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001. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	02/26/1998	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 11247

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files: Thursday, March 12, 1998

2019-0774-S

rs3381

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

3-12-98

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 6, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANN LEWIS *Ann*

SUBJECT: SUPPORT

A number of friends have contacted me to inform me of their support for you:

- ✓ • **Nancy Pelosi** was on the Chris Matthews Show this week (no easy assignment). She was very good, very strong in criticizing Starr, and was not swayed by Chris' aggressive questions.
- ✓ • **Susan Estrich** was also on the Chris Matthews show. She has done a lot of media interviews (directly on this issue and as part of her book tour) and would love to talk to you sometime about her observations.
- ✓ • **Eleanor Smeal** was "thrilled" by the event for Colonel Collins. She has just completed a speaking tour and says that "nobody cares about this stuff -- nobody asks about it except the press." I asked what she says to press questions and she answered: "I say, I've been telling you for years about the right wing conspiracy!"

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PRESIDENT CLINTON CONTINUES TO WORK FOR AMERICA DESPITE PARTISAN ATTACKS

BOX SCORE ON PRESIDENT CLINTON'S FIRST FIVE YEARS IN OFFICE:

- **Job Growth and Wages Increase, Unemployment Rate Decreases.**

President Clinton is presiding over what may be the most robust economy in American history as wages continue to rise and unemployment continues to drop. Five years ago, after inheriting a struggling economy, President Clinton put in place a bold three-part economic strategy of cutting the deficit; investing in education, health care, science and technology; and opening markets abroad. Here are the results:

→ Over 15 million new jobs have been created since President Clinton took office -- a faster annual rate of growth (2.6 percent per year) than under *any* Republican Administration in the last 75 years. Under President Clinton, 93 percent of new jobs created have been in the private sector -- the highest percentage since the early 1920's. [Bureau of Labor Statistics Report, 3/6/98]

→ Unemployment has fallen to 4.6 percent -- its lowest level in 25 years. [Bureau of Labor Statistics Report, 3/6/98]

→ Average hourly earnings have increased 4.1 percent over the past year. [Bureau of Labor Statistics Report, 3/6/98]

SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT CONTINUES TO SOAR:

- Americans have responded enthusiastically to President Clinton's record of accomplishment:

→ The most recent NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll shows 66 percent approve of President Clinton's job performance, while only 28 percent disapprove. [MSNBC web page, 3/5/98]

→ A recent Gallup/CNN/USA Today showed 64 percent view the President favorably. [National Journal's "Cloakroom" web page]

WHILE SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON REMAINS HIGH, KEN STARR'S TACTICS HAVE COME UNDER INCREASING SCRUTINY:

- **Starr Tries to Subpoena Lewinsky's Lawyer as Justice Department Reviews Complaints That Starr Invoked Privilege to Block Disclosure of Perjury in GM Case.** Ken Starr -- who has already been forced to back off from an attempt to subpoena one of President Clinton's lawyers -- is now trying to subpoena Monica Lewinsky's first lawyer, demanding he testify before a grand jury and turn over all notes and files pertaining to Lewinsky, despite the fact that the information is protected by attorney-client privilege. Meanwhile, a complaint submitted to the Justice Department shows that Starr himself may have been involved in using attorney-client privilege to block disclosure of perjury by General Motors executives. Starr has represented GM in lawsuits stemming from fuel-fed fire deaths in GM automobiles. Starr allegedly knew that a GM executive repeatedly lied while testifying in numerous trials, but he has tried to keep the information secret. [New York Times, 3/4/98; AP Online, 3/4/98; Mother Jones, 2/27/98]

KEN STARR: FOUR YEARS, \$40 MILLION -- AND ONE TAINTED WITNESS:

- **Starr's Top Witness Developed Close Relationship With Scaife-Funded Anti-Clinton Group as He Began Cooperating With Starr.** New evidence reveals that as David Hale -- Ken Starr's primary witness against the President in Starr's four years, \$40 million Whitewater investigation -- was beginning to work with prosecutors, he was also developing close ties to an anti-Clinton project funded by billionaire Clinton-hater Richard Scaife. Hale had never accused the President of any wrongdoing until late 1993 -- when he began associating with employees of Scaife's \$600,000-per-year "Arkansas Project." Hale was given use of a fishing cabin and a car by an employee of the Arkansas Project, and had frequent discussions with project employees about Starr's investigation. FBI agents assigned to Starr accompanied Hale on his visits to the employee's house. [New York Observer, 2/4/98; Associated Press, 11/2/93, 3/5/98]

PAULA JONES USES LEGAL FUND FOR PERSONAL PURPOSES:

- **Jones Spends Legal Fund Proceeds on Spas and Clothes.** Recently disclosed records show that Paula Jones is using money raised by the "Paula Jones Legal Fund" for personal purposes, despite claims in fundraising letters signed by Jones that the fund would be used to pay for her legal expenses only. Jones has already received \$100,000 from the fundraising letters, and is guaranteed \$200,000 more -- with all of the money going into a bank account controlled by Jones. Jones' lawyers and the Rutherford Institute -- which is paying most of her legal expenses -- have both indicated that they have not received any money from the fund. Jones has spent the legal fund money on new clothes, a haircut, a kennel for her dog, and even a visit to a spa. [Chicago Tribune, 2/27/98; ABC, "Good Morning America," 3/2/98]
- Jones' legal fund has been warned by the state of Virginia that the fund is illegally raising money in Virginia because the fund has not properly registered with the state. The legal fund has not yet responded, and Virginia regulators have indicated that if it fails to do so by March 10, 1998, the fund will face fines of \$5,000 or more. [Chicago Tribune, 2/27/98; Daily News, 3/5/98]

→ **Jones Top Advisor Attacks "Soccer Moms."** Susan Carpenter-McMillin -- a former anti-abortion activist and currently Paula Jones' top advisor and spokeswoman -- said on Larry King Live, "*Those 'Soccer Moms,' I tell you, they voted with their hormones.*" That wasn't Carpenter-McMillin's first personal attack on women she disagrees with -- she once asked Patricia Ireland, the President of the National Organization For Women, "*Do you shave?*" [CNN, "Larry King Live," 3/5/98; CNBC, "Equal Time," 10/1/97]

DESPITE PARTISAN ATTACKS, PRESIDENT CLINTON CONTINUES TO DO THE JOB THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ELECTED HIM TO DO:

- Despite partisan attacks and Ken Starr's four years, \$40 million investigation, President Clinton continues to focus on doing the job the American people twice elected him to do. From presiding over a robust economy to his education and health care initiatives, President Clinton is not allowing attacks by his political adversaries to distract him from doing his job.

Michael Lind
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President Clinton
The White House

January 11, 1998

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for inviting me take part in a fascinating and (I hope) productive discussion. I was delighted to learn that there is a solidifying consensus, not only in the White House but among liberal intellectuals, about the need to return to the constructive and unifying One-Nation Progressivism of the two Roosevelts and their Republican, Whig and Federalist predecessors.

The challenge of neo-Progressive statesmen like you, Mr. President, is to demonstrate that the Right does not have a monopoly of patriotic appeals to American history. I think you might get some ideas by carefully reading Franklin Roosevelt's 1932 address to the San Francisco Commonwealth Club. (The address is excerpted in my book *Hamilton's Republic*, but I am sending you the entire speech). Then-candidate Roosevelt succeeds in putting the need for rethinking the role of national government in the context of American history and the evolution of the national economy. In other words, his challenge in clearly explaining to a baffled public what was going on in America and the world was very similar to yours. He even uses the language of a social "contract".

FDR's Commonwealth Club speech illustrates how a leader in our progressive tradition can portray reform as the natural outgrowth of prior American history, rather than as its negation. Note how FDR even gives credit to the absolutist monarchs of Europe and the American robber barons for playing important parts in advancing the evolution of society--an idea that is alien to the politically correct left, which anachronistically insists on judging everyone in history by modern North Atlantic liberal standards.

3-12-98

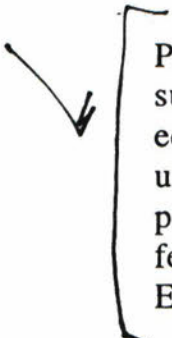
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No Sin B
Fyl - worth further thought
JR

By the way, don't be misled by FDR's jabs at Hamilton in the speech, and his attempts to trace the ancestry of New Deal liberalism to a trinity of Jefferson, FDR and Wilson. (His cousin FDR detested Jefferson *and* Wilson). In 1932, FDR was the Northern progressive leader of a predominantly Southern-Irish Catholic party whose great festival was Jefferson-Jackson Day. He had to pretend that he was being true to the Democratic tradition, instead of admitting that he was planning a massive transfusion from the rival Federalist-to-TR Progressive Party tradition. FDR had to protect his right flank from Southern Jeffersonians. (Ironically, he was in the position of George Bush--both centrist patrician Northeastern leaders of what was at the time the Southern Jeffersonian party).

In addition to sending along FDR's address, I've taken the liberty of enclosing a rough draft of the speech that I would give if I were President. In addition to demonstrating my unfitness for the office, it might provide you or your aides with a few ideas, lines or phrases (like my contrast between the Party of Fear, the Party of Fantasy, and--building on one of your themes--the Party of Hope).

I am not sure that the State of the Union is the most appropriate place for you to describe your vision of the new role of the national government in the global economy with the detail that the subject deserves. FDR would never have given his Commonwealth Club speech as a Fireside Chat; he saved it for an elite audience instead of the mass public. You might consider giving two versions of the same speech--a simplified overview in a State of the Union message or other nationwide address, and a more detailed, nuanced version--the one for the history books--aimed at a more sophisticated audience, like that found at a college commencement.



If you do choose to articulate your vision of a new One-Nation Progressivism and to situate it in American and world history, I am sure your address would make an excellent conclusion to a revised edition of *Hamilton's Republic*, which, I hope, will become a widely-used college text, as well as a source to be mined for quotes by politicians, scholars and journalists. (I'll return to Washington in a few weeks to give a talk about the Hamiltonian tradition at the Economic Strategy Institute).

Whatever happens in the future, you, Mr. President, will be recognized as the latest in a line of progressive Highland Southern

✓ Unionist statesmen, a line that reaches back through President Johnson, Senator Fulbright, and President Truman to Sam Houston (an anti-Confederate Unionist), David Crockett (an anti-Jackson Whig), and Henry Clay (the great Southern Federalists Washington and Marshall were not Highland Southerners but Tidewater Southerners). More important, you will be seen as a key figure in the rebirth of Hamiltonian democratic nationalism amid the wreckage of the aberrant and unpopular left-liberalism that dominated the Democratic party for two decades after the Civil Rights revolution. During your administration, as the counterweight to a resurgent Jeffersonian conservatism, the dormant tradition of One-Nation Progressivism revived.

As Winston Churchill once said, "History shall prove me right-- for I shall write the history."

Thank you again for your hospitality, and your interest.


Michael Lind

* P.S. I have enclosed recent data on the way that college education breaks down class barriers which might be of some use in the preparation of the State of the Union address.

P.S. A British PM--Stanley Baldwin, I believe--is famous for the remark that journalists have "power without responsibility--the eternal prerogative of the harlot." I have used the harlot's prerogative in criticizing some of your administration's policies, like the support for race-based rather than income-based affirmative action, and I reserve the right to do so again. However, as someone who worked in the Texas legislature and the U.S. State Department before he ever published a line of journalism in a national journal, I am mindful of the difficulties that elected officials face in translating visions into reality.

I've enclosed Theodore Roosevelt's famous passage about "The Man in the Arena," which might make consoling reading whenever the carping of the Fourth Estates and the academy gets annoyingly loud.

Economics

Making It in America

Education trumps background in determining status.

Whether or not you have gone to college is becoming more significant in determining status in America than what your parents did for a living, argue Urban Institute scholars Daniel P. McMurrer and Isabel V. Sawhill.

Many Americans reject the notion of the family's social class as a determinant of future success, embracing "equal opportunity" as a goal. Yet, a family background of privilege has always made some people "more equal" than others. Now, however, "inherited advantages of class play a smaller role than they used to in shaping

the success of individual Americans, with larger numbers now moving beyond their origins. In this sense, opportunity has increased," according to McMurrer and Sawhill.

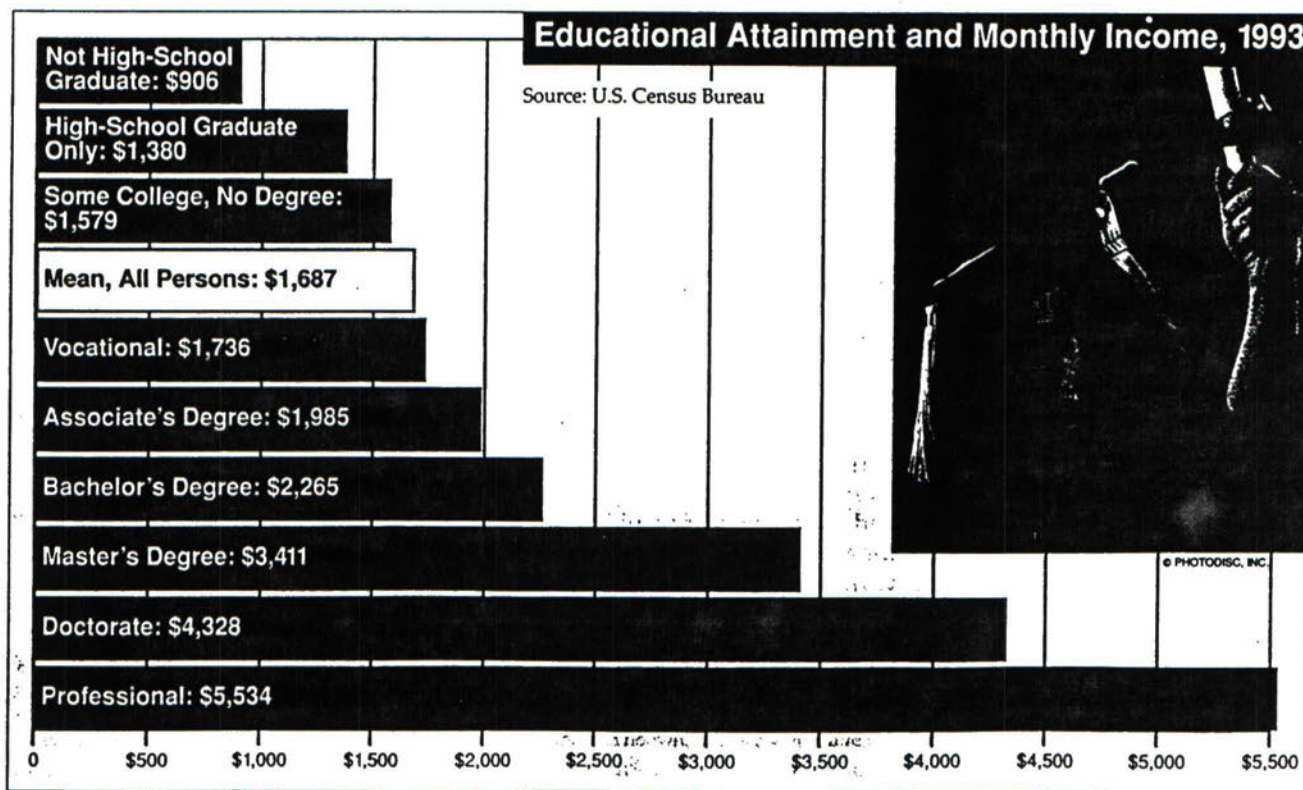
Socioeconomic origins do still matter, as children of white-collar workers are almost twice as likely to end up in white-collar jobs as are children of blue-collar workers. And children from disadvantaged families are clearly more likely to do poorly in life. But the impact of parents' status on children's outcomes is declining. The reason: higher education.

A growing number of Ameri-

cans have access to higher education, and the percentage of adults who are college graduates increased from 8% in 1960 to 23% in 1995. As McMurrer and Sawhill point out, "Attainment of a college degree has been shown to greatly attenuate the link between occupational origins and occupational destinations. However, little or no change has occurred for workers without a college degree."

On balance, individual advancement is more possible in the less class-based social structure that is emerging in American society. At the same time, kids from privileged families may find that they have nowhere to go but down: "They are more likely than before to experience a drop in status relative to their parents," the authors note.

McMurrer and Sawhill conclude that "success is less likely to be inherited than it was in earlier years, suggesting that the American playing field is becoming



more equal," thanks to increases in educational attainment.

—Cynthia G. Wagner

Source: "The Declining Importance of Class" by Daniel P. McMurrer and Isabel V. Sawhill. *Opportunity in America* No. 4 (April 1997). The Urban Institute, 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Telephone 1-202-833-7200; fax 1-202-429-0687; e-mail paffairs@ui.urban.org; Web site www.urban.org.

Tomorrow's Prime Consumers: Older, Richer

As the population ages, older consumers can expect marketers to cater to them more, predicts Philip Kotler, a professor of international marketing at Northwestern University. Marketers, he says, will soon consider the juiciest demographic target to be affluent consumers aged 55 and up.

Kotler, best known for his widely used text *Marketing Management*, believes one result of this change will be a shifting focus toward aging in the health movement. More products and services will focus on diet, exercise, and healthy living.

Entertainment, however, will continue to be the dominant interest in culture. "People will want to be entertained whatever they are doing, whether working, shopping, or consuming," Kotler says.

The middle class will shrink, and the economy will move to two tiers: high income and low income. The affluent market will demand high-quality products, personalized service, and convenience, Kotler believes. "For time-starved, high-income people, the opportunity is to figure out how to make products and services available in a hassle-free way."

Marketers can also find profit in the low-income market, he says, by offering no-frills basics at low prices.

Marketing will also be more

Economics

Cloning Goes Commercial

A new company has been formed to capitalize on cattle-cloning technologies. Infigen, Inc., claims it can provide an unlimited amount of genetic material for cattle breeding and for pharmaceutical and nutraceutical applications.

Infigen plans to increase the profits of beef producers by combining traditional artificial insemination and *in vitro* fertilization with the advantages of cloning. It also hopes to become a low-cost cloner of dairy cows. The company says it can create an unlimited number of cells, freeze them indefinitely, and then later clone identical animals with a desired trait.



Crossbred calves on a feedlot in Miles City, Montana. Efficient cloning technology could lead to higher profits for dairy and beef producers.

Source: ABS Global, Inc., 6908 River Road, P.O. Box 459, DeForest, Wisconsin 53532. Telephone 1-608-846-6346; Web site www.absglobal.com.

World Economy Is on Upswing

After hard times in the 1980s and early 1990s, the world is experiencing widespread economic growth as it moves toward the close of the millennium, a United Nations study finds.

"Many countries have built a foundation of more sustainable national policies and the international outlook is more propitious," according to a statement summarizing the *World Economic and Social Survey 1997*.

Russia, for example, will likely show some growth for 1997, as will Africa as a region, the report says. Latin America's economic performance is also up, after bouncing back from the impact of the Mexican financial crisis of 1995.

Countries once steeped in economic problems are gradually building stronger economic policies, the report says. Economic growth in developing countries is now less closely tied to that of developed countries.

Governments of several poor countries are still deep in debt, however, and that is holding back their development. A new international initiative to reduce their debt could help, the report notes.

Source: *World Economic and Social Survey 1997*/United Nations Publications, Two U.N. Plaza, Room DC2-853, Dept. PRES, New York, New York 10017. Telephone 1-800-253-9646. \$55.

precise, almost scientific, in the future, Kotler says, with target marketing to specific audiences through even more media choices than are available today. Response measurement is the key to successful personalized marketing, he adds.

Certain traditional tools, such as brands, will continue to be important, but it will be a tough battle on store shelves, with room for only one or two dominant brands per category. All others, says Kotler,

will be "kicked out of the market."

Marketers will have little time for long-range planning. Speed will be crucial, with product development, manufacturing, distribution, and customer service all moving much faster than today, Kotler believes.

Source: "Mapping the Future Marketplace" by Philip Kotler in *Rethinking the Future* edited by Rowan Gibson. Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 1997. 276 pages. Available from the Futurist Bookstore for \$25 (\$22.95 for Society members), cat. no. B-2092.

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

To the people of this country I have but one answer on this subject. Judge me by the enemies I have made. Judge me by the selfish purposes of these utility leaders who have talked of radicalism while they were selling watered stock to the people and using our schools to deceive the coming generation.

My friends, my policy is as radical as American liberty. My policy is as radical as the Constitution of the United States.

I promise you this: Never shall the Federal Government part with its sovereignty or with its control over its power resources, while I am President of the United States.

139 ¶ "New Conditions Impose New Requirements upon Government and Those Who Conduct Government." Campaign Address on Progressive Government at the Commonwealth Club. San Francisco, Calif. September 23, 1932

My friends:

I COUNT it a privilege to be invited to address the Commonwealth Club. It has stood in the life of this city and State, and it is perhaps accurate to add, the Nation, as a group of citizen leaders interested in fundamental problems of Government, and chiefly concerned with achievement of progress in Government through non-partisan means. The privilege of addressing you, therefore, in the heat of a political campaign, is great. I want to respond to your courtesy in terms consistent with your policy.

I want to speak not of politics but of Government. I want to speak not of parties, but of universal principles. They are not political, except in that larger sense in which a great American once expressed a definition of politics, that nothing in all of human life is foreign to the science of politics.

I do want to give you, however, a recollection of a long life spent for a large part in public office. Some of my conclusions

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

and observations have been deeply accentuated in these past few weeks. I have traveled far—from Albany to the Golden Gate. I have seen many people, and heard many things, and today, when in a sense my journey has reached the half-way mark, I am glad of the opportunity to discuss with you what it all means to me.

Sometimes, my friends, particularly in years such as these, the hand of discouragement falls upon us. It seems that things are in a rut, fixed, settled, that the world has grown old and tired and very much out of joint. This is the mood of depression, of dire and weary depression.

But then we look around us in America, and everything tells us that we are wrong. America is new. It is in the process of change and development. It has the great potentialities of youth, and particularly is this true of the great West, and of this coast, and of California.

I would not have you feel that I regard this as in any sense a new community. I have traveled in many parts of the world, but never have I felt the arresting thought of the change and development more than here, where the old, mystic East would seem to be near to us, where the currents of life and thought and commerce of the whole world meet us. This factor alone is sufficient to cause man to stop and think of the deeper meaning of things, when he stands in this community.

But more than that, I appreciate that the membership of this club consists of men who are thinking in terms beyond the immediate present, beyond their own immediate tasks, beyond their own individual interests. I want to invite you, therefore, to consider with me in the large, some of the relationships of Government and economic life that go deeply into our daily lives, our happiness, our future and our security.

The issue of Government has always been whether individual men and women will have to serve some system of Government or economics, or whether a system of Government and economics exists to serve individual men and women. This question has persistently dominated the discussion of Government for many

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

generations. On questions relating to these things men have differed, and for time immemorial it is probable that honest men will continue to differ.

The final word belongs to no man; yet we can still believe in change and in progress. Democracy, as a dear old friend of mine in Indiana, Meredith Nicholson, has called it, is a quest, a never-ending seeking for better things, and in the seeking for these things and the striving for them, there are many roads to follow. But, if we map the course of these roads, we find that there are only two general directions.

When we look about us, we are likely to forget how hard people have worked to win the privilege of Government. The growth of the national Governments of Europe was a struggle for the development of a centralized force in the Nation, strong enough to impose peace upon ruling barons. In many instances the victory of the central Government, the creation of a strong central Government, was a haven of refuge to the individual. The people preferred the master far away to the exploitation and cruelty of the smaller master near at hand.

But the creators of national Government were perforce ruthless men. They were often cruel in their methods, but they did strive steadily toward something that society needed and very much wanted, a strong central State able to keep the peace, to stamp out civil war, to put the unruly nobleman in his place, and to permit the bulk of individuals to live safely. The man of ruthless force had his place in developing a pioneer country, just as he did in fixing the power of the central Government in the development of Nations. Society paid him well for his services and its development. When the development among the Nations of Europe, however, had been completed, ambition and ruthlessness, having served their term, tended to overstep their mark.

There came a growing feeling that Government was conducted for the benefit of a few who thrived unduly at the expense of all. The people sought a balancing—a limiting force. There came gradually, through town councils, trade guilds, national parlia-

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

ments, by constitution and by popular participation and control, limitations on arbitrary power.

Another factor that tended to limit the power of those who ruled, was the rise of the ethical conception that a ruler bore a responsibility for the welfare of his subjects.

The American colonies were born in this struggle. The American Revolution was a turning point in it. After the Revolution the struggle continued and shaped itself in the public life of the country. There were those who because they had seen the confusion which attended the years of war for American independence surrendered to the belief that popular Government was essentially dangerous and essentially unworkable. They were honest people, my friends, and we cannot deny that their experience had warranted some measure of fear. The most brilliant, honest and able exponent of this point of view was Hamilton. He was too impatient of slow-moving methods. Fundamentally he believed that the safety of the republic lay in the autocratic strength of its Government, that the destiny of individuals was to serve that Government, and that fundamentally a great and strong group of central institutions, guided by a small group of able and public spirited citizens, could best direct all Government.

But Mr. Jefferson, in the summer of 1776, after drafting the Declaration of Independence turned his mind to the same problem and took a different view. He did not deceive himself with outward forms. Government to him was a means to an end, not an end in itself; it might be either a refuge and a help or a threat and a danger, depending on the circumstances. We find him carefully analyzing the society for which he was to organize a Government. "We have no paupers. The great mass of our population is of laborers, our rich who cannot live without labor, either manual or professional, being few and of moderate wealth. Most of the laboring class possess property, cultivate their own lands, have families and from the demand for their labor, are enabled to exact from the rich and the competent such prices as enable them to feed abundantly, clothe above mere decency, to labor moderately and raise their families."

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

These people, he considered, had two sets of rights, those of "personal competency" and those involved in acquiring and possessing property. By "personal competency" he meant the right of free thinking, freedom of forming and expressing opinions, and freedom of personal living, each man according to his own lights. To insure the first set of rights, a Government must so order its functions as not to interfere with the individual. But even Jefferson realized that the exercise of the property rights might so interfere with the rights of the individual that the Government, without whose assistance the property rights could not exist, must intervene, not to destroy individualism, but to protect it.

You are familiar with the great political duel which followed; and how Hamilton, and his friends, building toward a dominant centralized power were at length defeated in the great election of 1800, by Mr. Jefferson's party. Out of that duel came the two parties, Republican and Democratic, as we know them today.

So began, in American political life, the new day, the day of the individual against the system, the day in which individualism was made the great watchword of American life. The happiest of economic conditions made that day long and splendid. On the Western frontier, land was substantially free. No one, who did not shirk the task of earning a living, was entirely without opportunity to do so. Depressions could, and did, come and go; but they could not alter the fundamental fact that most of the people lived partly by selling their labor and partly by extracting their livelihood from the soil, so that starvation and dislocation were practically impossible. At the very worst there was always the possibility of climbing into a covered wagon and moving west where the untilled prairies afforded a haven for men to whom the East did not provide a place. So great were our natural resources that we could offer this relief not only to our own people, but to the distressed of all the world; we could invite immigration from Europe, and welcome it with open arms. Traditionally, when a depression came a new section of land was opened in the

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West; and even our temporary misfortune served our manifest destiny.

It was in the middle of the nineteenth century that a new force was released and a new dream created. The force was what is called the industrial revolution, the advance of steam and machinery and the rise of the forerunners of the modern industrial plant. The dream was the dream of an economic machine, able to raise the standard of living for everyone; to bring luxury within the reach of the humblest; to annihilate distance by steam power and later by electricity, and to release everyone from the drudgery of the heaviest manual toil. It was to be expected that this would necessarily affect Government. Heretofore, Government had merely been called upon to produce conditions within which people could live happily, labor peacefully, and rest secure. Now it was called upon to aid in the consummation of this new dream. There was, however, a shadow over the dream. To be made real, it required use of the talents of men of tremendous will and tremendous ambition, since by no other force could the problems of financing and engineering and new developments be brought to a consummation.

So manifest were the advantages of the machine age, however, that the United States fearlessly, cheerfully, and, I think, rightly, accepted the bitter with the sweet. It was thought that no price was too high to pay for the advantages which we could draw from a finished industrial system. The history of the last half century is accordingly in large measure a history of a group of financial Titans, whose methods were not scrutinized with too much care, and who were honored in proportion as they produced the results, irrespective of the means they used. The financiers who pushed the railroads to the Pacific were always ruthless, often wasteful, and frequently corrupt; but they did build railroads, and we have them today. It has been estimated that the American investor paid for the American railway system more than three times over in the process; but despite this fact the net advantage was to the United States. As long as we had free land; as long as population was growing by leaps and bounds; as long as our

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

industrial plants were insufficient to supply our own needs, society chose to give the ambitious man free play and unlimited reward provided only that he produced the economic plant so much desired.

During this period of expansion, there was equal opportunity for all and the business of Government was not to interfere but to assist in the development of industry. This was done at the request of business men themselves. The tariff was originally imposed for the purpose of "fostering our infant industry," a phrase I think the older among you will remember as a political issue not so long ago. The railroads were subsidized, sometimes by grants of money, oftener by grants of land; some of the most valuable oil lands in the United States were granted to assist the financing of the railroad which pushed through the Southwest. A nascent merchant marine was assisted by grants of money, or by mail subsidies, so that our steam shipping might ply the seven seas. Some of my friends tell me that they do not want the Government in business. With this I agree; but I wonder whether they realize the implications of the past. For while it has been American doctrine that the Government must not go into business in competition with private enterprises, still it has been traditional, particularly in Republican administrations, for business urgently to ask the Government to put at private disposal all kinds of Government assistance. The same man who tells you that he does not want to see the Government interfere in business — and he means it, and has plenty of good reasons for saying so — is the first to go to Washington and ask the Government for a prohibitory tariff on his product. When things get just bad enough, as they did two years ago, he will go with equal speed to the United States Government and ask for a loan; and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is the outcome of it. Each group has sought protection from the Government for its own special interests, without realizing that the function of Government must be to favor no small group at the expense of its duty to protect the rights of personal freedom and of private property of all its citizens.

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

In retrospect we can now see that the turn of the tide came with the turn of the century. We were reaching our last frontier; there was no more free land and our industrial combinations had become great uncontrolled and irresponsible units of power within the State. Clear-sighted men saw with fear the danger that opportunity would no longer be equal; that the growing corporation, like the feudal baron of old, might threaten the economic freedom of individuals to earn a living. In that hour, our anti-trust laws were born. The cry was raised against the great corporations. Theodore Roosevelt, the first great Republican Progressive, fought a Presidential campaign on the issue of "trust busting" and talked freely about malefactors of great wealth. If the Government had a policy it was rather to turn the clock back, to destroy the large combinations and to return to the time when every man owned his individual small business.

This was impossible; Theodore Roosevelt, abandoning the idea of "trust busting," was forced to work out a difference between "good" trusts and "bad" trusts. The Supreme Court set forth the famous "rule of reason" by which it seems to have meant that a concentration of industrial power was permissible if the method by which it got its power, and the use it made of that power, were reasonable.

Woodrow Wilson, elected in 1912, saw the situation more clearly. Where Jefferson had feared the encroachment of political power on the lives of individuals, Wilson knew that the new power was financial. He saw, in the highly centralized economic system, the despot of the twentieth century, on whom great masses of individuals relied for their safety and their livelihood, and whose irresponsibility and greed (if they were not controlled) would reduce them to starvation and penury. The concentration of financial power had not proceeded so far in 1912 as it has today; but it had grown far enough for Mr. Wilson to realize fully its implications. It is interesting, now, to read his speeches. What is called "radical" today (and I have reason to know whereof I speak) is mild compared to the campaign of Mr. Wilson. "No man can deny," he said, "that the lines of endeavor have

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

more and more narrowed and stiffened; no man who knows anything about the development of industry in this country can have failed to observe that the larger kinds of credit are more and more difficult to obtain unless you obtain them upon terms of uniting your efforts with those who already control the industry of the country, and nobody can fail to observe that every man who tries to set himself up in competition with any process of manufacture which has taken place under the control of large combinations of capital will presently find himself either squeezed out or obliged to sell and allow himself to be absorbed." Had there been no World War—had Mr. Wilson been able to devote eight years to domestic instead of to international affairs—we might have had a wholly different situation at the present time. However, the then distant roar of European cannon, growing ever louder, forced him to abandon the study of this issue. The problem he saw so clearly is left with us as a legacy; and no one of us on either side of the political controversy can deny that it is a matter of grave concern to the Government.

A glance at the situation today only too clearly indicates that equality of opportunity as we have known it no longer exists. Our industrial plant is built; the problem just now is whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt. Our last frontier has long since been reached, and there is practically no more free land. More than half of our people do not live on the farms or on lands and cannot derive a living by cultivating their own property. There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie to which those thrown out of work by the Eastern economic machines can go for a new start. We are not able to invite the immigration from Europe to share our endless plenty. We are now providing a drab living for our own people.

Our system of constantly rising tariffs has at last reacted against us to the point of closing our Canadian frontier on the north, our European markets on the east, many of our Latin-American markets to the south, and a goodly proportion of our Pacific markets on the west, through the retaliatory tariffs of those countries. It has forced many of our great industrial insti-

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

tutions which exported their surplus production to such countries, to establish plants in such countries, within the tariff walls. This has resulted in the reduction of the operation of their American plants, and opportunity for employment.

Just as freedom to farm has ceased, so also the opportunity in business has narrowed. It still is true that men can start small enterprises, trusting to native shrewdness and ability to keep abreast of competitors; but area after area has been preempted altogether by the great corporations, and even in the fields which still have no great concerns, the small man starts under a handicap. The unfeeling statistics of the past three decades show that the independent business man is running a losing race. Perhaps he is forced to the wall; perhaps he cannot command credit; perhaps he is "squeezed out," in Mr. Wilson's words, by highly organized corporate competitors, as your corner grocery man can tell you. Recently a careful study was made of the concentration of business in the United States. It showed that our economic life was dominated by some six hundred odd corporations who controlled two-thirds of American industry. Ten million small business men divided the other third. More striking still, it appeared that if the process of concentration goes on at the same rate, at the end of another century we shall have all American industry controlled by a dozen corporations, and run by perhaps a hundred men. Put plainly, we are steering a steady course toward economic oligarchy, if we are not there already.

Clearly, all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations, is as likely to be a danger as a help. The day of the great promoter or the financial Titan, to whom we granted anything if only he would build, or develop, is over. Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consump-

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

tion, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come.

Just as in older times the central Government was first a haven of refuge, and then a threat, so now in a closer economic system the central and ambitious financial unit is no longer a servant of national desire, but a danger. I would draw the parallel one step farther. We did not think because national Government had become a threat in the 18th century that therefore we should abandon the principle of national Government. Nor today should we abandon the principle of strong economic units called corporations, merely because their power is susceptible of easy abuse. In other times we dealt with the problem of an unduly ambitious central Government by modifying it gradually into a constitutional democratic Government. So today we are modifying and controlling our economic units.

As I see it, the task of Government in its relation to business is to assist the development of an economic declaration of rights, an economic constitutional order. This is the common task of statesman and business man. It is the minimum requirement of a more permanently safe order of things.

Happily, the times indicate that to create such an order not only is the proper policy of Government, but it is the only line of safety for our economic structures as well. We know, now, that these economic units cannot exist unless prosperity is uniform, that is, unless purchasing power is well distributed throughout every group in the Nation. That is why even the most selfish of corporations for its own interest would be glad to see wages restored and unemployment ended and to bring the Western farmer back to his accustomed level of prosperity and to assure a permanent safety to both groups. That is why some enlightened industries themselves endeavor to limit the freedom of action of each man and business group within the industry in the common interest of all; why business men everywhere are asking a form of organization which will bring the scheme of things into balance, even though it may in some meas-

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

ure qualify the freedom of action of individual units within the business.

The exposition need not further be elaborated. It is brief and incomplete, but you will be able to expand it in terms of your own business or occupation without difficulty. I think everyone who has actually entered the economic struggle—which means everyone who was not born to safe wealth—knows in his own experience and his own life that we have now to apply the earlier concepts of American Government to the conditions of today.

The Declaration of Independence discusses the problem of Government in terms of a contract. Government is a relation of give and take, a contract, perforce, if we would follow the thinking out of which it grew. Under such a contract rulers were accorded power, and the people consented to that power on consideration that they be accorded certain rights. The task of statesmanship has always been the re-definition of these rights in terms of a changing and growing social order. New conditions impose new requirements upon Government and those who conduct Government.

I held, for example, in proceedings before me as Governor, the purpose of which was the removal of the Sheriff of New York, that under modern conditions it was not enough for a public official merely to evade the legal terms of official wrongdoing. He owed a positive duty as well. I said in substance that if he had acquired large sums of money, he was when accused required to explain the sources of such wealth. To that extent this wealth was colored with a public interest. I said that in financial matters, public servants should, even beyond private citizens, be held to a stern and uncompromising rectitude.

I feel that we are coming to a view through the drift of our legislation and our public thinking in the past quarter century that private economic power is, to enlarge an old phrase, a public trust as well. I hold that continued enjoyment of that power by any individual or group must depend upon the fulfillment of that trust. The men who have reached the summit

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

of American business life know this best; happily, many of these urge the binding quality of this greater social contract.

The terms of that contract are as old as the Republic, and as new as the new economic order.

Every man has a right to life; and this means that he has also a right to make a comfortable living. He may by sloth or crime decline to exercise that right; but it may not be denied him. We have no actual famine or dearth; our industrial and agricultural mechanism can produce enough and to spare. Our Government formal and informal, political and economic, owes to everyone an avenue to possess himself of a portion of that plenty sufficient for his needs, through his own work.

Every man has a right to his own property; which means a right to be assured, to the fullest extent attainable, in the safety of his savings. By no other means can men carry the burdens of those parts of life which, in the nature of things, afford no chance of labor; childhood, sickness, old age. In all thought of property, this right is paramount; all other property rights must yield to it. If, in accord with this principle, we must restrict the operations of the speculator, the manipulator, even the financier, I believe we must accept the restriction as needful, not to hamper individualism but to protect it.

These two requirements must be satisfied, in the main, by the individuals who claim and hold control of the great industrial and financial combinations which dominate so large a part of our industrial life. They have undertaken to be, not business men, but princes of property. I am not prepared to say that the system which produces them is wrong. I am very clear that they must fearlessly and competently assume the responsibility which goes with the power. So many enlightened business men know this that the statement would be little more than a platitude, were it not for an added implication.

This implication is, briefly, that the responsible heads of finance and industry instead of acting each for himself, must work together to achieve the common end. They must, where necessary, sacrifice this or that private advantage; and in reciprocal

Campaign Address on Progressive Government

self-denial must seek a general advantage. It is here that formal Government—political Government, if you chose—comes in. Whenever in the pursuit of this objective the lone wolf, the unethical competitor, the reckless promoter, the Ishmael or Insull whose hand is against every man's, declines to join in achieving an end recognized as being for the public welfare, and threatens to drag the industry back to a state of anarchy, the Government may properly be asked to apply restraint. Likewise, should the group ever use its collective power contrary to the public welfare, the Government must be swift to enter and protect the public interest.

The Government should assume the function of economic regulation only as a last resort, to be tried only when private initiative, inspired by high responsibility, with such assistance and balance as Government can give, has finally failed. As yet there has been no final failure, because there has been no attempt; and I decline to assume that this Nation is unable to meet the situation.

The final term of the high contract was for liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We have learned a great deal of both in the past century. We know that individual liberty and individual happiness mean nothing unless both are ordered in the sense that one man's meat is not another man's poison. We know that the old "rights of personal competency," the right to read, to think, to speak, to choose and live a mode of life, must be respected at all hazards. We know that liberty to do anything which deprives others of those elemental rights is outside the protection of any compact; and that Government in this regard is the maintenance of a balance, within which every individual may have a place if he will take it; in which every individual may find safety if he wishes it; in which every individual may attain such power as his ability permits, consistent with his assuming the accompanying responsibility.

All this is a long, slow talk. Nothing is more striking than the simple innocence of the men who insist, whenever an objective is present, on the prompt production of a patent scheme

Campaign Address on Agriculture and Tariffs

guaranteed to produce a result. Human endeavor is not so simple as that. Government includes the art of formulating a policy, and using the political technique to attain so much of that policy as will receive general support; persuading, leading, sacrificing, teaching always, because the greatest duty of a statesman is to educate. But in the matters of which I have spoken, we are learning rapidly, in a severe school. The lessons so learned must not be forgotten, even in the mental lethargy of a speculative upturn. We must build toward the time when a major depression cannot occur again; and if this means sacrificing the easy profits of inflationist booms, then let them go; and good riddance.

Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demand that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. We shall fulfill them, as we fulfilled the obligation of the apparent Utopia which Jefferson imagined for us in 1776, and which Jefferson, Roosevelt and Wilson sought to bring to realization. We must do so, lest a rising tide of misery, engendered by our common failure, engulf us all. But failure is not an American habit; and in the strength of great hope we must all shoulder our common load.

140 ¶ Campaign Address on Agriculture and Tariffs at Sioux City, Iowa. September 29, 1932

MR. CHAIRMAN, my friends in Sioux City, my friends in this great State, and, indeed, all of you through the country who are listening on the radio tonight, let me tell you first of all that I appreciate this remarkable welcome that you have given me, and I appreciate, too, the performance put on by the mounted patrol of my fellow Shriners.

Two weeks ago, when I was heading toward the Coast, I presented before an audience in the City of Topeka, what I conceived to be the problem of agriculture in these United States,

TO GUNS - FYC - R,

3-12-98

THE ERA OF BIG GOVERNMENT IS ... WHAT?

In his State of the Union address two years ago, President Clinton declared that the era of big government was over, thereby introducing into political lingo a phrase rivaled in its ubiquity on the floor of Congress only by the ever-popular "end of welfare as we know it." In his 1998 State of the Union address, Clinton reiterated: "We have a smaller government, but a stronger nation."

Aghast at the few social programs Clinton did propose in his address, Republicans disagreed—and "big government" has once again become their epithet of choice. On the floor of the House, Republican Representative Steve Chabot of Ohio called Clinton's budget "a true monument to big government excess," while his colleague Gerald Solomon of New York proclaimed with moral fervor that "the era of big government continues to live in infamy."

So who's right? And when—if ever—did this alleged era of big

government actually begin? According to a recent report by the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP), federal government spending as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP)—the standard measure of the size of the federal government—has been remarkably stable since 1952.

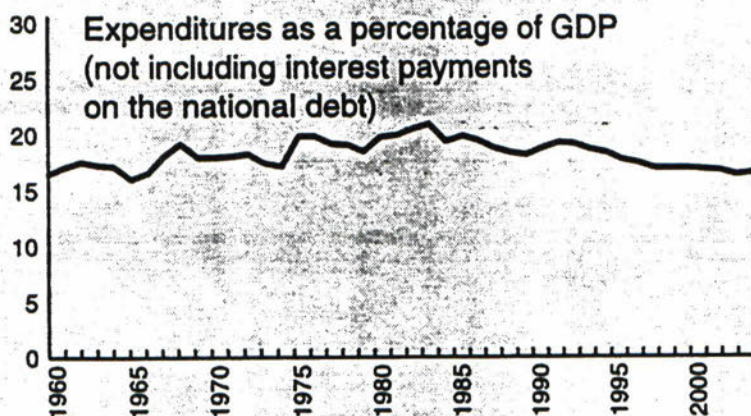
What has changed dramatically in the last several decades is the composition of the budgetary pie. While defense spending has fallen from its post-Vietnam high in 1986 of 6.3 percent of GDP to 3.4

percent in 1997, the interest on the debt has soared from 1.5 percent in the 1970s to 3.1 percent in 1997, itself a by-product of Reagan-era spending.

And while nondefense discretionary spending (put toward education, law enforcement, health research, and so forth) will soon be at its lowest level since 1962, entitlement spending on Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security has risen due to increases in health care costs, decreases in employer-provided health care coverage, and the aging of the population.

So, after all these changes, how big is the government now? Exclusive of debt payments, which do not fund government programs, both defense and non-defense discretionary spending were lower in 1997 than in any year since 1966. Even when entitlement outlays and the interest on the debt are included, federal expenditures were lower in 1997 than in any year since 1974.

—Sylvia Weedman



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORDS MANAGEMENT

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN *PC*

The attached three boxes contain the following material relating to the Human Radiation investigation:

- Box 1: Agendas, Search Group Meetings, Summary; ACHRE: First Meeting and Startup; Indemnification of Contractors; Marshall Islanders; GAO Letter; University of Rochester; Presidential Memo- Establishment of Advisory Committee; Working Groups/ Committees; Committee Vacancy; Committee Vacancy Letters; Atomic Vets; Presidential Memorandum: Human Subject Review; Resumes; Patient Interview Study; Compensation; FOIA Requests; Phone Numbers and Sign-ins; Conference Call Summaries; Nasopharyngeal Radiation; Green Run- DOD; Early Talking Points; ACHRE Minutes; Anything Congressional; Markey Report/ CIA Report; Records Retrieval/ Hotline/ Directives to Agencies
- Box 2: Clips; Interim Reports- ACHRE; Stakeholder Workshop Parts I and II; Report on Human Radiation Experiments Associated with the Department of Energy; Final Report of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act Committee; Interim Report of the ACHRE; Final Report of the ACHRE
- Box 3: Working Documents: Compensation Subcommittee of Legal Issues Working Group (1/10/94); Victims Task Force; Research; October 3, 1995 Event; Administration's Response to ACHRE Report; Claud Bailey; Governor Leavitt (UT)/ Dugway Proving Ground; NBAC; Journal Issues Contributed by Dr. Faden to ACHRE; Clips; Dr. Saenger/ Cincinnati; Performance of Staff Committee Members; Miscellaneous; Briefing Book Number 2; Briefing Book Volume 15

Nancy
Commer for Jim Naughton Dinner

Phil
ROB FISHER

808 West End Avenue • Suite 1109 • New York, NY 10025
TEL: 212.865.6428 • FAX: 212.864.7859

98 MAR 12 PM 1:27

March 10, 1998

Kris Engskov
The President's Aide
The White House
fax: (202) 456-6703

Dear Kris,

Thanks so much for getting back to me today. I'm very excited that we might get a letter from the President for the salute to Jim Naughton next Monday evening, March 16, 1998. I have contacted Ruth Stern, who is producing the event at the Friars Club, to request that she send you more detailed information than I'm able to provide.

In the meantime, here's what I know about the tribute: Nathan Lane will be the Master of Ceremonies. Among the performers will be Paul Newman and Ann Reinking. The President should know that it is a ROAST. I'd be delighted and proud to be the bearer of this missive, as you suggested on the phone today.

I am in your debt.

Sincerely,

Rob Fisher

Rob Fisher

cc: Ruth Stern

3/12/98

Don -
Phil asked that
you hook this up
with package he
gave you yesterday -
Thank you -

Cowd

P.S. I am only giving Ruth Stern and the people at the Friars Club your fax number because I don't know these people that well. Should you need to reach them, Ms. Stern's phone is 212-246-9019 and her fax is 212-245-5715. If you don't hear from her right away, please, please let me be of any assistance I can.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 12, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE MCCURRY

THROUGH: PHIL CAPLAN 

FROM:  DAN BURKHARDT

SUBJECT: SAINT PATRICK'S DAY, 1998

Attached is the President's message for SAINT PATRICK'S DAY, 1998, which you may want to release to the media.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

Saint Patrick's Day, 1998

Warmest greetings to everyone celebrating Saint Patrick's Day. On this day dedicated to Ireland's great patron saint, I join millions of other Americans across our country in remembering with pride the roots of our Irish heritage.

As it has been for so many immigrants, America has always been a beacon of hope for the Irish people. And the Irish people have always been a source of light and energy to keep that beacon shining brightly. They arrived with little. But the Irish did not come to America empty-handed. They brought with them strong arms and an even stronger spirit that would help to build our nation's great canals, bridges, and railroads; that would wrest coal from Pennsylvania's mines and raise the skyscrapers of New York City. They brought with them a love of words that enriched American journalism and literature. They brought a great reverence for education and built schools across the country renowned for their scholarship and social conscience.

Perhaps their greatest gifts to America have been an abiding love of liberty and a patriotic spirit. Irish Americans have served with distinction in every American conflict, from the Revolutionary War to the Persian Gulf, and their keen sense of social justice made them among the first and most effective voices for labor reform. Generations of Irish Americans entered public service to reach out to those in need -- to feed the poor, find jobs for the unemployed, fight for racial equality, and champion social reform.

The United States continues to draw strength and vision from our multicultural, multiracial society. As we celebrate Saint Patrick's Day once again, we remember with special pride the gifts of Irish Americans: faith in God, lilt and laughter, love of family and community, and an unswerving commitment to freedom and justice that continues to enrich our nation.

Best wishes to all for a wonderful celebration.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

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JIMMY CARTER

March 9, 1998

98 MAR 12 PM 3:11

To President Bill Clinton

I hope your upcoming trip will provide a firsthand view of the potential of the people of Africa. The activities of The Carter Center have included a focus on increasing agricultural production in Africa and involvement with the Food Security Advisory Committee. This Committee has written concerning your visit to Africa, and I support their proposals. A copy of their letter is included.

I will arrive in Mali for a Guinea Worm meeting the day after you depart Senegal. My best wishes to you, Hillary and Chelsea for a productive and enjoyable visit to Africa.

Sincerely,

3/12/98

Send to WSC > for reply

Yes ☒

No ☐

The Honorable Bill
President of the U
The White House
Washington, D.C.

POPS should
see before
trip.

C.

Twin Cities Campus

Freeman Center for International
Economic Policy

Hubert H. Humphrey
Institute of Public Affairs

Humphrey Center
301-19th Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55455
612-626-0564
Fax 612-624-3034

20 February 1998

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

Dear Mr. President:

We, the members of your Food Security Advisory Committee, urge you to make hunger and agriculture one of your priority themes during your upcoming trip to Africa. In doing so you will call attention to one of the major issues on the African subcontinent, and provide a means for future collaboration with the African people in ways that will contribute importantly to their future economic development and well-being.

Africans and Americans both know that hunger is a pressing priority. A new USDA study shows that two-thirds of Africans in the year 2007 are likely to be undernourished. Those are dramatic, yet realistic numbers given the neglect of agriculture in the region. Sadly, much of the incidence of this malnutrition and hunger will fall on the children, already a disadvantaged group.

Despite these desperate omens for the future, there are also hopeful developments you could highlight on your visit. For example, some local farmers are implementing sustainable agricultural practices. Also, the United States, the United Nations, and Africans are addressing hardships caused by El Nino.

Your administration convened us last week to provide advice on a national action plan to reduce hunger in the U.S. and worldwide. As you can see from the attached list, we are a very diverse group of business, academic, and citizen leaders. We met with some of your advisors and are concerned that plans for your trip may not give due prominence to hunger and agriculture in Africa. This issue is critical and integral to establishing stable democratic governments, peace, economic development and regional prosperity. A stronger agriculture will provide the essential foundation for progress in child survival and health, nutrition, and environmental management and conservation.

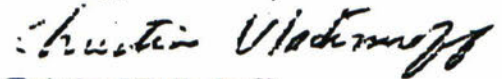
Malnutrition and hunger are primarily a problem of poverty and lack of access to available supplies. The development of agriculture is the key to alleviating that poverty and to promoting economic growth, yet governments in the region continue to neglect this sector.

You might help call attention to this issue by taking Secretary of Agriculture Glickman with you. As you know, Secretary Glickman led the U.S. delegation to the Food and Agriculture Organization's World Food Summit over a year ago. His inclusion on your trip would call attention both to the importance your Administration attaches to the region's food security problem and to the intent to follow

President Clinton
20 February 1998
Page 2

up on the commitment the U.S. government made at that Summit. These are true rallying cries for the future welfare of the sub-continent, and especially for the alleviation of poverty and suffering of the disadvantaged of that region.

Sincerely,



Christine Vladimiroff
Second Harvest



G. Edward Schuh
Hubert H. Humphrey Institute
of Public Affairs

Co-Chairs
Food Security Advisory Committee
On behalf of all its members

c: Madeleine K. Albright
J. Brian Arwood
Samuel R. Berger
Dan Glickman

Attachment

Food Security Advisory Committee

A Subcommittee of the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development

Andrew N. Agle
The Carter Center
Atlanta, Georgia

Selina Ahmed
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

David Beckmann
Bread for the World
Silver Spring, Maryland

Margaret L. Bogle
Delta Nutrition Intervention Research
Initiative
Little Rock, Arkansas

John Cady
National Food Processors Association
Washington, D.C.

Ralph Christy
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Ada Demb
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Betsy Faga
Protein Grain Products International
Washington, D.C.

Walter Falcon
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Rick Foster
W.K. Kellogg Foundation
Battle Creek, Michigan

David J. Frederickson
Minnesota Farmers Union
St. Paul, Minnesota

Cuthberto Garza
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Miles Goggans
Goggans, Inc.
Little Rock, Arkansas

Richard Gutting, Jr.
National Fisheries Institute
Arlington, Virginia

John D. Hardin, Jr.
National Pork Producers Council
Danville, Indiana

Walter A. Hill
Tuskegee University
Tuskegee, Alabama

Charles Johnson
Pioneer Hi-Bred International, Inc.
Des Moines, Iowa

Charles F. MacCormack
Save the Children
Westport, Connecticut

Whitney MacMillan
Cargill, Incorporated
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Ellen Marshall
National Audubon Society
Boulder, Colorado

P. Howard Massey, Jr.
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State
University
Blacksburg, Virginia

Cheryl Morden
Church World Service/Lutheran World
Relief
Washington, D.C.

Sharyle Patton
Commonweal Sustainable Futures Project
Bolinas, California

Sherrie Whitekiller Perry
Food Distribution Program on Indian
Reservations, Cherokee Nation
Tahlequah, Oklahoma

G. Edward Schuh
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

P. Scott Shearer
Farmland Industries, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Barbara R. Spangler
American Farm Bureau Federation
Washington, D.C.

Goro Uehara
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii

Christine Vladimiroff
Second Harvest
Chicago, Illinois

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3-12-98

NOTE FOR: Mark Buell

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

se: *Mark*
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1998

Charles A. Deacon
Office of Undergraduate Admissions
Georgetown University
Washington, DC 20057-1002

Dear Mr. Deacon:

I would like to offer a recommendation for Justin Buell's application to Georgetown University.

I know Justin's parents well and know of many of his activities at the Thacher School. I believe he would make a fine addition to Georgetown and would appreciate every consideration you can give his application.

Sincerely,

Bob Clinton

Everyone
the kids to do a
wants to see his parents
letter & know his parents
& would appreciate
every consultation

Mark Buell

Feb 26, 1998

Dear Mr President,

As a proud father of a son who has applied to Georgetown University, I have become shameless in my efforts to solicit support for his admission.

Justin is Chairman of the Student Body at Thacher School in OSWI, Cal. He also served as both Freshman and Sophomore class president. Georgetown is his first choice. Susie and I would be eternally grateful for any expression of support you might be able to offer. As always, you have our unending admiration and support

Sincerely

Mark Buell

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	02/26/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 11247

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files: Thursday, March 12, 1998

2019-0774-S

rs3381

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

JUSTIN BUELL
 3249 Jackson Street
 San Francisco, California 94118
 telephone (415) 567-2242

Birthdate	(b)(6)	Social Security Number	
Education	The Thacher School, Ojai, California, Class of 1998, B Average		
Leadership	Chairman (Student Body President), The Thacher School, 1997-98 Chairman, Community Council, 1997-98 Chairman, Judicial Council, 1997-98 Member, Student Leadership Council, 1997-98 Representative, Judicial Council, 1996-97 President, Sophomore Class, 1995-96 President, Freshman Class, 1994-95		
Honors	"Who's Who, American High School Students, 1997-98 The Wall Street Journal, Feature on Entrepreneurial Students, June 1997 Prefect, Middle School Dormitory, Thacher School, 1997-98		
Community Service	Founded permanent student snack bar proceeds benefiting "Habitat for Humanity" Founded first biannual Thacher "Hunger Lunch" benefiting the Ojai Homeless Shelter Organized Blood Drive for faculty and students for Ventura County Hospital Ojai Valley Tennis Tournament Docent		
Athletics	Cross Country: Varsity League Champions, 1997-98 Tennis: Captain, 1996-97; JVs 1995-97 Horsemanship: 1997-98, 1994-95 Baseball: Varsity, 1995-96 Soccer: 1996-97 Lacrosse: 1995-96 Rock Climbing: 1994-96		
Employment	Director's Assistant, Fournier Films, Fred Korematsu Film Project, Sundance Film Festival 1998 Entry, Summer 1997 Store Clerk, Patagonia, Summer 1996 Carpentry Assistant, Restoration Project (house built in 1865), Summer 1995 Film Extra, Summer 1994		
Interests	Photography/Film Mountaineering (Trans-Sierra Trail) Fly Fishing Music Theater Car Restoration (1957 Land Rover, Series I)		

JUSTIN BUELL'S SPEECH TO THE THACHER SCHOOL

Mr. Mulligan, members of the faculty, administration, and fellow students: Welcome. We have assembled here tonight to ring in the new school year. It is a time for renewal, fresh energy, and dedication to the year ahead.

To the freshman: I once again welcome you to the Thacher family. By now you are beginning to make new friends with fellow students. You have begun to find your classes, meet your teachers, and generally root yourself deeply into the Thacher experience. While change often seems difficult and frustrating, it is also an exciting opportunity to expand your horizons. As I'm sure you've found, Thacher is not your average high school. You are only beginning to see an example of why Thacher is so unique, whether it is by cleaning manure in the barn at 6 am or laughing in the dorm at midnight. I encourage you take advantage of those activities you might be too busy for in the coming years. Truly think about running for class president, joining a sports team, or trying out for the play. Dive into the Thacher experience whole-heartedly and you won't regret a minute of it.

Sophomores: I'm sure you've already noticed the immense increase in your amount of work compared to freshman year. You shouldn't worry. Every year Sophomores have the ability to adjust, to take on the challenge with all their force. You have made the largest transition of anyone else. You have matured and are growing rapidly.

To the Juniors, welcome back. This is your year to reflect on what it is you might pursue at Thacher. Whether it's photography, writing, history, or even horses, you have an advantage. You know what resources Thacher has to offer. This is a core commitment year which will set the tone for your 2 remaining years. If you didn't have much extra time last year to get involved, you should now begin to expand and stretch yourself. I'm sure your parents have already expressed the importance of this year. Enjoy your hard work and ambition.

22

Seniors. You should be glad you're not Juniors. No really, to all you guys I extend a warm welcome back. Embarking on our 4th and final year together as a class seems unbelievable. Can it really be the beginning of the end? I urge all of us to continue our commitment to Thacher. Yes, our sights are on the future, but we must still focus on the present. Don't let it all slip away. Let's make our final year our best. We can continue to build memories which really will last a lifetime.

Tonight, with a different spin, I have said the same to each. Get involved, reach out, do all that is in your power and the year that lies ahead will be one of meaning for each of you. In closing I want to read a quotation that is tacked on the bulletin board in my kitchen at home. John Gardner, the Former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, founder of Common Cause, and Professor Emeritus at Stanford once said..

"Meaning is not something you stumble across like the answers to a riddle or a prize in a treasure hunt. Meaning is something you build into your life. You build it out of your own past, out of your affections and loyalties, out of the experience of humankind as it is passed on to you. Out of your own talent and understanding. Out of the things you believe in. Out of the things and people you love, out of the values for which you are willing to sacrifice something. The ingredients are there. You are the only one who can put them together into that unique pattern that will be your life. Let it be a life that has dignity and meaning for you."

Thank You.

PHILIP C. JAMISON . 1848 Greenplace Terrace . Rockville, Maryland 20850
(301) 251-9709 (H) / (703) 695-5678 (W)

March 12, 1998

3-12-98

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

DOB / VO

Used to be this
interesting
thing

Copied
cos
VP

Dear Bill,

Thank you for inviting Susan and me to the Stephen Hawking event -- he is definitely one of the great minds of the century. Was good getting to see you and Hillary again.

Your question to Hawking related to the speed of light barrier reminded me of something I meant to bring up with you earlier. The speed of sound has also proved to be a barrier for human travel; but at least it is one that the laws of physics will let us surmount. The enclosed article is about NASA work on a 300 passenger, supersonic airliner which supposedly would be affordable to the average passenger flying the transoceanic routes today. I think that this High Speed Commercial Transport (HSCT) concept is an idea whose time has come, and that you may want to be the President that kicks it off (the last major leap forward was the introduction of the jet airliner back in the Eisenhower years.)

There are several reasons why I believe the time is right. One is that the technology now appears to be available to overcome the environmental concerns (at least according to the article.) The other is that our airline industry is booming and is projected to continue its growth. In addition, with the huge growth in world trade you initiated, along with the rapid expansion of communication via the world wide web, etc., we ought to have a commiserate growth in human travel across the oceans to Asia and Europe. As you well know from your Asia trips, to attend a Monday morning meeting in Tokyo, you have to leave early Saturday. Finally, as to who pays for this project, maybe the HSCT would be a good project to ask China to join (at your summit?) Even better, perhaps the entire G-7 plus Russia and China could participate.

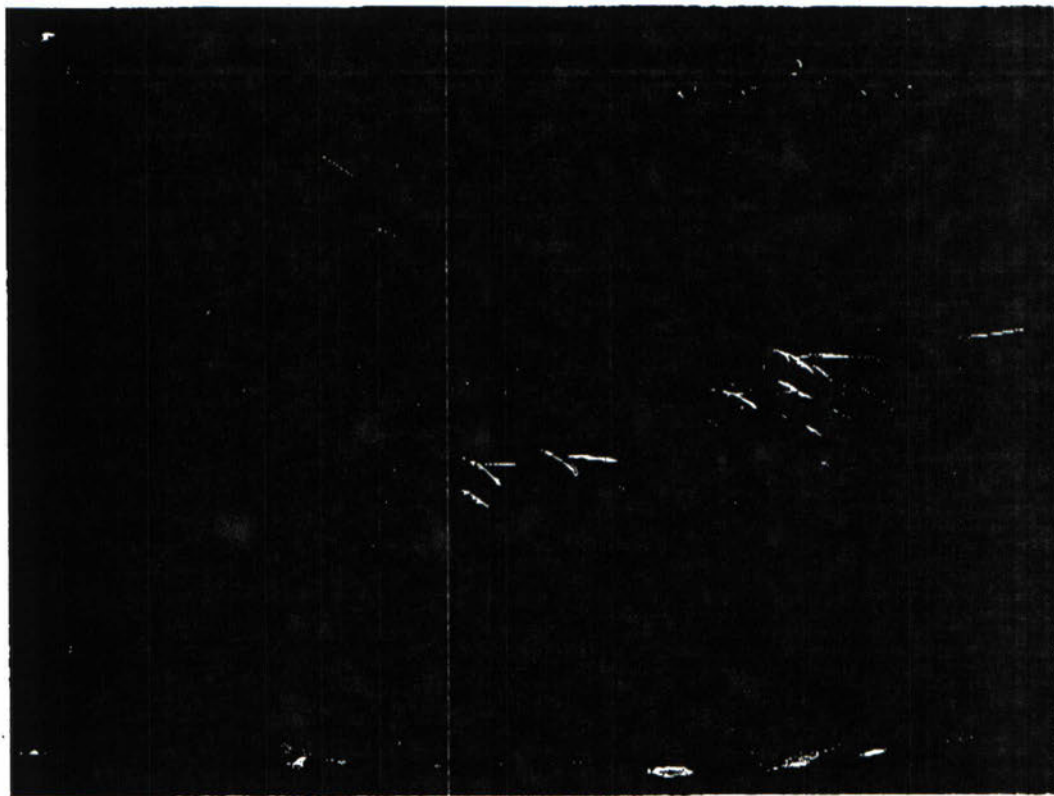
Returning to earth, I am attending a HSHS Cultural Center board meeting tomorrow and will get to talk to the fund raiser hired by the board. Will drop you a note when I return. Saw Jim French earlier this week and told him to start getting in shape for the Springtime jog we discussed. Know the pressure you are under these days is tremendous. Take care.

Sincerely,

Phil

AERONAUTICS

HSCT research



CFD optimization methods using over 400 variables are used for configuration design.

The category is "NASA Aeronautics"; the answer, "140,000 new critical-skill jobs and a \$500-billion positive balance of trade for the U.S."; and the question, "What is the potential return on NASA's investment in technology development for the U.S. High-Speed Civil Transport?"

Although the U.S. initially dominated the world's civil jet transport market, over the past 15 years Europe's Airbus Industrie has been eating into the U.S. market share. The Airbus share has grown to 30%, and from January to August 1996, Airbus captured 48% of the market share in terms of new signed purchase agreements minus or-

der cancellations. The Europeans are continuing the offensive with a very large transport (more than 500 passengers) on the drawing board and the development of technologies for a second-generation Concorde. Though the Concorde was not a great financial success for its manufacturers, it was a technological and systems integration marvel for its time. It also provided the foundation necessary for formulating the multinational Airbus Industrie. Airbus was established in 1970, one year after the first flight of the prototype Concorde.

U.S. manufacturers have shelved plans for megaliners, citing a lack of market for

picks up speed

that size aircraft. However, the industry remains keenly interested in a more productive, midsize (300-passenger) airliner that could leapfrog the current transport industry. Compared to a megaliner, a midsize supersonic airplane can fly the same number of passengers using two round-trips while halving passenger travel time, and it offers more market flexibility with its reduced passenger capacity. A supersonic airplane can serve as either a midrange, large-capacity transport, saving over 6 hr from Los Angeles to Tokyo, or (by using short service stops) as a long-range, midsize transport, saving over 10 hr from Los Angeles to Sydney. To make this vision a reality, NASA and the U.S. aerospace industry have become partners in developing critical high-risk technologies for supersonic civil transports.

Congress canceled the U.S. supersonic transport (SST) program in March 1971, citing environmental and performance issues. Many countries outlawed supersonic flight over land because of the sonic boom, severely restricting projected market penetration. Atmospheric scientists predicted catastrophic reductions of ozone from engine emissions, severely limiting fleet size. Aircraft regulators wanted the engines designed for supersonic flight to meet subsonic noise certification standards. Health officials were concerned about the effects of high-altitude atmospheric radiation.

Performance issues cited for the cancellation included the need for more efficient lift-to-drag ratio for both subsonic and supersonic flight; sufficient thrust from propulsion at both supersonic and subsonic speeds, with low noise and efficient fuel consumption; airframe structures and materials with greater strength and lower weight; and system integration techniques to maximize airplane efficiency.

What changed between 1971 and 1989 to revive interest in an SST program? It was not technology, as NASA and industry had invested little into the supersonic civil transport. The answer is the projected world aviation market: Projections for 1995-2015 have indicated that the market would increase by a factor of 6 in the north mid-Pacific and by a factor of 7 in the intra Far East in revenue passenger miles. Of that market, 56% of the routes are longer than 2,000 mi.; 71% are 85% or more over water—perfect for SSTs.

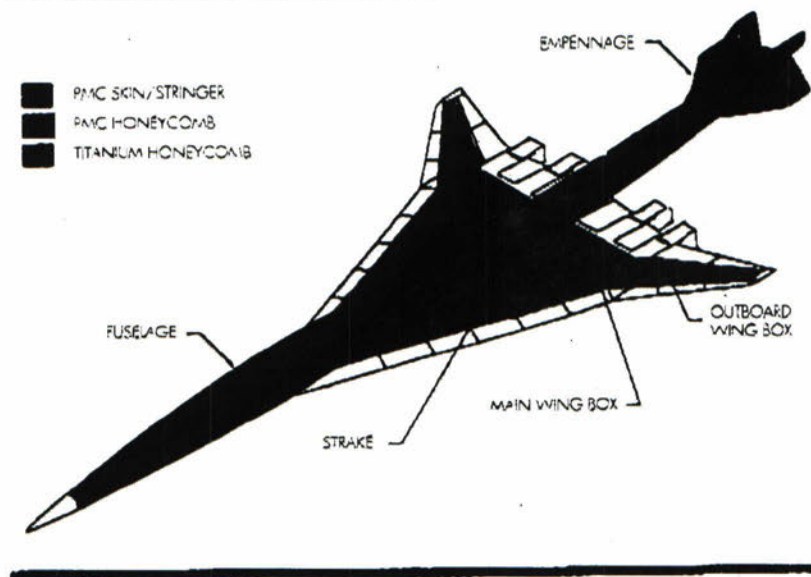
Based on these projections, there is a potential market for approximately 1,000 SSTs—well over the minimum needed for a profitable launch. The missing ingredient is the technology for building an environmentally acceptable, economically viable aircraft that would be available in time for the appropriate launch window and would complement the subsonic offerings.

In 1989, NASA and industry began investigating the potential of a High-Speed Civil Transport (HSCT), the airplane specifications, and the required technologies. The existing Mach-2 Concorde and Russian Tu-144 airplanes are neither environmentally acceptable nor economically viable. The original SST design was planned for Mach 2.7, but the required titanium structure was too heavy. In 1989, the National Aerospace Plane program was investing in Mach-25 technology for both Earth-to-orbit transport and "Orient Express" civil transport applications. At these speeds, however, the hydrogen fuel required would necessitate extreme changes in existing airport infrastruc-

Revolutionary leaps in technology will eliminate barriers to affordable supersonic travel

by **Alan W. Wilhite**,
High-Speed Research
airframe manager,
NASA-Langley, and
Robert J. Shaw,
High-Speed Research
propulsion manager,
NASA-Lewis

HSR BASELINE STRUCTURAL CONCEPTS



ture. Moreover, because passenger comfort needs would dictate long acceleration and deceleration times, the aircraft would rarely see cruising speed and thus would offer limited efficiency.

The studies concluded that an airplane launched in the early 21st century should be compatible with current airports, use jet fuel, and be within a 10-15-year technology reach. Boeing and McDonnell Douglas converged on a Mach-2.4, 300-seat, 5,000-n.mi. craft as a focus for technology development.

Based on the market and technology projections of an HSCT, NASA started a two-phase technology program in 1990 with the civil transport industry—Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, General Electric, and Pratt & Whitney. The \$280-million Phase I program focused on the development of technology concepts for environmental compatibility.

With the successful completion of Phase I, the \$1.4-billion Phase II program that began in 1993 will demonstrate the environmental technologies and define and demonstrate selected high-risk technologies for economic viability. The High-Speed Research (HSR) Program provides revolutionary leaps in technology, supporting NASA's "Three Pillars of Success" goal of reducing travel time from the Far East and Europe by 50% within 20 years, and to do so at today's subsonic prices.

Environmental compatibility

The most publicized environmental concern about supersonic flight is the depletion of stratospheric ozone. In the SST congress-

sional hearings of the early 1970s, Harold Johnston led a group of atmospheric scientists who made the issue of depletion of the Earth's ozone shield a global concern.

Ultraviolet rays break down stratospheric ozone into molecular and atomic oxygen. These molecules are later reunited in a reaction that forms new ozone, which maintains a sufficient layer to protect the Earth from ultraviolet rays. The currently proposed supersonic transport cruise altitude, where nitrogen oxides (NO_x) would be introduced from the engine exhausts, is about 60,000 ft, near the maximum density of stratospheric ozone. These nitrogen oxides, with energy from ultraviolet rays, break down and deplete the amount of ozone by forming molecular oxygen.

An element of the HSR program, called Atmospheric Effects of Stratospheric Aircraft, was formed in Phase I to address the ozone issue. An international team of scientists has developed global atmospheric models to predict the impact of NO_x , water vapor, and other exhaust emissions on ozone chemistry and climate change. These 2-D and 3-D photochemical transport models are being calibrated through laboratory chemical kinetics tests and atmospheric observations. Balloons and a converted U-2 spy plane, the ER-2, are providing global coverage to identify photochemical, radiative, and dynamic features of the stratosphere. The ER-2 has also sampled the exhaust of the Concorde, providing valuable data for near-field atmospheric interactions. As input to these atmospheric models, a global engine exhaust emissions database was defined by city-pair operational scenarios for the HSCT and corresponding flight trajectories between the relevant airports.

Results from five 2-D atmospheric models show between -0.7% and +0.1% ozone impact (where positive is creating ozone) for a mature fleet of 1,000 HSCTs flying at Mach 2.4, and a combustor emissions index of 5 g of NO_x /kg of fuel burned. These results affirmed the combustor goal of an emissions index of 5 as compared to approximately 20 for the Concorde. Both chemical and transport mechanisms are being studied, with emphasis on additional atmospheric observations to assist model validation.

The high level of NO_x emissions from current combustors is due to burning fuel near stoichiometric air-to-fuel ratios; the key to reduced combustor emissions is to burn either fuel-rich or -lean. One concept is a

two-stage combustor design called rich-burn, quick-quench, lean-burn design. Here fuel is initially burned rich; air is then added, and the products are burned lean. Mixing to quickly quench the rich-burn products is the challenge. The second concept is the premixed, prevaporized, lean-burn combustor, where flame stability and hardware complexity dominate research. Both concepts have been tested in flame tube lab tests at NASA-Lewis, and reduced-scale sector tests show emission indices lower than 5 g NO_x/kg of fuel at the propulsion industry facilities.

For both combustor concepts, liner material is also a challenge, as active cooling with air changes the mixing and chemistry critical for low NO_x. Thus ceramic matrix composites (CMCs) are the leading candidate materials for the 3,500-F environment and 9,000-hr life requirements. These composites have been demonstrated at design temperature and near mechanical load conditions using accelerated test techniques.

The concept will be down-selected next year, and a full-scale annular combustor with the selected liner material will be tested for final technology demonstration.

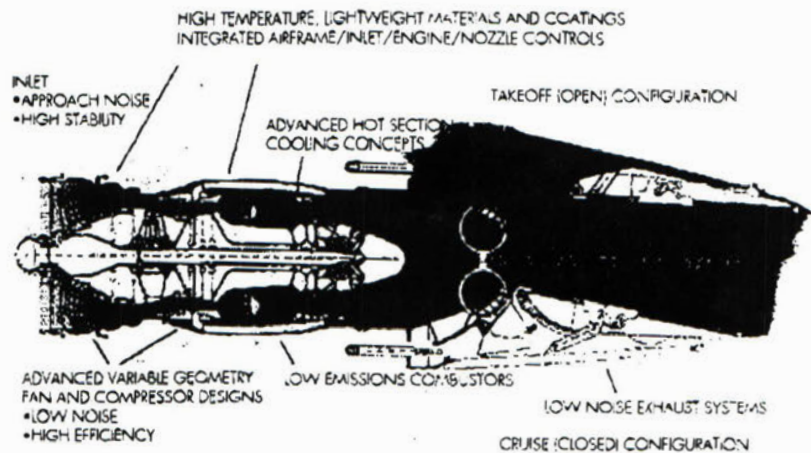
Community noise

Community noise is the dominant constraint in the selection of engine cycle and airframe designs. Any future supersonic airliner will operate from existing international airports and must meet local airport community noise requirements and national/international noise certification regulations similar to those for subsonic airliners. Because the HSCT will not operate until after the turn of the century, subsonic noise reduction technologies and possible tightening of regulations are being closely followed as the requirements for supersonic technology development are formulated. It appears likely that supersonic airplanes will have to be at least as quiet as today's fleet average.

The primary noise source during take-off is from the high-speed, hot engine jet exhaust. The turbojet cycle used in the Concorde has excellent supersonic performance but high noise, unlike the high-bypass-ratio turbofans used by subsonic commercial transports, which are designed for subsonic performance and low noise.

A compromise cycle, called the mixed-flow turbofan, has been selected for HSR technology development. Although this cycle does have a moderate bypass ratio to

MIXED-FLOW TURBOFAN ENGINE CONCEPT WITH MIXER EJECTOR NOZZLE



slow the jet, a mixer-ejector nozzle must also be included to reduce noise further. This nozzle entrains outside freestream air that is mixed with the core jet exhaust, resulting in a slower, cooler exhaust jet that reduces noise by 16 dB out of approximately 120 dB. During supersonic cruise, external air entrainment is not required, thus eliminating the drag and reduced efficiency associated with the noise suppression mode. Small-scale-nozzle wind tunnel tests have demonstrated the noise attenuation while meeting performance requirements.

To minimize nozzle weight, advanced materials and manufacturing processes are being developed, including thin wall castings of superalloys for the mixer, CMC acoustic tiles for reducing mixing noise, gamma titanium aluminides for the flap, and thermal blankets to protect the nozzle back-side materials.

For approach noise, where the engines are throttled back and have reduced jet velocity, turbomachinery noise is a problem. To address this, NASA and industry are looking at both mixed compression inlet and low-noise fan concepts. Mach-2.4 operation requires a mixed compression inlet for efficient propulsion system operation where the shock structure is managed both externally and internally. Stability, high recovery, and low distortion in the inlet must be balanced with low noise, operability, and complexity. Two-dimensional bifurcate, axisymmetric translating centerbody, and variable-diameter centerbody inlets are being considered. Small-scale wind tunnel tests,

Sonic boom and wildlife

In response to U.S. policies detailed in the Marine Mammal Protection Act and the Endangered Species Act, research on marine mammal behavioral response to sonic booms is being conducted. The National Zoo and Hubbs' Research Institute are conducting studies of the wildlife response to sonic boom events and levels. In previous studies, biologists have shown that wildlife will quickly habituate to the booms. These results are also shown by anecdotal experiences such as the use of air cannons in Chesapeake Bay to frighten sea gulls away when fishing nets are pulled in, and of underwater explosions near the Ballard Locks in Seattle to discourage sea lions from eating the steelhead salmon on their way to spawn. Ironically, these devices soon became the "dinner bell" for these flocks and herds.

Another concern is noises that may affect marine mammals by interfering with their ability to detect calls from other members of their species. Numerous studies have already examined the effects of noise from human activities including ship props, underwater drilling for oil and gas recovery, and offshore construction operations. Because much of the energy associated with the HSCT sonic boom would be deflected off the ocean's surface, the noise levels and frequency spectrum generated by these other sources are potentially much more detrimental to underwater marine life than are sonic boom phenomena.

operability tests, and duct-spacing ground tests of the Tu-144 engine provide data for selection, design, and validation testing for performance and operability through the speed regime and approach acoustics.

Further noise reduction can be attained with high-lift leading and trailing edge wing systems that reduce the thrust required for takeoff, climbout, and landing. These advanced high-lift concepts, when combined with advanced landing and takeoff procedures such as automatic flap and throttle settings, more than double the low-speed lift-to-drag ratio relative to the Concorde.

Sonic boom

At supersonic speeds, an aircraft produces shock waves that propagate to the ground, creating sudden pressure changes that may

be perceived as a startling and annoying noise. To minimize such disturbances, supersonic flight will occur only over oceans.

Sonic boom research initially was directed toward reducing boom pressure signature during flight over land by maximizing the distribution of lift over the airframe. Configurations were designed by CFD methods that were validated for prediction of the near-field pressure field and boom propagation through the atmosphere with wind tunnel tests and flight and ground measurements of the SR-71. Booms were reduced significantly; however, the configurations were so radical that they precluded economic viability. These methods are now being used to characterize the boom pressure field for development of operational requirements to avoid populated islands and establish distances for deceleration to subsonic speeds for overland flights.

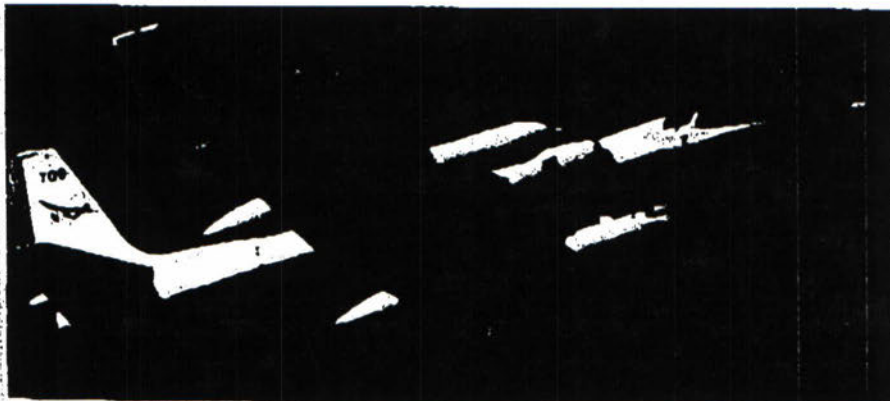
Radiation

High-altitude atmospheric radiation is of galactic or solar origin. Galactic cosmic rays are complex, heavy, high-energy ions that penetrate deep into the Earth's atmosphere. Solar cosmic rays are generated by solar flares and are less penetrating, but may be very intense for short periods of time. Secondary neutrons are generated in the atmosphere by both sources and can do biological damage, depending on the dosage.

At supersonic cruise altitudes, the radiation dose is double that of a subsonic airliner flying at 40,000 ft. But because the trip time is halved, the total trip dosage is roughly the same. The only concern is for the exposure levels of flight crew members, especially those who are pregnant. Exposure can be managed by crew rotation scheduling based on validated radiation prediction methods and measurement.

Currently there are substantial uncertainties in our knowledge of the radiation in the upper atmosphere and at various latitudes (radiation is higher at the poles because of the Earth's magnetic field). The National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurements has identified the critical questions that must be answered to provide a sound scientific basis for predicting atmospheric radiation. An ER-2 has been equipped with a suite of instruments to characterize Earth's radiation environment. The solar minimum environment (maximum radiation) is being measured, and future flights will map the solar cycle effects.

The ER-2 is used for high-altitude atmospheric and radiation observations.



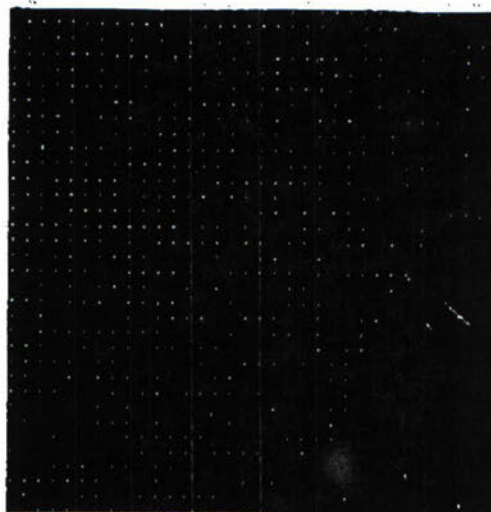
Aerodynamics

Aerodynamics research is providing potential concepts and validated analytical design and optimization methods for developing an airplane configuration and enhancing ride quality. These design methods will be used for reducing drag and predicting aeroelastic stability and control characteristics.

State-of-the-art CFD methods have been coupled with optimization techniques that adjust wing, fuselage, nacelle, and empennage geometry to reduce drag by over 10% relative to optimized linear design methods at supersonic speeds. These methods will be extended for multipoint optimization that will give the airplane maximum range, with a reference mission of 85% supersonic over water and 15% subsonic over land. In addition, methods for predicting aeroelastic effects of models under load are being developed and validated in wind tunnels at Langley and Ames. Test techniques being improved include pressure-sensitive coatings, Reynolds number scaling, and corrections for model support systems.

Another method for achieving high-speed drag reduction is laminar flow control. Already, significant drag reductions have been demonstrated with supersonic laminar flow control (SLFC) at Mach 2.0 on an F-16XL at NASA-Dryden. Supersonic laminar flow was achieved with a left-wing glove with 10 million laser-cut holes through which a suction system controls the laminar boundary layer to prevent turbulence. Data analysis tools were successfully applied to calculate suction distributions and boundary-layer stability characteristics from flight data. SLFC has the potential to improve the aerodynamic performance of the HSCT by 10%. However, it has been dropped from the program because further technology demonstrations of the subsystems, wing skin with holes through high-temperature composites, and a longer chord demonstration of laminar flow are needed.

Research in guidance and flight control technology is providing a simulation of baseline HSCT airplane dynamics. This simulation can be used to develop both rigid and elastic airplane control concepts and methods that will be applicable to practical HSCT design. Ground-based and in-flight simulation are being used to validate criteria for flying qualities and for flight control system design. An integrated guidance, control, and display system that should provide safe and efficient HSCT operations in tomorrow's



An F-16XL achieved supersonic laminar flow using a left-wing glove with 10 million laser-cut holes through which a suction system controls the laminar boundary layer to prevent turbulence. A section of the wing is shown in comparison to a dime.

airspace system is being developed. Envelope protection strategies and certification criteria are being addressed in these systems. Design methods will be developed that can ensure level-1 flying qualities and robust performance over the flight envelope for a slender flexible aircraft having rigid and possibly elastic instabilities.

Flight deck

To reduce airplane weight and drag and improve pilot performance and safety, the droop nose with forward cockpit windows may be replaced by large computer-generated displays. The external vision team, with guidance from the FAA, is defining requirements and technology to provide the functional equivalent of forward sight.

During airport maneuvers, video cameras on the nose gear and on the vertical tail provide a panoramic view of the runway. Using differential GPS data coupled with a digitized map database of the runways, the pilot can track the current position. After takeoff, the computer overlays the video image with speed, altitude, and any other personalized data for the pilot. At cruise, the surveillance system uses the Traffic Collision Avoidance System and radar (for tracking airplanes without TCAS) to warn the pilot of potential collisions. Also, one version of the navigation system projects a lead airplane, using GPS data and flight profile information, for the pilot to follow.

On landing, goal posts and other symbology aid the pilot for runway lineup, and a flare indicator is used for touchdown. For night vision, dynamic range video sensors are augmented by X-band radar for object detection. In weather conditions, radar cuts through rain and fog, and the video camera

(Continued on page 41)

image is replaced with a computer representation of the runway and surrounding topology. The radar data can be processed during airport operations to detect hazards on the runway that cannot be seen.

A simplified system produced excellent results with a conventional graphic display monitor on the NASA 737 Transport System Research Vehicle configured with a no-window cockpit in the middle of the aircraft. The final selected system will be demonstrated on the Calspan Total InFlight Simulator and part-task ground-based simulator with an HSCT cab.

Materials and structures

The fraction of the operating empty weight for airframe structure is much smaller for a supersonic transport than for conventional subsonic commercial vehicles. Satisfying this stringent requirement necessitates the use of innovative structural concepts and advanced materials. The operating environment is also more severe because of the high temperatures associated with the aerodynamic friction heating caused by supersonic cruise speeds.

A Mach-2.4, economically viable HSCT drives the materials and structures technology development, with a 60,000-hr durability at a cycled 350 F skin temperature and a 30% reduction in weight relative to the Concorde. Conventional airplane materials, such as aluminum, and thermoset composites, such as bismaleimides, lack the temperature capability, and titanium alloys are too heavy for the entire airframe. Over 140 different materials have been analyzed to downselect to a handful that will enhance mechanical properties and fabrication processes.

Titanium is a prime candidate for the main wing box, which requires high strength, and for the high-temperature-stagnation regions of the aerodynamic surface leading edges. Advanced titanium alloys now being developed seek to improve mechanical properties by 20%. The effects of thermomechanical processing on optimum alloy compositions are a major challenge, as are the manufacturing processes necessary for reducing costs and risks.

To lighten the fuselage, outboard wing, strake, and empennage, polyimide carbon fiber matrix composites (PMCs) are being developed. A NASA-patented polyimide resin called PETI-5, when combined with a vendor-produced IM7 fiber, has demonstrated mechanical properties greater than

those of bismaleimides at 350 F. Currently, only a "wet" prepreg is available for laboratory hand layup structures, which require long cure times at high pressure in autoclaves to remove the volatiles. Dry prepreg now being developed uses potentially more affordable manufacturing processes such as resin film infusion and in-situ robotic layup. Durability isothermal tests after 35,000 hr of a PMC show no degradation, and PETI-5 has over 5,000 hr. Thermal mechanical fatigue tests that simulate the flight mechanical and thermal loads are under way. Because it takes seven years to complete one lifetime, accelerated testing and analytical techniques are being developed for screening enhanced PMC resins.

Results from coupon testing will determine the selection of structural concepts that will be scaled up to table-top size. Final demonstration of the new structures will present a full-scale barrel section of the fuselage and main wing box. The Combined Loads Tests facility at NASA-Langley is being built for the application of forces, moments, pressure, and temperature loads in order to validate the structural concepts and the analytical techniques.

Propulsion

An economically viable HSCT propulsion system requires technologies that contribute to meeting not only emissions and noise standards but also weight, performance, and durability requirements. The CMCs for the combustor and the various materials systems needed for the nozzle must be capable of being scaled up to the large sizes required for the propulsion system. At the same time they must maintain the key materials properties necessary for the lifetime requirements. The large-scale component technology demonstrations for the combustor and nozzle will show that the environmental and performance goals can be met using manufacturing and scaleup technologies needed for the HSCT.

■ ■ ■

The HSR program is providing the critical high-risk technologies to support the decision for program launch. Current laboratory and small-scale tests show great promise for meeting both environmental and economic goals. With this technology in hand, U.S. civil transport companies will be ready to give the international flying public the product it demands. ▲

HSCT research

(Continued from page 29)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3-12-98

NOTE FOR: Mark Buell

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

cc: Charles
✓

HITE HOUSE
SHINGTON

March 11, 1998

Charles A. Deacon
Office of Undergraduate Admissions
Georgetown University
Washington, DC 20057-1002

Dear Mr. Deacon:

I would like to offer a recommendation for Justin Buell's application to Georgetown University.

I know Justin's parents well and know of many of his activities at the Thacher School. I believe he would make a fine addition to Georgetown and would appreciate every consideration you can give his application.

Sincerely,

Robert Clinton

3-12-98

'98 MAR 12 AM 11:41

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANN LEWIS *AL*

Handwritten signature

SUBJECT: SUPPORT

Barney forwarded the enclosed letter to me. Marie Swiney is probably 95 years old and was our teacher. A \$100 contribution is a very significant contribution from her, even if we couldn't take it!

3-12-98

Marie Swiney letter to
Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

B.

BARNEY FRANK
4TH DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS

2210 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-2104
(202) 225-5931

29 CRAFTS STREET
NEWTON, MA 02158
(617) 332-3920

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC

558 PLEASANT STREET
ROOM 309
NEW BEDFORD, MA 02740
(508) 999-6462

222 MILLIKEN PLACE
THIRD FLOOR
FALL RIVER, MA 02721
(508) 674-3551

89 MAIN STREET
BRIDGEWATER, MA 02324
(508) 697-9403

February 10, 1998

Ms. Ann Lewis
Communications Director
The White House
Office of Communications
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ann,

This came from Marie Swiney, ~~who~~ by the way is about Aunt Fannie's age. Her handwriting obviously holds up. I explained to her that she had misheard the radio report and that you were in fact in the White House and thus unable to accept donations so I sent back the check for \$100.00 she sent. Her address as you can see is 325 Avenue C and if you have a chance to drop her ^{note} it would mean a great deal to her.


BARNEY FRANK

ENCLOSURE

325 Ave. C
Bayonne N.J.
07002
Feb. 21, '98

Dear Barney,

It did not come to
my notice in the "N.Y. Times"
that Ann is the chairman
of a newly organized group,
whose purpose is to keep
their eyes open for
"digs" against Clinton.
I heard it on the radio
(my work).

In a 7 a.m. interview
the other day, Mrs. Clinton
said this attempt
to "get at" Clinton started
right after he first
said he would try to
capture the primary for
president).

It is a great
idea. I hope it
has success.

All of you, I hope,
can escape the flu!
Your mother included.

Sincerely

[Miss] Marie Swiney
(Swiney)

Good luck, Ann,
with your new
endeavor.

Marie S.

[Miss] Marie Swiney