

8900
August 8, 2000

Edmonds
Podeski
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PAUL BEGALA

RE: THE CONVENTION SPEECH

Terry Edmonds was kind enough to solicit my input on your convention speech. Needless to say, I'm thrilled to help. This memo contains strategic observations and suggested rhetoric. If you've got a minute to discuss this, I'd like to talk it through with you.

Strategic Context

Your speech comes after a remarkably effective GOP convention. Gov. Bush and the party did a good job of blurring the distinctions between us and them. Whereas Dick Armev used to say "Medicare is a program I would have nothing to do with in a free society" and Newt talked about allowing HCFA to die on the vine, W is much more savvy – and cynical. He knows folks ain't buying their anti-government b.s., so he's got a new brand of bull. He is right when he says this is something new, and the old attacks about right-wing extremism – on their own – will not work. I think your convention speech is crucial to leading the party to confront these guys. Here's what I think you need to do:

1. Engage the Battle Over Defining the Last Eight Years

For all your many accomplishments, you've done a poor job of reminding people of the basic story of the last two decades. We tried one way in the 80's; it failed. We tried a new way in the 90's; it worked. I suspect one of the reasons you don't walk folks through all this very often is that it takes time. You feel like you need to explain each success, put it in context, etc. I think in LA you should blast through as many accomplishments as possible, in as few words as possible, at a rapid, almost-comically quick pace. The accomplishments can only be riffed as three or four-word phrases, each with an action verb. The effect on the listener will be like trying to take a drink from a gushing fire hydrant. They may not take much away, but nobody's going to be able to tell them the hydrant is dry. Michael Sheehan should work with you on the delivery, but I think you should plow through this very quickly, not stopping for applause, to convey a sense of a tidal wave (to mix my aquatic metaphors!) of accomplishments and overwhelming pride. Here's the rhetoric I'd use:

I've heard some people lately say that for the last eight years the American people have lacked purpose; that our Nation and its people have been "coasting" for eight years. Well, he may have been coasting. But we've been: balancing the budget,

eliminating the deficit, creating a surplus, boosting family income, reducing poverty, creating 22 million new jobs, cutting taxes for working families, setting records for home ownership, cutting crime, hiring a hundred thousands cops, and standing up to the Washington gun lobby to pass the Brady Bill and ban assault weapons.

And that's not all. What they call "coasting", we call: reforming welfare, expanding health care, immunizing babies, mentoring children, cutting drug use, reducing teen pregnancy, creating charter schools, raising test scores, cutting dropout rates, starting the America Reads program, reducing class size, creating HOPE scholarships for college, expanding Head Start, creating AmeriCorps, providing health insurance to poor kids, increasing the minimum wage, strengthening Medicare and protecting Social Security from those who would plunder it in order to cut taxes for the top one percent.

We're not through yet. The record that has been called "coasting" includes: supporting basic research, preserving wilderness, saving affirmative action, passing Family and Medical Leave, protecting a women's right to choose, cleaning up toxic waste, improving air quality, creating empowerment zones, supporting adoption, raising military pay, stopping ethnic cleansing in Europe, supporting democracy in Africa, fighting narco-traffickers in Latin America, encouraging economic reforms in Asia, and working for peace in Northern Ireland the Middle East.

And that's just the highlight reel.

2. Paint a Picture of the Failed Past

It may well be that, because things have been so good for so long, some folks may have forgotten what it was like when we came to town. I haven't.

I remember the young father, a construction worker who'd lost his job. We were deep in a recession then; no one was building so he was out of work. What's worse, he had a young son who'd had heart surgery. The recession had robbed him of his job, and his health care coverage.

Or the senior citizen who wept as she told me how she had to choose each month between paying for her prescription drugs or heating her home; there wasn't enough money to afford both.

Or the couple who had been paying off their mortgage each month for years. That home was the American dream to them. But outdated and failed economic policies in Washington turned that dream into a nightmare. They were facing foreclosure not because of anything they'd done wrong, but because of what the policymakers and politicians in Washington had done wrong.

Oh, we remember, my fellow Americans. We remember too well. The pain and the shame and the frustration of millions of Americans who worked hard and played by

the rules and yet were falling behind, losing their jobs, abandoning their dreams, worrying about their children. We remember an economic philosophy that said "Greed is Good", "forget thy neighbor", "we're all in this alone."

We remember trickle-down economics. Tax cuts for the rich, tax increases for the middle class and spending cuts for the poor. They called special-interest loopholes a necessity, Head Start an extravagance, and ketchup a vegetable. When last the Republicans ran things, scholars were seriously writing about the end of the era of American greatness.

Tonight, at the mountaintop of this new millenium and the apex of our economic strength, our social unity and our international leadership, we proved the doomsayers wrong. And so tonight let us make this vow together: America will not turn back.

3. Tie Gore to Your Economic Success

None of the many achievements we celebrate tonight was accomplished alone. All of them required the hard work and commitment of the American people and their government, working together to do great things and create good times. This was no accident. It was not an act of Nature, but rather an act of National will. At every critical juncture, we were opposed by powerful forces who wanted America to remain stuck in the past.

Perhaps the one battle that set the tone for the entire period was our fight to pass our new economic plan back in 1993. We had inherited a deficit in the federal budget that was crippling business' ability to innovate, and cramping government's ability to bring change. Not a single member of the opposite party supported us. Not one. It is the first major piece of legislation in American history to pass without even one vote from the party opposite.

It was not easy. We had to stand up to the selfish interests and insist that the wealthiest two percent pay their fair share of taxes. We had to take on vested interests who did not want to see outdated or outmoded government programs reduced or reinvented. And most of all we had to reverse a twelve-year government policy that said the best way to create jobs for most of us is by giving special favors to a few of us. In every aspect of that plan, from paying down the deficits created by the failed policies of the past, to investing in our children's education and our workers' skills, one man was by my side; central to everything we did to revive America's greatness.

That man is Al Gore.

With some of our Republican friends, when it's all said and done, there's a lot more said than done. But with Al it's been just the opposite. You may not know about the things he's done to create the conditions of prosperity because his leadership style is to bring people together, get things done. He is not, I'll grant you, one who relishes either the back-slapping or the back-stabbing of Washington politics. He is living proof

of the credo that there's no telling how much you can get done if you don't care who gets the credit. And at the moment of truth, when the Senate was deadlocked, and the entire American economy hung in the balance, it was Al Gore who made the difference. It was Al Gore who voted for change. It was Al Gore who brought us the economic policies that have benefited more Americans than at any other time in our history.

When Al cast that vote, one of Andrew Jackson's favorite observations became true: "One man with courage, is a majority."

4. Unmask the Bush Republicans as Phonies

The Republicans got more than they deserved from their convention because the media didn't call them on their brazen phoniness. Not only because they like the fresh meat Bush offers, but also because they feel like the Democrats can carry the argument for themselves. It is critical that we not just walk out there and say Bush is a right-winger. But we can – and you must – paint him and his gang as phonies. Then (at the suggestion of Mario Cuomo, whom I've been talking to this week) you can unmask their true agenda: taking control of all three branches of government. Here's how:

Now... **now**... their nominee speaks of strengthening Social Security, saving Medicare, expanding Head Start, including minorities and helping the poor. Sounds good – now. But we could have used such compassionate leadership when the Republicans were trying to shut-down the government, cut-down Head Start and close-down the Department of Education. We didn't hear a peep back then. I'm a Baptist, so I believe in redemption. But forgive me if I'm a little skeptical of convention-night conversions.

My stepfather ran the parts department of the Buick dealership back in Hot Springs when I was a kid. And I can remember him telling me about a certain used car dealer who had blown into town. Nobody really knew much about him, but he looked fresh and he sounded new, and could charm a hungry dog out of a pork chop. But here was his scam: he'd buy your old, worn-out, broken-down car from you; paint it, buff it, shine it, and tinker with the engine just enough so you wouldn't recognize it – then sell it back to you at twice the price. By the time you realized it was the same old jalopy, he and his buddies were laughing all the way to the bank. * You were out of your money, and stuck with a car that would only go in "Reverse."

While we're having fun with this tonight, there is a serious point to be made. A lesson from antiquity that things are not always as they seem; that pretty packaging can hide dangerous contents. Think of it as sort of a "Trojan Elephant."

5. Frame the Choice: Forward or Back

The choice you make in this election will be decisive – but it is not difficult. We don't need to "read their lips." We can read their record. We have tried their theory and it failed us. Returning to it now would be like someone on a lifeboat from the *Titanic* calling for more icebergs.

As my daughter would say: "Been there. Done that. Didn't even get the T-Shirt." But we did get the recession. We did get the deficit. We did get the bill. Like that old country song, "They got the gold mine, we got the shaft."

But let me say that they make a good point when they say we ought not call their plans “risky.” Think about it. Risk means there’s some doubt, some uncertainty as to how thing will work out. But here there is no doubt; there is no risk. We know their ideas are doomed to fail because we’ve tried them before and they failed. So there is no “risk” that they will drag us all back down into another Republican recession. There is a certainty they will.

I have read their platform. I have studied their proposals. I have listened to their speeches. They are both good and original. Trouble is, what’s good isn’t original – and what’s original isn’t good.

If imitation is indeed the sincerest form of flattery, then, my fellow Democrats, we should be deeply flattered. But I have seen my share of Elvis impersonators in my life. They all sing, “Love Me Tender” at first. But once they’ve got your vote, they treat you like you ain’t nothin’ but a hound dog. And you’ve checked-in for four long years at Heartbreak Hotel.

You see, they’ve only imitated the style, not the substance. But new slogans cannot long hide old, failed ideas. In fact, I can’t think of a single policy they’re for in the 21st Century that Herbert Hoover wasn’t for in the 1930’s. Okay... that’s not fair... to President Hoover. He would never have supported guns in church, plastic handguns that can pass through metal detectors, or cop-killer bullets that can pierce

through bullet-proof vests. No, Herbert Hoover was a much more... compassionate conservative.

Their real goal, never stated publicly, is to dominate every branch of our national government with their old, failed ideas. They not only want the White House, they want the House of Representatives. They want the Senate. They want the Supreme Court and all the lower courts. And if they are allowed to take such power, virtually unchecked, what they will do with it won't be so kind. It won't be so gentle. It will not be compassionate, but it will be ultra, ultra conservative.

And so, when you strip away all the sloganeering, the choice we face is as old as America itself. Do we press forward or will we turn back? From the first Europeans who dared to seek a new world on the high seas, to the courageous men and women who dared to seek sweet freedom on the Underground Railroad; from Lewis and Clark exploring the West to Armstrong and Aldrin exploring the Moon; from the snows of Valley Forge to the sands of Iwo Jima, down through the centuries, the question has been the same: Do we press forward or will we turn back? At every crucial moment there have been timid, tinny voices calling for retreat, echoing the false promise that somehow the failed ways of the past are preferable to the daring ways of the future. But thanks to the remarkable, indomitable spirit of America, we did not heed those voices. We revere our past, but we must forge our own future.

6. Your Personal Endorsement of Gore

I do not know what that future will look like. But I do know this: the United States of America must take the lead in creating that future, and if we are to do so we must have a President who is experienced and intelligent, with solid principles and sound judgment, with the qualities of heart and mind and soul that will enable him to do what has been called the most difficult and demanding job in the world. Because of the trust you have placed in me I have a unique perspective on the American Presidency, and what it takes to succeed and lead in this new era. And because I stood side by side with him, worked side by side with him, fought side by side with him, I know this: in all of this vast Nation, there is no one more qualified or better prepared to be your President than Al Gore.

The desk in the Oval Office was the desk President Kennedy used. It was a gift from Queen Victoria in gratitude for the United States Navy rescuing the HMS Resolute as it broke apart and sank in the Atlantic. And so the desk is called "the Resolute."

It has been often noted that so many difficult and dangerous decisions have been made at that desk. And, yes, the next President will have good people around him: smart people. Capable people. Dedicated, intelligent, principled people. But if Al Gore is the next President not only will we have the best people sitting around that desk. We will have the best person sitting behind that desk. And Al Gore is that man.

7. Thank the Country; Focus on the Future

This convention must not be a celebration of the past. It must be a call to arms for the future. If you'll forgive me this personal moment, I'd like to simply thank you.

This country has been so good to me, and I am so grateful to you. My family and friends and countless, courageous supporters have given me opportunities beyond my fondest dreams, you've blessed me with your loyalty and humbled me with your forgiveness. In return I pledge to continue to keep fighting for you until the last hour of the last day. But our opponents are right when they say that hour is approaching. And when it does, the work we began together must go on, even as I head over to join the Senate Spouses Club. The causes and crusades that have shaped our time must continue. The forces of power and privilege who orchestrated that coronation in Philadelphia want to orchestrate an inauguration in Washington.

But by the grace of God and the wisdom of the American people, those interests, powerful though they are, will fail once again in their attempt to execute a hostile takeover of our government. To paraphrase Franklin Roosevelt, I hope it will be said that in my presidency the forces of narrow, selfish interests and old, failed orthodoxies met their match. And I hope it will be said that in Al Gore's presidency, they met their master.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

7-31-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 28, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA

FROM: LYNN CUTLER *LC*

CC: MARIA ECHAVESTE

SUBJECT: WEEKLY REPORT

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New York 1/12*

RESOLUTION BY WASHINGTON STATE GOP

- A few weeks ago, the state convention of the GOP in Washington State adopted a resolution that called for the dissolution of tribal governments, including use of federal troops to remove people from the lands. It has created a firestorm in Indian country, with a deluge of letters and resolutions going into the RNC. The California Democratic Party took a stand against the resolution, and I am hopeful our platform will reference it.

DEFEAT OF TAX PROVISION

- A big victory for Indian country came this week with the defeat of an amendment offered by Cong. Don Young that would have forced the federal government to collect sales tax from goods sold on reservations and give those taxes to the states. This was a revisiting of the Istook move last year. The amendment was solidly defeated in committee, 23-15.

PASSAGE OF SELF-GOVERNANCE LEGISLATION

- Both the House and Senate have passed the bill on self-governance in health services, which was a big deal for Indian country. With the help of Cong. George Miller, provisions that would have exempted the tribes from Davis-Bacon requirements were stripped from the bill. Both Cong. Miller and Sen. Nighthorse Campbell have called about a signing event.

NEW YORK STATE--TRIBAL ACTIONS

- The New York State Legislature defeated a bill backed by Donald Trump and others that would have cancelled out gaming pacts struck by Gov. Pataki and tribal governments. At the

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PAGE TWO

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same time, unfortunately, Gov. Pataki is going back on the agreement he had with the tribes on sales tax issues.

TRIBAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- New golf courses are being built in several locations in Indian country, along with new casinos.
- The Seminole are planning a new hotel and a Hard Rock cafe at their casino site.
- The first Native securities brokerage firm on Wall Street, NativeNATIONS Securities, Inc. is doing major outreach in training Indian people for work in capital markets.
- For the first time, Indian governments are entering the municipal bond market. It is a great new tool for tribes with some resources.
- At Blackfeet in Montana, Pikuni Industries is gearing up to become a major supplier of modular homes in Indian country and beyond.

ONGOING PROBLEMS

- Shortage of electricity is the ongoing problem in some areas, notably Navajo, where more than 37% lack access to electricity. Overall, over 14% of people in Indian country have no electricity, while in the mainstream United States, only 1.4% of homes are without service. The problem for Indians is greatest in the Southwest and in the Dakotas. Secretary Richardson urged tribes in a recent meeting in Phoenix to develop solar, wind and geothermal resources.

*an order
to do something
about this*

POWER UP AND FCC

- Today I held a meeting with people from the Power Up Foundation, which puts computer centers into Boys and Girls Clubs and other youth sites, using AmeriCorps volunteers to work with the youngsters. (You will remember that they were at the Shiprock visit, having established a center there). In addition, Chairman Bill Kennard of the FCC joined us. We talked about the problems of connectivity in the very remote areas of America. Chairman Kennard is working hard with the wireless industry to encourage them to go into rural America and onto the reservations. The outcome of the meeting is that we will host a meeting here at the White House with industry representatives, Chairman Kennard and the Power Up people to explore ways to make things happen in Indian country, the Delta and Appalachia. I am really excited about the potential here for longlasting opportunity. I'll keep you posted.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-13-00

FAX (URGENT) 202-456-2530

March 9, 2000

J. SHELBY BRYAN
721 FIFTH AVENUE, #38G
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

Telephone No. 212-755-6612
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TO: THE HONORABLE WILLIAM J. CLINTON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
C/O MR. STEVE RICHETTI
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF
THE WHITEHOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

FROM: J. SHELBY BRYAN

AS DISCUSSED WITH CHRIS DERI OF THE DNC, NEW YORK—WOULD YOU
PLEASE BE KIND ENOUGH TO PASS THIS ON TO THE PRESIDENT.

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.

TOTAL PAGES: (11)

Do try to Shelby
Gum - fight - cc Bill Bailey

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Congress - meeting other
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J. SHELBY BRYAN
721 Fifth Avenue, #38G
New York, New York 10022

March 9, 2000

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

Dear Mr. President:

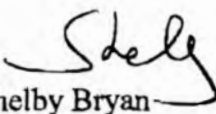
It was more than great being with you at Daniel last week. I and others felt your presentation and your presence moving.

As we briefly discussed, I have given thought to the importance of bringing China into the World Trade Organization. I am enclosing an essay on the Internet's effect on democracy in China following expanded trade. I am also enclosing a shortened summary of that essay that I submitted to the New York Times for publication during Premier Zhu Rongji's trip in which they failed to print.

I would be happy to follow up in any way you advise.

With warmest regards,

Your devoted supporter,


J. Shelby Bryan

Telephone No. 212-755-6620
Cell No. 303-324-0515

Attachments: (2)

LETTER TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

J. Shelby Bryan
President and CEO
ICG Communications

At the same time that Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji and the Chinese government were pleading China's case for inclusion in the World Trade Organization (WTO), Lin Hai, a 30-year-old software engineer from Shanghai, China was convicted and sentenced to nine years for "incitement to years imprisonment subvert the government." His crime; distributing articles from Chinese language newspapers in Hong Kong and Taiwan over the Internet.

Yet, trade in the era of global telecommunications may lead to surprisingly swift changes that can limit the ability of oppressors to act. Trade can soften tyranny by emboldening the citizenry to make demands. And the explosion of communications technology brings with it sweeping power to change societies. Financial markets are already aware of this power, even though government leaders seem relatively unaware of its mounting force.

America's founding fathers wisely provided for freedom of assembly. The advent of the Internet allows for a kind of instantaneous electronic assembly, across all national borders, on a level that was previously unimaginable. And enhanced trade with China will only accelerate the proliferation of computers among its citizens. If China is permitted to join the WTO, the number of personal computers could grow from the 8.5 million in December

1998 to in excess of 30 million by December 2001. More personal computers will result in greater dissemination of information and ideas.

China has already attempted to control the growth and use of the Internet, as in the case of Lin Hai. But the medium, by its very nature, is not subject to control. No government, no matter how ruthless and resolute, can withstand the opposition of a determined people united by information and immediately shared communication. No military force is capable of reacting swiftly enough to overcome a citizenry that can communicate widely and instantly.

Imagine a second Tiannamen Square uprising, this one in the spring of 2002, when, rather than 20,000 people assembling over weeks, the Internet brings out four million protestors in the space of a day or two.

And if China is denied WTO status? The government will continue to limit liberty and frustrate freedom. "Dangerous" people like Lin Hai will be stopped.

Clearly, technology will only force China to move toward a freer and more open society. The more computers and other information technology distributed within China, the sooner its people will become empowered to break the grip of repression.

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ESSAY

THE INTERNET'S EFFECT ON DEMOCRACY IN CHINA

Author:
J. Shelby Bryan

At the same time that Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji and the Chinese government were pleading China's case for inclusion in the World Trade Organization (WTO), Lin Hai, a 30-year-old software engineer from Shanghai, China was convicted and sentenced to nine years imprisonment for "incitement to subvert the government." His crime; distributing articles from Chinese language newspapers in Hong Kong and Taiwan over the Internet.

China's leaders have demonstrated a willingness to forcibly maintain their tyrannical control. The most feeble democratic initiatives have been systematically crushed. People like Lin Hai have been imprisoned, tortured and disappeared.

Should we expand trade with a totalitarian regime? By admitting China into the WTO, are we sending a message that in the name of commerce, we Americans will cast a blind eye to oppression? Some have observed that trade may soften tyranny by establishing conditions where the citizenry is emboldened to make demands. Consumer demands may then become the first step in a people's expression of opposition. It would

be sad moment on the eve of the 21st century if the desire for consumer goods energized a population before desire for liberty.

We may find that trade in the era of global telecommunications will lead to surprisingly swift changes that limit the ability of the oppressor to act without empowered and immediate opposition. Related issues were debated for forty-five years concerning the desirability of trading with the Soviet Union. Technology exportation had two consequences: while enhancing human rights, the same technology would have strengthened Soviet military capabilities.

In 1970, Samuel Pizar directly dealt with both issues in his seminal work, Coexistence and Commerce. He pointed out that Western trade with the USSR tended to increase the size of the waistline rather than the biceps. Since Pizar's work, there has been an explosion in communications technology. It brings sweeping power to change societies. The financial markets are aware of it, Americans are early stage participants in it, yet many government leaders seem to be relatively unaware of its mounting force -- a

new universal communications paradigm has developed with breathtaking speed, spawned by the development of the Internet.

Our founding fathers wisely provided for freedom of assembly in the Bill of Rights. The Framers clearly foresaw that by allowing free assembly, individuals could broadly share ideas that might become a powerful counter- balance to the stifling of dissent. The advent of the Internet allows electronic assembly to occur instantaneously, across borders on a level unimaginable to our founding fathers and those opposing trade with China. Enhanced trade will accelerate the proliferation of computers in the hands of Chinese citizens. Although China has taken measures to control the Internet, by its very nature it is not subject to control.

Sizeable increases in the distribution of personal computers in China will result in disproportionately larger dissemination of Internet delivered ideas, with concurrent instant discussions; organization and, when necessary, challenges to repressive regimes. There is no government, no matter how ruthless and resolute, that can withstand the opposition of a determined people united by broadbased information and immediately

shared communication. There is no military response that is capable of reacting swiftly enough to overcome a citizenry that is able to communicate widely and instantly.

Let us assume that China joins the WTO. As a result the total number of personal computers distributed within the country has grown from 8.5 million in December, 1998 to 30 million in December 2001.

In the spring of 1989, a few hundred thousand students and Beijing citizens, drifted into Tiannamen Square. Protesters non-violently stood for democracy and freedom. The heavy-handed crackdown crushed the protest, and with it hopes for democracy in China.

Imagine spring 2002, and another Tiannamen Square democracy uprising occurs. The number of protestors opposing government policy has grown from 200,000 who assembled over weeks, to four million assembled in Beijing in just a day or two.

A society which is made transparent by dramatic growth in electronic communication is capable of replacing an autocratic regime. As Samuel Pissar recently

noted, the existence of the Internet is comparable, but on a grander scale, to the Agora during the age of Pericles.

The Internet can be effectively restricted and controlled only if personal computers and telephone connections are not allowed to proliferate. As it expands, it is virtually impossible to control the multitudinous electronic distribution points.

If WTO status is denied, what will be gained? China will continue to limit liberty and frustrate freedom. Dangerous people like Lin Hui will be stopped.

If China participates in multilateral trade organizations like the WTO, technology will force China to move toward a freer and more open society. The sooner the electronic means are distributed within China, the sooner its people will become empowered to break the grip of repression.

Author: J. Shelby Bryan

to propping up a dictator. Reacting to charges than he is too inexperienced to be President, Bush replied that the same thing had been said when he was running for governor, but he had proven his critics wrong.

Times study criticizes Bush health care plan. On Monday, study of Bush's health plan. The article acknowledges that Bush because it tries to make inroads into a traditionally Democratic bowing to conservatives because it looks to the free market for problems. However it points to a number of flaws. Bush is put to \$2,000 per family that they can use to cover up to 90% of the Experts charge, however, that the tax credit would cover only experts assert that tax credits are not the best way to reach the others say that Bush has done little to relieve the health care cost poorly on a variety of health care measures, including the number

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Globe study criticizes Bush education record. On Monday, the Boston Globe reported that some of the successes Bush claims in education were actually due to programs enacted before he took office. For programs Bush says he himself is responsible for, such as his plan to end social promotion for students and to enact tougher testing requirements, experts say it will take another few years to tell whether they have worked or not. The article also points out that Bush tried and failed to win passage in Texas for a voucher program, which raises questions about how he would persuade Congress to pass a national version of his proposal to use public funds to pay for private school education.

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Congressional Hispanics want Texan to resign. On Tuesday, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus demanded the resignation of Texas Health Commissioner, Dr. William Reyn Archer, for his comments last week that blamed the state's high teen pregnancy rate on the Hispanic community. Archer said that Hispanics lacked the belief that getting pregnant is a bad thing, which sparked an outcry from some Hispanic groups. On April 19, Archer immediately issued a written apology, and followed up with an apology in person to state lawmakers. Archer has no plans to step down and continues talking with Hispanic leaders, legislative and congressional leaders to resolve the issue. Governor Bush accepted the apology and is standing by Archer.

On Wednesday, the Texas Freedom Network, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Mexican-American Legal Defense & Educational Fund, and the Rainbow Coalition said apologies were not enough, and on Thursday, Archer agreed to top-to-bottom sensitivity training at his agency.

Bush urges stronger Latin American ties. On Monday in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, Governor George W. Bush (R-TX), Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, and Tamaulipas Governor Tomas Yarrington (the state where Nuevo Laredo is located) attended a ribbon-cutting ceremony for the Laredo World Trade Bridge, the first U.S./Mexico bridge that carries only commercial traffic. The new Laredo bridge is the fourth span to connect Nuevo Laredo and Laredo.

On April 14, Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater attended the Laredo World Trade Bridge Dedication on the U.S. side of the border in Laredo. The Administration financed the bulk of the \$128 million, eight-lane bridge, the 25th along the 1,300 mile border. Laredo Mayor Betty Flores (D) invited Governor Bush many times to attend the city's April 14 celebration. She said that Bush declined by sending a postcard that read "Dear Fellow Texan, It was thoughtful of you to

5-2-00

to propping up a dictator. Reacting to charges that he is too inexperienced to be President, Bush replied that the same thing had been said when he was running for governor, but he had proven his critics wrong.

Times study criticizes Bush health care plan. On Monday, the New York Times ran a critical study of Bush's health plan. The article acknowledges that Bush's plan is a deft piece of politics because it tries to make inroads into a traditionally Democratic issue while at the same time bowing to conservatives because it looks to the free market for a solution to health care problems. However it points to a number of flaws. Bush is proposing to give a tax credit of up to \$2,000 per family that they can use to cover up to 90% of the cost of health insurance.

Experts charge, however, that the tax credit would cover only about a third of the cost. Other experts assert that tax credits are not the best way to reach the low-income uninsured. Finally, others say that Bush has done little to relieve the health care concerns of Texas, which fares poorly on a variety of health care measures, including the number of uninsured.

Bush's plan is to give \$2,000 to community health centers - we should do that too

Globe study criticizes Bush education record. On Monday, the Boston Globe reported that some of the successes Bush claims in education were actually due to programs enacted before he took office. For programs Bush says he himself is responsible for, such as his plan to end social promotion for students and to enact tougher testing requirements, experts say it will take another few years to tell whether they have worked or not. The article also points out that Bush tried and failed to win passage in Texas for a voucher program, which raises questions about how he would persuade Congress to pass a national version of his proposal to use public funds to pay for private school education.

This was his first effort to change education in Texas. He failed to pass a voucher program. He should not be so proud of his record.

Congressional Hispanics want Texan to resign. On Tuesday, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus demanded the resignation of Texas Health Commissioner, Dr. William Reyn Archer, for his comments last week that blamed the state's high teen pregnancy rate on the Hispanic community. Archer said that Hispanics lacked the belief that getting pregnant is a bad thing, which sparked an outcry from some Hispanic groups. On April 19, Archer immediately issued a written apology, and followed up with an apology in person to state lawmakers. Archer has no plans to step down and continues talking with Hispanic leaders, legislative and congressional leaders to resolve the issue. Governor Bush accepted the apology and is standing by Archer.

On Wednesday, the Texas Freedom Network, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Mexican-American Legal Defense & Educational Fund, and the Rainbow Coalition said apologies were not enough, and on Thursday, Archer agreed to top-to-bottom sensitivity training at his agency.

Bush urges stronger Latin American ties. On Monday in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, Governor George W. Bush (R-TX), Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo, and Tamaulipas Governor Tomas Yarrington (the state where Nuevo Laredo is located) attended a ribbon-cutting ceremony for the Laredo World Trade Bridge, the first U.S./Mexico bridge that carries only commercial traffic. The new Laredo bridge is the fourth span to connect Nuevo Laredo and Laredo.

On April 14, Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater attended the Laredo World Trade Bridge Dedication on the U.S. side of the border in Laredo. The Administration financed the bulk of the \$128 million, eight-lane bridge, the 25th along the 1,300 mile border. Laredo Mayor Betty Flores (D) invited Governor Bush many times to attend the city's April 14 celebration. She said that Bush declined by sending a postcard that read "Dear Fellow Texan, It was thoughtful of you to



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Lazio Runs on Issue Usually Reserved for Democrats: Housing

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

MELVILLE, N.Y., June 12 — If there is one issue Representative Rick A. Lazio finds solidly his, one area in which he comfortably pronounces himself an expert, it is housing.

It is not an area many people identify with Republicans, perhaps because the 2.7 million families living in public or subsidized housing nationwide tend to be concentrated in or near urban areas more closely aligned with Democrats. And Mr. Lazio's claims may irritate Democrats, who believe he takes more credit than he deserves.

But on this issue, Mr. Lazio, the Republican nominee for the United States Senate, totes some credentials. As chairman of the House subcommittee on housing, he supported legislation in 1998 that encouraged a greater presence of moderate-income people in public housing for low-income tenants.

Today he attended a meeting of housing experts here to announce a program intended to foster home ownership. His frequent references to housing on the campaign trail provide a way to appeal to voters uncomfortable with Hillary Rodham Clinton by showing he is not a narrowly focused suburban lawmaker.

This strategy also serves another purpose. It has allowed Mr. Lazio to criticize Mrs. Clinton indirectly, through a war of words with Andrew M. Cuomo, the secretary of housing and urban development and a major supporter of Mrs. Clinton.

Mr. Lazio refrained from overt attacks today, since he came to the Huntington Hilton here in Suffolk County, his home base, to briefly praise a program sponsored by HUD, the Community Development Corporation of Long Island and Fannie Mae, the federal home financing agency. An outgrowth of the 1998 legislation, it is one of eight pilot programs nationwide that will test the concept of allowing low-income tenants to use federal rent subsidies to help pay mortgages.

"Think about what a home means," Mr. Lazio said before flying to Albany. "It's where you do home-

work with your children or watch them play in the backyard."

Representatives from HUD were on hand, and although everybody acted cordially, HUD officials wanted to make clear that many of the ideas Mr. Lazio praises, like the home ownership aid, originated with Mr. Cuomo's staff and housing advocates.

"I think it was a combination of a lot of different people, a lot of housing activists," said Charlie King, Mr. Cuomo's representative for New York and New Jersey, who attended the news conference. "Certainly the president had a role in this. Con-

gressman Lazio had some role in this. There are a lot of different people who came together to make this a reality."

Mr. Lazio, who often speaks of his visits to housing projects across the country, has noted the bipartisan support on housing but has also not shied from taking a lot of credit for himself and Republicans.

Last week he angered Mr. Cuomo, first during a trip upstate for a conference of mayors and again a day later in Washington, after he said Republicans had taken the lead on new housing initiatives.

"I don't want to say anything much disparaging about Andrew Cuomo," Mr. Lazio told reporters after his speech last Tuesday at the mayors' conference in Saratoga Springs. "Suffice it to say that I think all the leadership on housing issues has come from the Republican side, in particular from the House of Representatives."

The next day, Mr. Lazio put out a statement backing Congressional Republicans who had accused HUD of fraud and waste. "We are simply raising questions with an agency that consistently fails to manage itself in

a manner that taxpayers deserve," Mr. Lazio said.

David Egner, a spokesman for Mr. Cuomo, countered that Congressional Republicans, including Mr. Lazio, could not describe themselves as allies of public housing when they had constantly sought substantial cuts to HUD's budget.

Either way, it is not often that Republicans take up public housing as a selling point.

Kieran Mahoney, a Republican political consultant not working for Mr. Lazio, said that an emphasis on housing helps Mr. Lazio for a number of reasons. "First of all," Mr. Mahoney said, "it is an indication he has a record of legislative accomplishment to run on. It suggests given the

situation he would acquit himself well. Secondly, the fact he acquitted himself well on an issue that normally is the province of Democrats as opposed to Republicans is indicative he has an open mind."

Later today in Albany, Mr. Lazio took up other policy questions, declaring his support for the hate crimes bill that the State Senate passed last week. It imposes stiffer penalties for crimes motivated by hatred of several particular groups, including gays. For years, senators had balked at protecting gays.

"I believe that people ought not to be subject to violence because of their background, that that's a particularly corrosive impact on society," Mr. Lazio said.

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Clinton still presence in Arkansas' 4th

Incumbent voted for impeachment

By Hugh Aynesworth
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PINE BLUFF, Ark. — The shadow of Bill Clinton hovers over Arkansas' 4th Congressional District, the poverty-ridden 26-county south Arkansas expanse where the president was born and raised.

Nobody knows — or at least nobody will say — if Mr. Clinton, in what would probably be his last political hurrah, will campaign for a Democrat who is in a heated race against a Republican who voted to impeach him.



Jay Dickey, 60, the fourth-term Pine Bluff lawyer and businessman, shocked the political world by becoming the first Republican to win this district in 115 years back in 1992. Three

times since he has beaten back a Democrat in a district that leans heavily to his left.

Mr. Dickey doesn't know whether Mr. Clinton will come back to his old district this summer.

"But if he does, I'll probably be right there with him," said the incumbent Republican, "watching what he's doing."

Mike Ross, 38, a 10-year state senator and Mr. Dickey's November challenger, said he had not asked Mr. Clinton to campaign for him and did not know whether the president planned to visit the district before the election.

The Clinton "will he or won't he" question stems from remarks supposedly made in December 1998 when Mr. Dickey with most of his Republican colleagues voted to impeach the president.

"Clinton threatened me before I voted and confirmed it after I voted," said the congressman.

The Dickey staff provided a quote from an unnamed White House source saying in December 1998, "If Jay Dickey votes to impeach the president, it's probably an indication he will not run for re-election in 2000. It's suicide — we will make sure it is."

Furnished also was a statement from Mr. Dickey, who said in part: "If my decision on impeachment causes you to work even harder for my defeat, as you have in the past, then so be it. In the end, you may finally tear me away from my constituents, but you won't ever tear me away from my conscience."

Mr. Dickey says he is not running scared, though he concedes he does not know how a Clinton presence would play in what most consider a toss-up race and one that both national parties will be funding and advising. But he says the specter remains.

"It's not like a tidal wave," Mr. Dickey said last week, "but it's more like a riptide. It's under the surface and it's difficult to fathom."

"The only person I ever heard talking about the impeachment vote is Jay Dickey," said Mr. Ross.

He called Mr. Dickey's "making a non-issue into an issue" a "desperate move" by a man who knows he's in trouble.

"He uses it in every fund-raising letter, saying 'the Democrats are out to get me because I voted to impeach the president.' That was not an issue for me in the primary and certainly won't be for me in the general election," said the Democrat.

"To me it's very sad that an incumbent congressman has to make up stories in order to raise money," Mr. Ross said last week.

Just the beginning

The race here actually is just getting started because Mr. Dickey had no primary opponent and fired no volleys at any of the four Democratic challengers.

Because of the late date of Arkansas' primary elections (May 23) and runoff (June 13), Mr. Ross has been the party nominee for only a few days and concedes he is

just getting into strategy sessions with his advisers.

He handily beat back three foes in the primary and then thumped former television newsman Dewayne Graham in the recent runoff.

He and Mr. Graham apparently formed animosities that could hurt Mr. Ross in the fall, unless mollified.

The night of the runoff, Mr. Graham blasted Mr. Ross, saying, "The people of the 4th District were sold a bill of goods. Ross has bought the vote, or somebody has bought the vote. Dickey's going to win [in November]. He understands the people. He's free and loose. He's one of us."

Glen Hooks, executive director of the state Democratic Party, told The Washington Times last week that Mr. Graham had pledged his support.

"He got caught up in the moment that night, but he's changed his mind. He'll work with Mike," Mr. Hooks said.

When Mr. Ross was asked if he had approached Mr. Graham to ask for his support, Mr. Ross replied, "Oh, I have no idea." Asked specifically if he would seek the Graham endorsement, he said, "We welcome everybody to be a part of our campaign."

"He'd better go after Dewayne's people," said Roger Townley, 55, a Pine Bluff heavy equipment salesman. "Nobody throws away 20,000 votes in an election this close." Mr. Ross won over Mr. Graham by 29,299 to 20,529.

Calls to Mr. Graham's offices for comment were not returned. A recording said he would be vacationing in Louisiana until today.

Though the rhetoric has been civil to this point, some expect the race to be a bitter, hard-fought one — with the outcome depending as much on one-to-one pressing the flesh as on an unusual amount of outside funding, which both sides concede will be forthcoming.

Each already is shooting barbs at opposing national pols.

Mr. Ross continually complains that Mr. Dickey votes 97 percent of the time with national Republican leadership. "I don't think either party is right 97 percent of the time," he said.

Mr. Dickey charges that Mr. Ross is a "tool" of the Democratic leadership — a man totally controlled by Washington.

"They had a deal," Mr. Dickey said recently. "They told him, 'You do what we say, and we'll get you elected.' And he's dancing to every tune they put on the record player."

"He wants to pretend that this campaign is run from Washington," replied Mr. Ross, "but that's not the case. And he wants to make this out as the national Democrats against him. Not so. It's Mike Ross, country boy from Prescott, Arkansas, a town of 3,600 people and two traffic lights, against him."

The incumbent takes considerable offense at Mr. Ross' depiction of him as a rubber stamp for the Republican leadership.

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Thin as a tree
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"I've bucked the Republican Party many, many, many times," he said, "in committees, on the floor, in campaigns and everything else. I would like for him to keep bringing that up, but I'll respond the same way I'm doing here."

Mr. Ross resents the "puppet" label the Republicans have painted on him too.

"To hear Jay Dickey saying it in fund-raising letters," he said, "you'd think the president recruited me to run. I didn't ask the president whether or not I could run. He didn't ask me to run. I'm running because I think I can make a difference in people's lives in southern Arkansas — one thing I think Mr. Dickey has failed to do."

Ground warfare

Alan Barth of Hendrix University's political science department in Conway said he believes there will be massive influx of outsiders involved in this race.

"It's going to be a race in which the individuals may matter less than those folks outside the state," he said. "They do have a real interest in this race because of how it links into who controls the Congress. And clearly we're going to see a tremendous amount of money from the parties, from interest groups and many other who will get involved."

Mr. Barth said the candidates' abilities to make "personal connections with voters really matters" in this heavily rural district.

Mr. Dickey said he expects the battle to be a tough one.

"Oh yeah, it's going to be ground warfare," he said. "We're going to be on the ground working it out." He said he thought the Democrats would bring in "some of those high-tech things" and said Mr. Ross' direct-mail campaign has impressed him already.

"I got two pieces myself in the last three days of the runoff," he laughed. "Their mailing list must be in volumes."

Mr. Dickey has generally received high marks for constituent aid, often one-on-one dealing with voters' problems. One Pine Bluff man, not a Dickey backer, remarked with amazement, "He even signs almost all his letters personally. I've received even personal notes attached."

"Jay Dickey is a nice guy, a likeable guy," said his Democratic opponent. "I personally like him. The problem though is that he comes home and tell us one thing and then he flies off to Washington and votes for the national Republican leadership."

One thing that almost always emerges when talking about Mr. Dickey's four-term reign here is his somewhat quirky personality, his pratfalls and his penchant for butchering the king's English.

"Only fellow I ever heard who was worse was Yogi Berra," laughed Don Carlson, an El Dorado salesman.

"Arkansans like their elected officials and candidates kind of humble," said Art English, a political scientist from the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, "and Dickey is not pretentious. And when he makes a mistake, he'll be the first to admit it. He has a very humble persona."

"As a consequence, even though he says some really strange things, he doesn't get hit as hard on that as he normally would," he said.

"People shouldn't suffer fools, so to speak," Mr. English went on, "but they don't see him as a fool. They see him as a person who will use malapropisms and nonetheless still give him the benefit of the doubt."

Told that one Arkansas reporter had likened him to President Ford, a man who sometimes bumped his head on airplanes and stumbled here and there, Mr. Dickey chuckled.

"I don't mind people having their laughs, and sometimes I laugh with them," he said, "but there's another part of this, and that is, am I effective?"

"Am I bringing projects home, bringing opportunities for jobs to one of the most impoverished areas in America? The answer is a resounding yes — and we're going to bring that out in the campaign."

Mr. Barth expects a negative, mean-spirited race before its over.

"With the money that's going to play a role in that race, and probably the very negative advertising that will be used by folks who are disconnected to the candidates, we're going to see a very competitive, hard-hitting, likely mean-spirited race in the fall."

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BY JEANNE CUMMINGS
AND GLENN BURKINS

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BOSTON—Before Al Gore's Reinventing Government project came along, Priscilla Doolittle was a manager in the vast federal bureaucracy. Working from her desk in the Hartford, Conn., office, she supervised 14 employees at the Social Security Administration.

But then the vice president stepped in with a mandate to "de-layer" federal agencies and make them more responsive to American taxpayers. So Social Security weighed down with twice as many supervisors as Mr. Gore deemed appropriate moved to make its operations leaner. The regional headquarters in Boston reassigned Ms. Doolittle and declared her a manager no more.

Just one problem: Ms. Doolittle's new job as a "management support specialist" isn't much different from her old one. She is "treated as management," Ms. Doolittle says, and doing "most of the things" she did before.

The outcome reflects the seeds of a major debate between Mr. Gore, who trumpets Reinventing Government as a big success, and Texas Gov. George W. Bush, who scorns it as a big sham. "They haven't reinvented government bureaucracy—they've just reshuffled it," Mr. Bush says. The GOP presidential candidate last week unveiled his own plan for streamlining government, but it relies largely on expansions of such existing reform efforts as privatizing government work.

Same Desks, 'Same Responsibilities'

In the case of Ms. Doolittle's job move, it isn't Republican critics who have raised questions. An outside expert notes that she and others affected by the change have the same desks, "same responsibilities" and "virtually the same workload" as when they were called managers. The expert is the federal government's own lawyer, arguing that Ms. Doolittle shouldn't be permitted to join the union representing rank-and-file agency employees.

As Mr. Gore, the Democratic presidential candidate, attempts to bring his hazy public profile into focus, the administration's Reinventing Government initiative distills the images he would like American voters to remember this fall: experience, vision, tough-mindedness, the capacity to save taxpayer money without compromising on services ordinary people need.

To Mr. Gore's aides, who credit the project with a governmentwide savings of \$137 billion and the smallest federal work force since John F. Kennedy's administration, the issue underscores the contrast with a Republican nominee they say is ill-prepared for the presidency.

Aiming even higher, Mr. Gore identifies his initiative with "the soul and spirit of self-government," and "a new trust and faith in our people and in each other." Just last week, Mr. Gore called for "a second American revolution" as he launched the second stage of the effort with proposals to make "e-government" services available to all by 2003.

E-Government Initiative

Republicans, too, view the initiative as potent symbolism—of Mr. Gore's phony claims and unwillingness to take on powerful Democratic constituencies such as organized labor. When the vice president unveiled his e-government initiative, the Bush campaign immediately circulated criticisms of the Reinventing Government project from the likes of the General Accounting Office and former Clinton Chief of Staff Leon Panetta under the headline: "Gore Exaggerates Record."

Of all the issues the two candidates will argue about this fall, "REGO" will be among the most revealing. Unlike many administration initiatives, REGO has been the vice president's responsibility from the beginning. That makes it an apt test of both his ability to operate the levers of federal power and of his reputation for gilding the lily.

Some fruits of the project are beyond dispute. The U.S. government employs fewer full-time workers today than it did in 1993, when the Clinton-Gore team took office. In 1999, the federal work force was down to 3.3 million, compared with 4.8 million in 1960. Thousands of government field offices have been shut down, and dozens of programs consolidated.

The government no longer pays an employee to taste-test imported tea. Gone are rules requiring localities to certify they purchase American-made goods, including toilet paper. About 1,000 of Mr. Gore's 1,200 specific recommendations have been put into effect, administration aides say.

How much those adjustments have changed day-to-day federal operations is another question. Critics say the administration achieved many of its vaunted cuts not by force of will, but slight of hand.

Pentagon Cutbacks

Brookings Institution scholar Paul C. Light says the reason the federal work force has declined is Defense Department reductions resulting from the end of the Cold War, not streamlining initiatives. Without Pentagon cutbacks, he notes, the government work force today would be significantly larger, not smaller, than in JFK's time. While the number of uniformed and civilian defense workers has declined to 2.2 million from 4.1 million in 1960, he says, the number of employees in domestic agencies has risen to 1.1 million from 761,000.

Others say many federal employees have simply been replaced by private contractors who now do the same work.

"Where are all the billions we are saving?" complains Bobby Harnage, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, who says taxpayers received little benefit from changes that have taken 100,000 members from AFGE's bargaining units. And last week, Mr. Bush's aides distributed a 1999 GAO finding that two-thirds of the claimed REGO savings couldn't be verified.

A look at the attempt to streamline the Social Security Administration's bureaucracy in Boston shows that the Texas governor will have plenty of fodder for assailing his Democratic rival on the issue.

Big Challenge

Mr. Gore himself set the agenda, declaring that federal agencies should slim down their supervisory force and aim for a manager-worker ratio of 1-to-15. Mandates to that effect soon went out to all government agencies. That was a big challenge at the Social Security Administration, which then had one manager for every seven workers.

Then an agency working group settled on a solution: take 1,200 operations and field office supervisors and give them jobs as "management support specialists,"

which previously didn't exist. After initially striking a go-slow posture, Boston-area SSA officials swung behind the program.

When SSA workers raised questions, their bosses defended the changes as a "high priority of the White House." But they assured participants that the reclassified workers would continue to be "key management officials" despite their new job titles.

Couldn't Discipline Staffers

The new jobs did come with changes.

As nonmanagers, the five workers couldn't discipline lower-ranking staffers, approve overtime or conduct performance reviews. But they were available to substitute for their vacationing superiors.

But legal wrangling that ensued between the AFGE and the government over Ms. Doolittle and several of her colleagues shows how limited the real-world impact of the bureaucratic shift really was. If the workers weren't managers anymore, AFGE lawyers argued, they should be eligible for the union's bargaining unit.

Not at all, government lawyers responded. "The change of job title was transparent," they argued in a brief filed in an administrative proceeding here as part of the dispute.

Keeping Parking Space

Ms. Doolittle, a 28-year Social Security employee, echoes the argument. "Our jobs are very similar to what we did before we became management support specialists," she says. She continues to attend the Thursday morning management staff meeting and has even kept her space in the managers-only parking lot.

Social Security officials defend the changes as more than cosmetic and note that the agency has received its highest customer-satisfaction marks ever since they occurred. And as upset as AFGE has been at times about REGO, that hasn't stopped the federal employees' union from swinging behind Mr. Gore's bid to win the White House.

As Mr. Harnage sat in his Washington office recently critiquing Mr. Gore's initiative, a large laminated poster with a smiling picture of the vice president lay on a table nearby. It was captioned with the words, "AFGE for Gore."

JP / Story
can we put something
out on this to clarify
what has been done in
a very full way? ~~BT~~

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