President Has Seen

The President Has Seen

January 2001

439499

FG001

DOCUMENTS RECEIVED IN ORM TOO LATE TO PROCESS

OA # 20393

NARA # ____________

From the Office of
Warren Christopher

Jan. 8, 2001

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-16-01

Mr Pres - might be good - N/8

Betty:

Per our conversation this morning, I thought you might enjoy seeing the attached. These are from a book one of the WH photographers put together of candid shots of RR throughout his presidency. As you can see, the Oval office was pretty bare by the time we departed.

Kathy Osborne

THE FINAL DAY

After eight years with "temporary custody" of the Oval Office, it was back home to California

The morning sun was streaming through the windows of the Oval Office. The 40th President of the United States was standing alongside the historic desk, now cleared of his personal mementos. With his hands folded together, he took a silent look around the office. I detected little, if any, emotion. In a few hours, Ronald Reagan would be a former president.

He moved behind the desk, and still standing, picked up the telephone for what would become the last call of his presidency. The daughter of former aide Lyn Nofziger was in the hospital with cancer, and the president was trying to get the White House operator to reach her.

As he talked on the phone, I noticed Kathy Osborne hugging Gen. Colin Powell, the last of Reagan's six national security advisers. Also in the office were Ken Duberstein (who had replaced Howard Baker as chief of staff), White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater and Jim Kuhn.

After the phone call, the president sat awkwardly in the generic government chair now at the desk — *his* chair had been removed the night before. He opened the top drawer to make sure the handwritten note he had left inside the day before for President-elect Bush was still there. It was. On stationery with the words, "Don't let the turkeys get you down" printed at the top, the president had handwritten:

"Dear George,

You'll have moments when you want to use this particular stationery. Well, go to it. George, I treasure the memories we share and wish you all the very best. You'll be in my prayers. God bless you and Barbara. I'll miss our Thursday lunches.

Ron"

Powell gave Reagan his final national security briefing: "The world is quiet today, Mr. President."

After about 35 minutes, Kuhn told the president that a group of press photographers was ready to photograph him leaving the office. "Get 'em in here," Reagan said impatiently. Assistant press secretary Mark Weinberg ushered in the group of about 20 still photographers. Reagan, who had been standing behind the desk, then made his way to the door leading outside to the white-pillared colonnade. He paused as he grasped the doorknob, turned around, and took one last look. His "temporary custody" of the Oval Office had come to an end.

9:22 a.m. – *Taking a last look around the Oval Office.*

LAST CALL
FROM THE
OVAL OFFICE

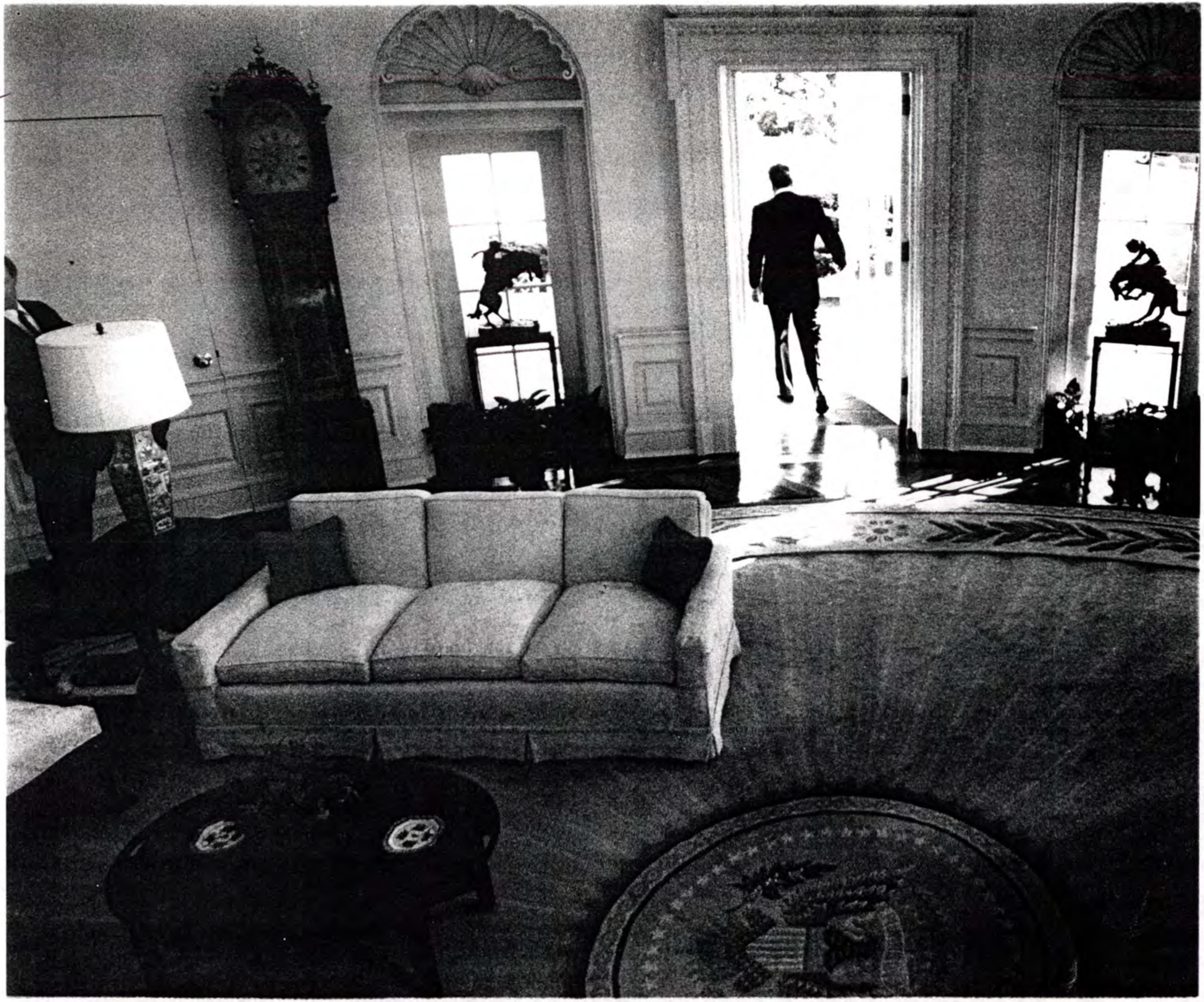
That afternoon, following the inauguration of George Bush as 41st President of the United States, Reagan boarded the white-capped Marine helicopter at the U.S. Capitol. Because he was no longer president, the helicopter — the same one he had always traveled in — was no longer called *Marine One*. It was now *Nighthawk One*.

As the blades began to whirl for take-off, Reagan waved from the helicopter window to the new President of the United States, standing with Mrs. Bush — the new first lady — on the steps of the Capitol. Reagan's left hand was wrapped in a bandage from a recent operation to correct a bone defect in his ring finger.

The pilot circled the helicopter over the Capitol, then flew above Pennsylvania Avenue toward the White House. Both the Reagans were quiet as they gazed out the window. As the helicopter flew over what had been their home for the past eight years, the now-former president said to the now-former first lady, "Honey, there's our little bungalow down there."

9:28 a.m. – *His last phone call as president, to a friend in the hospital. In the background, Kathy Osborne embraces Gen. Colin Powell.*

LEAVING THE OVAL OFFICE FOR THE LAST TIME (MORNING OF JAN 20)



OVAL OFFICE DESK - EMPTY -

LEFT: 9:58 a.m. – *Departing the Oval Office for the last time as President of the United States.*
RIGHT: 9:59 a.m. – *On the colonnade, en route to the executive residence.*

to Bill
the best
President

Princeton University

American Studies Program
42 McCosh Hall
Princeton, New Jersey 08544
609-258-4710
Fax 609-258-2765

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-16-01

January 11, 2001

Sidney Blumenthal
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sid:

Some encouraging news. Thomas LeBien, a senior editor at Princeton University Press, is very high on my book proposal, for collecting and publishing the proceedings of the Progressive Tradition conference last October. The President's speech impressed Thomas in particular, as, in his words, "a unique presentation of the political tradition and philosophy that informed [Clinton's] presidency. It was a treat to read."

The proposal must now run the usual formal gauntlet of outside reviews and PUP board approval - but having once served on that board, I anticipate no problems. With any luck, we can have the book out in the fall or early winter of 2001.

Once I get formal approval, I will send you a revised proposal, and discuss plans for any revisions the President would like to make of his original remarks. Expect to hear from me about this within the next two months (sooner, I hope).

Excelsior,

As ever,

Sean

Sean Wilentz
Dayton-Stockton Professor of History and
Director of the Program in American Studies

Meredith Cabe

ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

Harry Reid

Strongly recommends
a pardon for Jack Weinstein

copied
Cabe
Podesta

BC

copied
Cabe
Podesta

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-7-00

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-15-01

CC: Beth Nolan
MEREDITH
1-11-01

BERT LANCE

Beth - 1:30 ...

Mr. President:

Beth Nolan has The pardon application of Gene Neill That I wrote you About.

He Truly is Worthy of A pardon having already been pardoned by God as we all have.

If he were pardoned, he Could Then take his prison ministry to Australia - The only place he has not been.

I pray you will give Serious Consideration to his application.

Bert

copied
Nolan
Cabe
Podesta

copied
Nolan
Cabe
Podesta

President Clinton

"Personal"

4 = 7070

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-15-01

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 10, 2001

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TERRY EDMONDS
JEFF SHESOL

SUBJECT: FAREWELL ADDRESS

We have convened a working group to consider options for your formal farewell address, scheduled for Thursday evening, January 18. This memo reflects our discussions with John Podesta, Karen Tramontano, Mark Penn, Gene Sperling, Joel Johnson, Loretta Ucelli and Sidney Blumenthal, as well as Don Baer and Michael Waldman.

We recommend a brief Oval Office address – seven to ten minutes. This would be a bit shorter than (but roughly in keeping with) recent Presidents: Reagan and Carter each spoke for twenty minutes, while Eisenhower spoke for fifteen. (And Truman, an anomaly, spoke for two.)

We also recommend a speech that *returns to first principles*. This is your last opportunity as President to describe why you ran in 1992, and how those ideas have shaped your policies and fueled our progress in the past eight years. Since the speech is too short to be comprehensive, it should *crystallize one of the major themes of your Presidency*. We identify several below.

Two other traditions you might wish to consider: Most Presidents have expressed their profound gratitude to the American people for the honor to serve. Also, as you know, some have used the farewell address to issue a cautionary note or warning (for example, Eisenhower on the "military-industrial complex"). This sort of speech can have more historical impact, though there is no guarantee (Carter spoke less memorably on the arms race, environmental degradation, and the suppression of human rights).

The working group has identified several potential themes for the speech:

I. **Preparing America for the 21st Century: Globalization & the New Economy**

II. **Putting People First: Fiscal Discipline and Investing in Our People**

III. **Building One America at Home and Promoting Reconciliation Abroad**

→ Need a quick review of the landscape — → one of 2 big ideas w/ specific suggestions or warnings

BC

Copied
Edmonds
Shesol
Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-16-01

Nancy -

from

Don Baer -

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

DISCOVERY COMMUNICATIONS INCORPORATED
7700 Wisconsin Avenue
Bethesda, Maryland 20814-3579
301-771-5849
fax 301-771-3962
Don_Baer@discovery.com

Donald A. Baer
Executive Vice President,
Office of the President

January 10, 2001

Dear Mr. President,

First, thanks so much to you and Mrs. Clinton for thinking of me at the holidays with cuff links and for including Nancy and me in the holiday dinner. It means a great deal to me that you think of us.

Next, I know there has been some discussion behind the scenes about whether you should deliver a farewell speech from the Oval Office. I just wanted to weigh in that I think it is very important for you to do so sometime next week and that it will be quite well received (and even covered by the networks). A press conference alone, which I had heard was one of the options, would not be nearly as valuable a way for you to provide your message.

I have a brief outline that might help to frame such a speech and have told Terry's office (through Josh) that I will send it on to them tomorrow. As you will see from this outline, I do believe that this speech should be an overall farewell, not limited to a single topic, but that the subject of race could form one aspect of the challenge you pose to the American people. I also understand that you are all working on other race matters for next week. I suppose at this juncture, it would be difficult for you to deliver the bulk of whatever that message is from Central High in Little Rock, leaving the opportunity to reinforce your message as part of your overall farewell. However, if it were possible, Central High would be a wonderful way to provide an important message to the country.

In any event, the most important thing is that you absolutely should give an Oval Office farewell address.

Yours,

Don

Don Baer

Discovery
DISCOVERY COMMUNICATIONS INCORPORATED

FAX

From: Donald A. Baer
Executive Vice President,
Office of the President
Phone: 301-771-5849
Fax: 301-771-3962

7700 Wisconsin Avenue | Bethesda, MD, USA 20814-3579

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING 2 PAGES TO:

NAME:	**Betty Currie**
FAX NUMBER:	**202-456-1210**
FROM:	**Don Baer**
DATE:	**January 10, 2001**
CONFIRMING PHONE:	**301.771.5849**

RE:

Included in this fax:

1. **Note for the President**
2. **Names for tour**

Thanks, as always, for your help. I'll talk with you soon.

CAROLYN B. MALONEY
14TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

2430 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3214
(202) 225-7944

COMMITTEES:
BANKING AND FINANCIAL SERVICES

GOVERNMENT REFORM

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-21-00

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3214

DISTRICT OFFICES:
1651 THIRD AVENUE
SUITE 311
NEW YORK, NY 10128
(212) 860-0606

28-11 ASTORIA BOULEVARD
ASTORIA, NY 11102
(718) 932-1804

JP
Pls look ctr

December 11, 2000

Final (check w/ Fern before you send it out)
cc: Lisa cc: Kay

copied Podesta
Original to Leg. Affairs for Reply

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

Dear President Clinton,

New Yorkers cheered when we learned of your offer to Senator Moynihan to transfer the historic Governors Island to New York for $1.00. As you know, Governors Island is an extraordinary treasure, with historic forts, remarkable architecture and undeveloped green space. With bipartisan cooperation among Members of Congress, the Governor and the Mayor of New York and the community, we have created a development plan for the island that will benefit New York and all Americans while preserving the historic features of the island. Bipartisan legislation, supported by Governor Pataki, has been introduced in Congress that would fulfill your offer to transfer the island to New York and put into place the preservation and development plan for the Island. Unfortunately, with the 106th Congress drawing to a close, the Legislation in unlikely to pass in this session of Congress.

While we may have run out of time to work out a way to transfer the entire island to New York before you and Senator Moynihan leave office, there is still time to fulfill at least part of your offer. I urge you to utilize your authority under the Antiquities Act to declare portions of Governors Island as a National Monument. The Antiquities Act, (16 U.S. C. 431, 431, 433) provides for the President to declare National Monuments of lands "owned and controlled by the Government of the United States" including the "area compatible with the proper care and management" of the resources to be protected. In accordance with this Act, I believe the monument should include Castle Williams and Fort Jay and associated ordinance buildings, which tell an important story about the significance of New York harbor and its strategic location in the defense of the United States. Under the Antiquities Act, these resources would be managed and interpreted by the National Park Service for the benefit of the nation.

Governors Island is currently under the ownership of the United States and managed through the General Services Administration. As part of the appropriate disposal for the Island, you encouraged the City and the State of New York to develop a plan for the appropriate protection and

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

development of the Island. Part of that plan was the creation of a National Monument to be established by the Congress, to include historic Castle Williams and Fort Jay. Although the Administration supported the concept of the National Monument in hearings, Congress was unable to act on this legislation. By declaring the Island's forts as National Monuments before you leave office, you would begin the implementation of the development plan for the entire island, that calls for the preservation of these historic forts. Your action would also send a strong message that this island is indeed a national treasure and that we must proceed expeditiously toward its preservation.

Unfortunately, despite our bipartisan efforts, the disposal process for Governors Island may go on for years. We need to make sure that these two historic forts do not continue to deteriorate. Castle Clinton, Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty National Monuments, and Gateway National Recreation Area are already units of the National Park System. It would be natural for Governors Island to likewise be included. Thematically, all of these units were part of the defense of the New York Harbor. Including Fort Jay and Castle Williams would significantly enhance that story, and since the National Park Service already runs boats to the other islands, it would be a natural addition to include the forts of Governors Island.

As you know, section 1901 of the 1997 Balanced Budget Act required that the island be sold in 2002 for a price which the Office of Management and Budget scored at $500 million. Despite its proximity to Manhattan, the lack of infrastructure makes Governors Island a poor site for commercial or residential development, and therefore it is unreasonable to expect a $500 million offer for the Island. Nonetheless, there are public and private uses that are appropriate for the island that would benefit all New Yorkers and visitors from around the country. The lands to be included within the National Monument, under all proposals, would remain as historic sites, and therefore the creation of this national monument would not negatively affect the total value of the island were disposal to go forth. It is a revenue-neutral proposal.

This year marks the 200th Anniversary of the transference of Governors Island by the state of New York to the Federal Government in February of 1800 at no cost. New York gave the island to the government in the interest of our national defense. In honor of this anniversary, it's time to begin implementing the develop and preservation plan for Governor's Island. I would also like to note that until the 1960 's, this island was an army base. If it still had been an army base, instead of being transferred to the Coast Guard, then not only would New York have been given the island back, but we would have also received funding to assist in the development of the island under the Base Realignment and Closure Act (BRAC). The people of New York do not deserve a hefty $500 million price tag for the island just because the last occupants of the island was the Coast Guard and not the army.

Therefore, I urge you to take the first step toward that goal by designating the historic forts on the island as National Monuments under the administration of the National Park Service. At the end of your tenure I realize that you have many issues before you, but I urge you to continue your legacy of preserving our national treasures by dedicating Fort Jay and Castle Williams as National Monuments. This would be the first step toward preserving and developing Governors Island for New York and the country.

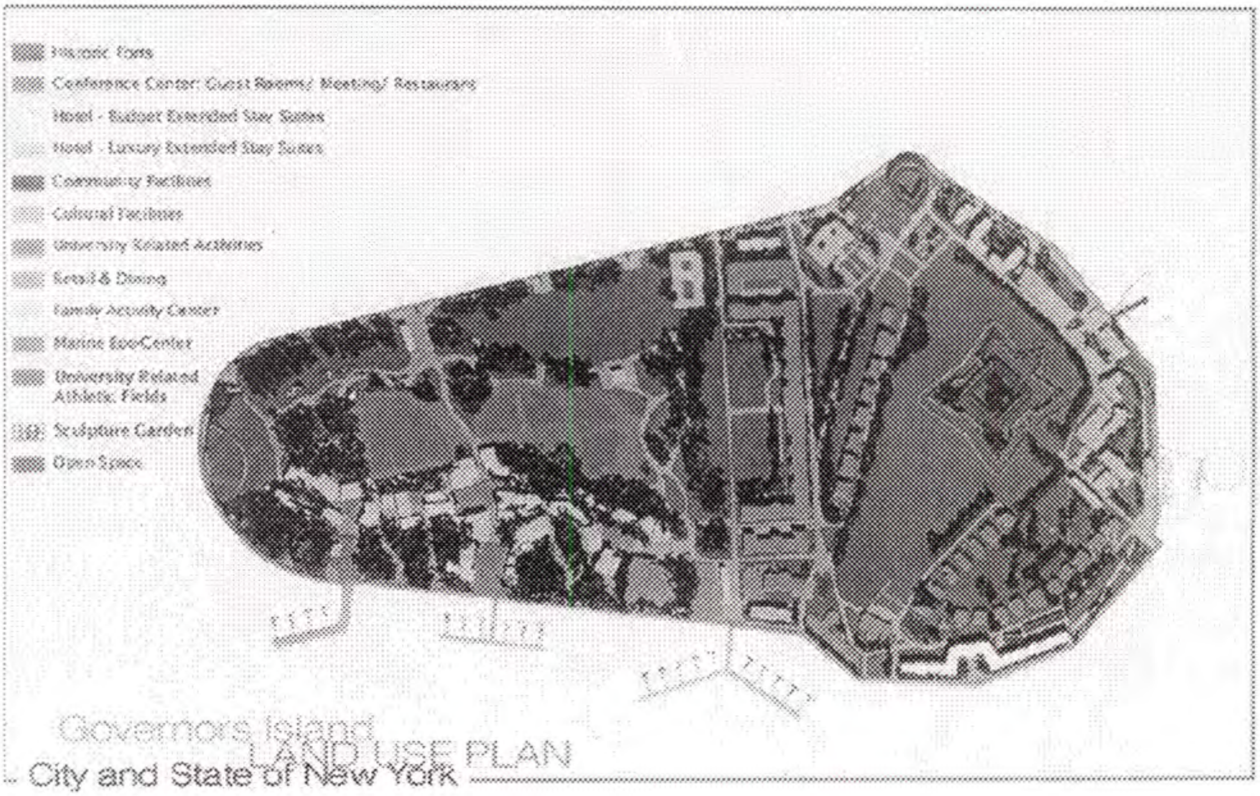
Thank you in advance for your time and consideration. If you need further assistance, please feel free to contact me or have your staff contact Kate Segal in my office at (202) 225-7944.

Very truly yours,

Carolyn B. Maloney

CAROLYN B. MALONEY
Member of Congress

cc: The Honorable Bruce Babbitt


Historic Forts
Conference Center: Guest Rooms/ Meeting/ Restaurant
Hotel - Budget Extended Stay Suites
Hotel - Luxury Extended Stay Suites
Community Facilities
Cultural Facilities
University Related Activities
Retail & Dining
Family Activity Center
Marine Eco-Center
University Related
Athletic Fields
Sculpture Garden
Open Space
Governors Island
LAND USE PLAN
City and State of New York

Updated 6/1/00 by Kate Segal

Governor's Island

BACKGROUND

Governor's Island is a 173 mile island located a half mile southeast of Manhattan and just across the channel from Brooklyn. This island, called Nutton or Nooton Island by the Dutch, was bought from the Native Americans for two ax heads, a string of beads, and some nails. Today, the government estimates that it is worth half a billion dollars.

The island is home to numerous historic landmarks and buildings. In 1794 the first fortifications were erected on the island. Since then, Governor's Island has played important roles in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Civil War, and World Wars I and II. The entire northern half of the island, which includes 90 acres with 62 buildings, is listed as a National Historic District in the National Register of Historic Places.

Most recently, Governor's Island has been under the jurisdiction of the United Stated Coast Guard. However, in 1996 the government proposed selling the island as a cost cutting measure. The island was to be sold to New York for \$1.00, but then the Office of Management and Budget used the sale of the island as revenue in the FY 2002 budget--not for \$1.00, but for \$500 million. Since then, the island has remained vacant as officials try to decide the future of the island.

NADLER/MALONEY LEGISLATION

In response to the ongoing discussions regarding the island and lack of inaction, Reps. Nadler and Maloney introduced H.R.1343, Governors Island Preservation Act of 1999, to create a commission to help settle the future of the island. Many officials in New York received numerous plans for the island's use, but development criteria or a decision was never reached. The legislation would establish a Commission to make a recommendation to the President on the proper future of the Island. Appropriate state, local and federal government officials would have input into the Commission's formation and planning process. The President would be given the authority to implement the Commission's recommendations. The legislation also transfers some of the most important historic structures on the island to the control of the National Park Service.

MAYOR'S POSITION

On January 9, 2000, Mayor Giuliani, with Governor George Pataki and Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver announced a plan that would create a major civic, cultural and educational destination on Governor's Island. His plan would create a 50-acre public park with recreation facilities and opportunities for visitors to experience the beautiful views of the Statue of Liberty, the skyline and New York Harbor on the southern end of the Island will become. A new museum celebrating the Hudson River will include major exhibits on the river's ecological systems as well

as exhibits on the crucial role the Harbor has played as a military and commercial center throughout our nation's history. A family entertainment center similar to the popular tourist attraction at Colonial Williamsburg will focus on historical themes such as the American Revolution and the history of America's armed forces. There would also be athletic fields and facilities, a newly enhanced esplanade,
The Mayor's plan was developed to represent a balance between preserving the history of Governors Island and providing the general public with parks and public open spaces, as well as an opportunity to enjoy additional tourism, recreation, cultural and educational activities.

A subsidiary of Empire State Development Corporation (ESDC) will be created to administer and govern the Island. The ESDC subsidiary would be responsible for the overall management of the Island, including the coordination of infrastructure and landscape development, operation of an extensive park and open space system, and the recruitment of private developers for specific development projects through long term lease agreements.

The plan requires a $300 million investment from private sector developers and approximately $30 million in public funds to be shared by State and City governments as part of a total capital budget of $70 million. The remaining $40 million will be provided through payments made by private investors as part of their long-term lease agreements. In addition, the State and the City will request funding from the Federal government to assist in redevelopment efforts. It is expected that, once developed, the Island will generate enough revenue to support ongoing operations without any additional public funding.

COMPLICATIONS
As with the Nadler/Maloney legislation, this proposed land use plan would still require a commission to look at competing bids on construction and plans for the various projects. It would also require environmental impact studies, etc. before any construction could begin. It would also be subject to all appropriate State and City environmental review processes and historic preservation laws, and public comment and participation will be solicited.

ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION

In a letter to Reps. Maloney and Nadler, the Administration stated that they "strongly support transferring the [Governor's] Island to New York for public use at nominal cost." They are waiting for action by the State and the City to provide additional information regarding their plan for the Island. A comprehensive development plan would then be used to create the necessary documents for a basis for transferring the Island under current law with little or no cost.

CURRENT STATUS
The law currently requires Governor's Island to be sold at fair market value. Without more action from the State and the City or passage of the Reps. Nadler/Maloney bill, Governor's Island cannot be transferred at little or no cost and the island will continue to deteriorate and be vacant.

14TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

2430 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3214
(202) 225-7944

COMMITTEES:
BANKING AND FINANCIAL SERVICES

GOVERNMENT REFORM

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

NEW YORK, NY 10128
(212) 860-0606

28-11 ASTORIA BOULEVARD
ASTORIA, NY 11102
(718) 932-1804

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-3214

Bunce

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: White House Legislative Affairs

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-6220

FROM: HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY
D-NY 14

2430 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Phone: (202) 225-7944
Fax: (202) 225-4709

DATE: 12/22

NOTES:

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover): 4

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

December 21, 2000

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

Dear President Clinton,

New Yorkers cheered when we learned of your offer to Senator Moynihan to transfer historic Governors Island to New York for $1.00. As you know, Governors Island is an extraordinary treasure, with historic forts, remarkable architecture and undeveloped green space. With bipartisan cooperation among Members of Congress, the Governor and the Mayor of New York and the community, we have created a development plan for the island that will benefit New York and all Americans while preserving the historic features of the island. Bipartisan legislation, supported by Governor Pataki, has been introduced in Congress that would fulfill your offer to transfer the island to New York and put into place the preservation and development plan for the Island. Unfortunately, with the 106th Congress drawing to a close, the legislation is unlikely to pass in this session of Congress.

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As part of the appropriate disposal for the Island, you encouraged the City and the State of New York to develop a plan for the appropriate protection and development of the Island. Part of that plan was the creation of a National Monument to be established by the Congress, to include historic Castle Williams and Fort Jay. By declaring the Island's forts as National Monuments before you leave office, you would begin the implementation of the development plan for the entire island. Your action would also send a strong message that this island is indeed a national treasure and that we must proceed expeditiously toward its preservation.

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Thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Carolyn B. Maloney

Jerrold Nadler

Maurice Hinchey

James T Walsh

Gary L Ackerman

The Honorable William J. Clinton
Page 2

Michael R. McNulty

Gregory W. Meeks

Peter T. King

Carolyn McCarthy

Sherry Boehlert

Nita Lowey

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 5, 2001

Dear Representative Maloney:

Thank you for your letter to the President concerning the transfer of Governor's Island to New York for $1.00.

I have shared your concerns with the President and his other advisors. The President appreciates your taking the time to write him regarding this matter, and you can be assured that your views will be given the utmost consideration. If I can be of any further assistance, please do no hesitate to contact me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Kay Casstevens

Kay Casstevens
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Deputy Director for Legislative
Affairs

The Honorable Carolyn B. Maloney
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THIS WEEK

1/3/00

Dear John —

Here's The letter — I hope the president & you vote for me!

Best

Sam Donaldson

Sam Donaldson

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-16-01

CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. President:

Jake + I recommend against doing this, but I thought you should see

John

cc: podesta
Steinberg

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

ABC, INC. 1717 DeSales Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 Telephone 202-222-7090

THIS WEEK

Sam Donaldson

'01 JAN 9 PM9:06

January 3, 2001

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

By Hand

Dear Mr. President:

John Podesta tells me you are considering doing a Sunday show interview as you leave office and I propose that you to do it on **This Week** with me.

You would, of course, be the only guest on our hour-long program. We would cover all the obvious subjects including the impeachment episode (we would both look silly if we didn't) but I assure you the purpose of the interview, the preponderance of subject matter and perhaps most importantly, the tone would aim toward getting your thoughts in a non-confrontational, comfortable setting. How do you access your presidency, what are the reforms in our system you recommend, what's ahead for the country and its politics and what's ahead for you, our youngest ex-president since T. R.—these are some of the things we would discuss.

We would like to air the interview on January 14th. It would be ideal if we could tape it at the White House the day before, or on the Friday before. And just think…it's not my birthday this time so you won't even have to bake another cake!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Sam Donaldson

Sam Donaldson

cc: Podesta.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 3, 2001

MR. PRESIDENT:

John advises that we need a decision on this as soon as possible.

Lisel loy

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-16-01

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

January 3, 2001

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THRU: JOHN PODESTA

FROM: GEORGE T. FRAMPTON, JR. GTF Jr.

SUBJECT: FOREST ROADLESS RULE: FINAL RECOMMENDTIONS

Forest Service Chief Mike Dombeck, Secretary Glickman, and your senior advisors recommend that you approve the following decisions in shaping the final roadless protection rule:

No Commercial Logging in Roadless Areas

The draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) and draft rule would have prohibited building new roads in roadless areas, but allowed timber sales. Although very few such sales were planned or would have been possible (for example, using helicopter logging or new off-road cutters), this was perceived as a significant potential future loophole in providing lasting protection.

We recommend that the final rule bar *commercial* logging, but allow very limited logging for "stewardship" and restoration purposes, including reducing risks of wildfire. The definition of "stewardship logging" has been tightly drawn and includes language focusing on removal of small-diameter trees. This is a key issue for environmentalists. Allowing fire treatment where appropriate (without new roads) is important to the Forest Service and to western communities. Banning new commercial logging will not draw additional opposition from the timber industry and western governors because little logging was planned from these areas, and once roadbuilding is banned, the industry assumed almost no profitable logging would have been possible anyway.

Tongass: Protect Now, But Allow Long Transition for Communities

The draft EIS would have postponed decision until April 2004. (This is the five-year anniversary of the existing Tongass forest plan, at which time it would by its terms be reviewed and possibly revised.) The preferred alternative in the final EIS calls for protecting roadless areas beginning in April 2004, but allowing the existing timber program to go forward until then in order to allow a transition period. This result was attacked by the Alaska delegation but drew a more neutral response from Governor Knowles.

We recommend a slight variation to make the transition more certain and longer: the "decision to protect" would be made now, but timber sales "in the pipeline" would be allowed to be completed and sold – providing six years of timber for transition without actually delaying the final decision.

Because there are a large number of timber sales in roadless areas in the Tongass under preparation, *even if* the Tongass were treated like every other forest (i.e., timber sales that have been sold or finished the NEPA process and reached a record of decision can be offered for sale), the total amount of timber that would be available on the Tongass over the next three years is **597 million board feet (MMBF).** This is five years or more of supply, since under current projected market demand the Forest Service would sell about 110 mmbf per year.

The Forest Service proposes to treat the Tongass slightly more favorably than other forests to improve the certainty of a smooth transition. Timber sales that have *begun* the NEPA process and are in draft or final EIS stages can also go to completion and be sold, as well as those that have completed that process. This would provide at least **694 mmbf** of timber – at least six or more years. In the meantime, the Service will revise the Tongass forest plan to shift the timber program to roaded areas and develop new sales to "refill" the pipeline, so a smooth transition should be effected.

The importance of **not postponing the protection decision** is the key issue now being pressed by the environmental community. The shift as proposed by the Forest Service to this approach may be received with hostility by the delegation and the Governor. However it arguably allows even more transition timber than if the decision were postponed until April 2004, and then only sales that had already been sold were allowed to be cut.

The final EIS estimated that if Tongass roadless areas were protected immediately and the timber program fell by nearly two thirds, it would result in the loss of 383 direct timber-related jobs ($16.7 million in personal income per year) and 141 Forest Service jobs ($7.8 million in personal income per year). The recommended transition arrangements are designed postpone these impacts at least seven years, and perhaps to eliminate them depending on future demand, changes in the forest plan, and other factors.

The recommended transition approach **does not violate our commitment to the new Tongass Plan** because it allows timber demand to be met with certainty for at least seven years of the plan (1999-2006) and very probably ten years or longer. Ten years is the normal minimum life of a forest plan.

To assist affected communities, the Forest Service has designed an economic mitigation package to be released concurrent with the rule. It includes a national six-year transition plan to provide $12-18 million to communities; an immediately grant of $500,000 to Alaska's to help the Governor facilitate a dialogue on timber transition; and approximately $4 million per year for Alaska for projects identified by the Governor to stimulate economic development in the Tongass region.

Narrow Exemption for Leasable Minerals

Both the draft and final EIS would have exempted existing leases for coal, phosphate, oil and gas from new roads in roadless areas, but not *future* leases. Consideration has been given to (1) a total exemption for new leases, and (2) a "tailored" exemption limited to a few existing mines and to future oil and gas leasing in the Rocky Mountain area. Across the entire 58 million acres of roadless areas, possible undiscovered oil or natural gas exists primarily on about 2.5 million acres in the Rockies, where it is about 2-3% of all such possible deposits in the Rockies. (In general, gas is plentiful in this region but not now economically attractive.)

We propose a narrower approach: to exempt existing oil and gas leases and, when they expire, immediate re-leases. Thus, areas where there is current interest in oil or gas deposits, as evidenced by current 10-year leases, can be exempted from the rule in the future if tangible interest continues.

This will also allow exemption for future oil leasing in the North Dakota grasslands, a subject of concern for the North Dakota delegation. (The delegation would like the entire grasslands exempted from the rule, but we believe there is no policy basis for doing so, nor would the EIS analysis sustain such a last-minute exemption. Moreover, their concerns focus more on the Forest Service's new grasslands management plan than on the roadless rule.)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-16-01

CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

MR. PRESIDENT:
I think you talked to Senator Domenici about this. Here is the background. OK to proceed as Bruce outlines?
JOHN

cc: Podesta
(cw)

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON

January 9, 2001

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Bruce Babbitt

Background on Sandia Pueblo, New Mexico, boundary dispute: Senator Domenici's interest

In 1988 the Interior Solicitor in the Reagan Administration wrote a legal opinion rejecting the claim of the Sandia Pueblo Indian Community that its eastern boundary had been erroneously surveyed, and a few thousand acres excluded from the reservation. The disputed area is a national forest, and most of it is a wilderness area. It is on the north edge of the urbanized area of Albuquerque. Nearby is a housing development with exclusive homes.

The Pueblo eventually challenged the Solicitor's opinion in court. In July 1998 the D.C. Federal District Court vacated the opinion, strongly suggesting it was wrong, and remanded the matter back to Interior. In November 2000, the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed the appeal of non-Indian landowners in the area.

The Interior Department is moving toward completing a new legal opinion on the issue before January 20. Senator Domenici sides with the non-Indians, and does not want us to complete the opinion.

Solicitor Leshy and I believe strongly that this opinion should be completed on our watch. If we conclude that the Pueblo is correct, no non-Indian land titles would be threatened (unlike the case with some other Indian land claims). The statute under which we correct erroneous surveys does not give us the authority to correct surveys where title has already vested in non-federal parties. The Pueblo values this area for ceremonial and religious purposes. The Indians do not want to change the use of the land.

The Pueblo has behaved very reasonably throughout its decades-long effort to have its claim recognized. After the federal district court decision, the Pueblo and the United States and the Sandia Tram Company (which wanted to protect its right of way through the area) reached agreement on a settlement of the claim. The settlement would prevent any change in the management of the area, would keep it open for recreation, would keep title in the national forest, would fully protect non-Indian landowners, and would give the Pueblo a ceremonial/religious right in the area. The settlement must be legislated, and Senator Domenici has expressed no interest in sponsoring the bill. The landowners walked away from the settlement discussions without expressing any substantive objection to the proposal (they can't; it fully protects their interests). But the Senator is listening to them.

439036

If we complete the legal opinion and if it sides with the Pueblo, it would have no immediate effect. The Pueblo still fully supports the settlement and wants to see it legislated. The settlement agreement remains in effect until November 15, 2002. That leaves plenty of time for Congress to take up the settlement, and for the federal courts to review our opinion. (And, of course, the next Administration to review our opinion and reach a different result.)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-16-01

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1-16-01

No action indicated

B.

January 9, 2001

cc: tramontano
reed
lew
lane
winograd
podesta

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED
JACK LEW
NEAL LANE
KAREN TRAMONTANO
MORLEY WINOGARD

SUBJECT: RELEASE OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON FOOD SAFETY STRATEGIC PLAN

Background

On August 25, 1998, you signed an executive order establishing the President's Council on Food Safety (Council). The Executive Order directs the Council to develop a comprehensive strategic plan for Federal food safety activities and to take into account the findings and the recommendations of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) report "Ensuring Safe Food from Production to Consumption." (August 20, 1998). The Council also agreed to assess organizational and statutory changes that could strengthen the food safety system.

The NAS report contains three conclusions: (1) "an effective and efficient food safety system must be based on science;" (2) the statutes governing food safety should be revised to achieve a food safety system based on science; and (3) Congress should enact legislation to establish a "unified and central framework for managing Federal food safety programs." In responding to the NAS report in March 1999, the Council agreed to "conduct an assessment of structural models . . . that could strengthen the federal food safety system through better coordination, planning, and resource allocation." The Council also agreed to review the existing food safety statutes. The Council has completed its work and it is ready to make recommendations to you. The open question the Council is considering is whether to recommend that the Federal food safety system be restructured into a single agency with accompanying statutory changes or whether the same public health gains can be achieved by improving the existing organizational and statutory framework without consolidating agency functions.

In its current form as drafted by the Council, the strategic plan contains a number of modest action items to improve food safety. The plan, however, does not include a recommendation for major change, either organizational or statutory, for the federal food safety system.

This memorandum provides background on the strategic planning process, discusses gaps in the current food safety system, and presents two options: either issuing the strategic plan, as drafted by the Council, or issuing the plan with a Council recommendation for creating a single, stand-alone federal food safety agency.

Problems with the Current System

The existing Federal food safety system is fragmented among numerous departments and agencies. At least a dozen Federal bureaucracies, implementing 35 statutes, have roles in overseeing the safety of the nation's food supply. This division of responsibilities was not deliberately designed, but rather evolved as Congress passed laws to address particular food safety concerns. While each agency has a common goal -- ensuring that Americans have the safest food supply in the world -- their statutory authorities and resources differ markedly. These differences make the total Federal effort less efficient and, according to consumer advocates, provide less protection for human health than could be achieved with a more consolidated regulatory approach.

Options

(1) Release Report with Modest Recommendations for Improving Food Safety

As currently drafted, the Council's strategic plan contains modest proposals for improving the federal food safety system. The Council recommends developing legislative proposals to strengthen the existing food safety statutes enabling stronger prevention, enforcement, and record-keeping activities. The Council also recommends (without making any structural changes) strengthening agency coordination to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of federal food safety activities.

(2) Release Report with a Stand-Alone Food Safety Agency Recommendation

Alternatively, in addition to consolidating the disparate food safety statutes, the Council would recommend creating a stand-alone food safety agency. As a result, the "core" standard-setting, food safety labeling, education, inspection, research, and enforcement functions for meat, poultry, eggs, seafood, and other foods would be combined into one agency.

This option would provide adequate authority for:

- utilizing science-based methods, which are currently under court challenge, to ensure the safety of our nation's food supply with an emphasis on preventative approaches such as Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point (HACCP) systems;

- fixing the disparities in the inspections provided by USDA and FDA by establishing one inspection scheme so inspections can be based on risk; and

- establishing strong import authority for all foods, civil fines, and mandatory recalls, which the Administration has previously supported.

Analysis

This option, recommended by the Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP), the Domestic Policy Council (DPC), the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and the Vice President's Office (OVP), would make significant strides in improving coordination and addressing some of the gaps in the current federal food safety system.

HHS does not support this option, however. They believe that food safety should be linked to HHS's public health responsibilities. HHS also believes that inspection and enforcement should be tied to surveillance and National Institutes of Health research efforts. HHS has also raised concerns that consolidating core food safety functions would disrupt other food-related issues left outside an independent agency such as biotechnology, food additives, infant formula, dietary supplements, and animal feeds. Proponents for a single-food agency agree that a new stand-alone agency must be viewed as a public health agency. We believe this can be achieved outside the existing HHS structure, as was the case when agencies such as the EPA and the Consumer Product Safety Commission were established. It is also true that the creation of a stand-alone agency may cause some disruption in programs that are linked to food safety, but we believe that the long-term benefit to public health outweighs any short-term risk. Any food safety reorganization plan could proactively address these potential disruptions in a way that minimizes the risk.

HHS also believes that this option may send a dangerous signal to overseas markets. For example, as Europe has needed to reorganize its food safety functions due to "mad cow" disease in England and dioxin contamination in Belgium, the U.S. system has been held out by many as the "gold standard." If we announce our intent to create a single food safety agency, HHS and some in industry believe that could be misinterpreted as our having lost confidence in the safety of our food supply. They also believe that it could jeopardize our standing in the world community to defend our policies on a range of issues, including the safety of biotechnology. We believe the call for single food safety agency can be made in a way that does not jeopardize our international food safety reputation.

Most consumer groups, such as Center for Science in the Public Interest, believe that a stand-alone agency is the best option. USDA would support a stand-alone agency, provided the agency has adequate inspection resources. The National Academy of Sciences and its Institute of Medicine will support this proposal and there is some indication that the GAO, the Council of Agriculture Science and Technology and the American Public Health Association may support this option.

Most of the food industry would be against consolidating food safety functions. Only two industry associations support a single food agency—the Food Marketing Institute, a non-profit organization representing 1,500 food retailers and wholesalers, and the American Meat Institute. Farmers are likely to oppose a single food agency because they fear it will lead to mandatory on-farm regulation.

Recommendation

Based on the options outlined above, your advisors recommend amending the strategic plan to recommend a single, stand-alone food safety agency. This option articulates your vision for a single food agency with accompanying statutory changes, seeks to eliminate duplication and fragmentation, centralizes food safety leadership, and facilitates priority setting and resource allocation based on risk. OSTP, OMB, OVP, and DPC recommend this option. USDA has indicated that they could live with this option. HHS would vehemently object, and Secretary Shalala may even seek to file a dissent in the strategic plan.

_____ Approve   _____ Disapprove   _____ Discuss

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
01-17-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 2000

Copied
Brain
Podesta
(and Tab B)

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY LL

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

I am forwarding the following information items:

(A) **McCaffrey note re: article in Parade Magazine** – forwards a copy of this weekend's forthcoming profile on your Administration's efforts to reduce drug use, underscores the importance of ONDCP's media campaign, and thanks you for your leadership.

(B) **Congressional correspondence (via Chuck Brain)** – ~~forwards~~ letters from (1) Sen. Domenici (R-NM), thanking you for your get well note; and (2) Rep. Miller (D-CA), thanking you for your pardon of Freddie Meeks.

(C) **Millennium interviews (via Joe Lockhart)** – in response to your request, Joe forwards videotapes of your millennium interviews from last month.

To Tery

with ~~Brod~~/Chad
2/24
Staff Sec
2/28
closed

February xx, 2000

Dear George:

Thank you very much for your letter about my decision to pardon Freddie Meeks. I am very glad Mr. Meeks decided to seek a pardon during my presidency, and I was pleased to grant it.

I know that you and your staff were instrumental in providing the White House and the Department of Justice with information about Mr. Meeks and the Port of Chicago issue. I appreciate your help.

Thanks, again, for your kind words and for your dedication to this important matter.

Sincerely,

The Honorable George Miller
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

GEORGE MILLER
7TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA
2205 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0507
(202) 225-2095
DANIEL WEISS
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE
VICE CHAIR
DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE

Congress of the United States
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Washington, DC 20515-0507

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January 7, 2000

Copied
Brain
Podesta

408006

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Your decision to grant a pardon to Mr. Freddie Meeks of Los Angeles was an historically significant and profoundly humanitarian decision for which I want to emphatically thank you.

Having been deeply involved in the Port Chicago issue for a dozen years and with the Meeks case specifically, I know how important this pardon is not only to Mr. Meeks and his family, but also to a much broader community. As you might note from the very prominent and extensive press coverage nationally (and especially in the California press and media), the significance of the Port Chicago story, and the Meeks case, has not been diminished by the 55 years that have passed since the unjust courts martials occurred.

Your particular concerns for racial harmony and justice have helped to heighten national concerns for this enormously important national issue, and your action on the Meeks case enhances your commitment to addressing wrongs in our past. I am grateful that you and others in your Administration were able to expedite action on the Meeks appeal so that he and his family are fully able to benefit from the knowledge that the President listened to his case and responded.

Thank you again for your decision.

Best wishes,

George Miller

GEORGE MILLER

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

2/4/00

Courtney —

Attached is the letter Meredith Cabe discussed w/ you. It's been approved by Chuck Brain.

Please send us a cc of the final draft that is sent out. Thank you.

Derek Howard

x65242

128, OEOB

Draft
February 1, 2000

FEB 24 PM 6:21

The Honorable George Miller
U.S. House of Representatives
2205 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515-0507

Dear Congressman Miller:

Thank you very much for your letter about my decision to pardon Freddie Meeks. I am very glad Mr. Meeks decided to seek a pardon during my presidency, and was pleased to grant it.

I know that you and your staff were instrumental in providing the White House and the Department of Justice with information about Mr. Meeks and about the Port Chicago issue in general. I appreciate your help.

Thank you again for your kind words, and especially for your dedication to this important matter.

Sincerely
BC

Draft

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 20, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR MEREDITH CABE

FROM: **CHARLES M. BRAIN** CMB
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: **CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE**

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter that was sent to the President by Rep. George Miller (D-CA).

The President has requested that he see and sign the response going to Representative Miller. We did not want to fully answer the issues addressed in the Congressman's letter without advice from your office; therefore, I am requesting that your office draft a response and return it to Courtney Crouch, Office of Legislative Affairs, 102 East Wing.

Thank you very much for your assistance in this matter. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Courtney at 456-7500.

Enclosure

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-16-01

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'01 JAN 10 PM4:01

January 10, 2001

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TERRY EDMONDS
JEFF SHESOL

SUBJECT: FAREWELL ADDRESS

We have convened a working group to consider options for your formal farewell address, scheduled for Thursday evening, January 18. This memo reflects our discussions with John Podesta, Karen Tramontano, Mark Penn, Gene Sperling, Joel Johnson, Loretta Ucelli and Sidney Blumenthal, as well as Don Baer and Michael Waldman.

We recommend a brief Oval Office address – seven to ten minutes. This would be a bit shorter than (but roughly in keeping with) recent Presidents: Reagan and Carter each spoke for twenty minutes, while Eisenhower spoke for fifteen. (And Truman, an anomaly, spoke for two.)

We also recommend a speech that *returns to first principles*. This is your last opportunity as President to describe why you ran in 1992, and how those ideas have shaped your policies and fueled our progress in the past eight years. Since the speech is too short to be comprehensive, it should *crystallize one of the major themes of your Presidency*. We identify several below.

Two other traditions you might wish to consider: Most Presidents have expressed their profound gratitude to the American people for the honor to serve. Also, as you know, some have used the farewell address to issue a cautionary note or warning (for example, Eisenhower on the "military-industrial complex"). This sort of speech can have more historical impact, though there is no guarantee (Carter spoke less memorably on the arms race, environmental degradation, and the suppression of human rights).

The working group has identified several potential themes for the speech:

I. Preparing America for the 21st Century: Globalization & the New Economy

II. Putting People First: Fiscal Discipline and Investing in Our People

III. Building One America at Home and Promoting Reconciliation Abroad

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-17-01

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

January 16, 2001

'01 JAN 16 PM 2:17

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GEORGE T. FRAMPTON, JR. GTF Jr.

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA

RE: VIRGIN ISLAND MONUMENTS FOR TOMORROW

Secretary Babbitt has recommended expanding an existing national park and national monument in the Virgin Islands to protect coral reefs. DOI has been working on reef protection there for several years and on this particular proposal since last Spring. The Department has held three public meetings and met with local officials. The monument expansions have the support of the Governor and Commissioner of Natural Resources, but in the past several weeks Delegate Donna Christian-Christensen has been meeting with local fishermen, and has written and called opposing the monument. I have spoken with her several times over the past few days.

The monument designations would affect only 1% of the fishable waters in the Islands, and would not impact the commercial fishing industry which is a pelagic fishery taking fish from deeper waters. Delegate Christian-Christensen, who did not raise any objections to the monuments until very recently, has apparently been motivated in the past week or two by about a dozen or so part-time fishermen who use fish traps in shallow water that then get tangled in the reefs, harming the coral. Using such traps and anchoring in these reefs would be prohibited. These fishers do not depend for their livelihood on fishing.

You advisors unanimously recommend that you go forward tomorrow and include these two monuments with the other six you will sign. The expansions bring the Virgin Islands close to its announced goal of protecting 20% of its coral reefs with no-take zones.

If you do so, I will try to work with the Delegate to help her assure her constituents that fishing opportunities will still exist for the part-time fishers, and that the monument expansions will not impact commercial fishing. However, I do not believe her current posture is likely to be reversed in the next 24-48 hours.