

THE WHITE HOUSE

9/11/00

Israel -

This came over
from Secretary
Gluckman with
copies sent to Tom
F., and J.P.

Scun

9-11-00

Should we put in
the system? -

Yes _____

No X _____

Card

Sept. 19, 2000

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'00 SEP 11 AM 11:14

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

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Secretary Dan Glickman
Subject: Safety Standards for School Meals

SEP 7 2000

On June 23, 2000, USDA's Agricultural Marketing Service (AMS), our agency that buys commodities for the school lunch and other nutrition programs, issued new quality and safety requirements for raw ground beef products purchased by USDA for distribution to schools and other Federal food and nutrition programs. Of course, all suppliers must be in compliance with USDA's Food Safety and Inspection Service (FSIS) food safety regulations. AMS' new standard, however, also requires that suppliers meet a zero tolerance standard for salmonella for each lot of production (end product testing). That is, the product is not eligible for purchase if it tests positive for salmonella.

The fundamental difference between these two approaches is as follows: FSIS focuses on ensuring that suppliers have systems in place to improve food safety, including scientific tests to ensure that contamination with pathogens like salmonella and e coli is controlled and reduced; the AMS standard, in contrast, simply tests whether a particular production lot is contaminated.

The new AMS zero tolerance standard has been criticized by some in the meat industry as infeasible, not science based, and inequitable (i.e. poultry likely would not be purchased if a zero tolerance standard were applied). Some argue, for example, that end product testing is a crapshoot that simply tests whether the particular sample tested is contaminated and is not an indication of the overall safety and quality of the product or the system by which it was produced.

As a result of these concerns, some in industry initially chose not to bid into the program. In fact, since the standards were announced, AMS purchases of ground beef are roughly 30 percent below average on a volume basis, while costs per pound have increased. This has led some schools to purchase product from commercial sources rather than USDA.

Some in industry continue to advocate changing AMS' standard to a system based, rather than an end product based, standard. This would be consistent with FSIS food safety regulations as well as with top of the line commercial practices like McDonalds and

Jack in the Box, none of whom use end product testing to determine whether to accept or reject suppliers. In fact, USDA anticipated changing to such a standard for the 2001-2002 school year at the time the zero tolerance standard was adopted. Consumer advocates and the media, however, would likely portray any change in policy as USDA bowing to industry pressure to weaken food safety standards.

At this time, however, USDA does not intend to back away from the new standard and believes that a sufficient supply of ground beef products will be purchased for this school year.

As a general matter, this issue will likely remain as USDA continues to enhance its quality and safety standards for food purchased for the school meals and other food and nutrition programs. I will keep you posted of any major developments in this regard.



Matthew Plantzbaum

~~Christa Chesley~~

Resource Coordinator

So Others Might Eat

71 O Street, NW . Washington, DC 20001 . www.some.org
202.797.8806 x 1020 . fax: 202.265.3849 . some_rc@ix.netcom.com

IRC

WWW HAS SEEN

9-14-00

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WJC HANDWRITING

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PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

9-18-00

Rm -

You have a
copy of this document

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AMBASSADOR WILLIAM T. PRYCE

VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON OPERATIONS

August 3, 2000

The Honorable Kenneth H. "Buddy" MacKay
Special Envoy of the President and Secretary
Of State for the Americas
OEOB, Room 176-A
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Governor MacKay:

As I mentioned in my recent note accompanying the photos of our Washington Conference, we deeply appreciate all you did to help make the Conference such a success.

In discussing the Conference with our Chairman Bill Rhodes, he reminded me of a favor I need to ask. At the Conference, the President and Mr. Rhodes talked about a key speech on NAFTA the President made in New York at the Waldorf Astoria back on October 28, 1993. The President remembered Bill's help on the speech, and with the organization of the occasion.

The President thanked Bill again, and offered to autograph a copy of the speech for him. I'm hoping that your office might be able to help us follow through on that offer. We've located a copy of the speech, which is enclosed. Would it be possible for your office to contact the appropriate people to request that the President autograph it with a brief inscription, something like "For Bill Rhodes with thanks for your help on the speech."

An inscription from the President would mean a lot to our Chairman and to us.

From - Bill
Buddy
MacKay

With warm regards,

Bill Pryce

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release

October 28, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON THE AMERICAS

Waldorf Astoria
New York, New York

8:23 P.M. EDT

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SP607

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Peter. And thank you for that wonderfully understated observation that your editorial positions don't always agree with mine. (Laughter.)

I am delighted to be here tonight on a matter in which we both agree. I thank you for sponsoring this meeting and I was glad to see you and my longtime acquaintance, Al Hunt, who invited me. I would say "friend," but it would destroy his reputation in the circle in which we find ourselves. (Laughter.) He invited me here only because he had been replaced by Alan Murray, and therefore, he knew he could not guarantee me one line of good press for accepting his invitation. (Laughter.)

I thank you. I thank William Rhodes and Karen Elliott House, and all the others who are responsible for this event.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will get right to the point. When we concluded the side agreements with Mexico and Canada in

the NAFTA negotiations and actually had a proposal to take to the Congress, I really believed that the cause was so self-evidently in the interests of the United States that after a little bit of smoke and stirring around, that the votes would rather quickly line up in behalf of what was plainly in our short and long-term national interests. It is no secret that that has not happened.

And since I have always prided myself on being a fairly good reader of the political tea leaves, I have pondered quite a bit about why we are engaged in a great struggle that I think is very much worth making and that I still believe we will win, but why has it been so hard? And what can all of us who believe that NAFTA ought to prevail and in a larger sense believe we need to succeed in getting a new GATT Round by the end of the year, and in promoting a continually more open world trading system -- what is it that all of us can do to try to give new energy, new drive to this vision that we all share for the post-Cold War world?

Anyway, let's begin by why it turned out to be so hard. I think it is far more complicated than just saying that the labor movement in America and Ross Perot's organized group had a lot of time to bash NAFTA without regard to what would ultimately be in the final agreement.

It is far more complicated than that. And it is at root a reflection of the deep ambivalence the American people now feel as they look toward the future. So that in a profound way, at this moment in time, NAFTA has become sort of the catch-all for the accumulated resentments of the past, the anxieties about the future and the frustrations of the present. Irrelevant are the specific provisions of the agreement, which plainly make better all the specific complaints many of the people opposing NAFTA have about our relationship with Mexico.

I mean, plainly if you just read the agreement, it will cause the cost of labor and the cost of environmental compliance to go up more rapidly in Mexico. Plainly, if you just read the agreement, it reduces the requirements of domestic content for production and sale in Mexico in ways that will

enable Americans to export more. Plainly, the main benefit to the Mexican people is opening the entire country in a more secure way to American investment -- not for production back to the American market, but to build the Mexican market -- to build jobs and incomes and an infrastructure of a working market economy for more of the 90 million people who are our largest close neighbors.

So this opposition is in spite of the plain terms of the agreement. It is also in spite of the fact that plainly NAFTA could lead the way to a new partnership with Chile, with Argentina, with Colombia, with Venezuela, with a whole range of countries in Latin America who have embraced democracy and market economics. And I say this to my friends who are not from Latin America, but who are from other nations here tonight: we see this not as an exclusive agreement, but as part of the building block of a framework of continually expanding global trade.

So this is not about the letters, the words, the phrases, the terms or the practical impact of this agreement. That is not what is bedeviling those of us who are trying so hard to pass this agreement. This agreement has become the symbol, as I said, for the emotional frustrations, anxieties and disappointments of the American people. Feelings that are shared, as we now see from the results of the recent Canadian elections and other wealthy countries, the results of the recent elections in France, manifest in the low growth rates in Europe and the low growth rates in Japan and the recent elections there.

What we are seeing is a period of global stagnation which comes at the end of several years in which global growth did not necessarily mean more jobs or higher incomes in wealthy countries. We are living in a time of great hope where there's more democracy, more adherence to market economics; when the wonders of technology are providing new areas of economic endeavor and new, millions of new successes every year in all continents. But where still there is so much frustration for those who cannot figure out how to make these changes friendly to them.

So that in America, for example, having nothing whatever to do with NAFTA or our trade with Mexico, we are now at the end of a 20-year period when hourly wage workers have seen their incomes remain basically stagnant while their work weeks have lengthened. When income plus fringe benefits have gone up modestly, but mostly that's been inflation and wage costs. When for the last several years, we have seen more and more working people subject to the restructuring of industries, which means that for the first time since World War II people who lose their jobs in America now normally don't get the same job back, they get a different job after a longer period of time, usually with a smaller company, usually paying a lower wage with a weaker package of fringe benefits.

Now, to be sure, though, a lot of good things are happening. Manufacturing and productivity in this country is growing very rapidly and has been for several years. We are recapturing part of our own automobile market, for example, this year. It's quite astonishing to see what's happened to the American manufacturers' share of the American car market. That's just one example. American productivity in the service sector is beginning to come back, and if you give me a couple of years to work with the Vice President on this reinventing government, we'll give you more productivity in the government sector, too, which will have private sector impact.

But the plain fact is there are an awful lot of people in this country who feel that they are working harder, caught on a treadmill, not moving up; who feel quite insecure and uncertain.

If you look at what has happened, basically, we live in a world where money management and almost all, but not all technology is mobile; where productivity and prosperity are largely a function of the skills of the work force, the level of appropriate investment and infrastructure, and in the private sector, the organization of work and a system for maintaining ever new and different skills; and the systems that support work and family; the systems that support expanding exports; and the systems that support dealing with sweeping economic change. To

whatever extent any nation with a high per capita income lacks those factors, people will suffer. And there will always be some dislocation simply because of the rapid pace of change.

What happened today in America is we have a whole lot of people who have dealt with this not very well, who feel that they have worked hard and played by the rules, and who now are the seed bed of resentment welling up against NAFTA -- not because of anything that's in NAFTA, but because it's the flypaper that's catching all the emotion that is a part of the runoff of the last 10 or 12 years, in many cases, 15 years, of experience with the global economy where the United States has not made all the investments we should have made; has not made all the changes we should have made; has not made the adjustments we should have made.

Therefore, what I have tried to do -- what I tried to do in my speech to the AFL-CIO in San Francisco recently, was to argue that we needed America to face the future with confidence, to believe that we can compete and win, not to run away and not to pretend that these global changes had not occurred; but also, to argue that we ought to have a certain base level of security in this country so we could deal with the future.

That's why I supported the family leave law, because most people who are parents also work. So we shouldn't make it impossible in America for a person to be a good parent and a good worker. I believe it adds to worker productivity even though it's a little extra cost for employers.

That's why I think we have to become the last advanced nation to provide health security to all working people, because people are going to lose their jobs in this economy. It's a dynamic economy. One that creates jobs in as many different ways as ours does will also have people losing jobs all the time. And if we want that dynamism to be there, there has to be a bedrock of security underneath it. People cannot feel when they go home tonight to face their families, their children, over the dinner table that if they have lost their jobs they have put

their children's health in danger. So we need to build that underneath.

That's why, next year, we're going to propose radically changing the unemployment system in this country to a reemployment system where, instead of just getting benefits until they run out, you immediately begin a job search, an analysis of the jobs in a given area, the areas of job growth and a retraining program immediately, because most people will not get their old job back. And that's what the unemployment system is premised on. It is taking taxes from employers and dragging down the economy under a false premise because it's no longer relevant to the world we live in. What is all that got to do with NAFTA? If we had all this in place, we'd have a more secure work force and it would be easier to argue to them we must face the future with confidence.

In that connection I would like to ask those of you here who are Americans who are employers here to do one or two things tonight. Number one, I ask that you tell your own employees and publicly commit that you will support a rich, full and adequate job retraining program for the people who will be displaced because of this agreement. This is a job winner for America -- we're going to get more jobs than we lose; but some will lose.

One of the more sophisticated opponents of this agreement said to me the other day, "I know you will create more jobs than you'll lose. But the people who will get new jobs won't feel as much joy as the people who lose them will feel pain." Interesting argument. If you were on the losing end, you might agree. What do we owe those people? A far better training and retraining program than we have; a far more aggressive reemployment program than we have. You should support that so that the people who are at risk will feel that we are moving forward into the future together. It is very important.

The second thing that I ask of all of you is this -- that you ask your employees who support this to contact their members of Congress. I've had as many Republican as Democratic

members of Congress that I am lobbying say to me, " I want to hear from the people who work for the employers, not just from the employers. I want to hear from the people who know that their jobs will be made more secure, not less secure, if NAFTA passes." That is very important.

We have all these wavering members of Congress now, many of them moderate Republicans and moderate to conservative Democrats, who come from districts where they have both labor union members asking them to vote against this and people who are part of the old parole organization asking them to vote against this, and they just want some other real voters to ask them to vote for it. They just want another somebody in their district who understands that this is good for America.

The last thing that I ask you to do is to lift this debate up in the last three weeks. I'm going to travel this country, intensify my contacts with the Congress and try to get as many other people enlisted in this battle as possible. But we have to realize that the people of America can view this through their personal spectrum, but the members of Congress must be statesmen and stateswomen. They have to realize what is at stake for America in this. We have to decide whether we are going to face the future with confidence and with a belief that we can compete and win, and with genuine respect for the heroic changes undertaken by our neighbors in Mexico to the south and other heroic changes being taken by neighbors to the south of them, and engage them in friendship and partnership, or whether we're going to turn away from all that and pretend that we can really do well in a world that we no longer try to lead.

You know, the psychological aspect of this whole debate is absolutely fascinating to me. The element of isolationism that I see coming into some of our foreign policy debates is equally present in the NAFTA debate: "I've got to worry about myself, and I don't have time to worry about anybody else." The problem is, in the world we're living in, worrying about yourself is worrying about somebody else. We're too connected. We don't have that option. And if you think about this in more personal terms. Every time an individual, a family,

a state or a nation faces a crisis brought on by change, you have only two options. You can sort of batten down the hatches, hunker down and hope it will go away -- and that works about one time in 100; or you can take a deep breath, take your licks, figure out what's happening and embrace the future with zest. That's what America has done -- that's why we're still around.

This is a real test of our character as a country. Whether we believe that we can compete and win, whether we believe that partnership is good global economics and good American economics, and whether we really understand that we have to make our people see the rest of the world as an opportunity not a threat.

So I ask all of you to think about that. To our friends here who have operations in both the United States and Mexico or other parts of Latin America, I ask you to explain to members of Congress that nothing in this agreement makes it more attractive to invest in Mexico to sell in the American market. But this agreement does make it more attractive for Americans to invest in Mexico to help build Mexico. No longer will Maquilladora line be some magic line in the sand -- now you can invest in Mexico City and help to build a strong market of millions of consumers who can be even better partners with the United States. I promise you, a lot of people who will vote on this agreement and carry its fate still do not understand that elemental principle.

You need to say if you have experience in both countries that if you don't pass this agreement, everything that you don't like about the present situation will get worse. And if you do pass it, everything you do like will get better.

These sound like simple things, but I tell you, I've been to so many of these meetings where all of us stand up who agree with one another, and it's like we're all preaching to the saved, as we say at home. Well, there's lots of folks out there who aren't saved yet, but they are willing to listen. And the members of the United States Congress need to understand what the consequences of passing this are, and what the consequences of

not passing this are -- not only in Mexico, but throughout Latin America.

The changes in Mexico, political and economic in the last several years, have been truly astonishing, of historic proportions. To continue that, they need a partner, and it ought to be us. And in the long run, even though I know some of our friends in Asia don't like this agreement now, it is in the best interest of the Asians; it is in the best interest of our friends in Europe; it is in the best interest of the world trading system for Latin American and the United States of America and Canada to grow more, to increase their wealth, diversify their activities, so that we can embrace our full share of responsibility for a new fully integrated global trading system.

I think, whether we like it or not, that NAFTA has acquired a symbolic significance, perhaps out of proportion to its narrow economic impact, not only for all those who are agin' it, but for all of us who are for it, too.

We have to face the fact that it is, in our time, the debate which enables us to make a statement about what kind of country we are and what kind of partners we are going to be and what kind of future we are going to make.

And tell you, I believe we will win in the end because I have seen Congress time and time again go to the brink with the easy choice and make the hard one because they knew it was the right thing to do for America. But they need help. The two things you can most do to give that help is to say, I am an employer; I am a taxpayer; I know that is to say I am an employer, I am a taxpayer, I know that people who are disturbed by this, who are dislocated by this agreement should have access to the finest training program this country has ever provided. And I will support that. I will insist that the President and the Congress take care of the people who lose out.

And the second thing you can do is, for goodness sakes, to tell people how it works. We cannot let the legitimate

grievances, the honest fears, the well-founded anxieties of people who are not doing very well in this economy stop them from doing better tomorrow. We cannot let the American people act in ways that are against their self-interests.

As I said when I was in San Francisco talking to the AFL-CIO, the truth is that this agreement will create more jobs for labor union members in the United States. We have to assert those facts, and we can prevail if we do.

Now, we have, as you know, about two-and-a-half weeks, a little more, before the scheduled vote. That is an eternity. The Congress wants to do the right thing. I am convinced about a week or 10 days ago we passed what I always think of as the first threshold in a big struggle in the Congress; I believe we won the secret battle. That is, I think if there were no recorded votes we could ratify NAFTA tomorrow. And that is a very good sign. It is also not ignoble for people to listen to their constituents.

So you need to make -- what we have to do now is move from winning the secret ballot battle to winning the recorded battle. We can do it. We can do it. But I ask you to remember that all those people that are hanging fire, all the undecided voters in the Congress are carrying with them the accumulated fears, resentments and anxieties of a lot of Americans who did the very best they could and it still didn't work out for them.

And I ask you to at least go far enough with those folks to say, if anything happens to you, we're going to give you a chance to learn a new skill. We're going to give you a chance to change. As I tell people, the average 18-year-old is going to change jobs eight times in a lifetime anyway; we might as well get used to it. The average 60-year-old worker in America is going to have to get used to learning a new skill. They might as well learn to enjoy it. It will make life a lot more interesting.

NAFTA can be the beginning of our decision to be a

secure nation in a global economy; to lead, not follow; to reach out, not hunker down . We owe it not just to our friends in Mexico and Canada and Latin America; not just to the rest of the world. We owe it to the tradition of America. And I believe we will do it. But it's going to take all hands on deck. And I came here tonight to ask for your help, as much as you can do, in every way that you can in the next three weeks.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)



HAUDENOSAUNEE

MOHAWK · ONEIDA · ONONDAGA · CAYUGA · SENECA · TUSCARORA

ONONDAGA NATION · VIA BOX 319-B NEDROW NEW YORK 13120

9-14-00

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Cutler
Podestag

Mr. President
Personal

Legis Cutler
As call me
M. Podestag
PK



*The Reverend
J. Brent Walker*



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Executive Director

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THE DOCUMENT HAS BEEN

9-14-00

HAUDENOSAUNEE

MOHAWK - ONEIDA - ONONDAGA - CAYUGA - SENECA - TUSCARORA

ONONDAGA NATION - VIA BOX 319-B NEDROW NEW YORK 13120

September 14, 2000

Honnahdahguyuss
President of the United States
William Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C.

Greetings President Clinton:

The Haudenosaunee send their greetings and well wishes to you and your family. We thank you for inviting Oren Lyons, Faithkeeper of the Onondaga Nation, to have breakfast with you and other religious leaders of the various native nations.

The Haudenosaunee requests a meeting with you to discuss our ideas for economic revitalization for central New York, and how your own Native American economic empowerment policies could be implemented here in New York.

We fully realize that the economic health of our eight communities are dependant upon the economic growth of the entire region. The Haudenosaunee are seeking an environmentally sound, family oriented form of cultural tourism that focuses on the great history, cultures and arts of this area.

It is our hope that together we can seek economic empowerment of the Six Nations that provides a benefit for the entire region.

Please let us know, at your earliest convenience, where we can meet.

Dawnaytoh,

Sidney Hill
Sidney Hill
Tadadaho
Onondaga Nation

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OKM!
new office?

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Please file,
over N.H. list
It was a small
or small
at first

List

March 3-2000

Dear Mr. President & Hillary
Just wanted to say hello & let
you both know that you are
thought of each day & always
in my prayers.

You are both so very special
to me & my family & friends

You are doing a Wonderful
Job for our Nation & U.S.A.

Just keep it up. OK.

Please let me know when
you all are in Little Rock or
Hot Springs, I will again fix
you a nice Italian Dinner

Enclose 1 is a request from
one of my friends hope you can
help him out. I also want to put

Patricia L. "Giglio" Sallee

(over)

• Hometown of President William J. Clinton •



Patricia L. Giglio Sallee
P.O. Box 1903
Hot Springs, AR 71902-1903
Hometown Pres. Bill Clinton

Hot Springs National Park, Arkansas

My Name on your list for this
coming year at Christmas time
to be able to come back to The White
House before you leave office.
That would mean so very much to me.
Love & Thanks
Your Little Italian friend
Patricia Sallee
1-501-767-6611

The Little Italian

Patricia L. "Giglio" Sallee

Luxurious Lake Hamilton

a unique concept of excellence in condominium living

P.O. Box 1903

Hot Springs, AR 71902

(501) 767-6611

Patricia L. Giglio Sallee

P.O. Box 1903

Hot Springs, AR 71902-1903

Hometown Pres. Bill Clinton

Patricia L. Giglio Sallee
P.O. Box 1903
Hot Springs, AR 71902-1903
Hometown Pres. Bill Clinton

President William J. Clinton
&
Hillary

Bill
3/15
Patricia L. "Giglio" Sallee -- You and Hillary are thought of each day and always in her prayers. Keep up the wonderful job you're doing. When you are in Little Rock or Hot Springs again, she'd love to fix you a nice Italian dinner. She encloses a request from her friend, **Dr. Thomas A. Zellars**, requesting a White House tour from some Advance Placement students from his School District in Pennsylvania. (Tour has been arranged.) He encloses photo of himself and his wife with Dick Kelley taken at Arkansas Inaugural Ball.

MAR 16 2000



Avella Area School District

AVELLA, PENNSYLVANIA 15312

✓ *four*
March 17
HR
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE
(412) 356-2218 (412) 222-7380
JR. SR. HIGH SCHOOL
(412) 356-2216 (412) 222-6460
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
(412) 356-2294 (412) 222-6460

February 28, 2000

Dear President Clinton,

Your good friend, Patricia Sallee, has sent this request to you on our behalf. My wife and I have been long time political supporters and appreciate the terrific job you have done as President. Through Patricia's efforts we were able to attend the Arkansas Inaugural Ball. We had the pleasure of meeting your step-father and having our picture taken with him (see enclosed photo).

The purpose of this letter is to request a tour of the White House for eight (8) senior Advanced Placement students from the Avella Area School District. I am the Superintendent of Schools and my daughter, Erin, is a class member.

The Avella Area School District is in southwest Pennsylvania, in Congressman Frank Mascara's district. Our students are excited about the trip to Washington, D.C. to visit the White House, the Capitol, the Supreme Court and the Library of Congress.

We would very much appreciate the opportunity to visit the White House Office and to meet you, should you be interested and should your schedule permit such a meeting.

Our date of visitation is flexible. We are available any of the following Fridays:

March 17
March 24
March 31
April 14
April 28

I have enclosed a photo of our AP Government students. They are receiving instruction by satellite from the State of Virginia's Educational Network.

Whatever can be done to facilitate this visit would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Thomas A. Zellars

Dr. Thomas A. Zellars
Superintendent of Schools

cc: Patricia Sallee

TAZ:dlb

*MW -
Group scheduled
by Ann for 3/17 on
the guest list. Do
you want this
correspondence,
JP*



To: President William Clinton
From: Dr. Thomas A. Zellars, Supt.
Avello Area School District
1000 Avello Rd.
Avello, PA 15312

Have we done

TY ?

done 2

DOTY (M) shoes
Unseen (Unseen) shoes

9-5-00
DAVID M. MATTER

8/7/00

Bill -

It's been too long since I
saw you last, but from the look
of things, you've been pretty busy.

Hope you get some time off for
your birthday. Enjoy the shoes.

Dave

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Sept. 12, 2000

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-9-00

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Eugénie Bisulco *EB*
Through: Nancy Hernreich
Re: Article Summary -- "Cyberselfish" by Paula Borsook
Date: 6 June 2000

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BK

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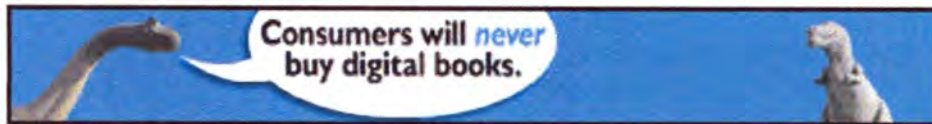
My husband Ben thought you might be interested in this article because it provides a good synopsis of Borsook's book, of the same title, released last month. The book has caused a bit of a stir because of its demonification of what Borsook has labeled "technolibertarianism" and the "technocrats" or "technolibertarians," who perpetuate it.

Technolibertarians, in her view, are young professionals of Silicon Valley who've capitalized on the Internet/high-tech revolution yet won't acknowledge the government's influence on its inception or the positive value of government regulation.

Essentially, the article is a comparison between the technologists of her father's generation and those of twenty years later. The contrast appears quite stark in this article -- virtually like that between good and evil.

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Cyberselfish

by *Paulina Borsook*

Silicon valley, one of the country's biggest recipients of government largesse, would like to bite the hand that feeds it. **Paulina Borsook**, a *Wired* magazine contributing writer, reports on the growth of cyberlibertarianism.

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I grew up in Pasadena, California, attending school with the sons and daughters of fathers (yup, in those days it was only dads) who worked at Caltech and the Jet Propulsion Laboratory. These parents of my classmates were my first encounter with technologists, and they were, to a man, good liberals. These were the kind of folks who would have Pete Seeger do a benefit concert for our school. They voted New Deal Democratic; they were the grateful recipients of all the money the U.S. government had poured into science, post-Sputnik; they had a sense that the government could do and had done good things, from building Boulder Dam to pulling off the Manhattan Project to putting a man on the moon. And, as beneficiaries of government largesse in ways they were well aware of -- from the GI Bill to interest deductions for home mortgages to the vast expansion of government funding for R&D -- they felt society in general, as manifested in the actions of the government, had an obligation to help everyone in it.

They were also fully aware of the positive value of government regulation, from the reliability of the FDA-mandated purity of pharmaceutical-grade chemicals they used in their research to the enforcement of voting rights for African-Americans in the South. And what with the very visible air quality problems in the Los Angeles basin (their government-funded studies had recorded the smog death of trees in the encircling San Gabriel Mountains by the 1960s), they were able to see the benefits of regulation in the local ban on trash incineration, the regulation of refinery effluents in the L.A. area, and the implementation of federally stipulated smog devices on automobiles.

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So it came as a shock, when, 20 years later, I stumbled into the culture of Silicon Valley (my first job at a software company, 1981; first job at a computer magazine, 1983; attendance at the first commercial conference devoted to the Internet, 1987; token feminist/humanist/skeptic on the masthead of *Wired* magazine, 1993). Although the technologists I encountered there were the liberals on social issues I would have expected (pro-choice, as far as abortion; pro-diversity, as far as domestic partner benefits; inclined to sanction the occasional use of recreational drugs), they were violently lacking in compassion, ravingly anti-government, and tremendously opposed to regulation.

These are the inheritors of the greatest government subsidy of technology and expansion in technical education the planet has ever seen; and, like the ungrateful adolescent offspring of immigrants who have made it in the new country, they take for granted the richness of the environment in which they have flourished, and resent the hell out of the constraints that bind them. And, like privileged, spoiled teenagers everywhere, they haven't a clue what their existence would be like without the bounty showered on them. These high-tech libertarians believe the private sector can do everything -- but, of course, R&D is something that cannot by any short-term measurement meet the test of the marketplace, the libertarians' measure of all things. They decry regulation--except without it, there would be no mechanism to ensure profit from intellectual property, without which entrepreneurs would not get their payoffs, nor would there be equitable marketplaces in which to make their sales.

(Continued)

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Cyberselfish (cont'd)



..... "flaming" libertarians

When I was asked to participate in a survey on the politics of the Net, the questions *presumed* respondents were libertarian, but charitably gave space for outdated contrarian views. When *Byte* magazine's former West Coast bureau chief wrote an editorial mildly advocating government subsidy for basic Net access for elementary schools and public libraries, the only response he got was outraged flames from libertarians.

And when *Self* magazine started an online gun control conference on The Well, an electronic bulletin board and Internet gateway smack in the middle of tree-hugging, bleeding-heart-liberal, secular-humanist Northern California, opinions ranged from mildly to rabidly anti-gun control. This passionate hatred of regulation, so out of whack with the opinions of the man and woman on the street in my own bioregion/demographic, showed me how different a place the online, high-tech world is from the terrestrial community to which it is nominally tethered -- even an online world with countercultural roots as strong as those of The Well.

Mike Godwin, staff counsel for the online watchdog group Electronic Frontier Foundation, has written in *Wired* magazine, "Libertarianism (pro, con, and internal faction fights) is the primordial net.news discussion topic. Anytime the debate shifts somewhere else, it must eventually return to this fuel source." In a decentralized community where tolerance and diversity are the norm (no one questions online special-interest chat rooms devoted to consensual S&M or Wiccan nature mysticism or...), it is damned peculiar that there seems to be no place for political points of view other than the libertarian.

..... true stories

I think this all very strange, because, of course, I know that without the government, there would be no Internet (majorly funded by the government until recently).

Further, there would be no microprocessor industry, the fount of Silicon Valley's prosperity (early computers sprang out of government-funded electronics research). There would also be no major research universities cranking out qualified tech workers: Stanford, Berkeley, MIT,

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and Carnegie Mellon get access to incredibly cheap state-of-the-art equipment plus R&D, courtesy of tax-reduced academic-industrial consortia and taxpayer-funded grants and fellowships.

But libertarianism thrives in high-tech, nonetheless. I spent a week at the plushy Lake Tahoe getaway of a Silicon Valley guy who's made it. We argued and butted heads with great civility -- but perhaps the most Found moment came when he complained about how the local Tahoe building code wouldn't let him alter the silhouette of his megachalet. I nodded sympathetically, yet pointed out that in Los Angeles, where there were no such planning guidelines until recently, plutocrats often tore down existing structures and rebuilt monstrosities that take up the entire lot, blocking their neighbors' views. He looked at me, puzzled; he hadn't considered that possibility. Obviously, he had never heard of the tragedy of the commons, where one sheep too many consuming more than its share of common resources destroys the whole; nor had he thought much about what participating in a community means.

Of course, I was also thinking about the fine system of interstate highways that made his trip from Silicon Valley to the Sierra a breeze; the sewage and water-treatment facilities that allowed his toddlers to drink safely out of the tap in his kitchen; the fabric contents-and-care labels on the sheets and towels freshly laundered for each new houseguest; and the environmental regulations that keep Tahoe the uniquely blue, gorgeous, and safe refuge it is -- precisely the lateral, invisible, benign effects of the government he constantly railed against.

..... i got mine

The nexus of libertarianism and high-tech in the Silicon Valley will come to matter more and more, because it involves lots and lots of money (companies with valuations rivaling General Motors'). And it's a wealth of tremendous self-insulation: I routinely attend parties peopled by digerati in their 20s and early 30s who, in addition to their desirable arrogance of youth, have a frightening invulnerability (their skills in demand, the likelihood of cashing out high).

One of these, a friend newly venture-funded to capitalize on Net advertising, commented that the economy was basically in good shape (after all, no one she knew was struggling) -- and then wondered why, when she ran a help wanted ad for an office manager in the San Francisco Chronicle, she got so many applicants, so many of whom had advanced degrees and employment histories of authority and responsibility.

Never mind people like my sister, who, with her biology degree from Stanford and master's in public health, has rarely found a steady job with benefits in the last 10 years, and has at times resorted to desperation moves such as selling flowers at subway stations to prevent foreclosure on her house (wrong gender; wrong skill set: teaching, public health, environmental concerns -- just the kind of "middle manager/government bureaucrat" so

despised by technolibertarians).

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Or my ex-boyfriend, the English professor (B.A. honors, University of Chicago; Ph.D., Cornell), who was *lucky* to find a job where he earned about what I made at my first technical writing gig 15 years ago (wrong skill set: all that subjective liberal-arts-flake crap no one cares about. After all, *anyone* can publish on the Web, and, as MIT Media Lab's Archduke Nicholas Negroponte points out, what's the future of books anyway?).

And what would the technolibertarians make of the New York Times front-page series on the chronic, structural unemployment of masses of skilled middle-class workers, folks theoretically immune to being rendered redundant in the '90s? Or the heartbreaking stories I read about blue-collar workers (haven't they had the good taste to become extinct by now?) in the house organ of the United Auto Workers (the National Writers Union is part of the UAW). I imagine the technolibertarians thinking, "Well, the blue-collar miscreants, it's their own damned inertial Second Wave thinking that's got them unemployed." But what would they say about the white-collar jobless, who, no doubt, *were* working with computers?

..... the true revenge of the nerds

As surely as power follows wealth, those who make money decide that society, having rewarded their random combination of brains and luck in one sphere, should pay attention to them in another. And so, high-technocrats are beginning to try to influence the world beyond VDTs.

But what will result if the people who want to shape public policy know nothing about history or political science or, most importantly, how to interact with other humans? Programmers, and those who know how to make money off them, mostly find it easier to interact in e-mail than IRL (in real life), and are often not good at picking up the cues, commonplaces, and patterns of being that civilians use to communicate, connect, and operate in groups.

The convergence between libertarianism and high-tech has created the *true* revenge of the nerds: Those whose greatest strengths have not been the comprehension of social systems, appreciation of the humanities, or acquaintance with history, politics, and economics have started shaping public policy. Armed with new money and new celebrity -- juice -- they can wreak vengeance on those by whom they have felt diminished.

Implicit is their assumption that those who excel by working with the tangible and not the virtual (e.g., manufacturing and servicing actual stuff) are to be considered societally superfluous. Technolibertarians *applaud* the massive industrial dislocations taking place in affluent North America, comparable to the miseries of the Scottish enclosures or the Industrial Revolution.

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Compare my father's generation: My father succeeded through his era's version of the arriviste drive so celebrated by technolibertarian theorists such as George Gilder, Silicon Valley's John Knox. One of eight children in an immigrant family, second in his class in medical school when there were still quotas on Jews (the usual story), my father, like the majority of his age-cohorts, never had contempt for those who couldn't find a way to work the system as he had. He believed in social safety nets and as much government regulation (for consumer health and safety, for example) as possible to aid ordinary people. It would have made no sense to him to adopt the stance of today's technolibertarian nouveau riche (or even more scarily, wannabe nouveau riche). And in this he was not exceptional.

..... the ultimate escape

It's not clear how all this evolved: a combination, no doubt, of the money to be made by developing technology in the private sector, the general worldwide resurgence of libertarianism, maybe some previously undocumented deleterious effect of the toxic byproducts of semiconductor manufacturing that have leached into the aquifers below Sunnyvale. But there are some worrisome consequences to consider as technology touches more and more people's lives -- and those who rule are increasingly the ones who understand it, own it, create it, and profit by it.

✱ **Protecting privacy.** Technolibertarians rightfully worry about Big Bad Government, yet think commerce unfettered can create all things bright and beautiful -- and so they disregard the real invader of privacy: Corporate America seeking ever-better ways to exploit the Net, to sell databases of consumer purchases and preferences, to track potential customers however it can.

✱ **Skimping on philanthropy.** In Silicon Valley and its regional outposts (Seattle, Austin), it's not even a joke, not even an embarrassment, that there's so little corporate philanthropy, except where enlightened self-interest can come to bear (donating computers to schools, contributing to a local computer museum). High-tech employees rank among the lowest of any industry sector for giving to charity -- especially dismaying given their education, job security, lifetime earnings potential, and annual income.

It's an issue of culture: Unlike other educated professionals, who see good works and support of the arts as symbols of having arrived or as payback to the society that has treated them well, the average geek espouses a world where the only art would be that which has withstood the test of the marketplace (Dong Kingman museums? Leroy Nieman traveling exhibitions?), and where there is no value to be derived in experiencing a painting in person (that is, in a museum) as opposed to on CD-ROM.

And since these guys honestly can't perceive the difference between a Lichtenstein and

some *soi-disant* computer art exercise in primary-colored fractals, courtesy of Kai's Power Tools -- they don't see anything out there worth subsidizing. A total sweetheart of my acquaintance, the smart and aesthetically sensitive creative director of a hot hot hot Web design studio, not only hadn't read *The Magic Mountain*, he hadn't heard of it. Nor of its author, Thomas Mann, a Nobel laureate and one of the great novelists of the century, an early multivoiced postmodernist if ever there were one. And perish the thought that anyone should need the services of an AIDS hospice, without the benefit of a few thousand shares of founders' stock in Intel or Cisco to cash in.

- **Gutting the environment.** High-tech also has tremendously negative environmental impacts: Manufacturing its plastics and semiconductors is a remarkably toxic and resource-depleting affair. No surprise, then, that high-tech companies increasingly manufacture them in countries without environmental and worker safety regulations, or in U.S. locales where these regulations are more lax. This way, the guys in area codes 415 and 408 who like to go telemarking in the Shasta Trinity Alps or bouldering in the Desolation Wilderness don't have to confront the opportunity cost of their wealth: the poisoning of the world due to the ever-expanding reach of industrialization. And they never consider that one of the reasons the whole world (including the immigrant engineers working in Silicon Valley) wants to be here is that environmental regulation and a culture of government-mandated conservation (however imperfectly executed) have made the United States probably the safest, healthiest, and, in some ways, most pristine place on earth.
- **Ignoring cities.** The anti-communitarian outlook is an outcropping of how *suburban* an industry high-tech is. The quintessential edge-city business, high-tech celebrates people operating as monads, free agents who work in industrial parks and aspire, when they cash out in an initial public offering, to telecommute from horse country, puma country, or even from within the spare-bedroom-cum-home-office located in a half-million-dollar Eichler ranch house on a street close to El Camino Real. Never mind that most start-up/self-employed/telecommuting Internet entrepreneurs are concentrated in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, thriving on the grit/density/frisson/charge of urban areas.

..... new robber barons

All this matters desperately: With the libertarian agenda at work, the very things that fed the boom economy in intellectual property -- the last great thing the United States has done -- will disappear without more investment in infrastructure and health and safety and education and every other good legacy of the New Deal and the Great Society. In 20 or 30 years, the United States may well cease creating the one commodity that produces a trade surplus and new jobs.

And the sorrow for the bottom 90 percent of society -- what Apple Computer once

disingenuously called "the rest of us" -- will be that once again we may deceive ourselves. We make goo-goo eyes over the megabucks high-tech generates, but we ignore the price. Just as 19th-century timber and cattle and mining robber barons made their fortunes from public resources, so are technolibertarians creaming the profits from public resources -- from the orderly society that has resulted from the wise use of regulation and public spending. And they have neither the wisdom nor the manners nor the mindset to give anything that's not electronic back.

San Francisco writer Paulina Borsook has published essays in Suck, MIT Press' Leonardo and the Seal Press anthology Wired Women.

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New York, NY 10028
212 879-4500 • Fax 212 249-3672

Office of the President

August 23, 2000

Via Facsimile: (202) 456-2883

Ms. Nancy Hennreich
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director of Oval Office Operations
Executive Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
1st Floor, West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Nancy:

President Clinton asked that I contact you to try to schedule a meeting in New York City with the leadership of the Jewish community. He seemed anxious to have such a meeting take place and thought there would be an opportunity during his visit at the upcoming UN session.

The American Jewish Congress would be pleased to host such a meeting. We would invite the members of the Conference Of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Sincerely,


JACK ROSEN

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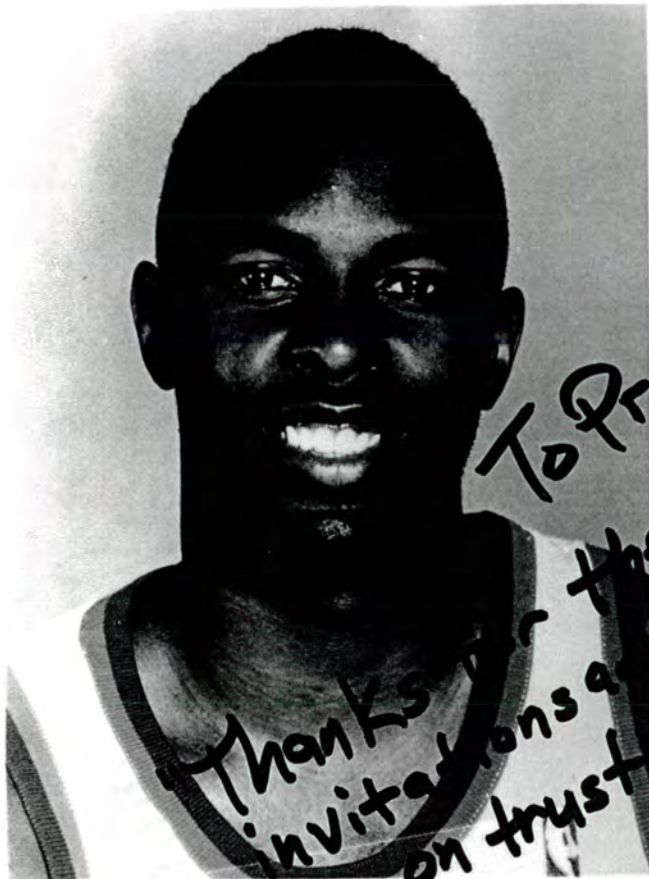
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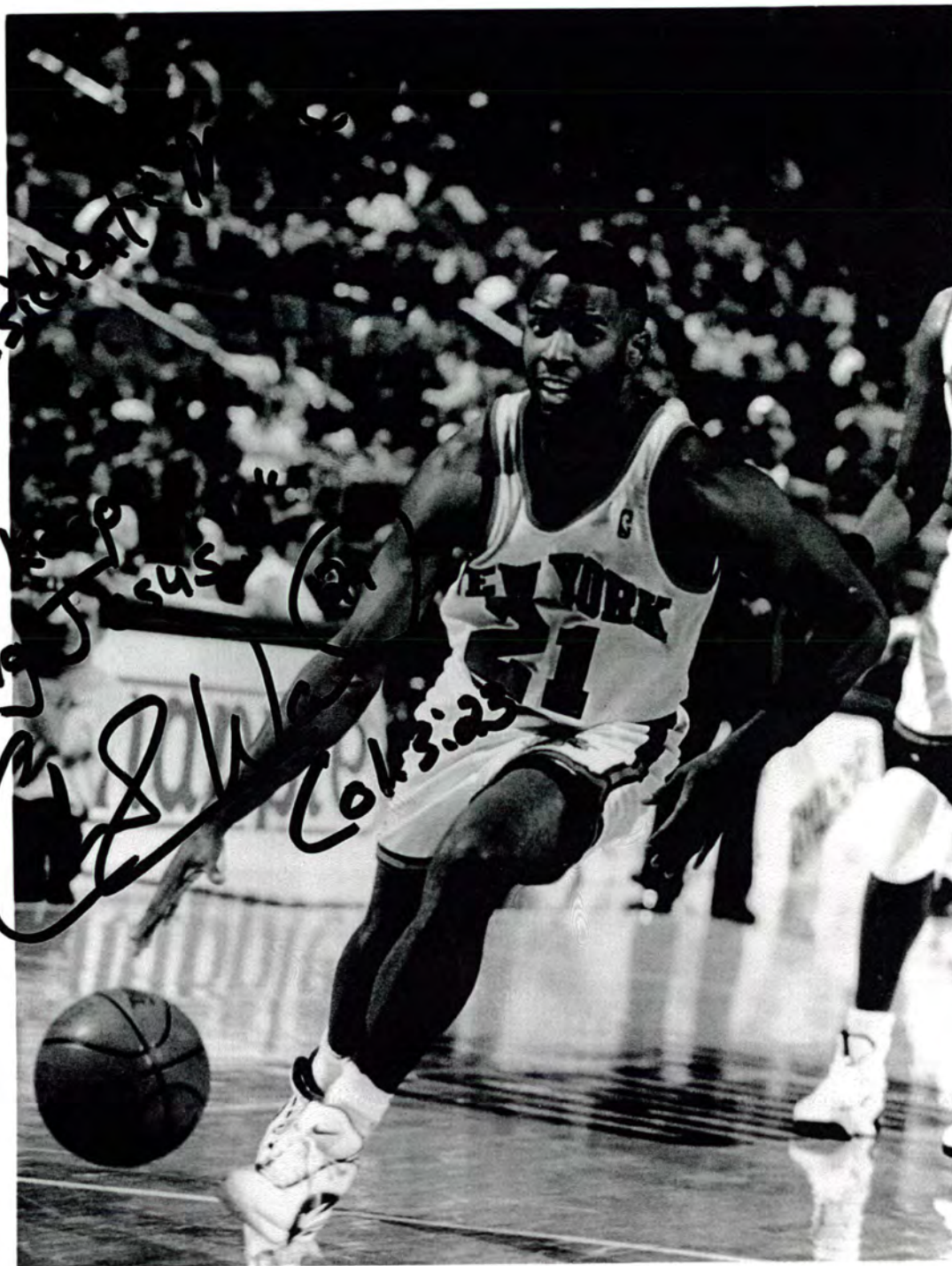
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