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McCain Outlines Voucher Program and How to Pay for It

By LESLIE WAYNE

MOUNT PLEASANT, S.C., Sept. 28 — Senator John McCain, now a full-fledged candidate for the Presidency, called today for a school voucher program that he said should be financed by cutting Federal subsidies on oil, gas, ethanol and sugar.

With Charleston Harbor and the carrier Yorktown serving as a backdrop to highlight his Vietnam War record, Mr. McCain used the occasion to link for the first time two of the major themes of his campaign, fighting special interests and providing greater school choice, and to underscore his image as war hero.

"Our children deserve the best education that we can make available to them, whether that learning takes place in a public, private or parochial school," Mr. McCain told an audience filled with veterans in V.F.W. caps and military metals.

"We will find the necessary money for those most in need, by taking it from those least in need," he added. "We give hundreds of millions of dollars in subsidies to the producers of ethanol, to oil and gas and sugar manufacturers who are wealthy beyond the dreams of most hard-working Americans. I challenge my opponents to join me in taking the money that we've been giving to the special interests and spend it instead on a child in need."

Mr. McCain coupled his attack on subsidies with his long-standing crusade for campaign finance reform. In his mind, reducing the influence of money in politics would reduce the pressure on Congress to finance pet projects of major contributors.

Last summer, Mr. McCain introduced a bill to finance school vouchers by cutbacks in the ethanol subsidy program, only to have it defeated in the Senate.

Today, he added oil and gas and sugar subsidies to the list of possible financing sources for school vouchers,

a program favored by Republicans.

While Mr. McCain's talk was about schools and special interests, the day was also heavy in symbols of the military theme that runs through Mr. McCain's campaign: As a Navy pilot, he was a prisoner of war for five and a half years.

The setting here, the Patriots Point Naval and Maritime Museum, highlighted not only his own military history but also one that goes back three generations in his family.

The Yorktown was part of the carrier force that was commanded by Mr. McCain's grandfather, Admiral John S. McCain, and on its flight deck it carried a replica of the A-4 Skyhawk that Mr. McCain was flying when he was shot down in 1967. Men in "Comrades for McCain" T-shirts populated the crowd, and a submarine, a destroyer and a Coast Guard cutter added to the backdrop. And, as Mr. McCain spoke, a parade of military aircraft flew overhead, en route

to the nearby airport.

In his speech here, Mr. McCain restated much of what he said on Monday, when he announced his candidacy in New Hampshire: Calls for higher defense spending, denunciations of economic protectionism, and stressing the need for having had "broad and deep experience" when making the "life and death decisions" as President to send troops into combat.

And while these themes produced hearty applause from the crowd of 500, the focus of the day was on Mr. McCain's plan for financing the voucher program by cutting subsidies to the ethanol, oil and gas and sugar industries. His campaign against ethanol subsidies is one reason he steered clear of the Iowa straw poll, where much of it is produced, and his attacks on oil and gas interests hit an industry that is a leading contributor to the campaign of Gov. George W. Bush of Texas.

Mr. McCain said the "biggest challenge" is to finance a voucher program, allowing students to switch to private or parochial schools, while not cutting government support to the public school system. And he said the money could be found if campaign finance reform were enacted and subsidies cut.

"Let's take that money, and instead of using it to pay off campaign contributors with special tax breaks, let's spend it on the children who have been trapped in our worst schools," Mr. McCain said. "Let's take that money, and use it to set children free, to give them an educational opportunity that can provide them with a real future."

Still, what many in the crowd said was Mr. McCain's uppermost appeal was his status as a war hero and his call for less spending on high-cost weapons systems and more spending on enlisted personnel and veterans. That Mr. McCain suffered greatly while in prison, and emerged to become a member of the Senate, was enough for many here to believe that he has the character and leadership to run the nation.

Michael Burkhold, a money manager from Charleston, said, "It's important to me that John McCain is a hero. It's important to me that we dignify the office of the President with a person who has the status of being a hero."

And Will Buddin, a real estate agent from Summerville, said he felt Mr. McCain's war experiences meant that "he can give leadership back to this country."

"It's not just giving us economic strength," Mr. Buddin added, "but for the world to look to us as a power to emulate, not to denigrate."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1999

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We need a comprehensive
review of this, congruent
to Gov. - analysis & consequences
of paying for it for education, etc.

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Box

Bradley Presents Health Plan For Almost All the Uninsured

A1

By JAMES DAO

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 28 — Former Senator Bill Bradley today proposed a \$65 billion-a-year plan that he said would make health care available to virtually all uninsured Americans through an ambitious expansion of Federal tax subsidies and insurance programs.

The proposal by Mr. Bradley, who is seeking the Democratic nomination for President, would offer health coverage to lower-income adults and children in one of two ways: by allowing them to join, with little or no premium costs, the Federal Government's health insurance system for its employees or by providing tax credits to subsidize their premiums in private insurance plans.

Under the proposal, a family of four earning as much as \$49,200 in gross annual income would be eligible for at least a partial Federal subsidy of its health insurance premiums. And Mr. Bradley would reduce health care costs for people in higher income brackets by excluding all health insurance premiums paid by individuals, regardless of their income, from Federal taxes.

Mr. Bradley said that if all eligible people participated in his plan, 95

percent of the country's 45 million uninsured adults and children would receive health care. But health care experts said it was highly unlikely that so many people would participate in a voluntary plan.

The former Senator said his plan would not require new taxes, and could be financed using the non-Social Security surplus, projected to be more than \$1 trillion over the next decade, as well as cost-saving measures. But he cautioned that he did not have a backup financing plan if the economy turned sour and the surplus evaporated.

Throughout his 30-minute speech at a community college here, Mr. Bradley sounded a populist tone, calling good health care a solemn right, not a luxury.

"We are not talking about the irresponsible or the negligent," he said of the uninsured, but about "people you and I know" who are one catastrophic illness away from bankruptcy. It is wrong, he continued, "that kings and dictators can come to this country to get the best medical care in the world, while Americans two blocks away may not be able to afford any care at all."

The former Senator from New Jersey also said he would require all children to have health insurance. But he did not propose an enforcement mechanism, saying, "You have to have trust in the basic goodness of the American people."

Mr. Bradley's plan is more ambitious than one proposed earlier this month by his lone rival for the Democratic nomination, Vice President Al Gore, and thus continues his effort to sharpen his appeal to liberal Democrats. Mr. Gore proposed making health care available to all children but did not go as far as Mr. Bradley in making it accessible to adults.

By contrast, Mr. Bradley's plan is

less extensive and regimented than President Clinton's complicated proposal that came under fierce attack from Republicans and the health care industry and was killed by Congress in 1994. That plan would have required all employers to provide health insurance for workers and their families.

Today Mr. Bradley, who did not play a central role in the 1994 fight, described his plan as the kind of bold stroke the nation needs to solve its serious health care problems. But he also asserted that it would have a better chance of passing than Mr. Clinton's proposal because it was simpler, required less bureaucracy, gave people greater say over their insurance plans and would be debated more openly.

At a news conference after his speech, Mr. Bradley also took a sharp shot at Mr. Gore, calling the Vice President's health care plan timid. "I think there are differences between trying to do something big, to deal with a big problem that affects almost all Americans, and continuing to be advocating incremental change," Mr. Bradley said. "It is a fundamental difference between the candidacies."

He also criticized Mr. Gore for not having laid out the cost of his proposal, saying, "A campaign proposal without a price tag is just another politician's promise."

But aides to Mr. Gore said Mr. Bradley's plan failed to address the financial problems of Medicare, the Government health care program for the elderly. The Clinton Administration has proposed setting aside

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The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1999

\$374 billion of the surplus over the next 10 years to shore up the program. Mr. Bradley's proposal would eat up too much of the surplus to do that, the aides said.

Elaine Kamarck, a policy adviser to Mr. Gore, said, "The shortchanging of Medicare is, I think, a huge problem with the Bradley plan." She also said Mr. Bradley had probably underestimated the cost of his plan.

The plan drew an odd mixture of reactions from people on both ends of the political spectrum. Liberals, while applauding its intent, said it fell short of universal care, while conservatives praised its use of tax credits.

"It's a step in the right direction," said Stuart Butler, vice president for domestic research with the Heritage Foundation, a conservative policy organization. "It's a very shrewd plan that builds on a bipartisan base."

Ron Pollack, executive director of Families USA, a national organization for health care consumers, warned that the plan might encourage companies to eliminate health insurance for employees, pushing them into the Federal plan. "I've never been a fan of using the tax code as the best vehicle for achieving coverage," Mr. Pollack said. "It does have the possibility of providing tax breaks for people that don't need them. And it could result in employer-based coverage being scaled back."

Mr. Bradley's proposal would essentially replace Medicaid, the Government health care program for the poor, with a new system run entirely by the Federal Government, which would continue to finance care for the poor.

Medicaid costs are now split among Federal, state and local governments. Under Mr. Bradley's plan, the Federal Government would pay the full cost of acute care for low-income adults and children, while states would pick up the entire Medicaid cost of long-term nursing home care for the elderly. The swap would reduce states' costs by \$18 billion a year, Mr. Bradley's aides said.

But the plan would go beyond current government programs by using the tax code to help the working poor and higher income people.

Under the plan, Mr. Bradley would give lower income families and individuals tax credits to help pay for premiums. Children living in families earning under 200 percent of the poverty line — or \$32,800 a year in gross income for a family of four — would receive a \$1,200 tax subsidy. That is enough to pay annual premiums in many private plans, Mr. Bradley's aides said.

A smaller tax credit would be available to families earning between 200 percent and 300 percent of the poverty level, which is \$49,200 a year in gross income for a family of four.

Adults, with or without children, would receive a \$1,800 tax credit if their income was below poverty level, which is a \$16,400 gross annual income for a family of four. Adults earning between 100 percent and 200 percent of the poverty line would receive somewhat smaller credits.

Mr. Bradley would allow people to use the tax credits, which would be paid in advance directly to insurance

Excerpts From Bradley Health Care Talk

Following is an excerpt from a speech on health care yesterday in Los Angeles by Bill Bradley, the former Senator from New Jersey who is seeking the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination, as recorded by the Federal News Service, a private transcription agency:

In 1994, President Clinton sought to provide health insurance for all Americans. That attempt failed.

But the problems that called forth that effort have not failed, and it is time to try again but in a different way. The lessons learned from the experience of the past and the stories people have told me along the road are valuable guides for today.

Americans do not want a health-care system controlled

from the center by a massive Government bureaucracy. Americans do not want a health-care system that seems indifferent to quality. Americans don't want to be denied their right to choose their doctors or the direction of their own treatment.

But big problems require big thinking. In 1986, everyone told me that tax reform could never be achieved because there were too many opposing interests. Well, I listened to all those interests, and eventually I understood their concerns. And a short while later the common ground we established turned into the tax reform that everybody said was unachievable.

Improving our health-care system will require a similar process.

companies, to pay for insurance premiums. The credits could be used either with the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program, a system of private companies that insures Federal employees, or with any other private insurer.

Nine million Federal workers, including members of Congress, now belong to the Federal employees system. Mr. Bradley's aides estimated that as many as two-thirds of the 33 million unemployed adults in the country might join the Federal system if the plan was enacted.

Health care experts cautioned that opening the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program to a tide of lower-income people, many of them unemployed, would place costly new burdens on the program and potentially drive up premiums.

Mr. Bradley would also exclude all health insurance premium payments by individuals from Federal taxes. And he would create an optional prescription drug benefit for Medicare recipients that would have a \$500 deductible, \$25 monthly premium and 25 percent co-payment fee.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1999

Podesta/Sosnik
Good money -
(with a letter to Corby)
JSC

9-29-99

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A GOOD COS

Gore Gets Some Help From That Other Bill

By KEVIN MERIDA
Washington Post Staff Writer

Details, details.

Bill Cosby's private jet has just landed at Reagan National. A driver is there to pick him up. On time, no problem. But where are the half-smokes?

Anybody who has done a page of homework on Cosby knows that he never comes to Washington without ordering off the menu

at Ben's Chili Bowl on U Street. Doesn't matter if he's here to serve as star attraction at a \$1,000-per-person fund-raiser for Al Gore, which he did on Monday night. With Cos, the half-smokes are paramount. To be precise: one chili dog and several half-smokes. He phoned in the order himself before the plane left New York.

Weldon Latham, a savvy Wash-

ington lawyer and host of the Gore event, knows of Cosby's love affair with Ben's Chili Bowl. So he sends someone to fetch the food and meet the entertainer at the airport. Except the half-smokes courier runs into traffic and is late. And Cosby doesn't want to keep Gore's well-heeled supporters in limbo. So he phones Latham. "I'm not waiting anymore." But he adds: "He should have had my half-smokes there."

A half-hour later, Cosby arrives at Latham's Bethesda home, where the veep's contributors are munching miniature crab cakes and sipping white wine. And sure enough, just five minutes behind is another car with the smokes. Cosby's a happy man.

The fund-raiser is the engine of American politics, and the engine needs a lot of maintenance. Sometimes it's all about the half-smokes. Details, piddling details. Directions to the house. Are all the name tags printed? Who's paid, who hasn't? We need the parking valets, with their big golf umbrellas, to escort guests to the house or to the tent, wherever they need to be. Bleeping rain!! Too many details. Cigars for Cosby. Flowers for actress Sonia Braga. Flowers for Latham's wife, Connie, a human resources consultant and co-host of this soiree. Better not forget *that*. Gore's on a special diet. Need a plate of raw veggies for him in the holding room. By the way, who gets access to the holding room?

People who write large checks to candidates want to be treated like a date. They want fine food, entertainment, pictures taken with the next president of the United States (maybe). They want a cozy room where they can mingle with people like themselves.

It's called a fund-raiser.

Monday night's event started out as an idea three months ago. Latham, a senior partner at the law firm of Shaw, Pittman, approached the veep. "I thought he needed a major, diverse fund-rais-

er. In politics, most of the fund-raisers you go to, the vast majority of the people there are of the majority persuasion."

Latham had met Cosby through Jesse Jackson last year and they became fast friends. With Cosby on board, Latham knew he had a drawing card. Cosby, who had never endorsed a presidential candidate before, talked with Gore by phone. Then it was just a matter of coordinating schedules.

Latham then went to Dana London, head of a nonprofit organization based in Silver Spring that works with professional athletes. Cosby, a minority owner of the New Jersey Nets, had introduced the two and had asked Latham to give London some legal and business advice. London, who had met NBA star Shaquille O'Neal through the '96 Olympics, was able to get the big fella on board. Actress Sonia Braga, who has worked with Cosby, was added to the lineup. And so now there were the makings of a program that would be billed as "Hollywood Comes to Washington to Support Al Gore."

Except on Monday afternoon, just hours before the event, Shaq bails. An emergency, he explains. "Athletes get such a bad reputation" for being no-shows, says London. "He asked me what he could do." The answer: Send a letter of apology and endorsement. Done. The letter will be read at the event, and Gore aides will eagerly distribute it to the press. As a bonus, O'Neal will offer Gore one of his size 22 sneakers "as kind of a token of filling big shoes," says London. Nice photo-op under the circumstances, organizers reason.

"Shaquille O'Neal is my biggest supporter," Gore deadpans later. O'Neal, after all, is 7-foot-1.

Details, details.

It's 5:15 p.m. The VIP reception starts at 6:30. The program starts at 8. Quesadillas are being cooked on hot plates. You can smell them. This is the third in a series of six Gore fund-raisers being catered by B&B, a company that knows the drill. No carbohydrates for Gore. He likes the plum tart, "but unfortunately we're not having that tonight," says Paul Corsi, the B&B sales assistant who's supervising on site. "I think this menu's been changed three times."

Then there's the Secret Service.

"I've got a guy out here who says he's Weldon's law partner," barks one agent, hoping for a de-

finitive answer from someone with one of those lapel clips that indicate special Secret Service clearance.

Amy Berg Nee scurries toward him. She's the Latham assistant who's choreographing the affair. She's the one with the sheaf of papers in one hand and a walkie-talkie in the other. She's the one directing all these young volunteers—aspiring lawyers, Capitol Hill aides—who are standing around waiting to be told what to do.

"He's all right," she says.

The Lathams live in a sprawling brick house on a cul-de-sac near the Avenel golf course in Potomac. A check-in table is set up in the garage for most guests, who head to the basement buffet or to chairs arranged under a large white tent in the back yard where Gore will make remarks and Cosby will do his bit. Another check-in table is set up at the front door. This is the entrance for 50 or so VIPs who get to mingle under the crystal teardrop chandelier in the dining room and have their photos snapped with Cosby and Gore.

The crowd, overall, is predominantly black—businessmen, attorneys, politicians. The event raises more than \$250,000 and attracts Mayor Anthony Williams, several members of the Congressional Black Caucus, Labor Secretary Alexis Herman and Braga, who doesn't make any formal remarks but has come to lend her name.

Cosby does a half-hour comedy routine with a clip-on mike, walking the aisle, making guests part of his act. When Frizzell Woodson, co-owner of a trucking company, makes his way toward Cos with a camera, Cosby ushers him back to his seat. "We're going to send you over to the Bradley camp."

After his routine, after the vice president has addressed the crowd about civil rights and education and health care, Cosby is asked about Bill Bradley.

"Bradley's a good man, good man," he says. "Bradley's an honest man. But here's the thing. What's the thing?"

Cosby cocks the eyebrows—you don't want to change course, do you? "Hello. If you look at the country and look at what the president did, I say let's follow that company. I'm going to buy more stock in that company."

And then someone gives him a cigar, he gets in a waiting car with his half-smokes, and leaves.

BS—
HRC
Unlabeled
too often
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9-29-99

Will Smith To Ring In New Year On Mall

Multimillion-Dollar Events Announced

By SUSAN LEVINE
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

Actor Will Smith will host Washington's ultimate party of '99, the multimillion-dollar New Year's Eve celebration on the Mall, for which a who's who of rock music will sing backup, organizers announced yesterday.

"Just imagine for a moment," first lady Hillary Clinton began at a news conference that was provided few new specifics of the free, morning-to-midnight event but much lyrical description of its atmosphere and purpose—"the music of our century rocking and rolling, swinging and soaring."

Some of those tunes will be belted out by Aretha Franklin, Chuck Berry and B.B. King, who will perform during festivities that will stretch down the Mall and also for several blocks along Constitution Avenue.

Come evening, the spotlight will shift to the Lincoln Memorial, where Smith will lead a show to be produced by Quincy Jones and George Stevens Jr. And in the century's final hour, as composer John Williams conducts an original orchestral score, an 18-minute film by Steven Spielberg will highlight major events of the last 100 years before a high-tech sound and light display punctuates the first minute of 2000.

"It will be in the sky and it will be inspiring," Stevens said yesterday.

"America's Millennium," as the family-friendly extravaganza is billed, is being organized by the White House Millennium Council,

Smithsonian Institution, National Park Service and National Park Foundation. The city of Washington, which will mark its bicentennial as the nation's capital in 2000, is a partner in the planning.

The initial projection is for a turnout of 600,000 people. Only two gatherings on the Mall have been bigger: President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1965 inauguration and the 1976 bicentennial fireworks.

Already, the price tag has grown to \$12.5 million from initial estimates of \$10 million. The total includes the lectures, demonstrations and performances that the Smithsonian will present from Dec. 31 through Jan. 2, but does not account for the city's companion block party along Constitution Avenue—a "Main Street Millennium" expected to resemble a winter carnival of minstrels, magicians, acrobats and food tents.

The entire celebration will be privately funded, organizers reiterated yesterday, saying that with 95 days to go, half of the \$12.5 million has been raised. Democratic Party fund-raiser magnate Terry McAuliffe, who recently offered \$1.3 million from his own accounts to guarantee a New York house mortgage for the first lady and President Clinton, is leading the money effort.

Despite some private concerns that the ambitious and time-pressed plans may exceed funds—the Smithsonian, for instance, has yet to receive a budget for its role—organizers were enthusiastic yesterday. One of the guests they introduced was their first million-dollar contributor, Omaha business executive Vinod Gupta. No other individual or corporate donors were identified.

"This is a tremendous opportunity to unite our nation, to capture an extraordinary moment in mankind and human history," said Hillary Clinton, who was joined at the news conference by Stevens and D.C. Mayor Anthony A. Williams (D).

With congressional dignitaries and local residents participating, the weekend's opening ceremony will take place near the Capitol as a time capsule is sealed with the thoughts of national leaders in varied fields, Clinton said. Throughout the day on Dec. 31, the Smithsonian will offer a "digital time capsule," to which visitors can add their wishes for future generations.

Producer Stevens, the man behind the annual Kennedy Center honors program and founder of the American Film Institute, gave no timetable for releasing a full schedule of performers. For the moment, the publicity boasts of bands, choirs and military marching units. Stevens acknowledged that many celebrities were booked long ago but said it was not too late to get commitments from others.

"It's a historic opportunity. You can perform in Las Vegas any night of the year," he laughed.

One lure would be the likely worldwide audience. Organizers said CBS will broadcast live from 10 p.m. through midnight, and arrangements to carry the show around the globe are pending. Spielberg's movie, "The Unfinished Journey," will be shown on two giant digital screens to be positioned on either side of the Lincoln Memorial.

Although the Mall will return to normal Jan. 3, the city's bicentennial commemoration will just be starting. James V. Kimsey, chairman emeritus of America Online, is leading the steering committee of city and regional leaders that will plan a year of programs and festivities and raise the private funds to pay for them.

Williams's special assistant Sandy McCall said the calendar of events will not be publicized until January. Kimsey's committee members, however, will be announced by early November.

"When [others] see this new board," McCall predicted, "they'll see there's been an immense vote of confidence in this new mayor and the renaissance of this city."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1999

9-29-99

HOC
This is great!

9-29-99

Tuesday, September 28, 1999

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Lockhart
Podesta

Lockhart - summer - this
Good press flyer

The persuasive Mr. Lockhart

Watergate. Reagan did not a conservative message, because Americans were agflation and a president to blame the people for il malaise. And Clinton change at a time when my was coming out of a . In each case, Americans esponding to superficial ut absorbing images and that appealed to what ished most.

Americans respond to messages, the TV news and leadership depends values are dominant at a e. Campaigns do matter. ideologues can reflect g values. In a 1997 survey progressive New World n, we found that even of activist groups who themselves as "very lib- rogressive" could be pro- rtion, against affirmative d identify with Reagan on ies. Similarly, we found a poll for the National ent Trust that significant of people who describe s as "very conservative," themselves "environmen- elieve global warming is of droughts and hurri- d support stronger fed- ort to the Environmental Agency.

learned last year, Ameri- both condemn a presi- havior, be ashamed to as president, and not re him as a CEO or su- hile - at the same time emphatically that even are entitled to privacy dln't be removed for personal behavior.

inter an intense political we should closely watch es appear dominant on . Voters will tell us why nated a standard-bearer arty, chose a majority for and elected a new d one thing can be cer- es made won't be based v images, public fickle- eadings of position pa- on how each candidate d those ideals and val- held most deeply.

and interpreting these not only help determine s and losers, but also e real excitement and of the campaign season.

ogby is founder and of Zogby International, endent polling firm Utica, N.Y., and Wash

I'LL TELL YOU how good Joe Lockhart is. During an hour with the president's press secretary the other morning, at a Monitor breakfast, I found myself forgetting the president's moral flaws and his recent troubles and seeing a Bill Clinton who - somehow - is rising above his impeachment and making one of his famous comebacks.

Mr. Lockhart, like his predecessor, Mike McCurry, is a champion at putting the best light on a client - the client in this case being the most powerful individual in the world.

That's his job; you expect it. But, like Mr. McCurry, Lockhart brings a persuasiveness to his positive interpretations of whatever controversy Mr. Clinton has stirred up. And, like McCurry, Lockhart clearly retains a high regard for Clinton and believes the president, despite all his reckless acts, is a person he can respect and work for. Both of them have convinced me they think Clinton is a man who wants to do good for his country.

"But," as Lockhart said of his job just before we sat down for breakfast, "it isn't easy."

I can't vouch for the Lockhart picture of a recovering president. I'm out in Chevy Chase, Md., where I no longer get close-up views of a chief executive. From where I sit it has looked like a long road back for Clinton.

But, for a while, I succumbed to Lockhart's glowing depiction of a president working every waking moment to take some step, push some legislation, do anything he can to improve the lot of Americans. Joe said that Clinton would never let up on his work for the nation, that even on Clinton's last day and in his formal goodbye speech he'd be penciling in some impromptu comments about some programs he would like to see enacted.

I don't think I'll ever see a better press secretary than Mike McCurry. How he ever dealt with all that prevarication from his boss and still was able to maintain his own credibility I'll never know. But he did. He kept balancing all the good he thought Clinton was capable of doing against the Clinton who took outrageous risks. And while highly tempted to resign, he stayed on and on. Why? Because, down deep, he liked Clinton and wanted to stay loyal to a man whose dream for America he could embrace.

But, with the crisis past its height, Mike stepped aside for his deputy, Joe Lockhart.

Joe might have said, "Thanks a lot, but no thanks!" He knew he was being handed a hot potato. But, instead, he gladly, thankfully accepted the job. As he said at breakfast: "It's a wonderful job. It's the best job I ever had. I love it."

One of McCurry's success secrets was his access to Clinton. His predecessor, Dee Dee Myers, hadn't had that access; so she failed. The press has to feel that the spokesperson is close in to the president. I asked Lockhart about his access and he laughingly replied: "Better than McCurry's - I play hearts with the president."

"Is Clinton a poor loser?" I asked. "Yes," he said.

"Are you a poor loser?" I then asked. "Yes," he said. He's laughing at these questions.

"Does he cheat?" I asked (there are more stories about Clinton cheating at golf). "No," Joe insisted but joshed that he didn't know how you could cheat at hearts.

I came away from this breakfast with this conclusion: It may very well be that Clinton is making a comeback from blows that would put most humans down for the count. Joe was most convincing. That means he is a very good press secretary. Will I hold that extremely rosy view of the president? No, I will soon recover and be the skeptical, questioning newsman that I'm supposed to be.

**Godfrey
SPERLING**

**I concluded
Clinton may very
well be making a
comeback. That
means Joe's a
very good press
secretary.**

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C. Fred Bergsten

Trade Stalemate

Global trade liberalization is dead in the water. No serious reduction in barriers is being negotiated anywhere in the world.

The resulting policy vacuum is extremely dangerous. History clearly reveals that trade policy either moves forward toward greater openness or retreats in the face of protectionist pressures. Restoration of positive momentum is urgently needed.

Worrisome signs abound. The European Union has restricted numerous agricultural imports. The Brazilian crisis has triggered new barriers in Latin America. Japan has blocked an effort by the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum to liberalize a number of major sectors.

The central problem, however, is the stalemate over trade politics in the United States. The president and Congress have been unable to work out new negotiating authority for five years. Hence the United States cannot provide effective leadership of the international trading system.

The United States is in fact leaning more toward limiting trade than liberalizing it. President Clinton rejected China's offer to dramatically open its economy to get into the World Trade Organization (WTO), largely because he wants to keep restraining its most competitive products. The House overwhelmingly passed (though the Senate subsequently rejected) quotas on steel imports. Anti-dumping suits are proliferating. The administration has sharply raised tariffs on lamb. Its legislative focus seems to be shifting toward easing the path toward future protection.

This policy drift in the United States is particularly alarming because it coincides with our robust economic performance. It has also occurred when many of America's toughest competitors are in deep economic trouble, further improving our competitive position. The outlook for American trade policy is thus extremely worrisome once the economy slows down and unemployment begins to climb, and when our competitors make their inevitable comebacks.

Hence the domestic stalemate is unlikely to be broken soon. Labor unions, a few industries, some environmental groups, the majority of House Democrats and some right-wing Republicans oppose globalization. The bulk of the business community and most Republicans support liberalization but have been unwilling to compromise even on legiti-

mate labor and environmental complaints. The administration, which is usually decisive on trade policy, has frequently pandered to the anti-globalization forces. The latter have won the last several battles and are girding for more.

Even a free-trade Republican president would have great difficulty restarting liberalization unless he brought a strong House majority with him. A Democratic majority in the next House would ensure prolongation of the stalemate. In any event, it will take some time to implement essential programs to allay legitimate concerns over globalization: mainly domestic safety-net improvements to ease transitions triggered by job dislocations, and improved education and training programs to enable American workers to take advantage of globalization rather than feel victimized by it.

In the meantime, most hopes for restarting trade progress are pinned on the Ministerial Conference of the WTO in Seattle in December. The major powers, including the United States, have agreed to launch a new global negotiation. However, they remain far apart on what it should contain. A number of developing countries oppose the whole project. The antiglobalization groups will be out in full force at Seattle.

In any event, no serious WTO negotiation can take place until Congress provides "fast track" authority for the president. The administration rightly notes that a new "round" can start without such authority. But the Europeans and others will not take on the internal battles needed to liberalize their sensitive sectors until the United States is ready to bargain—and they note that Congress has already rejected "fast track" twice. The countries of this hemisphere "launched" negotiations for a Free Trade Area of the Americas over a year ago, but nothing has happened because of the U.S. stalemate.

At the recent APEC summit, a like-minded group consisting of Australia, Chile, host New Zealand, Singapore and the United States discussed the creation of a "Pacific Five" free trade zone. Such an initiative could sidestep the U.S. stalemate; like its initial free trade partners Canada and Israel, none of the countries involved are "low wage competitors." Nor do they raise problems of labor or environmental standards. Such negotiations could proceed without "fast track" under detailed procedures laid out in legislation already submitted by a group of key

House leaders.

The P-5 approach would also help the United States defend itself against new preferential pacts by others. The European Union is negotiating new relationships with Mercosur and Mexico. Canada and Chile already have a free-trade area, which has cost American companies at least one major contract, as do Australia and New Zealand. Korea and Chile are in the process of negotiating a bilateral deal, as are Singapore and New Zealand. Japan and Korea have discussed the prospect at the highest level. Japan is studying the possibility with Canada and Mexico. Such deals that would discriminate against the United States are yet another costly manifestation of its withdrawal from international liberalization efforts.

A subregional arrangement such as the P-5 is of course inferior to wider reduction of barriers in the WTO, APEC as a whole or an FTAA. Its terms would indeed have to permit it to be rolled into such broader arrangements later. A P-5 could stimulate more extensive liberalization almost immediately, however, as other countries seek to avoid new discrimination in the lucrative United States market. Earlier groupings, notably the European Union and NAFTA, have been similar "building blocs" for catalyzing more extensive trade progress.

Some observers fear that launching a "P-5" now could undercut the effort to start a new global negotiation at Seattle. The opposite effect is much more likely: Europe and other reluctant liberalizers would recognize that the United States and its Pacific allies were contemplating alternative devices that would shut them out, and thus would be compelled to bargain seriously in the WTO.

It is urgent to restart the global momentum toward opening markets. The United States must resume leadership of the international trading system, for broad foreign policy as well as economic reasons. President Clinton indicated publicly in New Zealand that he viewed the P-5 "as a very interesting idea" and promised to respond to his host's initiative on it "in a couple of weeks." The P-5 offers the most promising way to proceed for the foreseeable future.

The writer is director of the Institute for International Economics.

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
9-29-99

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Blair Spurs Labor Party To Fulfill Dual Mission

By WARREN HOGE

BOURNEMOUTH, England, Sept. 28 — In a speech aimed at stirring his party from any complacency over its success, Prime Minister Tony Blair today summoned Labor delegates to a crusade with the twin missions of winning the next election over the Conservatives and conquering the next century for the "progressives."

He appealed to his audience at the party conference here to adapt to change in a new century with the same confidence it had transformed itself. He said he wanted "New Labor, confident at having modernized itself, now the new progressive force of British politics which can modernize the nation and sweep away those forces of conservatism to set our people free."

Mr. Blair noted that the Labor Party had run Britain for only 22 of the 100 years since the party was founded and had never succeeded in securing two full consecutive terms in office. "That," he said, "is our unfinished business."

Mr. Blair delivered his 54-minute speech with a sweat-browed passion and distant visionary gaze that enrapture his followers but bring scorn from critics who mock them as more suitable for the pulpit than the stump.

His address to the delegates, his sixth as party leader and second as Prime Minister, came at a time when Labor's strategy must be one of managing success and holding off oversatisfaction. The weakened opposition Conservatives with their untested leader, William Hague, present little challenge, and Labor Party leaders have been searching for purpose now that the grip on power is secure.

Everyone is so sure of a Labor victory in the general election to be held in two years that the press busied itself this week creating an uproar over whether Mr. Blair would insist on running for a third term seven years from now, trying to rival Margaret Thatcher's 11 years in office, or stand aside in favor of his chief lieutenant, Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown.

Polls show voters still giving Mr. Blair the highest approval ratings of any Prime Minister in Britain's history and barely register the kinds of public doubts and disappointments that generally set in by the third year of a new Government. But the surveys reflect contentment rather than overt enthusiasm for him, and low turnouts in recent by-elections have caused concern at party headquarters over complacency.

Aware too that he is faulted for appearing smug, Mr. Blair listed all the steps left to take in critical areas like health, education, transport, crime, child poverty and the "social exclusion" of large numbers of Britons. "Halfway through one Parliament - nothing like halfway toward meeting all our goals," he declared. "Do you think I don't feel this in every fiber of my being?"

He did claim a victory for the transformed Labor Party that he said would stand it in good stead in its ambition to become as dominant a party in the new century as the Conservatives were in this. Noting the unexpected growth and stability of Britain's economy since Labor's election in May 1997, he said, "Our historic reputation for compassion has now been matched by one for economic competence."

He told delegates of the party, founded a century ago to represent the laboring class, that the class war was over but that the struggle for true equality of opportunity for everyone was just beginning. "The 21st century will not be about the battle between capitalism and socialism," he said, "but between the forces of progress and the forces of conservatism."

The tightly controlled annual conference of the party that Mr. Blair calls New Labor bears little resemblance to the bruising affairs of the past, usually held in the Irish Sea working-class getaway of Blackpool rather than this prosperous Channel resort with its brightly painted beach cabanas and grand cliffside hotels.

While the chairman, Michael Cashman, opened today's session with the traditional "Good morning, comrades" salutation, the talk in the corridors jammed with commercial displays was of enterprise, productivity, competitiveness, markets, fiscal stability and family values.

The only commotion took place outside the hall where 20,000 people from rural communities around Britain marched down Bournemouth's main street chanting their protests of Mr. Blair's plans to ban fox hunting. They say the move will bring about the end of all countryside sports and do away with many of their jobs.

Mr. Blair referred to "all those hunting horns outside the hall" and said, "Mind you, with all those people here demonstrating, there has never been a safer day for foxes in Britain."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1999

9-29-99

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Survey
Good. 

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Give That Man a Cigar

HAVANA
American foreign policy toward Cuba is really unique among U.S. foreign policies. It isn't just 15 degrees off. It has the distinction of being 360 degrees wrong.

That is, the longstanding U.S. boycott and isolation of Cuba is a failed policy if your desire is to punish Cuba's people so they will oust Fidel Castro, and it is a failed policy if your desire is to ease the pain on Cuba's people while they wait for Mr. Castro to pass away. It is a failed policy if you think we should be preparing for a post-Castro Cuba. And it is a failed policy if you think we should be trying to bring down Mr. Castro today. It is a failed policy if you believe in human rights, and it is a failed policy if you believe only in trade.

With Mr. Castro having celebrated his 40th anniversary in power, it's safe to say U.S. policy hasn't worked in any direction. And no wonder. It's not really a policy. It's an *attitude* — a blind hunger for revenge against Mr. Castro by a small, exile Cuban-American minority residing largely in Florida, and a blind hunger for campaign contributions from this Cuban minority by U.S. Congressmen.

What would a sensible Cuba policy look like? First, it would acknowledge that the unilateral U.S. boycott of Cuba has not weakened the regime. Cuba can still trade with 160 other countries. Does that mean Cuba's economy is flourishing? No, but not because of our boycott. It isn't flourishing for the same reason that the Soviet economy crumbled — *because Communism doesn't work*. Communism is great for producing missiles, but terrible when it comes to breakfast, lunch and dinner. What ails the Cuban economy is the *internal* embargo here, the self-imposed sanctions that come from Cuba still adhering to failed Marxist economics.

The only thing the U.S. embargo does is obscure that fact and give the regime another excuse for remaining iron-fisted. Mr. Castro argues to his people that they are under siege from America, therefore they have to remain mobilized and can't loosen up.

Make no mistake, this is a repressive regime. It has taught its people to read in record numbers, but won't allow them to read what they want; it has educated its people better than anywhere in the Caribbean, but won't allow them to speak freely; it is a worker's paradise where people still have to live off ration books. But it is a repressive regime led by a charis-

matic figure who knows how to stay in power. Which is why a wise U.S. policy today would be focused primarily on shaping the post-Castro Cuba, so that we don't have another Haiti — where, after the regime collapses, everyone tries to build a raft for Miami — and the Cuban people don't have another 40 years of repression.

Last July the U.S. diplomatic mission here held a lottery for 20,000 immigration visas to the U.S. It received in 30 days 541,000 applications. That meant that roughly one-tenth of the total eligible population of Cuba

*But after
Castro, what?*

applied to leave. Imagine the scramble to get out if Mr. Castro suddenly goes. There are no trade unions here, no free non-governmental organizations, no business groups — none of the elements of civil society that hold a country in place. It is Haiti waiting to happen, only closer to our shores.

By not helping Cuba develop a transition system that can lead to a soft landing after Mr. Castro (who is 73), we are insuring a hard landing. Our best tool for shaping post-Castro Cuba is engaging with Cuba now: letting more Cubans study in the U.S., training their technocrats to run a modern state, and, yes, opening the way for some U.S. investment and trade.

Sure, in the short term Mr. Castro would use any openness to his advantage. But he's using our boycott to his advantage already. The difference is what U.S. engagement with Cuba would produce *in the long run*. At a minimum it would put pressure on Mr. Castro to ease the human rights abuses, by making it much more difficult for him to justify continued repression. And at a maximum it would help lay the foundations of a Cuban economy that could thrive in the future, and insure that whoever succeeds Mr. Castro has to be more open.

Everywhere you turn here you see American influence — despite the boycott. They love our Chevys, they love American dollars, they love American baseball, and they love American democracy. American values permeate this place without even trying. Imagine what would happen if we actually tried. □

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1999

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Marshall University
Huntington, West Virginia

I think
these letters
should be
forwarded to
Bob Barnett &
Bruce
you reply
accordingly

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

Dear Mr. President:

After attending the first Millennium lecture at the White House (you were very kind to commend my biography of John Marshall), I began to realize how necessary it is to provide an objective account of the achievements of your presidency. Perhaps I am especially conscious of that because I am just finishing a biography of Ulysses S. Grant. Grant's generalship has stood the test of time but his presidency has been trashed by historians, most of whom have never bothered to examine the record. I don't suggest that will be the case with your administration, but I believe it is important to get the record before the country in readable, authoritative fashion without undue delay. It should also be done by a recognized scholar whose record for objectivity is beyond question: someone who has had no connection with your administration and has not benefited in any way.

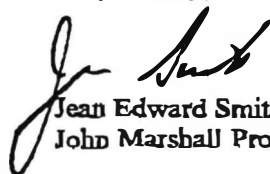
If you have not made a prior commitment, I would very much like to undertake the task. My biography of Grant goes to the publisher in December, and I would propose to begin immediately after that. My approach would be similar to that of Arthur Schlesinger in the *Age of Roosevelt*, and I would see this as a two or three volume work that placed the Administration in the context of the final decade of the century.

Years ago I worked with General Lucius Clay (*Lucius D. Clay: An American Life*), and I am familiar with the problems of writing about someone who is still active. I also understand how valuable your time is, and would not intrude on it more than absolutely necessary. Aside from access to the record, General Clay granted me one interview per week, and his comments were invaluable. The written record is informative, but never tells the whole story.

If you wish to consider my suggestion further, I would be pleased to come to Washington to discuss it, at your convenience.

With all best wishes for you and the First Lady,

Respectfully,


Jean Edward Smith
John Marshall Professor

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-29-99

Handwritten:
Sandy
Carter
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C.I.A. TRIES FORAY INTO CAPITALISM

Sets Up Venture Fund Concern to Back High-Tech Projects

A By JOHN MARKOFF

PALO ALTO, Calif., Sept. 28 — Hoping to insure that the nation's spies have the latest information technology in the rapidly changing Internet age, the Central Intelligence Agency has established a venture capital company to nurture high-tech companies, company executives and former C.I.A. officials said.

The C.I.A. has chosen a veteran Silicon Valley software executive to head the effort, which has an office in Washington with eight employees and will have a second office in Silicon Valley.

With a nod to nostalgia for the mythic gadget-laden spycraft of the James Bond era, the agency has named its new nonprofit venture In-Q-It, in a reference to Major Boothroyd, a.k.a. Q, the master technologist whose basement laboratory develops advanced gadgets for the fictional British super-agent. It will be headed by Gilman Louie, an executive in the Hasbro toy company's on-line business group.

The decision by the nation's spy agency to turn to Silicon Valley for technology assistance underscores the growing diversity of high-tech companies and the accelerated development of computer technologies. Unlike in the cold war, when the most advanced technologies trickled down from a handful of supercomputer companies, the most powerful technologies are increasingly being developed first by consumer electron-

Continued From Page A1

ics companies that now have vast markets to finance the developments of powerful systems and applications.

In-Q-It is being financed with \$28 million appropriated last year by Congress as part of the C.I.A.'s budget, which is classified. The company will seek joint projects and investments in crucial technology areas.

"There is a tremendous information explosion today," said John McMahon, former deputy director of the C.I.A. and an In-Q-It board member. "As a result, the agency was always one step behind. The agency got the idea that maybe what it needed was something that would not only appreciate its needs but be an umbilical cord that was plugged in to the brightest minds in the Valley."

Mr. Louie said today that the purpose of the new company would be to move information technology to the agency more quickly than traditional Government procurement processes allow. The agency, he said, was struggling with many of the same aspects of the Internet that are vexing to other Web surfers, including privacy and security.

"The current model isn't working," Mr. Louie said. "The technology world has totally changed, and one day the C.I.A. woke up and realized they needed to go through the

Keeping America's spies up to date in the age of the Internet.

same change."

The new company will supply venture capital in some cases, and in others it will hire contractors or partner with entrepreneurs in four areas: integrating Internet technology and applications into the C.I.A.'s work; developing new security and privacy technologies; nurturing data mining technologies to take better advantage of the agency's vast storehouses of records, and modernizing the agency's computer systems.

Mr. Louie said that none of In-Q-It's work would be classified and that the organization would not be limited to the four areas he outlined. In contrast to many of its other activities, he said, the agency was taking pains to make the activities of In-Q-It highly visible and public.

That stands in striking contrast to the agency's past approach to high-tech projects. For many years there have been reports that the United States intelligence community created shell companies when it had a particular high-technology problem to solve.

Indeed, the C.I.A. worked secretly with Howard Hughes during the 1970's when it needed to develop specialized salvage technology to retrieve a sunken Soviet nuclear submarine in the Pacific Ocean.

While In-Q-It will operate on a nonprofit basis, Mr. Louie said his intention was to invest in such a way as to make the organization self-sustaining.

Jeffrey H. Smith, the new company's legal counsel and former general counsel to the C.I.A., said, "The

Government will have the opportunity to use the intellectual property developed by In-Q-It for Governmental purposes, but In-Q-It will own and have the ability to use the technology it develops for commercial purposes."

Mr. Louie said that while this was not the first effort to find innovative ways to move new technologies quickly to the Government's needs, he believed it was the first time a Government agency had adopted a venture financing effort that mimicked a private sector model.

Venture capitalists said today that the problem the C.I.A. faces is a challenge faced every day by large organizations: attempting to keep up with the nimble pace of the Valley's technology start-up companies.

A number of large multinational companies have in recent years set up investment funds in the valley in an effort to tap into the entrepreneurial spirit of the region.

"There are a number of models on which the jury is still out," said James Breyer, managing partner of Accel Partners, a venture firm in Palo Alto, Calif.

Companies like Lucent Technologies and the AT&T Corporation have become venture investors in the valley in recent years, he noted, and SRI Research International had less success in trying to spin out its research projects with an internal venture arm.

"The most important aspect is to have an outstanding outside management effort overseeing the process," he said. "It appears in this effort the C.I.A. has chosen well."

Previous Government efforts at financing technology have been highly focused efforts to promote the development of specific technologies either needed to keep the nation competitive or to meet national security needs.

For example, during the 1970's through 90's various military research agencies like the Defense Advanced Research Projects agency and the Office of Naval Research financed academic and corporate projects not as investments but as contract research.

In the early 1990's, the Government financed the Sematech computer consortium in an effort to maintain an independent semiconductor equipment industry in the United States, which was being threatened by Japanese and European competitors.

Mr. Louie, 39, said today that he would work on both coasts and was now looking for an office in Silicon Valley. He said he had become involved in the new company after meeting a headhunter from Heidrick & Struggles at a mock-aerial dog-fighting contest this year.

Mr. Louie is a lifelong computer gaming aficionado who a year ago sold his computer gaming company, Microprose, to Hasbro. He has been a widely known figure in the Silicon Valley software world since creating his first computer gaming company while he was a student at San Francisco State University in the early 1980's.

Among the new company's board members are John Seeley Brown, director the Xerox Corporation's Palo Alto Research Center; Lee Ault, director of Equifax; Alex Brown; Stephen Friedman of Goldman Sachs; Norm Augustine, chairman of Lockheed Martin, and William Perry, former Secretary of Defense.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1999

James E. Goodwin
Chairman and
Chief Executive Officer

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TO DAN B. 9/29
FOR BC SIG
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The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I would like to extend my sincere appreciation for your support of air services liberalization at the recent APEC Economic Leaders' meeting in Auckland. United Airlines, along with our Star Alliance partners, believes that this is an historic achievement for our industry and for APEC. It is the first time, since the Chicago Convention, that a multilateral forum has addressed air services in a meaningful way.

Your administration has been highly instrumental in securing endorsement of this initiative. Air services would not have received such extraordinary exposure in Auckland without the sound support of your officials, including U.S. Coordinator for APEC Ambassador Richard Boucher and his team in the State Department, Deputy United States Trade Representative Richard Fisher, Deputy Director of the National Economic Council Dr. Lael Brainard and Special Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs Holly Hammonds. We appreciate their vision and dedication to this initiative.

The on-going supportive role of the Department of Transportation has been critical, including that of Secretary Rodney Slater and Acting Assistant Secretary A. Bradley Mims and his staff. We look forward to continuing to work with Secretary Slater and other members of your administration in order to see agreement on the implementation of air services liberalization in the region achieved prior to the APEC Leaders' meeting in November 2000.

Sincerely,



James E. Goodwin

cc: Secretary Rodney Slater

Grisham
5/10

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Neil H. Offen
President

September 24, 1999

Send to Burkhardt?

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

YES ☒
NO ☐

Dear Mr. President:

It is always a pleasure talking to you and our exchange at the Democratic Business Council event was no different. I wanted to fill you in on four items of interest to you (two requests and two thank yous), but the rope line just wasn't the appropriate venue. Hence this letter which I am asking Nancy Hernreich to pass along.

First, I wanted to ask you to focus on a judicial appointment that you need to make. It is for a seat which opens up this week on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces. The leading, and by far the most qualified, candidate is Gene Fidell. He is supported by a legion of admirers including Rodney Slater. (Note: Gene was a Coast Guard lawyer and the Coast Guard has never had one of its alumni sit on the Court.) Obviously I support Gene as well. Suffice it to say he is the leading legal expert in private practice on military law and is a man of integrity with a strong desire to do public service. I have known Gene for almost 40 years. We went to Queens College of the City University of New York together, where Gene made Phi Beta Kappa. He then went on to the Harvard Law School and then into the Coast Guard, rising to the rank of Lieutenant Commander. While in private practice, he has written extensively on military law issues and founded a military law newsletter. (Gene, by the way, is married to Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Linda Greenhouse, *The New York Times* Supreme Court reporter.) You need to focus on making the appointment which, by the way, does not go through Senate Judiciary but through Armed Services. My read, Mr. President, is that if nominated, Gene would be quickly confirmed.

Second, as you may recall, you appointed me and I was confirmed by the Senate as vice chair of the Inter-American Foundation (IAF), an executive branch agency helping people in Latin America and the Caribbean get out of poverty through innovative sustainable development projects, including micro-enterprise programs. In the Foreign Operations Export and Finance Act, the House and Senate Appropriations Conference Committee has

Page Two

basically cut IAF appropriations to the extent requiring that it be immediately shut down. This should not be allowed. IAF, while it has had a few problems, is worth saving. It works only with NGOs and every dollar it grants local groups is matched by local sources I have seen first-hand a number of projects that are helping people bring themselves out of poverty and are enlarging the middle-class of these countries. Projects become replicated with an outstanding multiplier effect. I hope you will not allow this Executive branch government agency to be abolished. (For your additional information, Representative Dan Burton has called for hearings on October 13 before his Subcommittee on National Security and International Relations of the Government Reform Committee to review IAF. I am working to ensure that a complete versus one-sided picture emerges.)

Third, I wanted to bring to your attention the fact that first Prime Minister Tony Blair, when told by our people in London that you did a video to direct salespeople said, "I can do that too," and he did so. So thanks again, this time for, shall we say, the ripple effect of your tape.

Finally, thanks for your support and that of USTR on the China WTO accession negotiations. We have a special provision in the agreement that would lift the Chinese ban on direct selling no later than January 1, 2003, and according to the protocol, regulations will be negotiated by the P.R.C. with the U.S. Government and the Direct Selling Association (with our code of ethics to be the model for any such regulations). So thanks again for your past support for accession for China to the WTO. We have more than two million Chinese salespeople affiliated with our industry and see many millions joining us in the near future. Accession is both the right thing and the smart thing to do.

Thanks for your consideration and warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Neil".

Neil H. Offen
President
tjc



Neil H. Offen
President

9/28/99

Nancy -

I hope you can pass this
letter on to the President. Two
items are actionable and two are
informational. If you think it
appropriate to pass on, thanks.
If not, thanks for your consideration.
Best wishes.
Neil

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email: noffen@dsa.org



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Ms. Nancy V. Hernreich
First Floor, West Wing
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500
Via Courier

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THE INCIDENT HAS BEEN
9-29-99

Do reply
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for Reply

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will make copies
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Handle as Burkhardt correspondence

ok


HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT
79 JOHN F. KENNEDY STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138



ELAINE KAMARCK, PH.D.
DIRECTOR,
VISIONS OF GOVERNANCE FOR
THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY PROJECT

TEL (617) 495-9002
FAX (617) 496-1722
E-MAIL elaine_kamarck@harvard.edu

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-29-99

September 7, 1999

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased to enclose for your review a copy of *democracy.com? Governance in a Networked World*, the latest product of our priority research project here at the Kennedy School, Visions of Governance for the Twenty-First Century.

Have you ever wondered what James Madison might tell us if he could send us e-mail from beyond the grave? Well, now you can find out, in this collection of papers and commentaries. *democracy.com?* examines the impacts information technologies are having on various aspects of democratic governance such as representation, community, politics, bureaucracy, and sovereignty. Fifteen scholars, primarily but not exclusively from the Kennedy School and from a variety of disciplines, offer a balanced and sometimes skeptical look at the transformations that the proliferation of information and the ubiquity of computer networks are making in our basic institutions and processes of governance.

Arthur Applbaum, for example -- a professor of political ethics -- speculates about the effects of the Internet on the ideal of deliberative or "Madisonian" democracy. Demonstrating the power of this new medium, "James Madison" (a.k.a. Professor Dennis Thompson) fires off a response from the domain "founding.gov" correcting Applbaum's interpretation of his views on faction and the ability or inability of new technologies to mitigate its deleterious effects.

William Galston takes a skeptical view of the ability of true communities -- relationships among groups of people characterized by affective ties and mutual obligation -- to form on the Internet. Pippa Norris and I use empirical research to explore whether use of the Internet is changing political campaigning for candidates or voters. Jane Fountain and Jerry Mechling write about the evolving nature of bureaucracy from a Weberian system

of control to a networked model. And Robert Keohane and Joe Nye update our work on power and interdependence in world politics for the Information Age.

We are in the midst of a fast-moving stream of change, a stream that has no predetermined course and one that we have the ability to shape. *democracy.com?* is a volume meant to provoke thought and further research about issues and choices that will be critical to the future of democratic governance.

I hope you will take the time to read it. Please contact Lynn Akin, our Project Director for further information, (617) 496-6844.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Elaine".

Elaine C. Kamarck

/lsa/vp

9-6-99



Bill,

I WOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO
GO DOWN IN THE HISTORY BOOKS
AS ONE OF OUR GREATEST
PRESIDENTS. ONE IDEA I HAVE
FOR YOU IS TO MAKE CANADA
PART OF OUR UNITED STATES.
GO FROM 50 TO 60 STATES
OVERNIGHT. THE SOLUTION FOR
THIS IS TO MAKE EQUAL THE
AMERICAN DOLLAR TO THE
CANADIAN DOLLAR. WHAT CANADIAN
WOULD NOT VOTE YES TO MAKE
THEIR DOLLAR BE WORTH A
WHOLE DOLLAR INSTEAD OF
ROUGHLY SEVENTY CENTS? NEXT
THIS WOULD FORCE THE HEALTH
CARE ISSUE IN THE UNITED STATES.

SINCERELY YOUR FRIEND,

Linwood M. Collins

Do try for wonder you see
Corin - full time Canada
wants to remain independent
but US Govt I can help working
on it can -

We will send to
Berkhardt after
you have seen -

9-29-99

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-29-99

Carl

BETTY W. CURRIE

09/28/99 04:25:03 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Carolyn E. Cleveland/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: Lori K. Krause/WHO/EOP@EOP
Subject: Dolls

Carol - you have the letter from Linwood Collins - can you get it to Gift Unit - or since POTUS added his thoughts on the response - should another office handle????

----- Forwarded by Betty W. Currie/WHO/EOP on 09/28/99 04:23 PM -----



Maureen E. Undlin

09/28/99 04:13:57 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Betty W. Currie/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: Dolls

are on their way from Archives - they'll be ready in about an hour - hope that's not too long!

Also, your question on Linwood Collins - we don't have a record of the donor or gift. Do you know what the gift was?

Handwritten notes: "Request" with a checkmark, "Let me leave the body", and "Ebersole" with a checkmark.

Copied
gift unit

09/21/99

ITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SE_L

September 29, 1999

Mr. Dick Ebersole
Mrs. Susan St. James Ebersole
New York, New York

Dear Susan and Dick:

It was great to see you at the Jordans' party.
I'm glad you were there to celebrate my
birthday.

Thanks so much for the inscribed book and the
cookies. I appreciate your thoughtfulness and
send my best wishes to you both.

Sincerely,

info
y at

BM

Howe Arthur
President

White House Gift Record

Presented: 08/19/1999
Arrival: 09/02/1999
Entered: 09/02/1999

Gift ID: 4434029/KRAUSE_L

Donor Information

Mr. and Mrs. Dick Ebersole
Chairman
NBC Sports and Olympics
Room 1552 E
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10112

Acknowledged By: , 11/21/1996

Comments:

Possible BC sig. Recd on First Family 1999 vacation in Martha's Vineyard. Gift info recd from Kathleen Connery on 9-2-99, trip RON. Recd at POTUS birthday party at Vernon Jordan's. Handed to POTUS. |

Gift Information

Intended: President

Disposition: Archives

Description:

Hardcover children's book. 'Arthur Meets the President,' written and signed by Marc Brown.

Location:

The gift is in Archives.

There are multiple parts to this gift. This part is valued at \$15

Total Gift Value is \$25

White House Gift Record

Presented: 08/19/1999

Gift ID: 4434029/KRAUSE_L

Arrival: 09/02/1999

Entered: 09/02/1999

Donor Information

Mr. and Mrs. Dick Ebersole
Chairman
NBC Sports and Olympics
Room 1552 E
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10112

Acknowledged By: , 11/21/1996

Comments:

Possible BC sig. Recd on First Family 1999 vacation in Martha's Vineyard. Gift info recd from Kathleen Connery on 9-2-99, trip RON. Recd at POTUS birthday party at Vernon Jordan's. Handed to POTUS. |

Gift Not Received in Gift Office.

Gift Information

Intended: President

Disposition: President to Retain

Description:

Location:

Espresso Love cookies.

There are multiple parts to this gift. This part is valued at \$10

Total Gift Value is \$25

WHITE HOUSE GIFT REGISTER

For President/First Lady

Please Complete as Thoroughly as Possible

Gift and Register to: White House Gift Unit

Room 457, OEOB

456-7133

#9

Gift Accepted By or Presented To: PONS Date Gift Received/Presented: Aug 19, 99 Date Form Filled In: Aug 20, 99

Title and Office:

GIFT INTENDED FOR	☒ President	☐ First Lady	☐ President & First Lady	☐ Other First Family Member (indicate below)

DONOR INFORMATION	DONOR INFORMATION		PRESENTED BY
	Name of Donor: ☒ Mr. ☐ Ms. ☒ Mrs. ☐ Other		Presenter: (if other than Donor)
	<u>Dick Eher Sole</u> <u>Susan St James</u>		
	Address: (please include Zip Code and Country if applicable)		Address: (please include Zip Code and Country if applicable)

GIFT INFORMATION	Circumstances of Presentation: (including date, location, and purpose of event)	Brief Description of Gift
	<u>Vernon Jordan's house</u> <u>Aug 19, 99</u> <u>Boat party</u>	<u>24presso love cookies</u> <u>Book - arthur meets the</u> <u>President - signed copy</u>

ACKNOWLEDGMENT	☐ Copy Attached	☐ To be Handled by Gift Unit
	Coordinate Acknowledgment with other office: (i.e. Hospitality, NSC, State - specify below)	

REPORT PREPARED BY	Name: <u>Julie Renahan</u>		
	Office: <u>Advancer</u>	Room No.: <u>185.S</u>	Telephone No. (please include area code): <u>6-5313</u>

OTHER COMMENTS	<u>First Family's first vacation to Martha's Vineyard. (1999)</u>
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copy of
Hennrich

She
was a
teacher at
my old
grade school.
Is she back home
in the country
or to Washington?

UH, SS
① keep copy of this
with the file.

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1999

Ms. Ada Salley
1005 West St. Louis
Hot Springs, Arkansas 71913

Dear Ms. Salley:

I was so sorry to learn of your unfortunate
fall and wanted to let you know I've been
thinking of you. I hope you're getting
stronger and feeling much better now.

Take care and know that you're in my prayers.
God bless and keep you.

Sincerely,

Rin

Hang in there!

Ms. Ada Salley
1005 West St. Louis
Hot Springs, Arkansas 71913

EB 9/24/99



Postus
6th grade
teacher

**The White House
Presidential Scheduling**

TO:

Eugenie

DATE:

9/23

FROM:

Carrie Street
184 OEOB/456-5487

ATTACHED:

-
- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| ☒ Please advise on
how to respond | ☐ For your information | ☐ For your action |
| ☐ As you requested | ☐ Please call me regarding
the attached | ☐ Please prepare
response per
instructions below |
| ☐ For your approval | ☐ For Surrogate
Consideration | ☐ Please prepare
Scheduling
Proposal |
-

COMMENTS:

Is she an Fob? In your database?

*Thanks!
Carrie*

CC:

Great

Get well card
to ADA Salley

From: Hannah Watts <Watts@concentric.net> on 08/01/99 08:42 PM GMT

To: President@gateway
cc:
Subject: Ada Salley, President Clinton's 6th grade teacher

[Connection Information]

CLIENT: 206.83.80.178 [206.83.80.178]
BROWSER: Mozilla/2.0 (compatible; MSIE 3.0; Windows 95)
URL: http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/Mail/html/Mail_President.html

[Sender Information]

PERSONAL-NAME: Hannah Watts
EMAIL-ADDRESS: Watts@concentric.net
ORGANIZATION:
RELATIONSHIP: Great neice of Ada Salley President Clinton's 6th grade teacher
STREET-ADDRESS: 2580 Mason Way
CITY: Colorado Springs
STATE-PROVINCE: Colorado
ZIP-CODE: 80916
COUNTRY: United States

[Message Information]

PURPOSE: Other
TOPIC: No Answer
AFFILIATION: Private Citizen
SUBJECT: Ada Salley, President Clinton's 6th grade teacher

[Message]

Dear President Clinton,

I am Ada Salley's great neice and I wanted to let you know that my Aunt Ada has fallen and broken her hip and is in Benton Saline Hospital. I know you are a VERY busy man, but I was wondering if you could visit or contact Ada Salley. I believe that would be the most wonderful thing that she could ever imagine happening. I live in Colorado, but when I go to visit her in the nursing home in Arkansas, you are never left unmentioned. She received a letter from you right after she moved into the nursing home and she shows that to everyone that walks through her door. She adores you and is so proud of you! She is 91 years old now and I'm sure that the one thing that would make her life complete is to recieve a visit form you, PLEASE?

Sincerely,
Hannah Watts