorite President.

Much love,

Jane and Ken

1/9/01

Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒

No ☐

coordinate w/ NSC

cc: scheduling Cal

National Peace Garden Foundation

Building a Place for Peace Education

Ally Sae

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

December 11, 2000

Dear Mr. President:

01 JAN 9 AM 9:50

Honorary Co-Chairs
President Jimmy Carter
President George Bush

Honorary Vice Co-Chairs
Susan Eisenhower
Kathleen Kennedy Townsend

Board of Directors

Bruce A. Barnet
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Sheila Avrin McLean
Hon. George Miller
Gen. Colin L. Powell, ret.
Sen. John Rockefeller, IV
Paul Warnke

President and CEO
John F. Reynolds III

One Grumman Hill Road
Wilton, CT 06897
Tel: 203/762-7917
Toll-free: 1-877-GO-PEACE
Fax: 203/762-9053
pgarden@celebratepeace.org

A 501 (c) (3)
Charitable Organization

Recognizing the unique and historic contribution you have made to bringing peace to our country and to the world (I think especially of Bosnia, Northern Ireland and the Middle East), I am writing to invite you to become the Chairman of the National Peace Garden Campaign.

The National Peace Garden will be a place for peace education in Washington, a place to sign peace treaties, an enduring place for all ages to learn from peacemakers and to be motivated to seek ways to live in which the prospect of peace is made more likely. The Peace Corps will be nationally honored for the first time in a special section of the garden. The seven million school children that visit our capital each year will have their lives influenced by their visits to this inspirational place, as well as by our companion classroom programs in America's schools and on the Internet.

Authorized by Congress some 12 years ago on 10 magnificent acres, near the Jefferson Memorial, the National Peace Garden will be a tribute to America's tradition of peacemaking and its peacemakers.

Since peace has been such a priority in your presidency, what more fitting legacy to all future generations than the National Peace Garden?

During the past twelve months, we have put into place the elements necessary for a successful campaign, notably:

- A strong Board to help raise the necessary funds, including Ambassador Edward Elson, who served in your administration as Ambassador to Denmark and your personal friend, Jane Condon.
- A compelling TV ad featuring two former Presidents
- A forceful brochure to launch our corporate campaign

We are now ready for a person who is both a great American peacemaker and is recognized by his fellow countrymen as a man who worked tirelessly to bring peace to guide this endeavor.

I would welcome the opportunity for a short meeting to discuss this matter with you, for I believe it would be a natural extension to your presidency to lead the campaign to build the National Peace Garden.

Sincerely,

John Reynolds
John Reynolds

cc: Ambassador Edward Elson
Ms. Jane Condon

HURST LAW OFFICES

213 WOODBINE
HOT SPRINGS, ARKANSAS 71901
(501) 623-2565-Telephone
(501) 623-9391-Facsimile

Q. BYRUM HURST, JR.
Attorney at Law

TYLAR C. M. TAPP, III
Attorney at Law

January 8, 2001

T. CLAY JANSKE
Attorney at Law

TAMRA BARRETT
Attorney at Law

Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Attn: Ms. Betty Currie
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000



01 JAN 9 AM 2:57

VIA FACSIMILE 202-456-1210

RE: Jeffery James Ratcliff

Dear President Clinton:

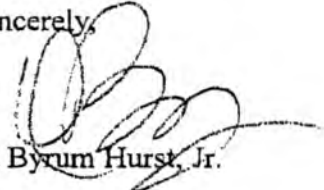
On June 1, 1999 I filed a petition seeking a pardon for Jeffery James Ratcliff.

I believe this petition has been thoroughly investigated by the Department of Justice. The petition is supported by many fine people, including the former mayor of El Paso, Texas. Many of these letters of support have been provided to your office and the Department of Justice. Many other people wanted to express their support for Mr. Ratcliff, but in the interest of limiting voluminous paper, we selected a few from business leaders and other men and women of integrity to demonstrate why Mr. Ratcliff is deserving of forgiveness and pardon.

The crime for which Mr. Ratcliff was convicted was manslaughter that occurred as a result of an automobile accident. Although this accident resulted in a terrible tragedy, it was certainly not intentional on the part of Mr. Ratcliff. Having shown good conduct and citizenship for a number of years since his release, I believe Mr. Ratcliff is one of the most deserving candidates for pardon that I have had the pleasure of representing.

I know you are in your final days of office and I urge you to consider this matter before your final departure.

Sincerely,


Q. Byrum Hurst, Jr.

QBHjr/db

1-9-01

To Cabe for handling?

Yes ☒ No ☐

Coordinate reply with Cohen?

Yes ☒ No ☐

B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1-9-01

To: SHANNON
From: The Staff Secretary

As discussed.

Thanks.

WHITE HOUSE
January 2001

Bill Lann Lee
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Dear Bill,

I write to express my gratitude and admiration for your outstanding service in the U.S. Department of Justice and to this nation as the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. I am extremely proud that you served with such distinction.

As I said during our trip to Selma, Alabama on the 35th anniversary of the 1965 voting rights march, there are still bridges yet to cross in this land despite recent progress and improvements.

In your able stewardship of the Civil Rights Division over the past three years, you have helped this nation cross many bridges. You have moved us irrevocably forward by advancing the rights of all Americans to be free of discrimination in employment, housing, lending, voting, public accommodations, education, and federally assisted programs. You have worked successfully to combat police misconduct, hate crimes, church arson, and the trafficking of human beings. And you have performed groundbreaking work to open up the mainstream of American life to people with disabilities.

Despite the resistance we faced, I never once regretted my decision to select you to lead the federal government's foremost civil rights law enforcement agency. Your steadfast devotion to duty and unwavering commitment to the mission of the Civil Rights Division in the face of this opposition is a study in courage. I could not be more pleased with your performance as my Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights and your historic contributions in helping us move more swiftly toward one America.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

1-9-01



THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

PETER F. VALLONE
SPEAKER

copied
Podesta
Berger
NSCWW
Desk (for
response)

January 8, 2001

Hon. William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write to express my concern about the continuing initiative by your administration to achieve a Middle East settlement, given the circumstances that currently exist. As you know, the City of New York is home to the largest Jewish population outside of Israel, and I believe many New Yorkers share my concern.

Firstly, let me say without equivocation that I commend all of your very substantial efforts during the past eight years to bring a lasting peace to this troubled part of the world which is so sacred to so many. I have supported those efforts throughout and they have fostered considerable progress over the years.

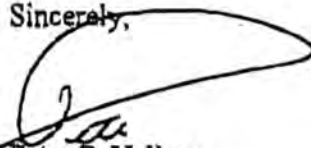
However, since the Oslo accords, Israel has made major territorial concessions in the hope that they would bring a cessation of Palestinian terrorism and violence. Unfortunately, these hopes have yet to be realized. Indeed, it has become increasingly clear over the past three months that the Palestinian leadership has begun to employ organized violence as an important component of their negotiating strategy. I know you believe with me that such tactics must never be allowed to succeed.

It is my view that negotiations should not continue unless and until the Palestinian leadership rejects the violence and causes it to stop. Israel must not be pressured to negotiate and compromise with an adversary that is pointing a gun at her head. Only when the gun is holstered will negotiations again be appropriate.

Peace at any price by the Israeli government is Chamberlain revisited. Of course, it is in the interest of both parties to achieve a fair peace through compromise. That cannot be done while Chairman Arafat seeks to impose his will through violence and terrorism.

My congratulations to Hillary on her wonderful victory; I look forward to meeting with you as my fellow New Yorkers.

Sincerely,


Peter F. Vallone

1/9/01
After you have seen,
we will send to
NSC for reply -



THE COUNCIL
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
SPEAKER'S OFFICE
CITY HALL
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

212-788-7210

Fax-212-788-7207

Facsimile Transmittal

Date: 1-8-00

To: Hon. William J. Clinton

From: Hon. Peter F. Vallone

Company: _____

Phone: 212/788-7210

Fax#: 202/456-2397 1210

#of Pages: 1

Phone: 202/456-1414

(excluding cover sheet)

☒ Deliver immediately ☐ As requested ☐ For review ☐ Please reply ☐ For your information

Comments:

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CONFIDENTIAL

cc: Gene Sperling

✓
Potus wants a response

AN

Jan 8, 2002 12:07
01 JAN 3 12:07

you so very
serving as a
intelligence advising
ing involvement;
and my

992

In a larger sense, I want to
thank you for what I am confident history
1/9/01

Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒

No ☐

cc: Sperling

Yes ☒

No ☐

keep original here -
send copy to Cohen for reply
Carol

you were over your meaningful and
absorbing challenges - and you will

in understanding
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Obviously there were
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Stan

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STANLEY S. SHUMAN

Jan 8 2002:07
01 JAN 5 PM '02

Dear Mr. President,

I want to thank you so very much for the privilege of serving as a member of your Foreign Intelligence Advising Board. It was a fascinating involvement; the tasks were important, and my colleagues were first rate.

In a larger sense, I want to thank you for what I am confident history will record as being an outstandingly successful administration under your remarkable leadership. Obviously there were disappointments, but we will all look back on "the Clinton days" wistfully with admiration and gratitude. You will be sorely missed!

As you and Hillary each enter other phases of your lives, I am sure you will both find meaningful and absorbing challenges - and you will

STANLEY S. SHUMAN

2/
Jan 8, 2001

reap the rewards from meeting them successfully. Sydney and I hope that you will end up spending much time in New York as you pursue your future endeavors and that we will see you often.

Cordially,

Stan

P.S. In looking through my records, I found a short letter and memo I wrote surrounding your early economic summit, and I have taken the liberty of attaching it for your interest.

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From: Stanley S. Shuman

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