OFFICE OF GENERAL
COUNSEL
COUNSEL

October 21, 2003

MUR # 5392

Office of General Counsel Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, Northwest Washington, District of Columbia 20463

Re:

Potential Federal Campaign Finance Law Violations by Presidential Candidate Wesley K. Clark, the University of Iowa, the University of Iowa College of Law, the University of Iowa Foundation, and the Richard S. Levitt Family Lecture Endowment Fund

Federal Election Commission Office of General Counsel:

The purpose of this letter is to report potential federal campaign finance law violations by Presidential Candidate Wesley K. Clark, the University of Iowa, the University of Iowa College of Law, the University of Iowa Foundation, and the Richard S. Levitt Family Lecture Endowment Fund regarding a paid public lecture by Presidential Candidate Clark at the University of Iowa on Friday, September 19, 2003.

BACKGROUND

On September 17, 2003, in Little Rock, Arkansas, retired United States Army General and former NATO commander Wesley K. Clark announced his candidacy for president of the United States. (See attached media stories.) Two days later, Clark delivered the University of Iowa College of Law's 2003 Levitt Lecture ("Lecture"). (See attached University news releases.) University of Iowa College of Law Dean N. William Hines and Clark agreed in writing that the University of Iowa College of Law would pay Clark and his agent \$30,000 plus travel expenses for two to deliver the Lecture. (See attached copy of contract.)

Prior to announcing his candidacy, Clark served as an investment banker, a board member for several corporations, and a pundit on the cable network CNN. (See attached biography.) While vying for the Democrat nomination for president, Clark has continued to address the public in paid speeches, most of which focus around his experience as a general in the United States Army. (See attached biography.)

COMPLAINANT'S INQUIRY WITH UNIVERSITY OF IOWA OFFICIALS

As a result of the University's decision, University of Iowa College of Law students raised questions regarding the ethical implications of a public institution and its nonprofit foundation sponsoring a presidential candidate for a paid public speech. Led by Complainant Michael R. Davis, concerned students attempted to obtain further information from University of Iowa officials regarding the contractual arrangements between the University of Iowa and Clark. (See attached emails.)

University of Iowa College of Law Dean N. William Hines denied Davis's initial requests for information related to Clark's speech, stating that the Richard S. Levitt Fund, and not the University of Iowa, had provided the funding for Clark's speech. Hines further stated that he did not have to turn over the documents as a matter of "policy" and "law." (See attached emails.) Davis contacted University of Iowa General Counsel Mark Schantz, who then consulted with Hines. Hines subsequently provided Davis with a copy of the contract. (See attached emails and contract.)

In his official capacity as dean of University of Iowa College of Law, Hines signed the enclosed contract. (See attached contract.) Furthermore, neither the Levitt Fund nor the University of Iowa Foundation, which holds the Levitt money in trust, appears in the contract. This information appears contrary to Hines aforementioned statement. (See attached emails and contract.)

Moreover, Hines asserted that he booked Clark in March 2003, prior to any potential conflict which may have existed regarding Clark's status as a potential presidential candidate. (See attached emails.) According to several media accounts, however, the national news reporters mentioned Clark's potential run for President at least back in January 2003. (See attached media stories.) Moreover, Hines did not sign the contract until April 23, 2003. (See attached contract.) University of Iowa Vice President for Student Services and Dean of Students Philip C. Jones confirmed this statement on behalf of the University of Iowa: "The lecture was arranged prior to the 'Draft Clark' movement and therefore is not a political campaign visit under University policy." (See attached emails.) After Davis received Jones's email and before Clark delivered the Lecture, Davis notified Jones via email of the University of Iowa's potential federal election law violations. (See attached emails.) Jones did not respond to Davis's email. Prior to the contractual arrangement between the University of Iowa and Clark, numerous media stories pegged Clark as a potential presidential candidate. (See attached media stories.)

POTENTIALLY ILLEGAL "COLLATERAL CAMPAIGN EVENT"

In the morning before delivering the Levitt Lecture, for which the University of Iowa College of Law's Levitt Endowment paid Clark an honorarium and covered his and an aide's travel expenses, Clark engaged in a potentially illegal "collateral campaign event" at the Hamburg Inn, an Iowa City restaurant. Clark himself admitted that his visit to the Hamburg Inn served as a campaign rally stop, telling supporters that this campaign stop would be the first of many in the state of Iowa. (See attached media stories.) Clark joined approximately one hundred supporters, telling them, "I'm here because I want your help . . . I want you to help me

get to the White House so we can right the wrongs in this country... put us on the right path for the 21st century in the United States of America. I'm asking for your help... that's why I came here today." (See attached media stories.)

THE LECTURE

Complainants Michael R. Davis, Jason R. Cole, and Annette Stewart attended Clark's lecture. Recognizing the controversy surrounding the University's sponsorship of a presidential candidate for a paid speech, Hines opened the Lecture by stating that Clark agreed to make a nonpolitical speech. Moreover, University of Iowa officials changed the format of the Lecture from an open question-and-answer session to one in which Schantz prescreened and Hines presented audience questions. Despite the call for a nonpolitical speech, the local network news aired Clark supporters bearing campaign buttons and signs denoting "Wesley Clark for President 2004." (See attached media stories and campaign sign from event.) Moreover, people close to Clark's presidential campaign organized supporters from out of state to travel to the University of Iowa to attend Clark's lecture. (See attached media stories.)

Clark focused on foreign policy during most of his one-hour speech, entitled "The American Leadership Role in a Changing World." Clark spoke glowingly as he discussed foreign policy during his tenure as a general. He then focused on what he perceived to be negative aspects of the foreign policy decisions made by President George W. Bush. During his presidential announcement speech two days prior to the Lecture at the University of Iowa, Clark similarly denounced the current Administration's decisions regarding Iraq and cited them as his reasons for seeking the Democrat nomination. (See attached media stories.)

Clark further stated during the Lecture that it was likely that the President had to ask top White House advisor Karl Rove, "Why again are we going to war [in Iraq]?" Throughout the 30-minute question-and-answer session, Clark's responses continued to take on a political tone. Clark referenced the Bush Administration's alleged domestic policy failures, such as tax cuts, budget deficits, education, the environment, and job losses.

LEGAL ANALYSIS OF LECTURE

We believe AO 1992-6 best applies to the issues at hand. In that situation, Vanderbilt University invited white supremacist and 1992 presidential candidate David Duke to speak on affirmative action. Duke had experience speaking on this topic. This is similar to Clark's knowledge of and recent public discussions about United States military policy.

Prior to Duke's speech, Vanderbilt University requested from the Federal Election Commission an advisory opinion concerning the appropriateness of Vanderbilt University paying to a presidential candidate an honorarium and travel expenses to deliver a public speech. Vanderbilt University specifically promised in its request that Duke's speech would contain no mention of his presidential candidacy nor any other presidential candidates. Clark, in his University of Iowa College of Law-sponsored lecture, criticized President Bush's military policy, an important campaign issue. For example, Clark stated: "There may be times where you have to use force, but only as a last resort. What [I] would've voted for is leverage.

Leverage for the President of the United States to internationalize the challenge of Iraq, to avoid a war. That's what we needed from the resolution." (See attached media stories.)

In AO 1992-6, the Federal Election Commission referred to AO 1990-5. In the latter advisory opinion, the Federal Election Commission relayed its stance that "any reference to or discussion of your candidacy or campaign... or presentation of policy issues or opinions closely associated with you or your campaign, would be inevitably perceived by readers as promoting your candidacy, and viewed by the Commission as election-related and subject to the Act." With respect to Duke, the Federal Election Commission reiterated this holding: "[A]ny reference by Mr. Duke to his campaign, or to the campaign or qualifications of another presidential candidate, either during the speech or during any question and answer period (held just before or after the speech) will change the character of the appearance to one that is for the purpose of influencing a Federal election."

In addition to criticizing President Bush's military policies, Clark ended his lecture by stating: "We can take this country forward, and we can take your grandchildren and they can look at a very, very bright future." (See attached media stories.)

LEGAL ANALYSIS OF COLLATERAL CAMPAIGN EVENT

Vanderbilt University explained in its Federal Election Commission advisory opinion request that Duke would "not participate in any campaign rallies, lunches, or other campaign events either before or after the speech." Reiterated throughout the Federal Election Commission's advisory opinion is the fact that Duke's travel would "not be made in conjunction with any campaign-related appearance."

Clark's September 19, 2003, morning "collateral campaign event" at the Hamburg Inn before his paid lecture clearly differentiates the two cases and may violate federal election law. While being paid for his travel by the University of Iowa College of Law's Levitt Endowment, Clark made a deliberate "collateral campaign event" stop, at which he expressly advocated to an audience of approximately 100 people Clark's own election and, thereby, the defeat of his opponents. (See attached media stories.)

Ultimately, the Federal Election Commission found acceptable Vanderbilt University's payment to Duke of an honorarium and travel expenses. The distinctions between the Duke/Vanderbilt situation and the facts currently at issue are crucial. We believe Clark violated campaign finance law by accepting the \$30,000 honorarium plus travel expenses for two from the University of Iowa and then giving a lecture which was political in nature. This payment to Clark by the University of Iowa, a public institution that receives federal grants, and its nonprofit foundation, may amount to an illegal campaign contribution. Moreover, Clark may have violated campaign finance regulations by knowingly and willfully participating in the "collateral campaign event" at the Hamburg Inn.

RECOMMENDED FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION ACTION

For the reasons above, Complainants request the following actions from the Federal Election Commission:

- The Federal Election Commission should declare "political" and "for the purpose of influencing a federal election" Clark's entire September 19, 2003, trip to the University of Iowa College of Law.
- The Federal Election Commission should find Presidential Candidate Wesley K. Clark and his presidential campaign committee in violation of federal election law.
- The Federal Election Commission should find the University of Iowa, the University of Iowa College of Law, the University of Iowa Foundation, and the Richard S. Levitt Family Lecture Endowment Fund in violation of federal election law.
- The Federal Election Commission should sanction and fine Presidential Candidate Wesley K. Clark and his presidential campaign committee for violating federal election law.
- The Federal Election Commission should sanction and fine the University of Iowa, the University of Iowa College of Law, the University of Iowa Foundation, and the Richard S. Levitt Family Lecture Endowment Fund for violating federal election law.
- The Federal Election Commission should require that Presidential Candidate Wesley K. Clark return to the University of Iowa College of Law or its Richard S. Levitt Family Lecture Endowment Fund the \$30,000 plus travel expenses for two to deliver the political lecture.
- The Federal Election Commission should require that Presidential Candidate Wesley K. Clark reimburse the University of Iowa, the University of Iowa College of Law, the University of Iowa Foundation, and the Richard S. Levitt Family Lecture Endowment Fund for all expenses incurred for the Lecture and all other activities related to the trip. This should include, but is not limited to: transportation, room and equipment rentals, security, food, drinks, entertainment, media relations, and legal work.
- The Federal Election Commission should refer this case to the United States Department of Justice for investigation of potential criminal activities.
- The Federal Election Commission should refer this case to the United States
 Department of Treasury's Internal Revenue Service for investigation into potential
 Internal Revenue Code violations.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this important public policy matter. Please feel free contact us anytime for more information.

Sincerely,

Michael Reid Davis

Jason Robert Cole

320 South Gilbert Street #1014

Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Sincerely,

Annette Stewart

1226 Esther Court

Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Iowa City, Iowa 52240

enclosures

COUNSEL OF RECORD

Attorney Nicole Marie Gustafson, of 49796 310th Avenue, Russell, Iowa, 50238, and a member of the Indiana state bar, provided legal counsel for this complaint.

Subscribed and sworn to before me on this 2 day of _______, 2003

09-23-03 04:140

FIRM VI/LULLEUE DE ...

gtn

Contract No.

14055:

This Agreement, dated April 11th, 2003 . in New York, NY between Greater Talent Network, Inc., with offices at 437 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10016, (hereinafter referred to as "GTN") as

duly authorized lecture agent for the ARTIST and:

lows City IA 52242-1113

University Of Iowa College Of Law Att: N. William Hines. Dean 280 Boyd Law Building

hereinafter referred to as "Sponsor" is a memorialization of the prior agreement of the parties whereby GTN will provide the services of:

General Wesley K. Clark (ret.)

hereinafter referred to as "Artist", to lecture (perform) at the date, time and place and subject to the terms specified herein (the Program).

- 1. Topic of Program: TBA
- 2. Date of Program: Priday, September 19th, 2003
- 3. Time of Program: 4:00 PM
- 4. Place of Program: Levin Auditorium
- 5. Additional Activities (See reverse side of form):

None

5.1 Contract Rider(s) (if any) are set forth below:

None

6. SPONSOR shall provide a well lighted, heated (or cooled, as necessary) place for the performance, microphone and PA system, cold water with glass at podium, if applicable, all in good condition, safe and suitable for the intended use, and all other necessary stage accessories and properties set forth below: (See Rider(s), if applicable)

None

- 7. Terms: As consideration for ARTIST'S service SPONSOR agrees to pay to GTN the amount of (a):\$30,000,00 (Thirty thousand and 00/100 Dollars) and (b) first class round trip air travel for two, hotel(s), meals and ground transportation at origin and destination cities. Note: In accordance with actual travel itinerary, Artist will be met at, and returned to Cedar Rapids Airport
- 5. Payment: Pifty (50) percent of the agreed upon compensation shall be a non-refundable deposit, except as otherwise set forth herein, and shall accompany this signed agreement and annexed rider(s), if applicable, upon their return to GTN. The balance of the payment shall be received by GTN, in fully collected US federal funds, at its office set forth above within 24 hours of performance.
- 9. Sponsor's correspondent is N. William Hines, whose telephone # is telephone number is .

and whose home or emergency contact

- 10. The representative of Sponsor, in signing this form, warrants that (s)he signs as a duly authorized representative of Sponsor and does not assume any personal liability unless there is a breach of said warranty. The GTN representative warrants that GTN has express authority to sign on behalf of the Artist.
- 11. Suggested accompdations: TBA.

Executed for aponaur.	For Greater Talent Network, Inc.
M. William Hones	by
Title Dead	Michael J. D'Andrea, Account Executive
Dave 4/23/03	Date

Please sign three copies of this agreement and send, with your deposit, to Greater Talent Network, 437 Fifth Avenue, NY, NY 10016, tel (212)-645-4200. A fully executed copy will be returned to you. Thank you.

The "Standard Terms and Conditions" set forth on the back of this form are an integral part of this agreement and shall be binding upon the parties. Please read carefully.



9/26

Hu n x copy of the Speaker Contrad with GTN. Because No fundo albrention managed by he U. 7 I are used to support he fewert Lecture. it his always been my postin that the Quancied term are that in Ne public demain. General County Schants has well showing as to this Contract, so It in available to members of the public under the Iswa FOI statule.

Dem Hines

General Clark

Date:

9/16/2003 1:38:30 PM Central Standard Time

From:

MRDDMIA

To:

douglas-true@uiowa.edu, phillip-jones@uiowa.edu, mark-schantz@uiowa.edu

Vice President True, Vice President Johns, and Mr. Schantz:

My name is Mike Davis, and I am a second-year UI law student. I am writing to obtain information on the General Wesley Clark speech at the University of Iowa this Friday.

How much is the UI, or any of its affiliates, paying General Clark or his speaking bureau agent, including expenses, to deliver the Levitt Lecture on Friday? Can I get copies of receipts and/or other documents related to this lecture?

Because General Clark is rumored to announce his intentions to run for president tomorrow or may announce his intentions while traveling on the UI's dime on Friday, will this change General Clark's status from an invited speaker of the University to a partisan candidate for federal office? If the latter, has General Clark arranged with the UI to pay for the use of the IMU or any other UI facilities? Is it legal or appropriate for the University of Iowa, a state-run organization, to pay for a partisan candidate for federal office to deliver a speech in the crucial caucus state of Iowa?

Your timely response is appreciated. I have already emailed Dean Hines, and I am awaiting his response. Thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely, Mike Davis, L2

General Clark

Date:

9/16/2003 12:48:18 PM Central Standard Time

From:

MRDDMIA

To:

n-hines@uiowa.edu

Dean Hines, I just spoke with Gordon Tribbey. Mr. Tribbey told me I should contact you about my question. I stopped by your office, but you were out. Question: How much is the UI, or any of its affiliates, paying General Clark or his speaking bureau agent, including expenses, to deliver the Levitt Lecture on Friday? Can I get copies of receipts and/or other documents related to this lecture? Thanks for your cooperation. Sincerely, Mike Davis, L2

Re: General Clark

Date:

9/25/2003 5:55:44 PM Central Standard Time

From:

MRDDMIA

To:

n-hines@uiowa.edu

CC: <u>mark-schantz@uiowa.edu</u>

Dean Hines, thank you for your prompt response. I appreciate your assistance. Sincerely, Mike Davis

In a message dated 9/25/2003 5:16:53 PM Central Standard Time, n-hines@uiowa.edu writes:

Mike,

I will place in your mail folder on Friday a copy of the contract with Greater Talent Network, the national speaker agency through which we booked General Clark as a speaker last spring. The contract is the only writing there is, other than an invoice from GTN, for the payment of the fee. All discussions with the management at GTN about the Clark lecture were by telephone.

Dean Hines

At 03:53 PM 9/24/2003, you wrote:

Mr. Schantz, thank you for your response.

Dean Hines, please provide me a copy of the contract and any related documents, notes, and emails surrounding General Clark's visit to the UI College of Law and the Levitt Lecture. I will pay any reasonable duplication costs.

Thank you for your prompt response.

Sincerely, Mike Davis

In a message dated 9/24/2003 2:19:25 PM Central Standard Time, mark-schantz@uiowa.edu writes:

Mike--I have reviewed the April 23, 2003 agreement with greater Talent Network, Inc. involving General Clark's and discussed the matter with Dean Hines. If you request a copy of the contract from Dean Hines, he has told me he will provide it to you.--Mark Schantz

At 04:32 PM 9/19/2003 -0400, you wrote:

Thank you.

In a message dated 9/19/2003 2:10:31 PM Central Standard Time, mark-schantz@uiowa.edu writes:

Mike--I need to get a little more information and then can get back to
you--perhaps with less than an "opinion"--next week.--Mark Schantz

At 01:14 PM 9/18/2003 -0400, you wrote:

>Mr. Schantz:

>

>In your opinion as general counsel of the University of Iowa, does the

>University of Iowa concur in Dean Hines's legal and policy opinion that

>the University of Iowa, University of Iowa Memorial Union, University of

>lowa College of Law, Richard S. Levitt Family Lecture Endowment Fund,

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>I requested about the General Clark 9/19/3 visit to the University of Iowa?

>

>Thank you for your time.

>

>Sincerely,

>Mike Davis

>Mike. >The funding for all of General Clark's expenses in connection >presentation on Friday will come from the Richard S. Levitt Family >Lecture Endowment Fund held by the University of Iowa Foundation. As a >matter of law, we are not required, and as a consistent policy, we do not >make public the financial outlays from privately endowed funds, like the >Levitt Fund held in trust by the U of I Foundation. I can only tell you >that all payments will be made to Greater Talent Network under the terms >of a standard guest speaker contract. GTN is the national speaker agency >through whom General Clark's Levitt Lecture was booked last March, long >before he was thought of as a presidential candidate. >Dean Hines >At 12:48 PM 9/16/2003, you wrote: >>Dean Hines, I just spoke with Gordon Tribbey. Mr. Tribbey >>should contact you about my question. I stopped by your office, but you >>were out. Question: How much is the UI, or any of its affiliates. >>paying General Clark or his speaking bureau agent, including expenses, to >>deliver the Levitt Lecture on Friday? Can I get copies of receipts >>and/or other documents related to this lecture? Thanks for >>cooperation. Sincerely, Mike Davis, L2

Re: General Clark

Date:

9/19/2003 3:32:48 PM Central Standard Time

From:

MRDDMIA

To:

mark-schantz@uiowa.edu

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>Dean Hines

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Re: General Clark

Date:

9/24/2003 3:53:35 PM Central Standard Time

From:

MRDDMIA

To:

mark-schantz@uiowa.edu

CC:

n-hines@uiowa.edu

Mr. Schantz, thank you for your response.

Dean Hines, please provide me a copy of the contract and any related documents, notes, and emails surrounding General Clark's visit to the UI College of Law and the Levitt Lecture. I will pay any reasonable duplication costs.

Thank you for your prompt response.

Sincerely, Mike Davis

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Re: General Clark

Date:

9/16/2003 3:50:11 PM Central Standard Time

From:

MRDDMIA

To:

phillip-jones@uiowa.edu, douglas-true@uiowa.edu, mark-schantz@uiowa.edu

CC:

patricia-cain@uiowa.edu, n-hines@uiowa.edu

Vice President Jones, I appreciate your prompt response. The University's bigger concern may be federal election law violations. Thanks, Mike Davis

In a message dated 9/16/2003 2:29:59 PM Central Standard Time, phillip-jones@uiowa.edu writes:

Mike, Dean Hines is the person to get the specifics about the contracted arrangements for the speaker in the annual Endowed Levitt Lecture Series. The lecture was arranged prior to the "Draft Clark" movement and therefore is not a political campaign visit under University policy. However, any subsequent appearances on campus by General Clark, as well as any other potential candidates for the lowa Caucus must be sponsored by a recognized student organization - and if there is to be a political rally for General Clark during this visit, it must be sponsored by a recognized student organization. The lecture is not considered a political campaign under University policy based upon the time and circumstances of the invitation and contract - just as would be the case for any other lectures on campus not sponsored by a recognized student organization for the express purpose of promoting a candidate or ballot initiative.

PEJones

At 02:38 PM 9/16/2003 -0400, MRDDMIA@aol.com wrote: >Vice President True, Vice President Johns, and Mr. Schantz:

>My name is Mike Davis, and I am a second-year UI law student. I am >writing to obtain information on the General Wesley Clark speech at the >University of Iowa this Friday.

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>Your timely response is appreciated. I have already emailed Dean Hines, >and I am awaiting his response. Thanks for your cooperation.

.>Sincerely,

>Mike Davis, L2

(no subject)

Date:

10/8/2003 12:18:28 AM Central Standard Time

From:

MRDDMIA

To:

mark-schantz@uiowa.edu, patricia-cain@uiowa.edu, phillip-jones@uiowa.edu, douglas-

true@uiowa.edu, n-hines@uiowa.edu

washingtonpost.com

Clark Speeches May Violate Election Law

By Jim VandeHei Washington Post Staff Writer Wednesday, October 8, 2003; Page A06

Retired Gen. Wesley K. Clark may have violated federal election laws by discussing his presidential campaign during recent paid appearances, according to campaign finance experts.

Clark, a newcomer to presidential politics, touted his candidacy during paid appearances at DePauw University in Indiana and other campuses after he entered the presidential race on Sept. 17. Under the laws governing the financing of presidential campaigns, candidates cannot be paid by corporations, labor unions, individuals or even universities for campaign-related events. The Federal Election Commission (FEC) considers such paid political appearances akin to a financial contribution to a candidate.

Clark is getting paid as much as \$30,000 for speeches, according to people familiar with his arrangement. He has two more scheduled for next week.

Clark, like any other candidate, would likely be permitted to deliver the paid speeches only if they did not "expressly" cover his campaign or his political opponents, the experts said.

But in his speeches, Clark has talked about his campaign positions and criticized President Bush's policies. At DePauw, during a question-and-answer session after the speech, Clark "absolutely" covered his political views on everything from education to the economy, said Ken Bode, a visiting professor of journalism who moderated the session.

Larry Noble, a former FEC general counsel who heads the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics, said Clark's speeches are "problematic" because "the insertion of campaign-related items into his speech can turn it into a campaign speech." If so, the paid appearances would amount to "illegal contributions." Noble said.

"If somebody is going to get involved in a presidential campaign, they need to know the rules," Noble said.

William Oldaker, Clark's general counsel, said the retired general did not run afoul of FEC laws because Clark "is not attempting through those speeches to specifically . . . influence his election."

Oldaker said Clark only "incidentally" mentioned his candidacy in the speeches, and, therefore, the purpose of his appearances had nothing to do with his presidential campaign.

But Don Simon of Common Cause, a campaign finance watchdog group, said, "It's potentially a real problem if he used these speeches in any way to even refer to his campaign." Simon said the FEC should investigate whether Clark crossed the line by talking too much about his campaign, even if that wasn't the candidate's intent. Simon said the FEC would look at the "totality" of Clark's appearances to determine if he violated any laws.

Clark has been paid for speeches at DePauw, the University of Iowa and Midwestern State University. If the FEC reviews the matter, it would look at how much of each appearance was campaign-related, according to Noble and Simon.

Clark's appearance on Sept. 23 at DePauw appears most problematic for the candidate.

Throughout his speech to the DePauw audience, some of whom waved "Draft Clark" signs they were handed on the way in, Clark blasted Bush's Iraq policy and outlined how he would handle foreign affairs differently. During the Q&A that followed, Clark talked in detail about his qualifications and ideas for the presidency.

Ken Gross, the former head of enforcement at the FEC, said most candidates "shut down speaking" because "it just creates too many problems for them." In 1999, Republican Elizabeth Dole, who was exploring a run for the presidency but was not officially a candidate, came under fire for allowing corporations to pay for her speeches. At the time, her spokesman said Dole would quit delivering paid speeches once she was officially running. Clark is officially running.

Gross said Clark would "be open to investigation," but it is not clear what the FEC would do because there is "no entirely bright line" that indicates when a paid appearance becomes a political one.

The FEC dealt with a similar case in 1992, when Republican candidate David Duke requested permission to allow Vanderbilt University to pay him an honorarium and cover his travel expenses for a speech on affirmative action.

In an advisory opinion, which reflects the view of the FEC at the time, the commission said if Duke discussed his campaign or the "qualifications of another presidential candidate, either during the speech or during any question and answer period [it] will change the character of the appearance to one that is for the purpose of influencing a federal election."

Brad Litchfield, who helped draft the 1992 FEC advisory opinion as head of that department, is now working for the Clark campaign.

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"Wesley Clark gets in and at least part of the Kerry rationale of courage and strength under fire and serving his country for years, part of this is undercut," said political analyst Stuart Rothenberg. "Clark has the potential to take some support out of Kerry's hide."

But Kerry spokesman David Wade insisted that Kerry would not alter his strategy if **Clark** joins the race. "John Kerry's message has never been affected by anyone joining or leaving this race," Wade said.

Clark has said he will decide whether to enter the race by Sept. 19, when he is scheduled to give a speech at the University of Iowa.

Most political analysts agree it would be an uphill battle for **Clark**, who would trail other candidates in fund raising and recruiting activists in key states and has few ties inside the Democratic Party.

In fact, Clark only declared last week that he's a Democrat.

"I think he'd enter with a lot of fanfare and attention," said Rothenberg. "He'd spike up in the polls from one or two points to six or seven points. (But) he has no organization. He has no money. He's unproven as a candidate."

Former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean has said he often seeks advice from **Clark** and that he would make a good vice presidential running mate.

But **Clark** seems determined to run for the top office, and some political observers say **Clark** could draw supporters from Dean, because both appeal to anti-war voters.

So far, **Clark's** support comes from two Internet groups, one based in Washington and the other in his home state of Arkansas, who are pushing him to enter the race.

But he'd be far behind on the ground in states with the first caucus and primaries.

Blease Graham, professor of political science at the University of South Carolina, described **Clark's** chance in the state as an "uphill" battle, because many prominent Democrats have already endorsed other candidates.

LOAD-DATE: September 08, 2003

Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN) September 17, 2003, Wednesday, Metro Edition

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September 17, 2003, Wednesday, Metro Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 13A

LENGTH: 312 words

HEADLINE: McCollum, DFLers give Clark candidacy a boost

BYLINE: Bob von Sternberg; Staff Writer

BODY:

Even though retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** was not to officially announce his presidential bid until today, his candidacy got a boost of momentum Tuesday from Minnesota DFLers.

Most notably, **Clark** was endorsed by U.S. Rep. Betty McCollum, who became the first Democratic ...member of the state's congressional delegation to back one of the party's 10 presidential candidates. She called him "a tremendous leader and a man of incredible intellect and character."

DFL spokesman Bill Amberg called McCollum's announcement "a really big deal. That's going to affect some party folks who say, 'Wow, if Betty's for him, maybe I will be, too.' "

Clark was also endorsed by former U.S. Attorney B. Todd Jones and St. Paul City Council Member Chris Coleman. "I'm really impressed with him," Coleman said. "I think there's been a pent-up demand in the party for someone like General Clark to jump into this thing."

The Internet-based Draft **Clark** movement has had a Minnesota outpost since June, said Cheryl Poling, an Eden Prairie resident who is one of the coordinators of Minnesota for **Clark**. The group has accumulated an e-mail list of about 300 people, she said.

As many as 20 of them plan to head south Friday, when **Clark** is scheduled to deliver a long-awaited speech at the **University of Iowa**.

"He has incredible experience and is very visionary," said Poling, a self-described foot soldier in several previous Democratic campaigns. "His lack of electoral experience doesn't faze me a bit. So he hasn't been shaking hands and kissing babies? He's got what it takes to do the job."

She scoffed at the conventional wisdom that **Clark** is starting too late, with too little access to campaign cash. "Clinton didn't announce eight years ago until Oct. 3," she said. "The whole goal of this party has to be getting rid of Bush."

LOAD-DATE: September 18, 2003

Iowa City Press-Citizen September 3, 2003 Wednesday

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Iowa City Press-Citizen

September 3, 2003 Wednesday

SECTION: LOCAL; Pg. 3A

LENGTH: 342 words

HEADLINE: Possible Clark candidacy has UI up in air

BYLINE: Kristen Schorsch, Staff

BODY:

By Kristen Schorsch

Iowa City Press-Citizen

Many people have speculated whether retired NATO commander and Vietnam veteran Gen. **Wesley Clark** will announce his presidential candidacy in the next few weeks.

Some have said it might even be in Iowa's backyard during a lecture he will give at the **University of Iowa.** Various media reports cite Sept. 19 - the date of his scheduled lecture at UI - as the 58-year-old's self-imposed deadline to announce his decision.

N. William Hines, dean of the UI College of Law, said he does not know if **Clark** would make the announcement during his lecture, "The American Leadership Role in a Changing World."

[&]quot;I don't think anybody knows quite what to expect," Hines said.

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Clark, who would enter the race as a Democratic candidate, was the first commander to lead a NATO force into war, with a 1999 campaign against the Serbs in Kosovo.

UI spokesman Tom Snee said the university is putting together plans whether **Clark** announces his candidacy or not. Plans include addressing how many media members would attend the event and booking a room for a press conference if it is needed.

Hines, who picks the college's speakers, said he chose **Clark** last winter because of his caliber as an international figure during the Iraq war. **Clark** frequently spoke on CNN.

About 10 speakers have given lectures for the law school since 1995, Hines said. Former speakers include former Attorney General Janet Reno and Pulitzer Prize winning New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman.

The College of Law supports the event through private funding and chooses speakers recommended from the Greater Talent Network, based in New York.

Reach Kristen Schorsch at 339-7360 or at kschorsch@press-citizen.com.

Speech information

Gen. **Wesley Clark** is scheduled to speak at 4 p.m. Sept. 19 in the second floor ballroom on the Iowa Memorial Union.

The speech is free, but that might change depending on whether enough space is available, said N. William Hines, dean of the UI College of Law. The event is open to the public.

LOAD-DATE: September 4, 2003

Chicago Tribune, September 12, 2003

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September 12, 2003 Friday, CHICAGO FINAL EDITION

SECTION: News; Pg. 12; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 541 words

HEADLINE: Signs point to **Clark** joining Democratic presidential field

BYLINE: Associated Press. Tribune senior correspondent Michael Tackett contributed to this report.

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Retired Army Gen. **Wesley Clark** has told friends he is likely to become the 10th Democratic presidential candidate, a move likely to shake up the crowded field just four months before the first ballots are cast.

Clark, 58, has not made a final decision, but the Arkansas resident is recruiting campaign staff aggressively and plans to announce his intentions next week, friends and party officials said.

While mulling his options, **Clark** has met with several presidential contenders who covet his endorsement and might consider him for a vice presidential slot. He met Saturday with former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, who said it was too soon to talk about political alliances.

"There is a lot of vetting that would have to be done before you would have those kinds of discussions," Dean said when asked whether he had discussed the vice presidency with **Clark.**

A member of Congress who is advising **Clark** said the former general told him there was no truth to a report published Thursday in The Washington Post that **Clark** had met with Dean about being Dean's running mate. If **Clark** were to enter the race, it would be to win the nomination and not simply to position himself for the No. 2 slot, friends said.

Clark is scheduled to deliver a speech at the **University of Iowa** on Sept. 19, but he has said he will make his decision before then. Officials said next week's announcement probably will be made in Little Rock, Ark.

Clark has a resume that unnerves potential rivals -- Rhodes scholar, first in his 1966 class at West Point, White House fellow, head of the U.S. Southern Command and NATO commander during the 1999 campaign in Kosovo.

"He's all potential and upside," Democratic strategist Donna Brazile said. "The question will be whether he could put together the organization so late."

An Internet-fueled draft-**Clark** movement has developed the seeds of a campaign and more than \$1 million in pledges.

"What has happened in the last 48 to 72 hours is that people associated with **Clark** are being inundated with phone calls by people who want to be a part of this campaign," Skip Rutherford, planning coordinator of the Clinton Presidential Library and an informal **Clark** adviser, said Thursday.

"You have this whole reserve of financial people, political operatives and experienced staffs who said, 'I want to be on the team.' Given that, my advice is let's determine who the talent pool is," Rutherford said.

Clark said he has retained Mark Fabiani, the communications director for Al Gore's 2000 presidential campaign, to advise him.

"He's asked me to give him some advice on a variety of campaign issues this week, which I am doing," said Fabiani, who indicated he would consider working for **Clark** should he run. "He's a very impressive man and I think he would be a powerful candidate."

Clark also asked John Weaver, a top strategist in the 2000 presidential campaign of Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), to manage his campaign. Weaver declined because of health problems.

Clark believes his four-star military service would counter President Bush's political advantage as a wartime commander in chief, friends said. The retired general has been critical of the Iraq war and Bush's postwar efforts.

CAMPAIGN 2004

GRAPHIC: PHOTOPHOTO: **Wesley Clark's** strong military resume could provide an edge. Tribune photo by Pete Souza.

LOAD-DATE: September 13, 2003

Des Moines Register September 18, 2003 Thursday

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Des Moines Register

September 18, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1063 words

HEADLINE: Clark makes his run official,

BYLINE: Beaumont Thomas, Staff

BODY:

stays mum on Iowa strategy

By THOMAS BEAUMONT

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

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and Tribune Company

Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark,** who announced his presidential candidacy Wednesday, refused to say how prominently Iowa would fit into what he promised will be an unconventional campaign for the 2004 Democratic nomination.

The former NATO commander, in a telephone interview with The Des Moines Register, was eager to criticize President Bush's handling of the war in Iraq but more reticent about his own strategy for Iowa. **Clark,** the 10th Democrat to enter the race, launched his presidential campaign Wednesday in his hometown of Little Rock, Ark.

"I want to meet as many people in Iowa as I can. I want to sit down in their living rooms and learn Iowa's concerns and needs," **Clark** said. "I want to see the leaves change color in Iowa."

Clark will have a chance to meet Iowans Friday, when he visits Iowa City to speak at the **University of Iowa**. The Iowa stop, scheduled months ago, is expected to draw **Clark** supporters from several states and national media attention.

But **Clark** wouldn't say whether the visit signaled plans to hire an Iowa campaign director and open an office in Des Moines, as seven of his nine rivals did months ago.

"That's a strategic issue, a campaign question. Other people have to address that," he said. "I can't tip my hand because I want to get up to Iowa and meet people."

Clark, 58, indicated during his announcement speech that his would be a non-traditional campaign.

"When I say we're going to bring all our people together, I mean all our people, not just Democrats but independents and Republicans, too, especially those who have never participated before. You'll come with us," **Clark** said during the speech to hundreds of supporters.

Caucus night, set for Jan. 19, consists of meetings in roughly 2,000 precincts statewide, where party activists nominate and argue about the candidates. The process, which is much different than an open primary, invites the most loyal and often more liberal Democrats.

The caucuses could be a disadvantage to **Clark**, whose appeal to independents and Republicans might fail to ignite the party loyalists who make up the base of the caucus participants, Drake University political science professor Dennis Goldford said.

"He's saying I may not be the sweetheart of the ideological ball, but I can hold on to those independents. I'm electable," Goldford said.

However, **Clark's** position on a war that has been unpopular with a large segment of Iowa Democrats could work to his advantage. **Clark**-said Wednesday the decision to go to war was a mistake based on insufficient evidence.

Aug. 19, 2003

Clark, Ogletree Highlight Law School Guest Speakers This Fall

The University of Iowa College of Law will host two nationally recognized guest speakers during the fall semester, Harvard University law professor and reparations advocate Charles Ogletree, and retired U.S. general and possible presidential candidate Wesley Clark.

Clark will deliver the annual Levitt Lecture on Friday, Sept. 19, while Ogletree will deliver the annual Charles Murray Lecture on Thursday, Oct. 2.

As Supreme Allied Commander in Europe of NATO, Clark commanded all NATO forces during the successful 1999 NATO war against Serbia in Kosovo. Since retiring from the military, he has written the bestselling book "Waging Modern War" and is a military affairs analyst for CNN.

Clark's speech is entitled "The American Leadership Role in a Changing World." Clark is also considering seeking the Democratic Party nomination for president and is expected to announce his decision in early September.

Ogletree's speech, "New Strategies in the Reparations Debate," examines the movement to provide financial payments to African-Americans because slavery and discriminatory Jim Crow laws allowed whites to take advantage of black labor for hundreds of years. Ogletree maintains that injustice has created a racial schism that has prevented African-Americans from achieving full equality in American society. To help blacks come closer to achieving that equality, Ogletree and other attorneys are filing suit against U.S. businesses and corporations that profited from the work of African-Americans in the past but paid them little or no wages. According to Ogletree, damages collected will go into a fund that will be used to help poor African-Americans escape the poverty they live in as a result of America's past racial wrongs.

Ogletree's appearance was originally scheduled for last April, which had to be postponed for personal reasons.

STORY SOURCE: University of Iowa News Service, 300 Plaza Centre One, Iowa City, Iowa 52242-2500.

MEDIA CONTACT: Tom Snee, 319-384-0010, tom-snee@uiowa.edu

Sept. 8, 2003

Wesley Clark To Discuss Foreign Relations In Levitt Lecture At UI

Retired General Wesley Clark, former Supreme Commander of NATO and leader of Allied forces in the victorious war in Kosovo in 1999, will deliver the 2003 Levitt Lecture at the University of Iowa on Friday, Sept. 19 at 4 p.m. in the Main Lounge of the Iowa Memorial Union.

The lecture is free and open to the public. Please note that in anticipation of a large audience, the location of the lecture has been moved to the IMU Main Lounge from its previously announced location in the IMU Second

Floor Ballroom.

Clark will examine the complexities of America's new foreign relations in his lecture, "The American Leadership Role In a Changing World." Clark will use his expertise to offer insight into current military conflicts around the world and their implications. He discusses coalition building, the resolution of conflict and its after-effects.

He is also the author of Waging Modern War, a 2002 bestseller that recounts his experiences leading NATO forces during the Kosovo war. Clark also worked as a military, security and foreign affairs analyst for CNN during this year's war against Iraq.

In addition, Clark is considering seeking the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, although he is expected to make that announcement before he comes to the university.

Before becoming Supreme Commander of U.S. forces in Europe, Clark commanded U.S. forces in Latin America and the Caribbean, and was also the director for Strategic Plans and Policy for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He has received numerous decorations from the U.S. and European governments for an esteemed military career that dates to the Vietnam War. He graduated first in his class from the United States Military Academy at West Point and studied at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar.

Today, he is chairman and CEO of Wesley K. Clark & Associates, a strategic advisory and consulting firm.

Sponsored by the University of Iowa College of Law, the Levitt Lecture is an annual series that brings to the UI campus distinguished national and international figures in law and government to present timely lectures to students, faculty and alumni. Prior Levitt speakers include U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens, former U.S. Attorneys General Richard Thornburg and Janet Reno, author and journalist David Halberstam, New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman, and four Nobel Peace Prize Winners: Abba Eban, John Hume, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Elie Wiesel.

The lecture series is funded by a generous endowment gift made in 1995 by Richard S. and Jeanne Levitt, formerly of Des Moines. Dick Levitt is a 1954 graduate of the UI College of Law who had a distinguished career in the financial services industry.

STORY SOURCE: University of Iowa News Service, 300 Plaza Centre One, Iowa City, Iowa 52242-2500.

MEDIA CONTACT: Tom Snee, 319-384-0010, tom-snee@uiowa.edu

Sept. 10, 2003

MEDIA ADVISORY: Press Conference Scheduled For Wesley Clark Visit

Retired Gen. Wesley Clark will hold a press conference at the University of Iowa before he delivers the UI College of Law's 2003 Levitt Lecture on Friday, Sept. 19.

The press conference will begin at approximately 2:30 p.m. in the North Room of the lowa Memorial Union. Clark will take questions from media representatives for about 30 minutes. He is scheduled to deliver the 2003 Levitt Lecture, "The American Leadership Role In a Changing world," at 4 p.m. in the IMU's Main Lounge.

Clark, a former U.S. Army general and leader of NATO forces during the victorious 1999 war in Kosovo, is also considering becoming a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president. However, he has said that he will announce his presidential intentions before coming to the University of Iowa and he will not use his appearance to declare his candidacy.

The press conference will be held whether Clark has declared his candidacy or not.

STORY SOURCE: University of Iowa News Service, 300 Plaza Centre One, Iowa City, Iowa 52242-2500.

CONTACT(S): Tom Snee, 319-384-0010, tom-snee@uiowa.edu.

Sept. 17, 2003

Procedures Announced For Those Attending Clark Lecture

The University of Iowa has released the procedures that will be in place for those attending the UI College of Law's Levitt Lecture with retired Gen. Wesley Clark.

Clark, a former NATO commander, CNN military affairs analyst, author and presidential candidate, will discuss "The American Leadership Role in a Changing World" at 4 p.m. on Friday, Sept. 19, in the Main Lounge of the Iowa Memorial Union. The following procedures will be in place to maintain security and safety before and during the lecture:

- --Please enter only through the east doors of the Main Lounge.
- -- Doors to the Main Lounge will open at 3:15 p.m.
- --Fire codes limit the number of people who will be allowed in the Main Lounge. For those unable to be admitted to the Main Lounge, a closed-circuit video feed of the lecture will be available in the Second Floor Ballroom of the IMU.
- --Flash photography will be allowed during the first five minutes of the lecture and during the question and answer session following the lecture.
- --Street parking along Madison Street east of the IMU will be closed.
- --No signs will be allowed in the Main Lounge, and distribution of pamphlets and leaflets in the building is prohibited.

STORY SOURCE: University of Iowa News Service, 300 Plaza Centre One, Iowa City, Iowa 52242-2500.

CONTACT(S): Tom Snee, 319-384-0010, tom-snee@uiowa.edu.

Sept. 17, 2003

Note: This is an updated release indicating the cancellation of the Wesley Clark press conference

MEDIA ADVISORY: Clark Press Conference Cancelled

The press conference with retired general and Democratic presidential candidate Wesley Clark, scheduled for Friday, Sept. 19, has been cancelled.

Clark will still deliver the UI College of Law's 2003 Levitt Lecture, "The American Leadership Role in a Changing World," at 4 p.m. in the Main Lounge of the Iowa Memorial Union. Media are still invited to cover the lecture.

STORY SOURCE: University of Iowa News Service, 300 Plaza Centre One, Iowa City, Iowa 52242-2500.

CONTACT(S): Tom Snee, 319-384-0010, tom-snee@uiowa.edu.

Wesley Clark Visits Iowa City as Paid Lecturer Saturday, September 20, 2003, 11:50:27 PM

By KCRG-TV9 News Anchor/Reporter Renee Chou - TV9 Iowa City Newsroom

The lowa presidential caucuses are just four months away, and candidates are really starting to focus on voters in our state.

The latest Democrat to jump into the ring is Retired Army General Wesley Clark. He made his first campaign stop in Iowa City Friday. Clark spent part of Friday morning at the Hamburg Inn meeting with supporters. Later in the afternoon, he spoke at the University of Iowa as a paid guest lecturer.

General Clark talked about American leadership in a changing world. But after announcing his bid for the White House on Wednesday, it changed the level of interest in his lecture. "I'd like to find out where he (Clark) stands on the issue and how he plans to approach the campaign," says Brian Richman, a UI faculty member who waited in line to hear Clark speak.

Clark's talk was not supposed to be a campaign stop. Being a public institution, the U of I does not support political candidates. The university arranged to have him as a paid lecturer in March, back when major combat operations were taking place in Iraq and Clark was a military analyst on cable news. But Jason Cole with the Iowa Federation of College Republicans says the contract terms should have changed once Clark made his presidential bid. "To have any presidential candidate come to the crucial caucus state of Iowa while being paid, having an event in a public building, having public staff that's being paid with our tax dollars man the event, have the security here paid with our tax dollars, that's just inappropriate," says Cole.

Ul's College of Law is in charge of the Levitt lecture series. And Dean College William Hines says that's all Clark's appearance was—a lecture. "From noon today until nine today, this isn't a political event. This is a university lecture. [Clark] met with our faculty for lunch at noon. He's doing the lecture this afternoon and he's meeting with a group of invited guests for a reception tonight," says Hines.

Hines says the Levitt Endowment Fund, made up of private donations, paid for the lecture. The university also screened the written questions from the audience so that none pertained to Clark's run for president. But Clark's responses to the questions could fit a campaign stump speech. "We can take this country forward, and we can take your grandchildren and they can look at a very, very bright future," says Clark.

Cole says he and some U of I students plan to file a complaint with the Federal Election Commission. "If the university paid George W. Bush 30-thousand dollars to come here, I'd still have the same gripe," says Cole.

University officials says the advance publicity on the lecture event made it extremely difficult to cancel after Clark made his presidential bid. University officials say it's the Levitt Foundation's policy not disclose how much it pays lecturers. Cole says he received the 30-thousand dollar figure Clark was allegedly paid from professors and students at the College of Law.

Wesley Clark Makes First Campaign Stop

Friday September 19, 2003 9:58pm Reporter: Beth Hunt Posted By: Sandra Kirk

KATV Channel 7, Little Rock



Iowa City - Wesley Clark made his first stop to a key campaign battleground Friday. The retired general gave a lecture at the University of Iowa, after a long day of campaigning. Channel Seven's Beth Hunt is in Iowa City and she has more on Friday night's speech.

In front of a huge crowd at the University of Iowa Memorial Union, General Wesley Clark talks about America's role in the world, and how the experiences throughout his lengthy military career, helped shape history. Hundreds of students, faculty, and supporters lined up to see the four star general. During a question answer session with the audience, Clark, again, criticized the Bush administration for the war in Iraq.

(Wesley Clark, Presidential Candidate) "There may be times where you have to use force, but only as a last resort. What would've voted for is leverage. Leverage for the President of the United States to internationalize the challenge of Iraq, to avoid a war. That's what we needed from the resolution."

Clark's first speech is already causing controversy among local republicans.

(Jason Cole, Iowa College Republicans) "It's possible federal election commission laws may have been violated by General Clark for accepting an alleged sum of 30 thousand dollars to make a campaign speech."

The dean at the University of Iowa says Clark's speech was not political and he did not talk about his campaign, so we'll just have to see what happens.

Saturday, September 20, 2003

Clark opens lowa campaign

New hopeful going to try to 'put lightning in a bottle'

By Kristen Schorsch

Iowa City Press-Citizen

More than 100 people stood shoulder to shoulder Friday at the Hamburg Inn No. 2 Inc., trying to catch a glimpse or maybe a handshake from Democratic presidential candidate Wesley Clark.

They waved signs. They chanted, "We want Clark." They crowded the Iowa City diner and spilled out onto the sidewalk.

When he arrived, the salt-and-pepper-haired, retired four-star military general - who announced his candidacy just two days prior - stood on a chair, smiling for the cameras of local, state and national media.

"I'm here because I want your help," said Clark, 58. "I want your help to get to the White House."

The 214 N. Linn St. diner has been the hot spot for U.S. presidents with visits from Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton.



Democratic presidential candidate retired four-star Gen. Wesley Clark gestures while speaking to members of the media and supporters Friday on the University of Iowa campus.

Press-Citizen/Matthew Holst

"I think Hamburg kind of does represent small business U.S.A.," owner Dave Panther said, adding that the 55-year-old 1950's style diner is a good place for politicians to meet people.

Joyce Conklin-Van Kirk, a 61-year-old resident of Perry, held up a large poster that read, "My 81-year-old mom said I'd be impressed and Wow, I am!" as she waited for the presidential candidate to arrive Friday morning.

Conklin-Van Kirk and her mother, Helen, had watched Clark, a retired general, on CNN when he was a foreign analyst during the Iraq War.

"He just lit my fire," she said. "I think he'll be our next president."

Sporting a black, pin-striped suit and a red tie, Clark finished a short speech then slowly walked around the diner, going from table to table. He answered people's questions and addressed issues including health care, education and foreign policy.

Clark said AIDS is not only an international epidemic but also a threat to national security. He also said every American should have health insurance, and he would find a way to cover prescription drugs in the open and accountable government he envisions.

Though he is one of 10 Democratic candidates in the presidential race, Clark said he thinks his character and record separate him from the rest.

"You choose a president based on some leadership experience ... his ability to keep the country out of trouble and take it forward into the future," Clark said in a later interview, adding that his record stands on its own.

Clark was the first commander to lead a NATO force into conflict, with a 1999 campaign against the Serbs in Kosovo. Before that, he oversaw the United States' worldwide military strategic planning from 1994-96. The Rhodes Scholar and West Point graduate received the nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, in August 2000.

Brendan Fitzgibbons, a University of Iowa sophomore studying political science, said he thinks people will relate well to Clark's character.



Democratic presidential candidate retired four-star Gen. Wesley Clark delivers a lecture on foreign policy Friday at the University of Iowa Memorial Union. Press-Citizen/Matthew Holst

"I think he's really personable," Fitzgibbons said as he followed the train of others that trailed Clark when he left the Hamburg.

But not everyone is sold quite yet.

"If he is going to be a viable candidate, he needs to work on domestic issues," said Megan Heneke, a UI sophomore majoring in political science.

Clark, however, said he does not think he will have a problem catching up with his Democratic opponents.

"For me it's early in the race. But I've got an advantage that no other candidate has," Clark said, regarding the 30,000 to 50,000 people nationwide who have "drafted" him into the race from the Draft Clark for President 2004 online campaign. "We're going to put lightning in a bottle."

Clark's other issues include maintaining and promoting American security here and abroad, reinvigorating the nation's economy to provide jobs, and creating an open government for free-flowing dialogue and discussion.

Winding down his busy day Friday afternoon, Clark discussed foreign policy to a packed Iowa Memorial Union Main Lounge. More than 400 people attended Clark's' lecture, which was the College of Law's 2003 Levitt Lecture.

He stayed clear of campaign rhetoric during the hour-long speech. He addressed the country's war on terrorism and said America needs to have better international communication, citing examples that people's impressions of America have declined.

However, since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, he said, the country understands it needs to pay attention to world issues.

"Americans understand today that national security is personal security," Clark said.

Linda Boston, a 60-year-old Washington resident, said she likes what she hears about Clark so far, but has not chosen a favorite Democratic presidential candidate.

"I'm keeping an open mind," she said.

Democratic campaign heats up

By Jeffrey Patch - The Daily Iowan

As of Sunday night, local organizers for retired Gen. Wesley Clark's 5-day-old presidential campaign remained in the dark about the next step.

The campaign lacks official cell phones and computers, and officials have yet to appoint an lowa staff. Clark's Sept. 19 visit to lowa City, nevertheless, energized his growing list of area supporters, which numbers around 30.

Clark, a former four-star general, blitzed through the IMU back hallways after his one-hour foreign-policy lecture on Sept. 19, keeping a fervent pace as his infant campaign eased into the rigors of a full-time schedule.

"I have no idea where I am," the Democratic presidential hopeful told his aides as he searched for a route back to his hotel room. "I am so confused right now."



Retired Gen. Wesley Clark speaks to supporters on Sept. 19 at Hamburg Inn No. 2. The man known as the "antiwar" general had jumped into the Democratic contest for the presidential nomination two days earlier. Zach Boyden-Holmes/The Daily Iowan

His 10-second period of disarray marked the only time he seemed off-balance during his visit to lowa City, which marked his second campaign stop since declaring his candidacy Sept. 17 in his hometown of Little Rock, Ark.

Clark took pains to clarify that he would not have voted for the Iraq war if he had served in Congress, during the lecture in the IMU Main Lounge, which law-school officials booked in March and dubbed "nonpartisan."

"What I would have voted for is leverage - leverage for the United States to avoid a war," Clark said. His talent agency received \$25,000 for the speech - he took an 80 percent cut - from the Richard S. Levitt foundation.

After his speech, the 58-year-old removed his pin-striped suit jacket, joked with his aides, and munched on a cheddar Ritz cracker before placing a few phone calls in his hotel room.

Clark told The Daily Iowan he needs time to formulate policies on such issues as health care, the economy, and an issue immediately pertinent to students - rising tuition.

"Somehow, we have to restore the ability of the American student to reach college and graduate without excessive debt," he said. "I can't give you a solution right now, but I will."

UI political-science professor Peverill Squire said Clark's positions must move from abstract to concrete in less than a week.

"At some point, he has to move off the platitudes and move into policy," he said.

Clark pledged to aggressively compete for local support in lowa's Jan. 19 first-in-thenation caucuses and said his morning campaign stop at the Hamburg Inn No. 2, 214 N. Linn St., was the first of many in lowa.

"I think [lowa] is vital to anybody's campaign - or it ought to be," he said.

"It seems like all the idealism is there," said Karen Leigh, a registered nurse at Mercy Hospital. "But he really didn't give me anything concrete."

UI freshman Matt Kordsmeier, the president of the 2-week-old UI Students for Clark, stood outside the IMU on Sept. 19 and signed up 27 students for the campaign.

"He isn't a politician by nature. He's a leader by nature," said Kordsmeier, speaking with the light drawl he brought from his and Clark's hometown of Little Rock.

E-mail DI reporter Jeffrey Patch at:

jeffrey-patch@uiowa.edu

washingtonpost.com

Clark Speeches May Violate Election Law

By Jim VandeHei Washington Post Staff Writer Wednesday, October 8, 2003; Page A06

Retired Gen. Wesley K. Clark may have violated federal election laws by discussing his presidential campaign during recent paid appearances, according to campaign finance experts.

Clark, a newcomer to presidential politics, touted his candidacy during paid appearances at DePauw University in Indiana and other campuses after he entered the presidential race on Sept. 17. Under the laws governing the financing of presidential campaigns, candidates cannot be paid by corporations, labor unions, individuals or even universities for campaign-related events. The Federal Election Commission (FEC) considers such paid political appearances akin to a financial contribution to a candidate.

Clark is getting paid as much as \$30,000 for speeches, according to people familiar with his arrangement. He has two more scheduled for next week.

Clark, like any other candidate, would likely be permitted to deliver the paid speeches only if they did not "expressly" cover his campaign or his political opponents, the experts said.

But in his speeches, Clark has talked about his campaign positions and criticized President Bush's policies. At DePauw, during a question-and-answer session after the speech, Clark "absolutely" covered his political views on everything from education to the economy, said Ken Bode, a visiting professor of journalism who moderated the session.

Larry Noble, a former FEC general counsel who heads the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics, said Clark's speeches are "problematic" because "the insertion of campaign-related items into his speech can turn it into a campaign speech." If so, the paid appearances would amount to "illegal contributions," Noble said.

"If somebody is going to get involved in a presidential campaign, they need to know the rules," Noble said.

William Oldaker, Clark's general counsel, said the retired general did not run afoul of FEC laws because Clark "is not attempting through those speeches to specifically . . . influence his election."

Oldaker said Clark only "incidentally" mentioned his candidacy in the speeches, and, therefore, the purpose of his appearances had nothing to do with his presidential campaign.

But Don Simon of Common Cause, a campaign finance watchdog group, said, "It's potentially a real problem if he used these speeches in any way to even refer to his campaign." Simon said the

FEC should investigate whether Clark crossed the line by talking too much about his campaign, even if that wasn't the candidate's intent. Simon said the FEC would look at the "totality" of Clark's appearances to determine if he violated any laws.

Clark has been paid for speeches at DePauw, the University of Iowa and Midwestern State University. If the FEC reviews the matter, it would look at how much of each appearance was campaign-related, according to Noble and Simon.

Clark's appearance on Sept. 23 at DePauw appears most problematic for the candidate.

Throughout his speech to the DePauw audience, some of whom waved "Draft Clark" signs they were handed on the way in, Clark blasted Bush's Iraq policy and outlined how he would handle foreign affairs differently. During the Q&A that followed, Clark talked in detail about his qualifications and ideas for the presidency.

Ken Gross, the former head of enforcement at the FEC, said most candidates "shut down speaking" because "it just creates too many problems for them." In 1999, Republican Elizabeth Dole, who was exploring a run for the presidency but was not officially a candidate, came under fire for allowing corporations to pay for her speeches. At the time, her spokesman said Dole would quit delivering paid speeches once she was officially running. Clark is officially running.

Gross said Clark would "be open to investigation," but it is not clear what the FEC would do because there is "no entirely bright line" that indicates when a paid appearance becomes a political one.

The FEC dealt with a similar case in 1992, when Republican candidate David Duke requested permission to allow Vanderbilt University to pay him an honorarium and cover his travel expenses for a speech on affirmative action.

In an advisory opinion, which reflects the view of the FEC at the time, the commission said if Duke discussed his campaign or the "qualifications of another presidential candidate, either during the speech or during any question and answer period [it] will change the character of the appearance to one that is for the purpose of influencing a federal election."

Brad Litchfield, who helped draft the 1992 FEC advisory opinion as head of that department, is now working for the Clark campaign.

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Articles pertaining to General Wesley Clark's visit to the University of Iowa

Newsday (New York) September 20, 2003 Saturday

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Newsday (New York)

September 20, 2003 Saturday NASSAU AND SUFFOLK EDITION

SECTION: NEWS, Pg. A08

LENGTH: 404 words

HEADLINE: Clark: 'I Would Never' Have Backed War

BYLINE: COMBINED NEWS SERVICES

BODY:

Iowa City, Iowa - Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** said Friday he would never have voted for war in Iraq, 24 hours after he told reporters he probably would have supported the congressional resolution authorizing the United States to invade.

The retired four-star Army general and former NATO commander, who entered the 2004 White House race this week with no experience in elected politics, said his comments had been taken out of context.

They were at odds with his public opposition to the war and caught some of his supporters off quard.

"I would have never voted for war," **Clark** told Reuters before delivering a foreign policy speech at the **University of Iowa.** "I'm a soldier. I understand what war's about, but I would have voted for the right kind of leverage for the president to head off war and avoid it."

U.S. Rep. Charles Rangel, the most outspoken supporter of newly minted presidential candidate **Wesley Clark,** predicted Friday the retired general will get wide and enthusiastic support among blacks because of his opposition to the war in Iraq.

Rangel (Harlem), a ranking member of the House Ways and Means committee, said he is already pressing officials in his home district, around the state, and in the Congressional Black Caucus to support **Clark.**

"Anybody that's against the war that can beat Bush is going to be overwhelmingly supported in the black community," Rangel said.

In his first appearance in Iowa, where his rivals have been campaigning for months, **Clark** climbed on a chair to tell supporters at the Hamburg Inn he had been anxious to get to the state, which will hold its caucuses on Jan. 19, even though Florida was his initial stop.

"The American people want informed, thoughtful, smart, compassionate, strategic leadership," Clark said.

"That's what I learned to do in the United States Army." Seven of the nine other Democrats vying for the party's presidential nomination next year have campaign offices in Des Moines, Iowa's largest city, and the candidates themselves have invested time meeting Iowans face-to-face. **Clark's** late entry puts him at a fund-raising and organizational disadvantage.

Former Vermont governor Howard Dean, who has emerged as a leading contender in Iowa polls, has been to the state 78 times in the past 18 months.

But those same polls show many Iowa Democrats - at least a third in most surveys - have yet to align themselves with a candidate.

GRAPHIC: AP Photo-Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark,** a Democratic presidential hopeful, walks with supporters Friday in Iowa City, Iowa (A07 Q)

LOAD-DATE: September 20, 2003

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Iowa City Press-Citizen

September 11, 2003 Thursday

University of Iowa

Clark meeting with media set

Retired Gen. Wesley Clark will give a press conference 90 minutes before his scheduled lecture Sept. 19.

Clark is scheduled to give the **University of Iowa** College of Law's 2003 Levitt Lecture, "The American Leadership Role in a Changing World," at 4 p.m. in the Iowa Memorial Union's Main Lounge.

The press conference will begin at 2:30 p.m. in the North Room of the IMU.

While media have speculated that **Clark** would announce his Democratic presidential candidacy during his speech at UI, **Clark** has said that he would announce his intentions before coming to the school.

N. William Hines, dean of the College of Law, said press conferences are arranged for local media when high-profiled speakers come to give Levitt lectures.

Los Angeles Times September 20, 2003 Saturday

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September 20, 2003 Saturday Home Edition

SECTION: Main News; Part 1; Page 25; National Desk

LENGTH: 277 words

HEADLINE: THE NATION;

Clark Restates Stance on War in Iraq

BYLINE: From Reuters

DATELINE: IOWA CITY, Iowa

BODY:

Democratic presidential hopeful **Wesley Clark** said Friday that he would never have voted for war in Iraq -- 24 hours after he told reporters he probably would have supported the congressional resolution authorizing the United States to invade.

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The retired four-star Army general and former NATO commander, who entered the 2004 White House race this week with no experience in elected politics, said his comments had been taken out of context. They were at odds with his public opposition to the war and caught some of his supporters off guard.

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In his first appearance in Iowa, where his rivals have been campaigning for months, **Clark** climbed on a chair to tell supporters at the Hamburg Inn that he had been eager to get to the state, which will hold its caucuses Jan. 19.

"The American people want informed, thoughtful, smart, compassionate, strategic leadership," **Clark** said. "That's what I learned to do in the United States Army."

More than 1,000 people attended Clark's speech, scheduled before he entered the race.

Clark, who headed the 1999 bombing campaign in Kosovo, reiterated his opposition to the way President Bush went to war in Iraq and called the U.S.-led invasion to topple Saddam Hussein a distraction in the battle against terrorism.

"Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and, to a lesser extent, Egypt -- those are the central fronts in the war on terror," he said.

LOAD-DATE: September 21, 2003

Des Moines Register September 19, 2003 Friday

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Des Moines Register

September 19, 2003 Friday

SECTION: METRO IOWA; Pg. 1B

LENGTH: 848 words

HEADLINE: Now that he's in, backers head for Iowa:

Wesley Clark will be in Iowa City today, and his supporters are expected from at least a half-dozen

states.

BYLINE: Beaumont Thomas, Staff

BODY:

By THOMAS BEAUMONT

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Hundreds of supporters of presidential candidate **Wesley Clark** are expected to descend on Iowa City today in hopes of catching a glimpse of the latest entrant in the race for the 2004 Democratic nomination.

However, it was unclear whether the retired general's one-day Iowa visit would mark the transition from his supporters' fledgling draft effort into an active campaign for Iowa's lead-off nominating caucuses.

Caravans of cars, vans and buses from more than a half-dozen states were heading to the **University of Iowa** for **Clark's** first Iowa visit as a candidate.

Clark's 4 p.m. speech, scheduled months before he announced his candidacy on Wednesday, has

attracted attention from dozens of national news media as speculation that he would run reached a crescendo in recent weeks.

Despite the media buzz, no one with **Clark's** fledgling campaign or his Iowa supporters had contacted the Iowa Democratic Party as of the eve of **Clark's** first campaign visit to Iowa.

"As of today, I've heard nothing from General **Clark** or his campaign," Iowa Democratic Party Chairman Gordon Fischer said Thursday. "But the neat thing about the caucuses is there's no filing fee, no ballot or hoops to jump through. You come here, and you campaign."

Clark is scheduled to fly to Iowa City in the morning and visit a cafe before spending the rest of the day in meetings at the university. He is scheduled to give a foreign policy speech at the Iowa Memorial Union at 4 p.m. and attend a dinner and reception afterward, before leaving Iowa this evening.

After announcing his candidacy Wednesday in his hometown of Little Rock, Ark., **Clark** made his first campaign trip Thursday, visiting south Florida, the focal point of the contested 2000 presidential election. **Clark**, the 10th Democrat to step into the race, said Wednesday he was unsure how actively he would campaign for the caucuses, scheduled for four months from today. Seven of the 10 candidates have caucus campaign directors, staffs and offices and have visited Iowa regularly this year.

Clark had been encouraged to run by supporters of an Internet-based draft movement out of Washington, D.C. Although the draft effort was active in New Hampshire, which hosts the first primary on Jan. 27, a similar effort was almost undetectable in Iowa. **Clark** supporters did have a tent at Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin's Sept. 13 steak fry, the Iowa Democrat's annual fund-raiser in Indianola. The group ran some television ads in Iowa last month.

Iowa **Clark** activists are expecting supporters to come to Iowa City from across Iowa, as well as Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Montana, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska and Wisconsin.

"It's a self-starting campaign," said Ames Democrat Max Guyll, the Iowa coordinator for Draft Clark 2004.

"I'm not a professional campaign person," said Guyll, a researcher at Iowa State University. "We're all kind of feeling our way."

Guyll said he has been in contact by e-mail with hundreds of Iowans interested in **Clark.** But he said it was difficult to generate interest in someone who had not declared his candidacy.

However, the draft effort in New Hampshire had been in regular contact with the New Hampshire Democratic Party.

"The draft people were real dynamos," New Hampshire Democratic Party spokeswoman Pamela Walsh said. "They contacted us early and sent out regular e-mails."

University of Iowa spokesman Steve Parrott said the groundswell of media attention forced university officials to move the speech location from a small ballroom to the Iowa Memorial Union's largest hall.

"We've given news briefings where no one's come," Parrott said. "This is the other end of the spectrum."

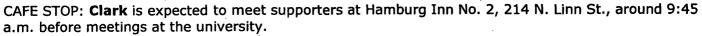
Debate

Wesley Clark will take part in the Democratic presidential debate next week.

Article, Page 12A

Clark in Iowa today

Retired Army Gen. **Wesley** Clark is scheduled to campaign in Iowa City today before giving a speech at the **University of Iowa**.



SPEECH: **Clark** is scheduled to give a foreign policy speech in the Iowa Memorial Union's main lounge at 4 p.m. The auditorium seats roughly 1,000, and seating is first come, first served. Overflow seating will be in an upstairs room with a live video feed.

Iowa caucus starter kit

With retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** joining the race for the Democratic presidential nomination, The Des Moines Register put together this list of (just about) everything a new candidate needs to set up an Iowa caucus campaign. Just add voters.

- * Office space on Ingersoll, Grand or Locust in Des Moines.
- * Computers, phones, bumper stickers, yard signs. Hay bales optional.
- * Gimmicky campaign giveaways, like Dennis Kucinich's "Planting Seeds of Hope" organic corn packets.
- * Iowa geographic pronunciation guide: Say Neh-VAY-duh; MAD-rid; Mah-KO-keh-tah.
- * Long-standing and abiding love of ethanol.
- * "Regular-guy" wardrobe: khakis, blue chambray shirt, thick-soled loafers (cow manure optional).

GRAPHIC: _By: ASSOCIATED PRESS; Connected: Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** talks on a cell phone Wednesday in Little Rock, Ark.

LOAD-DATE: September 20, 2003

Orlando Sentinel Tribune, September 17, 2003

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Orlando Sentinel (Florida)

September 17, 2003 Wednesday, FINAL

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A3

LENGTH: 595 words

HEADLINE: WESLEY CLARK DECIDES HE'LL RUN;

RETIRED GENERAL SEEN AS 'WILD CARD' AS HE JOINS 9 DEMOCRATS IN RACE

BYLINE: Mark Silva, Sentinel Political Editor

BODY:

Now there are 10.

With retired Gen. **Wesley Clark's** announcement today that he will seek the Democratic nomination for president, the field of potential challengers to President Bush is growing more crowded as candidates struggle for attention.

The buzz surrounding **Clark's** noontime debut today in Little Rock, Ark., should make life more difficult for some of those Democrats.

By conventional standards, it's too late for anyone to enter the widest field of major-party candidates in modern times.

But **Clark** is an unconventional candidate: a career military man who led NATO forces in combat but adamantly opposes Bush's invasion of Iraq; a freshly minted Democrat who opposes Bush's tax cuts; a Southerner who might make inroads in a region Republicans have dominated.

"Clark is clearly the wild card," said Peverill Squire, political scientist at the **University of Iowa.** "He may be able to do what most other candidates probably couldn't do . . . jump into the race pretty late and run a competitive campaign."

Clark enters a field dominated by Howard Dean, the ex-governor of Vermont who has claimed advantages in the first presidential contests of Iowa and New Hampshire. Like Dean, another opponent of the Iraq war, **Clark** has built an Internet following that could provide money.

Clark's military credentials should upstage U.S. Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts, until now the sole combat veteran in the field, Squire said.

The allure of a new candidate also should make campaigning more difficult for some struggling with little result, he says. That includes U.S. Sens. Joe Lieberman of Connecticut, John Edwards of North Carolina and Bob Graham of Florida.

Edwards, who has been campaigning for months, formally announced his campaign on Tuesday in his hometown of Robbins, N.C.

"It's a ridiculously crowded field," said Maurice Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac University Polling Institute, releasing a survey today showing that several candidates share respectable national support but none is soaring. Only New York's Sen. Hillary Clinton, he says, draws impressive Democratic backing.

"It is not a field that seems to have captured the imagination of the party, except for Mrs. Clinton," Carroll said -- but the ex-president's wife is not running.

At a time of international conflict, **Clark**, 58, presents military credentials that few Democrats claim. But he also is new to politics, untested in the questioning and criticism that comes with the territory.

"We've had generals before -- Zachary Taylor, Dwight Eisenhower -- but none of them had to go through primaries the way **Wesley Clark** has to," said Ferrell Guillory, an expert on Southern politics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "He is going to have to answer questions unlike any he has thought about as a military general."

Clark will swiftly face his first test in a Sept. 25 debate of the Democrats in New York televised nationally by CNBC and MSNBC. The retired four-star general and former supreme commander of NATO was a Rhodes scholar and first in his class at West Point -- and served as a CNN military commentator in retirement.

Born in Chicago, **Clark** was the son of an attorney active in politics. His father died when **Clark** was a young child, and his mother moved him to Little Rock, where she remarried a banker.

In the Army, **Clark** was wounded in Vietnam and rose to lead the U.S. Southern Command and then NATO forces in a 1999 war against Serbian Slobodan Milosevic. He retired in 2000 and works in Little Rock as an investment banker.

GRAPHIC: BOX: FAST FACTS

AGE: 58

BORN: Dec. 23, 1944, Chicago.

EDUCATION: Bachelor's degree, West Point, 1966; Oxford, master's in philosophy, politics and economics, 1968; U.S. Army Command and

General Staff College, master's in military science, 1975. EXPERIENCE: Various military postings, including director for strategic plans and policy, Joint Staff, 1994-96; commander, Southern Command, 1996-97; supreme allied commander, Europe, 1997-2000; managing director, Stephens Group Inc., 2000-02; military



2002-present.

FAMILY: Wife, Gertrude, and son, Wesley

QUOTE: "I'm concerned about the direction of the country. The

policies need serious work." SOURCE: The Associated Press PHOTO: (Wesley Clark)

DANNY JOHNSTON/THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

LOAD-DATE: September 17, 2003

THE SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER September 20, 2003, Saturday

Copyright 2003 Seattle Post-Intelligencer THE SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER

September 20, 2003, Saturday FINAL

SECTION: NEWS, Pg. A3

LENGTH: 537 words

HEADLINE: FIRE LINKED TO EARTH LIBERATION FRONT

SOURCE: P-I news services

BODY: CALIFORNIA - Fires that destroyed four homes under construction and damaged two others yesterday in an upscale section of north San Diego were set in a coordinated arson attack, authorities said.

One of several banners found at the sites in north San Diego read: "Development destruction. Stop raping nature. The ELFs are angry."

ELF stands for the Earth Liberation Front, a radical environmentalist group that has claimed responsibility for dozens of acts of arson and vandalism, including a \$50 million fire that destroyed a residential development in San Diego last month. Fire Capt. Jeffrey Carle cautioned that the banner doesn't mean the group was involved. It made no claim of responsibility yesterday.

Clark backtracks on support for war

IOWA - Democratic presidential candidate **Wesley Clark** backtracked from a day-old statement that he probably would have voted for the congressional resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq, saying yesterday he "would never have voted for this war."

The retired Army general, an opponent of the conflict, surprised supporters when he indicated to reporters Thursday that he likely would have supported the resolution. He sought to clarify his comments yesterday.

"Let's make one thing real clear, I would never have voted for this war," **Clark** said before a speech at the **University of Iowa** in Iowa City. "There was no imminent threat. This was not a case of pre-emptive war. I would have voted for the right kind of leverage to get a diplomatic solution, an international solution to the challenge of Saddam Hussein."

ELSEWHERE

TEXAS - Shrimpers' boats in the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to Mexico are to blame for more than 80 percent of the trash that washes ashore on Padre Island National Seashore, according to a decade-long

study conducted by seven government agencies and trade groups.

PENNSYLVANIA - The deaths of a pizza deliveryman killed by a bomb locked to his chest and a co-worker were not related, the coroner's office said yesterday in Erie. The co-worker, Robert Pinetti, 43, died of an accidental prescription drug overdose. He was found dead Aug. 31, three days after Brian Wells died after robbing a bank. Before he died, Wells told police someone had locked a bomb to his body to force him to rob the bank.

WASHINGTON - President Bush yesterday allowed the sale of a majority stake in Global Crossing Ltd., a bankrupt telecommunications network, to a company owned by the Singapore government, a deal with national security implications.

CONNECTICUT - Two Yale University labor unions approved new contracts yesterday by nearly unanimous votes, ending a three-week strike marked by vocal protests and more than 200 arrests.

FLORIDA - Lawyers for prisoners who say DNA testing could exonerate them filed an emergency lawsuit with the state Supreme Court asking it to override a state law allowing the destruction of DNA evidence in older cases after Oct. 1. Earlier this week, the Florida Bar Association asked the court to extend the deadline, also Oct. 1, for making motions for such testing. Both suits said the extensions were needed to safeguard the claims of nearly 600 inmates seeking DNA testing.

The Commercial Appeal (Memphis, TN) September 20, 2003 Saturday Final Edition

Copyright 2003 The Commercial Appeal, Inc. The Commercial Appeal (Memphis, TN)

September 20, 2003 Saturday Final Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A10

LENGTH: 293 words

HEADLINE: CLARK CONFUSES, CLARIFIES STANCE ON IRAQ

BYLINE: The Associated Press

DATELINE: IOWA CITY, Iowa

BODY:

Democratic presidential candidate **Wesley Clark** backtracked from a day-old statement that he probably would have voted for the congressional resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq, saying Friday he "would never have voted for this war."

The retired Army general, an opponent of the conflict, surprised supporters when he indicated in an interview with reporters Thursday that he likely would have supported the resolution. On Friday, **Clark** sought to clarify his comments.

"Let's make one thing real clear, I would never have voted for this war," **Clark** said before a speech at the **University of Iowa.** "I've gotten a very consistent record on this. There was no imminent threat. This was not a case of pre-emptive war. I would have voted for the right kind of leverage to get a diplomatic solution, an international solution to the challenge of Saddam Hussein."

Clark's initial remarks left members of his campaign team a bit flummoxed.

"That caught me off guard a little. The general has been very critical of the war," said George Bruno, a New Hampshire activist.

Clark launched his bid for the Democratic nomination on Tuesday with the type of media attention candidates crave, but early missteps underscore the dangers facing his late-starting campaign.

The former NATO commander and his campaign staff went back and forth Thursday on whether he will participate in a Democratic debate next week. His campaign said he wouldn't, then that he would, then that he wouldn't - all in a single day.

A campaign official said Friday he would attend, after all.

Clark said the helter-skelter effort to build his campaign was "like trying to bottle lightning," but he shrugged off the early stumbles.

"It doesn't bother me a bit," he said.

LOAD-DATE: September 21, 2003

Business Week, September 22, 2003

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BusinessWeek
Business Week

September 22, 2003

SECTION: WASHINGTON OUTLOOK; CAPITAL WRAPUP; Number 3850; Pg. 45

LENGTH: 231 words

HEADLINE: READY FOR BATTLE

BYLINE: By Lee Walczak

BODY:

One of the Democrats' longest-running guessing games may be resolved on Sept. 19, when retired General **Wesley** K. **Clark** appears at the **University of Iowa** College of Law. According to associates, the former NATO commander will toss his helmet into the ring, becoming the 10th Democratic Presidential aspirant in an overstuffed field.

Skeptics say **Clark's** overreaching. He's a political novice, registering in the low single digits in polls, without money or a field organization. "He's a smart, talented guy, but his organized support is limited," says independent New Hampshire pollster Richard Bennett.

But the **Clark** camp insists the field is still wide open. In polls, two-thirds of Democrats can't name any of the nine candidates. Fans say **Clark**, 59, appeals both as a military leader (a la Dwight D. Eisenhower) and a quirky outsider (a la H. Ross Perot). And **Clark** could be the Dems' most credible critic of George W. Bush's Iraq troubles.

As for troops, Skip Rutherford, president of the Clinton Presidential Foundation, says a cadre of former Clintonites -- including former White House Counsel Bruce Lindsey and Chief of Staff Thomas "Mack" McLarty -- is ready to bivouac in Little Rock. "The 'Friends of Bill' network is alive and well -- and ready to become 'Warriors for Wes," Rutherford says.

URL: http://www.businessweek.com/index.html

GRAPHIC: Photograph: LIKE IKE? Clark PHOTOGRAPH BY STEFAN ZAKLIN/GETTY IMAGES

LOAD-DATE: September 18, 2003



August 22, 2003 Friday

SECTION: METRO IOWA; Pg. 1B

LENGTH: 121 words

HEADLINE: In The News

BYLINE: Beaumont Thomas, Staff

BODY:

Retired general to visit Iowa

Retired Gen. Wesley Clark, who has been mentioned as a possible Democratic presidential candidate, plans to visit Iowa next month.

Clark, former NATO supreme commander, is scheduled to give an afternoon lecture Sept. 19 at the **University of Iowa** in Iowa City.

Clark said in June that he would decide within a few months whether he would join the field of Democrats running for the 2004 nomination.

There has been an active movement in New Hampshire to draft **Clark** to run for president, although Iowa Democrats have heard little from **Clark** or his associates.

Iowa's precinct caucuses launch the nominating season on Jan. 19. The New Hampshire primary is Jan. 27.

-Thomas Beaumont

GRAPHIC: Clark

The Boston Herald, September 8, 2003 Monday

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The Boston Herald

September 8, 2003 Monday ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 004

LENGTH: 394 words

HEADLINE: General strike poses threat to Dem field

BYLINE: By Noelle Straub

BODY:

WASHINGTON - Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** probably wouldn't be able to knock Sen. John F. Kerry out of the ring of White House contenders, but he'd at least have the Massachusetts Democrat seeing stars - four stars, to be exact.

The former NATO supreme commander and four-star Army general could pull the plug on one of Kerry's main campaign themes: being the only Democratic contender with military credentials, able to stand up to President Bush on national security issues.

however, no one will be surprised if **Clark** ends up with a purely decorative vice-presidential nomination and a look of glazed surprise on his face as his top campaign aides cluster around the Democratic Party's surprise nominee, Hillary Rodham Clinton. And something similar will happen in 2008 if the GOP looks too formidable for Hillary this time round.

If **Clark** thought that Milosevic was a formidable foe, he is about to learn the far more ruthless tactics of Political Warfare 101.

O'Sullivan is the editor of The National Interest and can be reached via www.benadorassociates.com.

GRAPHIC: 1 PIC; Scott Olson/Getty Images; Democratic presidential candidate retired Gen. **Wesley** Clark during a campaign stop last week at the **University of Iowa.**

LOAD-DATE: September 30, 2003

CNN DAYBREAK 05:00 September 15, 2003 Monday

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CNN

SHOW: CNN DAYBREAK 05:00

September 15, 2003 Monday

Transcript # 091515CN.V73

SECTION: News; Domestic

LENGTH: 896 words

HEADLINE: Recall and Party Politics

GUESTS: Mark Plotkin

BYLINE: Carol Costello

HIGHLIGHT:

WTOP Radio's political analyst Mark Plotkin discusses the latest developments in the California recall election. He also examines the presidential election and predicts former four star General **Wesley Clark** will run.

BODY:

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

BILL CLINTON, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: It's California I'm worried about. I don't want you to become a laughing stock, a carnival or the beginning of a circus in America where we just throw people out as soon as they make a tough decision. Don't do this.

-(END VIDEO-CLIP)

CAROL COSTELLO, CNN ANCHOR: Former President Bill Clinton making those remarks while in Los

"We went to war in Iraq under false pretenses. There was no imminent threat. There were lots of misleading suggestions and statements and weighty pronouncements but the hard evidence wasn't presented because the hard evidence wasn't there," he said during the interview. "This country went to war on the basis of fear."

Clark ranked fifth, with 6 percent, in a national ABC News poll published Sunday, behind Connecticut Sen. Joe Lieberman, former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry and Missouri Congressman Dick Gephardt. **Clark** said he has pledges of \$1.3 million for his campaign, putting him near the bottom of the field in fund raising.

As a career military commander who led NATO forces in Kosovo in 1998, **Clark** said he is most qualified to ensure Americans' safety at a time when Republicans accuse Democrats of being weak on national security and defense. But **Clark**, making his first run for elected office, defended his relatively brief domestic policy experience, referring to his time as an economics teacher at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and his time in the Clinton White House's Office of Management and Budget.

He also accused the Bush administration of being secretive.

"Are we going to be a government that's open, transparent?" he said. "Or do we believe in a closed government where meetings are held in secret, where dialogue and discussion is criticized as being unpatriotic and where compromise is a forgotten word?"

Although **Clark** has been mentioned as a potential candidate since last year, he credited a Washington, D.C.,-based movement for drafting him into the race. A fledgling draft movement for **Clark** in Iowa gives the campaign hope for an Iowa campaign, **Clark** aide Mark Fabiani said.

"General **Clark** intends to begin this campaign competing in all the primary states," said Fabiani, special counsel to President Bill Clinton and chief spokesman for Vice President Al Gore's 2000 presidential campaign.

Clark in Iowa Friday

Retired Gen. Wesley Clark plans to visit Iowa City on Friday.

SPEECH: The Democratic presidential candidate is scheduled to deliver the **University of Iowa** College of Law's 2003 Levitt Lecture at 4 p.m. in the **University of Iowa's** Memorial Union Main Lounge. The speech is free and open to the public.

SEATING: The lounge seats roughly 1,000 people and 160 seats will be reserved for law school students and faculty. No tickets are required and seating is first-come, first-served. For more information, call the university's news service office at (319) 394-0010.

What they're saying

Clark's entry into the 2004 Democratic nomination race Wednesday dominated political news media around the country. Here's how some of the nation's news sources framed the story of his announcement from his hometown of Little Rock, Ark.

NO EXPERIENCE: Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** (D), the former NATO commander who acknowledges he has no experience in elected politics, joins nine other Democrats today in the 2004 White House race, Reuters reports.

IMPACT: "Clark should prove a formidable candidate who will have a serious impact on the race, even if he doesn't win," MSNBC.com reports.

FINANCING: Experts said **Clark** "could expect a flash flood of campaign financing" in his campaign's first weeks, the New York Times reports. "The question is whether that will continue."

COMPETITION: In Clark, former Gov. Howard Dean, D-Vt., "may encounter his toughest competition thus

far in the race for president," Salon.com reports.

CONTROVERSIAL: The Washington Post reports that **Clark** "remains a highly controversial figure within the U.S. military, disliked and mistrusted by many fellow officers."

GRAPHIC: _By: ASSOCIATED PRESS: Now a candidate: Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** greets Arkansas supporters Wednesday.

LOAD-DATE: September 19, 2003

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS, September 20, 2003

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September 20, 2003, Saturday SECOND EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1283 words

HEADLINE: An officer and a candidate;

Plenty of generals have become president; could Clark join them?

SOURCE: Staff Writer

BYLINE: ED TIMMS

RODY:

He wears a civilian suit now, but **Wesley Clark** is still very much a man with stars on his shoulders. And he wants to follow the example of 12 other former generals - starting with George Washington - who were elected president.

Gen. **Clark,** who announced his candidacy this week, is seeking the office at a time when the importance of military service on a candidate's resume is not well-defined.

Does he have a shot at luring away some of President Bush's military support? Will a retired general, running as a Democrat, threaten the "strong on defense" franchise that Republicans have enjoyed for many years? Are Democratic primary voters, most of whom intensely opposed the war in Iraq, ready to vote for a military man, even one who criticized that war?

Gen. **Clark's** viability as a candidate may be tied in part to U.S. fortunes in Iraq. He expressed reservations about the invasion and has criticized Bush administration policies in the aftermath, speaking with the authority of a combat veteran and former NATO commander who directed the 1999 bombing campaign in Kosovo.

President Bush, on the other hand, has substantial political capital riding on a successful outcome in Iraq. He is weathering the fallout from questions about whether Saddam Hussein had links to terrorists, a dearth of evidence that Iraq had a robust chemical and biological weapons program, a staggering bill for reconstruction and security in Iraq, and the reluctance of erstwhile allies to lend a hand.

"If opinions shift from vague concerns to deep misgivings about the war, that can put **Wesley Clark** on the edge of a wave in a positive way," said Southern Methodist University political scientist Cal Jillson. "If things work out in a way that makes people think, 'By God, we did bring democracy to Iraq. I was worried there for a while, but the president was right' - **Clark** then is up to his neck in pretty chilly water."

N

Still, Dr. Jillson said, "if Wes Clark has a strength, obviously, it is the military and national security."

Domestic credentials

Gen. **Clark's** credentials on domestic issues are not so evident. His politics were largely not open to public scrutiny while he was in uniform, and he only recently said he was a Democrat.

That is not unusual for military officers, who strive to stay out of partisan politics. Secretary of State Colin Powell, for example, announced he was a Republican and his decision not to enter the 1996 presidential race in the same speech. And Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had commanded Allied forces in Europe during World War II, was courted by both major parties before he decided he was a Republican and successfully ran for president in 1952.

"One of the things that's appealing about military heroes is that they tend to have their partisanship either completely disguised or at least subordinated," said University of Texas at Austin government professor Bruce Buchanan, an authority on presidential politics. "Eisenhower's Republican status was less important in all of his campaigns than was the fact that he was Eisenhower. He had more bipartisan appeal. That's often what makes military leaders attractive as candidates."

After leaving the military, Gen. **Clark** made known some of his views on domestic issues. He was among a group of retired military officers who presented a brief to the U.S. Supreme Court supporting the University of Michigan's affirmative action programs. He supports abortion rights and opposes Bush administration tax cuts.

Still, at 58, he is a political novice, embarking on his first campaign for elective office. Some political experts suggest that Gen. **Clark** may well be a strong candidate against President Bush - if he can get past the primaries.

Texas A&M University presidential scholar George Edwards said that Gen. **Clark** has "no domestic policy claim to fame yet" and that foreign policy is not what is most salient to the Democrats who will be voting on his nomination.

But Gen. **Clark's** strength on foreign policy issues may explain why the campaign of front-runner Howard Dean has sought his support. Dr. Jillson said that voters may question whether Dr. Dean, another harsh critic of the Iraq war, knows enough to be credible on national defense issues.

If Gen. **Clark** does win the Democratic nomination, political analysts say there is no guarantee that he can undermine the GOP advantage on military issues.

"I don't see the mere presence of **Clark** as enough to turn the public around on their currently instinctive preference for Republican military leadership or foreign policy leadership," Dr. Buchanan said.

Conversely, Republicans may have a harder time making the case that the Democratic Party is weak on defense or doesn't understand how to run a war, if the Democratic nominee is a former general.

For both parties, the military vote is more of a question. Dr. Buchanan said that military personnel typically look favorably upon a candidate's military experience, but Mr. Bush's performance as commander in chief also is likely to be weighed.

From Truman to Bush I

Historically, presidential candidates with military experience have done well, particularly just after a conflict. Military service was virtually a litmus test for those who ran after the Civil War and World War II.

After World War II, every president from Harry Truman to the first President George Bush had military experience. The threat of communism and nuclear annihilation loomed large, and Americans looked to candidates who could be credible as the commander in chief.

But in the post-Cold War era, Americans twice elected Bill Clinton, who avoided military service during the

Vietnam War, over two combat veterans of World War II: the elder Mr. Bush and former Kansas Sen. Bob Dole. And the younger Mr. Bush, who was in a Texas National Guard unit during the Vietnam War, outdistanced Arizona Sen. John McCain, a decorated Vietnam veteran and former POW, in the 2000 Republican primaries.

"In the 1990s it didn't make a lot of difference," Dr. Jillson said. "People didn't look to military expertise because they thought the Cold War was over, the threat was gone, and so expertise in domestic policy was critical, and military experience was not."

The Sept. 11 terrorist attacks may once again impel voters to look for military experience in a presidential candidate. But even during the Cold War, the voting public did not demand candidates who once wore stars. Eisenhower was the only general to win the presidency in the 20th century.

The golden age for former generals with presidential aspirations was the 19th century, when 10 were elected and at least five others won their party's nomination but were defeated. Many of those, however, were not career soldiers and served in uniform for relatively brief periods.

At times, Americans have been a little wary of former generals who get into politics, especially those whose demeanor in civilian life is perceived as being more autocratic than democratic. For example, in 1952, Eisenhower, better known as an administrator who kept the Allies together in World War II than as a warrior, was favored over the popular but imperious five-star Gen. Douglas MacArthur as the Republican candidate.

"Washington and Eisenhower are the classic cases of laying down the sword before the public in a very visible, conscious way and returning to civilian life, so that people can say, 'All right, I loved him as a general, but he obviously doesn't need a sword at his side to feel powerful,'" Dr. Jillson said. "He is safe as a president who would wield civilian authority and control the military."

E-mail etimms@dallasnews.com

GRAPHIC: PHOTO(S): 1. (BENJAMIN KRAIN/Getty Images) Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** only recently revealed he was a Democrat, and his views on domestic issues are just now coming out. 2. (SCOTT OLSON/Getty Images) Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** has supporters at the **University of Iowa**, where he campaigned Friday, but analysts say there is no guarantee that he can undermine the GOP advantage on military issues. CHART(S): PRESIDENTS AND GENERALS

LOAD-DATE: September 20, 2003

Independent on Sunday (London), September 14, 2003

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September 14, 2003, Sunday

SECTION: FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 22

LENGTH: 637 words

HEADLINE: DEMOCRATS' DARK HORSE WILL DECLARE HIS HAND THIS WEEK

BYLINE: RUPERT CORNWELL IN WASHINGTON General **Wesley Clark** (far left) is expected to announce his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination this week. As Nato supreme commander he greeted President Bill Clinton in Macedonia in 1999 (left) REUTERS

BODY:

The waiting is almost over. By the end of the week General Wesley Clark, former supreme commander of

Nato, and potential dark horse of the Democratic presidential field, will reveal whether he will challenge President Bush for the White House in 2004.

For months now, the subject of Gen **Clark's** future has been one of the more intriguing sub-plots of American politics. Intense, telegenic and indisputably clever, the general, 58, has stalked TV studios, business conventions and the early primary states of Iowa and New Hampshire, making weighty speeches on America's future, but refusing to say even whether he was a Democrat or a Republican.

That veil has now been lifted. But with the media already half-bored with the nine declared runners, Gen **Clark's** performance has been masterly. He has left his options open, yet ensured coverage that his putative rivals - with the single exception of Howard Dean - could not but envy.

Now the procrastination is about to end. Unless the collective political wisdom here is very much mistaken, the Arkansas-born former Rhodes scholar will throw his hat into the ring when he addresses the **University of Iowa** on Friday. Given America's propensity for electing soldiers, he has some reason to hope.

True, it is extremely late in the day to start a campaign, when the pick of the donors and campaign operatives have already been snapped up by existing candidates. But Gen **Clark** has some formidable assets - as the attention paid to him by Mr Dean attests.

In the past few weeks, the former Vermont governor - clear front runner and the sole Democrat in the field to have created a real buzz - has met Gen **Clark** several times for what the latter calls "a full tour of the horizon". The bottom line is clear: if the general does not run, Mr Dean would like him on board, perhaps even as his vice-presidential running mate, should he win the nomination.

It's easy to see why. Gen **Clark** is most things that Mr Dean is not. He comes from the South, like the last three Democrats to win the White House. He has been publicly praised by Bill Clinton, that other famous Rhodes scholar from Arkansas and still the most popular Democrat in the land. He has a mix of gravitas, charm and good looks that made him a natural as an analyst for CNN in the run-up to the invasion of Iraq.

Long before it took place, Gen **Clark** was, like Mr Dean, an opponent of the war. Unlike Mr Dean, however, he has a glittering military resume; whatever else, Republicans will find it hard to depict a decorated Vietnam veteran, who led the war to drive Slobodan Milosevic from Kosovo, as an unpatriotic liberal waffler. His politics are of the sensible New Democrat variety likely to appeal to undecided swing voters.

But a little critical scrutiny could expose another and less appealing Wes **Clark.** He is famously thin-skinned, drummed out early from his job as Nato supreme commander after personality and policy clashes with the then Defence Secretary, William Cohen, and much of the top Pentagon brass.

In the aftermath of Kosovo, he ordered General Sir Michael Jackson to prevent Russian troops from taking Pristina airport - to which the British K-For commander responded: "Sir, I'm not going to be the man who started World War III." That episode is bound to be used against Gen **Clark** to cast doubt on his image of rock-solid military judgement.

One blunt-spoken former US officer, Colonel David Hackworth, has gone so far as to describe Gen **Clark** as the "ultimate perfumed prince", more comfortable theorising about strategy and playing bureaucratic politics than hunkering down in the trenches with his men. That may be unkind. But if Gen **Clark** does enter the race, that is exactly where he will be: in the trenches, with enemy fire pouring in from all sides.

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2003

Iowa City Press-Citizen October 1, 2003 Wednesday

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Iowa City Press-Citizen

October 1, 2003 Wednesday

SECTION: OPINION; Pg. 11A

LENGTH: 633 words

HEADLINE: Gen. Clark impresses reader

BYLINE: Readers

BODY:

I truly enjoyed your article on General **Wesley Clark ("Clark** opens Iowa campaign," Sept. 20). The article read true. I searched online for an Iowa newspaper that would tell me something about Gen. **Clark's** visit to Iowa and was very impressed. **Clark** will make a great president.

Leon W. Fainstadt

The New York Times, September 20, 2003

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The New York Times

September 20, 2003, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 9; Column 3; National Desk

LENGTH: 1049 words

HEADLINE: Clark Explains Statement on Authorization for Iraq War

BYLINE: By JODI WILGOREN

DATELINE: IOWA CITY, Sept. 19

BODY:

On the third day of his campaign, Gen. **Wesley** K. **Clark** struggled today to clarify his statement on Thursday that he would "probably" have voted for the Congressional resolution authorizing the invasion of Iraq.

General **Clark**, a former NATO commander who has retired from the Army, never denied making the statement in an interview with four reporters on his chartered plane. But he seemed stunned by the headlines that it generated, as supporters worried that he had undercut his position as an antiwar candidate with military bona fides.

"I never would have voted for war," he said here this afternoon in an interview and in response to a question after a lecture at the **University of Iowa.** "What I would have voted for is leverage. Leverage for the United States to avoid a war. That's what we needed to avoid a war."

Speaking about the resolution on Thursday, General **Clark** said, "At the time, I probably would have voted for it, but I think that's too simple a question."

He then added: "I don't know if I would have or not. I've said it both ways, because when you get into this, what happens is you have to put yourself in a position. On balance, I probably would have voted for it."

His clarification, along with a slapped-together schedule in which he met few voters and offered no specifics on domestic issues, seemed to reflect the inexperience of the first-time candidate and disorganization in his nascent campaign.

His debut day in Iowa, whose early caucus is crucial to the Democratic Party's nomination process, was barely a toe touch, with a brief diner stop and a pageant of 10-minute news media interviews crammed between private receptions surrounding the long-scheduled nonpolitical lecture, for which a foundation paid \$25,000. General **Clark** receives 80 percent.

Despite his disappointment with reports of his airborne interview, including one in The New York Times, General **Clark** seemed as comfortable as could be in his new role as candidate, stopping frequently to slap shoulders as he strode across the university campus.

Although he considered a presidential race for a month, he balked at most questions, saying he would spend this weekend at home in Little Rock, Ark., working on policy positions. Among the issues he told voters he was not ready to discuss in detail were health care, education, employment, AIDS in Africa, the USA Patriot Act and medical marijuana. In interviews this afternoon, he referred to a talking-point tip sheet on the hot local issues of ethanol and farm subsidies.

"I don't know enough to give you a comprehensive answer at this point," he said in response to a voter's question about universal health insurance. "I know enough not to give you a comprehensive answer at this point."

Regarding a complicated proposal about financing AIDS research and prevention abroad, he said, "I'm not committing anything right now to anything, until I've got my economic facts and figures in order."

What he did say, over and over, was how happy he was to be in Iowa. He exulted over the egg white omelette a waitress put in front of him. "Now this is an Iowa breakfast!" the candidate said.

He also complimented a woman's overalls, saying, "That's a real Iowa outfit!"

He also said, "Some of my best friends from the military are from Iowa."

"I've been dying to get back to Iowa," General **Clark** said in the Hamburg Inn, which was packed with 50 supporters, many carrying "Draft **Clark**" placards edited to say "Elect **Clark.**" "I want to learn this state and meet the people here, because I think you're the very heart of America."

With his competitors counting down the 122 days until the Jan. 19 caucuses here, General Clark has a long chase in the Iowa ground game.

He has missed the summer trifecta of local Democratic politics: visiting the butter cow at the Iowa State Fair, marching in the Labor Day Parade in Des Moines and appearing at Senator Tom Harkin's annual steak fry in a balloon field.

Former Gov. Howard Dean of Vermont has visited 79 of the 99 counties since he started campaigning in the state in February 2002. Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri has virtually been a regular presence since 1988, when he won the Iowa caucuses in his first campaign for the White House. Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts has 12 field offices adorned with endorsements from 18 state legislators and 71 labor leaders.

Today was barely an Iowa introduction, with nary a town hall meeting or a house party.

"He didn't say very much," said Hyman Joseph, who bore his bias on his shirt in the form of a Dean button. "Any of the other candidates would have taken 10 or 15 minutes of questions. Some people who are for Dean will give him a look. But I don't know how long that look will be."

Robert Bork and Sally Mills, art historians who live in Iowa City, said they signed up with General **Clark** last week because he has the right combination of characteristics -- "progressive and macho," Mr. Bork, 36, said -- to beat President Bush.

[&]quot;We were looking for a candidate who could stand out of the pack," Ms. Mills, 47, said.

"We think highly of Dean," Mr. Bork said. "We think highly of Kerry. We don't think they can bring the pain to Bush."

Late starting or not, General **Clark** showed a natural knack for retail politics, holding long onto each shaken hand, complete with elbow grab, as he listened to concerns. The main event was a 45-minute lecture, sponsored by the law school.

He won several standing ovations and earned easy laughter for his quips about adjusting to retirement after having at his disposal a fleet of security guards with machine guns, along with military helicopters and a jet.

About Iraq, he said "There was never an imminent threat," and called the war "a major blunder."

"We're not the sort of 'you're with us or against' kind of people," he said.

"We're a come-and-join-with-us kind of people," he told a crowd of 1,000 in the main lounge of the Iowa Memorial Union. "Americans know in their hearts that you don't make our country safer by erecting walls to keep others out. You make us safer by building bridges to reach out.

"We also have to recognize that force should be used only as a last resort, when all other means have failed."

http://www.nytimes.com

GRAPHIC: Photo: Gen. **Wesley** K. **Clark,** right, on the **University of Iowa** campus in Iowa City yesterday. He delivered a long-scheduled nonpolitical lecture and later discussed the Congressional authorization for the conflict in Iraq. (Photo by Getty Images)

LOAD-DATE: September 20, 2003

Des Moines Register August 28, 2003 Thursday

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August 28, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: METRO IOWA; Pg. 5B

LENGTH: 232 words

HEADLINE: Clark likely to run, says Democratic panel chief

BYLINE: Beaumont Thomas, Staff

BODY:

By THOMAS BEAUMONT

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe told Gov. Tom Vilsack on Wednesday that he expects Gen. Wesley Clark to run for the party's 2004 presidential nomination.

The speculation came as the former NATO commander hinted that he would decide in the next three weeks.

"Chairman McAuliffe indicated he thought General Clark would get into the race," Vilsack press secretary Matt Paul said of Vilsack's conversation with McAuliffe.

Their talks centered on recent Democratic victories in special legislative elections, outreach efforts by lowa Democrats, and President Bush's political vulnerabilities. The comments about Clark were in passing as the conversation ended, Paul said.

While a Washington, D.C.-based effort to draft Clark to run has been running ads in several states including lowa, the retired army general told The Des Moines Register on Tuesday that he would decide whether he will be a candidate by the time he speaks at the University of Iowa on Sept. 19.

The lowa visit is of interest because the lowa Democratic precinct caucuses kick off the 2004 nominating season on Jan. 19.

Clark has been mentioned as a potential presidential candidate since last year.

An aide said Clark was traveling in Washington, D.C., but planned to spend the Labor Day weekend at home in Little Rock, Ark., with his family.

GRAPHIC: Clark

LOAD-DATE: August 29, 2003

The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, September 11, 2003, Thursday

Copyright 2003 Little Rock Newspapers, Inc. Arkansas Democrat-Gazette (Little Rock, AR)

September 11, 2003, Thursday

SECTION: FRONT SECTION; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 489 words

HEADLINE: Clark assured debate spot if he declares Sources say retired general waiting for reporting

deadline to pass

BYLINE: BY PAUL BARTON ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

BODY:

WASHINGTON - Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** of Little Rock would be welcome at a Sept. 25 debate of Democratic presidential contenders in New York if he's a candidate by then, national Democratic officials said Wednesday.

That standing invitation is the latest of several new signs that point to **Clark** getting into the race, probably next week. The Sept. 25 debate, the third among the Democratic candidates, is being sponsored by CNBC and The Wall Street Journal.

Sources say **Clark** wants to wait for any announcement until after Monday, because if he were to announce before then, he would have to file a quarterly financial report that would show him far behind most other candidates in fund raising.

Clark also wants to avoid bumping up against remembrances of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, sources say.

The sources expect an announcement Tuesday or Wednesday in Little Rock.

Clark's office, however, refuses to confirm anything, saying he still hasn't made a decision on running. On Monday, Clark told participants of the Internet-based draft-Clark movements that he was definitely going to decide before the end of next week, when he is scheduled to give a speech on foreign affairs at the University of Iowa. The Iowa caucuses are an important early battleground in next year's nomination fight.

On Tuesday night, he talked by telephone with Terry McAuliffe, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. A party spokesman said he was not at liberty to divulge details of the conversation. **Clark's** supporters expressed optimism Wednesday that he would soon be in the race.

"I think there is an expectation that he will meet the challenge and become a candidate," said George Bruno, a Manchester, N.H., attorney. **Clark** has consulted frequently with Bruno, a former state Democratic Party chairman, about his possible bid.

Clark's "sense of duty is so strong," and he is committed to issues he's been speaking about in appearances nationwide this summer, Bruno said.

But the National Journal reported this week that some Democratic strategists still believe there is a chance **Clark** will pull "a reverse Arnold," a reference to how California gubernatorial candidate Arnold Schwarzenegger sent repeated signals that he wouldn't enter the California race, then jumped in with a splash.

Clark has been signaling that he will join the race but could yet step aside, possibly citing family reasons. Meanwhile, a powerful labor union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, announced Wednesday that it would withhold its endorsement of a Democratic candidate until **Clark** makes up his mind.

Bruno said members of the draft-**Clark** movement in New Hampshire were busy Wednesday preparing a "transition" briefing book outlining how an official **Clark**-for-President campaign could use their contacts

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and other resources.

This story was originally published on Thursday, September 11, 2003.

LOAD-DATE: September 11, 2003

Knight Ridder Washington Bureau September 20, 2003, Saturday

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September 20, 2003, Saturday

SECTION: NATIONAL POLITICAL NEWS

KR-ACC-NO: K7240

LENGTH: 693 words

HEADLINE: Clark clarifies remark that he would have voted for Iraq war

BYLINE: By Jay Root

BODY:

IOWA CITY, Iowa _ Former Army Gen. **Wesley Clark** edged away Friday from his statement Thursday that he "probably" would have voted to authorize war against Iraq last autumn if he had been in Congress, saying that he "never" would have voted for war.

Clark's initial statement on Thursday drew headlines that undermined his image as an ex-military leader willing to base his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination largely upon his strong stand against the war in Iraq, which has become the central issue in the Democratic race.

Clark's effort on Friday to distance himself from his initial remark opened him to potential criticism as a flip-flopper and underscored the difficulty he faces in trying to mount his first campaign for public office amid the intense attention that attends a presidential race.

"I would never have voted for war," **Clark** said in a speech at the **University of Iowa.** "I've seen that killing begets killing and hatred begets hatred, and it's no way to solve problems and resolve disputes." He called the invasion of Iraq and its aftermath a "major blunder."

All year long **Clark** has consistently criticized the war, but in remarks Thursday to a handful of reporters in Florida, he said he "probably" would have voted to authorize President Bush to go to war if he had been in Congress last fall, but then he faulted Bush's decision to go to war and his management of post-war Iraq.

He acknowledged Thursday that his position mirrored that of several other Democratic presidential candidates, including Sens. John Kerry of Massachusetts and Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut. It also put him at odds with former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, whose uncompromising opposition to the war has vaulted him to the lead in the race.

On Friday the retired four-star general tried again to explain his position on the war-authorization question.

"What I would have voted for is leverage. Leverage for the president of the United States to internationalize the challenge of Iraq leverage for the United States to avoid a war. That's what we needed from that resolution. We didn't get that," **Clark** said.

Clark said Iraq never-presented "an imminent threat" to the United States, which he said sent too few troops and was ill prepared to face a chaotic aftermath.

"It was a mistake. It was a blunder and I think it was a major blunder by the United States of America," he said. "I hope that clarifies the sound bite" from his Thursday remarks, he said.

Friday's speech was **Clark's** first foray into Iowa since announcing his intentions to run for president earlier this week. Iowa, where presidential campaigns can begin or end, will hold the nation's first party caucuses on Jan. 19.

Clark, 58, relaxed and speaking without notes about his experience as NATO supreme commander in the late 1990s, criticized the Bush administration's approach to international affairs, portraying it as go-it-alone and macho.

"We're not the sort of 'you're with us or against us' kind of a people," he said, referring to Bush's warnings to other nations in the war on terror. "We're a 'come and join us' kind of people."

Clark's campaign is only beginning to take shape; despite his reputation as a favorite among Internet devotees, **Clark** is the only major Democratic candidate with no presence on the Iowa Democrats' Web site, and state party officials said no **Clark** aides have reached out to them.

"We have not been in touch with anybody from their shop," said Iowa Democratic Party spokesman Mark Daley. "We've got a couple of calls into them."

Dennis Goldford, a political scientist at Drake University, said **Clark** can take heart that many Iowa Democrats remain uncommitted. "Nobody's locked this up yet. That's what leaves the possibility for someone like **Clark** to come here," Goldford said.

Undecided Iowa Democrat Linda Carrill, 50, said she's just looking for a winner. She left the speech Friday night still undecided.

"I'm looking for the best man to beat Bush," she said. "I liked his foreign policy speech. I'd like to hear more about his domestic policy plans."

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JOURNAL-CODE: WA

LOAD-DATE: September 20, 2003

The Times Union (Albany, NY) September 14, 2003 Sunday

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September 14, 2003 Sunday THREE STAR EDITION

SECTION: MAIN, Pg. A13

LENGTH: 681 words

HEADLINE: Choice near, **Clark** cites Clinton;

Retired general praises ex-president as star rises for a White House run

BYLINE: Stewart M. Powell And Eric Rosenberg; Times Union Washington Bureau

DATELINE: WASHINGTON .

BODY:

Retired Army Gen. Wesley Clark is hoping that ties with former President Bill Clinton will help more than

hurt any campaign that he launches for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Clark is expected to announce his political intentions later this week, possibly in connection with a speech at the **University of Iowa** on Friday. Iowa's Democratic caucuses on Jan. 19 are the first in a series of party contests across the nation that will pick the Democratic presidential nominee.

"Bill Clinton was a tremendous leader," **Clark** said in an interview with Hearst Newspapers. "He had tremendous charisma, authority and conviction. He was a force in shaping opinion around the world."

Clark, 58, a former NATO commander, said he talks with Clinton occasionally, adding that the former president bears "a lot of responsibilities as the last elected president from this party."

Clinton has spoken favorably of **Clark** as well, a fellow Arkansan and Rhodes Scholar who pursued a 33-year military career after graduating first in his class from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

Clinton praised **Clark** as a Democratic Party star second only to his wife, New York Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton, at the couple's backyard barbecue for major campaign donors last weekend in Chappaqua, according to news accounts.

Clark's open embrace of Clinton contrasts with steps taken by Al Gore in his 2000 presidential campaign to distance himself from Clinton, who had been impeached by the House but acquitted by the Senate after accusations he lied under oath about a sexual dalliance with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

Clark may benefit as well from several prominent Clinton allies in Arkansas who have expressed their support. These ranks include former White House lawyer Bruce Lindsey and Skip Rutherford, president of the William J. Clinton Foundation that is helping to underwrite Clinton's river-front presidential library in Little Rock, Ark.

The latest Gallup Poll released Friday showed **Clark** positioned squarely in the middle of what would become a 10-candidate field, if he enters the race. **Clark** enjoyed the support of 10 percent of 407 Democratic registered voters surveyed nationwide even though he remains an unannounced candidate. The poll showed **Clark** trailing Rep. Dick Gephardt, D-Mo., with 16 percent; former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean with 14 percent; Sen. Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn., with 13 percent and Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass., with 12 percent.

The last general to become president was Dwight D. Eisenhower, former Allied commander in Europe in World War II, who was drafted by the Republicans in 1952. Eisenhower went on the capture the White House and win re-election in 1956.

Democratic Party Chairman Terry McAuliffe, a longtime ally of Clinton who served as the president's premier fund-raiser, said it was not too late for **Clark** to enter the race. When he ran in 1992, Clinton didn't join the Democratic field until Oct. 3, 1991 -- the equivalent of early next month in the 2004 election calendar.

"I have consistently said that I welcome everybody into the race -- the more the merrier," McAuliffe said last week, a day after a private conversation with **Clark.**

"If he gets in, we would welcome him," McAuliffe said. "I think it would be very good for the Democratic Party to have a four-star general travel around the country talking about the Democratic Party, talking about the differences with and the failures of the Bush administration."

Clark, who opposed the U.S. invasion of Iraq, insisted that the Bush administration had squandered decades of American cooperation with allies overseas by pursuing an "extreme unilateralist and interventionist policy." Bush administration officials have been "pandering" to the conservative wing of the Republican party who favor a go-it-alone U.S. foreign policy, **Clark** said.

The Bush administration's foreign policy marks "a radical departure from any of its predecessors — from the broad stream of American internationalism that grew out of American success in World War II," **Clark** said.

GRAPHIC: MIKE WINTROATH/ASSOCIATED PRESS RETIRED Army Gen. **Wesley Clark,** right, in Little Rock, Ark., in June, is expected to announce on Friday whether he will run for president.

LOAD-DATE: September 15, 2003

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution August 31, 2003 Sunday

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

August 31, 2003 Sunday Home Edition

SECTION: News; Pg. 10A; ON POLITICS

LENGTH: 622 words

HEADLINE: Gen. Clark could give new bite to war criticism

BYLINE: TOM BAXTER

SOURCE: AJC

BODY:

Depending on which version of armchair strategy you prefer, retired four-star Gen. **Wesley** K. **Clark** is either a hapless George McClellan type, taking too long to make up his mind, or a good student of Napoleon, holding back his force until precisely the right moment.

Throughout the summer, **Clark** has publicly dallied with the possibility of seeking the Democratic presidential nomination but remained noncommittal as not one, but two "Draft **Clark**" movements have sprung up on the Internet. Tantalizingly, the Little Rock resident has a speech scheduled at the **University of Iowa** on Sept. 19, just a few days after the next financial disclosure deadline for presidential candidates.

What drives the interest in **Clark --- and Clark's** interest in the presidency --- is the difficulty the current field of Democratic candidates has had in articulating an issue that was summed up very well, if completely unintentionally, a couple of months ago by an official at Warner Robins Air Force Base.

"For most of my career, we've been a peace-to-war Defense Department. We maintained a large military establishment and we trained for war," George Falldine, plans and programs director for the Warner Robins Air Logistics Center, told The Macon Telegraph.

"Secretary [Donald] Rumsfeld is telling the war fighter that we're no longer a peace-to-war department. We could be engaged in conflict anytime and anywhere."

This fundamental and largely undebated change in policy has implications far beyond the way the nation's military bases should be run, the subject of the upcoming symposium Falldine was discussing.

President Bush's Democratic rivals have criticized him for prematurely declaring the end of the battle of Iraq in his May 1 speech aboard the USS Abraham Lincoln, but they have in some ways missed the larger issue.

The case advanced in that speech, and pressed steadily since the Sept. 11 attacks, was for continuing war waged more humanely "with new tactics and precision weapons" than in the past --- as a more-or-less permanent condition of the 21st century.

All the Democratic candidates have criticized the handling of the Iraq operation, but a number of influential Democrats, reportedly including Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, believe someone with **Clark's** credentials is needed to take on Bush.

A key question, if Clark decides to get in, is how much of Bush's military policy he really disagrees with.

The former NATO commander has been an outspoken critic of the military overthrow of Iraq. But analysts have had little to say about how the NATO action in Kosovo, carried on during **Clark's** watch at the urging of President Clinton, was a precursor to this new style of war aimed at toppling a regime "with new tactics and precision weapons."

In his book about foreign policy in the '90s, "War in a Time of Peace," David Halberstam characterizes **Clark** as the kind of general Rumsfeld could take a shine to: aggressive, innovative, highly impatient with the cautious approach of the old Army and willing to push against the entrenched Pentagon establishment.

At the end of his NATO tour, Halberstam writes, **Clark** "had handled the most difficult kind of combat with skill and intelligence, had lost no troops in actual combat, and had shown future administrations and officers that under certain conditions, peacekeeping could be militarily successful at a relatively low cost."

As the U.S. military death toll mounts in Iraq, some would argue that was a lesson perhaps learned too well. **Clark** was an architect of this new style of war, but that might also make him its most effective critic.

Tom Baxter's column usually runs Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday.

tbaxter@ajc.com

LOAD-DATE: August 31, 2003

CNN.com September 19, 2003 Friday

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CNN.com

September 19, 2003 Friday

SECTION: POLITICS

LENGTH: 742 words

HEADLINE: Clark embarks, Gore implores

BYLINE: John Mercurio; CNN Political Editor

DATELINE: LOS ANGELES, California

BODY:

Wesley Clark says he wants to see the leaves change color in Iowa. But when does he plan to staff his campaign HQ in Des Moines?

Al Gore opposes the California recall. But does he agree with the three federal judges who, embracing the majority's arguments in Bush v. Gore, want to delay the vote until March? These are two questions reporters will ask in today's biggest political stories.

Gore, the fifth Democrat to stump with Gray Davis in five days, travels from Los Angeles to San Francisco

to help boost black-voter registration.

Clark, the 10th Democrat to join the '04 presidential primary in 10 months, makes his first Big Speech since his campaign kickoff Wednesday in Little Rock.

The embarkation

Clark quelled a potential first-week controversy late yesterday when he dropped a paid speaking engagement (previously scheduled) in order to participate in the September 25 debate, sponsored by the Wall Street Journal and CNBC. **Clark's** campaign also confirmed that he will attend the party's fundraising dinner after the debate. **Clark's** new Democratic rivals were ready to pounce. Looks like the honeymoon's over.

In Iowa City, **Clark** is to deliver a speech focusing mostly on his field of expertise: national security and foreign policy. He'll deliver the speech, titled "The American Leadership Role in a Changing World," at 5 p.m. EDT at the **University of Iowa** Law School in Iowa City.

Clark will arrive at the Iowa City Municipal Airport at 10:15 a.m. EDT and hold a 45-minute meet-and-greet at the Hamburg Inn. Aides say he'll hold "press avails" from 2:15 p.m. to 4:45 p.m. EDT, and again after the speech from 6:15 p.m. to 7:15 p.m. He is scheduled to attend a dinner in Iowa City at 7:15 p.m.

(Grind quiz: Which Senator hired **Clark's** campaign manager, Donnie Fowler Jr., as a page in the 1970s? Hints: Fowler, like his father and namesake, is from South Carolina; and the Senator, may he rest in peace, hired a lot of pages in his day.)

The national media will likely devour **Clark's** speech. But reporters, especially Iowa ones, are sure to press **Clark** on his Iowa strategy, which as of this writing was still being sorted out by Fowler, et al.

Clark has indicated that he'll campaign often in Iowa, telling the Des Moines Register that he wants to "meet as many people in Iowa as I can. I want to sit down in their living rooms and learn Iowa's concerns and needs. I want to see the leaves change color in Iowa." But he dodged questions about what sort of resources (read: money, people) he'll devote to the state.

And it probably won't go unnoticed that **Clark** is not spending the night in Iowa. At 10:15 p.m., he'll catch a flight home to Little Rock.

The imploring

In California, Gore and Davis will continue to hammer out the party's anti-recall message, which the governor has been driving home this week in appearances with Bill Clinton, Bob Graham, John Kerry and Jesse Jackson.

But most recall watchers will be glued to <u>www.ca9.uscourts.gov</u>, where the 9th Circuit will post its decision on whether an 11-member panel will hear arguments in Southwest Voter Registration v. Shelley.

Regardless of the court's decision on reviewing the case, reporters will press Gore to say how he views the three-judge panel's decision earlier this week to delay the October 7 election until March.

It's a sticky situation for Gore, who has openly criticized the Supreme Court for its 5-4 decision, Bush v. Gore, halting the Florida recount in the 2000 presidential election. The three-judge panel based much of its ruling, which Davis and most anti-recall advocates support, on the majority's arguments in Bush vs. Gore.

Then again, this whole discussion could be moot: Insiders predict Gore will dodge the question entirely by calling it an issue for the courts to decide.

And-the-glamour

- Today, Howard Dean (remember him?) is in New York for a fund-raiser with Gloria Gaynor, proving that

while he has lost the buzz to Clark this week, He Will Survive.

Also on hand for Dean: Al Franken, Whoopi Goldberg and Phoebe Snow.

- Speaking of celebrities, actress Kathleen Turner is scheduled to campaign with John Kerry this morning in New York, where Kerry is holding a women's event and picking up the endorsement of retired Army Gen. Claudia Kennedy.
- Two Hollywood types even farther to the left, Ed Begley Jr. and Ed Asner, are to campaign with Dennis Kucinich on Sunday evening in California.

LOAD-DATE: September 26, 2003

Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City) September 20, 2003, Saturday

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Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City)

September 20, 2003, Saturday

SECTION: WIRE; Pg. A16

LENGTH: 654 words

HEADLINE: 'I would never have voted for this war,' Clark says

BYLINE: By Mike Glover Associated Press

BODY:

IOWA CITY, Iowa -- Democratic presidential candidate **Wesley Clark** backtracked from a day-old statement that he probably would have voted for the congressional resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq, saying Friday he "would never have voted for this war."

The retired Army general, an opponent of the conflict, surprised supporters when he indicated in an interview with reporters Thursday that he likely would have supported the resolution. On Friday, **Clark** sought to clarify his comments in an interview with The Associated Press.

"Let's make one thing real clear, I would never have voted for this war," **Clark** said before a speech at the **University of Iowa.** "I've gotten a very consistent record on this. There was no imminent threat. This was not a case of pre-emptive war. I would have voted for the right kind of leverage to get a diplomatic solution, an international solution to the challenge of Saddam Hussein."

Clark's initial remarks left members of his campaign team a bit flummoxed.

"That caught me off guard a little. The general has been very critical of the war," said George Bruno, a New Hampshire activist.

Clark launched his bid for the Democratic nomination on Tuesday with the type of media attention candidates crave, but early missteps underscore the dangers facing his late-starting campaign.

The former NATO commander and his campaign staff went back and forth on whether he will participate in a Democratic debate next week -- all in a single day. Creating more confusion were **Clark's** comments on the resolution that gave President Bush the authority to use U.S. military force to oust Saddam, remarks that were at odds with his opposition to the war.

Veteran Democrats pointed out that **Clark** is in the unusual position of trying to put a major presidential campaign in place and clearly lay out his positions in the glare of the media spotlight. Other candidates have had months to hone their message below the political radar.

"If politics were theater, you get to open in New Haven (Conn.)," rather than on Broadway, said veteran Democratic strategist Bill Carrick, who warned of the dangers of "policy on the fly."

Added Carrick: "Howard Dean has been out there for two years rehearsing his act."

Carrick compared some of the difficulties **Clark** has faced to the early days of Edward Kennedy's 1980 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, also a late-starting campaign where the Massachusetts senator tended to blurt out comments that reshaped the race.

Kennedy predicted, for instance, that he would beat President Carter in Iowa; Carter easily prevailed.

Twenty-five years later those gaffes stick in Carrick's mind. "It completely changed the expectations," he said. "It was all triggered by the late start."

The nine other Democratic candidates also have spent the last few months meeting with Democratic activists across the country, getting feedback on various issues and testing their campaign lines.

"I'm sure Howard Dean has tried a variety of things along the way," said veteran Iowa activist Jeff Link.
"By the time people began paying attention, he had it down pretty good."

Iowa casts its votes in four months, giving Clark little time to smooth out the rough edges.

"The question is, is he ready to jump into a huge national campaign that's just a few months away," Link said. "That is a pretty good sized organization with a lot of moving parts."

In the interview, **Clark** sketched out a checkerboard of positions, saying he would leave in place a tax cut for middle-income Americans and indicating his support for gun rights, although he supports a ban on assault weapons.

Clark said the helter-skelter effort to build his campaign was "like trying to bottle lightning," but he shrugged off the early stumbles.

"It doesn't bother me a bit," he said. "It helps you get the message out across America. When you start late, you need that."

LOAD-DATE: September 20, 2003

The Hotline August 28, 2003 Thursday

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The Hotline

August 28, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: WHITE HOUSE 2004 -- THE PRIMARY

LENGTH: 298 words

HEADLINE: CLARK: STEP ONE: DECIDING ON A DEADLINE FOR HIS DECISION

BODY:

Ret. Gen. Wesley Clark (?-AR) "has told close friends that he wants to join" the WH '04 race "and is delaying a final decision only until he feels he has a legitimate chance of winning" the Dem nod. A Clark friend: "He doesn't want to have a situation where he could embarrass himself, but I'm absolutely certain he wants to run." His friends said his decision "will be

determined by his instincts and a firm assessment" of ex-VT Gov. Howard Dean (D). And they his wife, Gert, "now favors his running." Clark said he would announce his decision within "two weeks or so." Clark: "I've got to by then. I've just got to. I can't have done nothing, and if I do it, there's groundwork to be laid." A "possible" announcement date is 9/19, when Clark speaks at the Univ. of Iowa. DNC Chair Terry McAuliffe: "The more the merrier. General Clark would have tremendous credibility, and it doesn't come at the expense of anyone else running" (Janofsky, New York Times, 8/28).

McAuliffe talked with IA Gov. Tom Vilsack (D) 8/27, after which Vilsack press sec. Matt Paul said: "Chairman McAuliffe indicated he thought General Clark would get into the race." The Clark comments "were in passing as the conversation ended, Paul said." An aide said Clark "planned to spend the Labor Day weekend at home in Little Rock" (Beaumont, Des Moines Register, 8/28).

DON'T COUNT YOUR GENERALS BEFORE THEY HATCH

Log Cabin Democrat's Sanders writes on the Zogby poll released by DraftWesleyClark.com that featured "blind bio" questions: "The problem with the poll's format is that voters don't vote for biographies; they vote for a name. Selling a name is a function of money and organization." More Sanders: "Clark has a long way to go if he is to ever challenge Bush" (8/28).

LOAD-DATE: August 28, 2003

The Houston Chronicle August 31, 2003, Sunday

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The Houston Chronicle

August 31, 2003, Sunday 4 STAR EDITION

SECTION: A; Pg. 17

LENGTH: 1171 words

HEADLINE: Clark talks the talk, but silent on bid;

Former NATO chief sounds like candidate in recent speeches

SOURCE: Hearst News Service

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON - **Wesley Clark**, the former NATO commander, sounds increasingly like a Democratic presidential hopeful as fervent supporters press him to announce his candidacy in September.

Clark, 58, has demurred on whether he is running, asserting that he is traveling around the country to gauge reaction to his possible candidacy. In the meantime, he is making speeches challenging the Bush administration on foreign policy matters.

Supporters say Clark's strength is in his 33-year military record, with which he could bring instant

national security credentials to a Democratic ticket at a time when voters overwhelmingly trust President Bush to protect the country from terrorism.

Speaking last week in Louisiana at a luncheon honoring paramedics, **Clark** said, in reference to a presidential run, "I am considering it seriously."

And in a candidatelike swipe at Bush, **Clark** said: "We've got a lot of challenges in the world, and people want to know what we're going to do. Mostly, it's about vision, about what the country is about - not just being strong, but being inclusive."

America, he said, "is a nation in need of a new vision."

Clark supporters and political watchers believe the telegenic, retired four-star Army general will run for the Democratic nomination. Clark plans to announce a decision before a Sept. 19 speech at the University of Iowa.

For now, the one-time commander is content to leave the campaign spadework to two Internet-based organizations.

DraftWesleyClark.com claims to have generated campaign pledges of over \$ 1 million. The organization has begun running 60-second commercial spots in Iowa, New Hampshire and **Clark's** home state of Arkansas, pumping up a possible **Clark** candidacy. The other major organization, Draftclark.com, claims to have grass-roots groups in most states.

Polls show that **Clark** would face a formidable uphill challenge for the Democratic nomination if he entered the race and would have to mount a major effort to raise his profile.

In a Zogby International poll of New Hampshire Democrats conducted Aug. 23-26 and released Wednesday, former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean led Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry 38 percent to 17 percent. The same poll showed **Clark** barely registering among Democrats at 2 percent, while Sen. Bob Graham of Florida and Rep. Dennis Kucinich of Ohio were at 1 percent.

The difficulties **Clark** would face are echoed in another poll released last week by his supporters at DraftWesleyClark.com. In an assessment of 1,019 likely nationwide Democratic voters, **Clark** ran a scant fifth behind Dean, Missouri Rep. Richard Gephardt, Connecticut Sen. Joseph Lieberman and Kerry.

But the same poll also showed that 84 percent believe it is not too late for a new entry in the crowded field. And in a "blind-bio" matchup, in which respondents were presented with biographies of all Democratic contenders without names attached, **Clark** was the No. 1 choice.

Although the field is already crowded, Terry McAuliffe, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has said he would welcome **Clark** as a candidate.

Coy at times on where his political loyalties lie, Clark's views place him squarely on the Democratic side.

The Democrats, **Clark** said on CNN's Crossfire, are "just bubbling with ideas." Republicans, by contrast, have "a much more cohesive core" and "much tighter party discipline."

"If you don't salute and toe the line, they'll take your money, but they won't take your ideas."

Clark supports affirmative action and abortion rights. He opposes the Bush administration's tax cuts and its position on drilling for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. He opposed the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Clark also supports banning assault weapons and questions whether the USA Patriot Act, the post-9/11 law that makes it easier for law enforcement to conduct counterterrorism investigations, infringes on civil liberties.

America's attraction to military figures in the presidency goes back to George Washington.

In the 19th century, Andrew Jackson, Zachary Taylor and Ulysses S. Grant all sailed into the presidency after distinguished military careers.

In the 20th century, Theodore Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower forged careers in politics out of wartime prowess in uniform. John F. Kennedy and the elder George Bush also called attention to their war records to distinguish themselves.

Clark is a decorated Vietnam veteran without an easily identifiable war victory to his credit.

Clark's test as a senior officer came in 1999, when as NATO commander he led the 78-day aerial attack that eventually forced Serbian forces from Kosovo. He assumed the NATO chief post in 1997.

"I knew Eisenhower, and **Wesley Clark** isn't an Eisenhower," said Stephen Hess, a presidential scholar at the Brookings Institution in Washington who served as a speechwriter for Eisenhower between 1959 and 1961. "That's not meant to be a putdown of **Clark.** Kosovo was no World War II."

The Kosovo war stood out, not for the stunning military process **Clark** brought to bear but for the rearguard fight the NATO chief waged with Washington.

During the Kosovo war, **Clark** fought constantly with the Clinton administration and the Pentagon, which disregarded **Clark's** admonition to fight the forces of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic more aggressively.

In one episode underscoring the bad relationship with his Washington bosses, **Clark** recalled in his memoirs a tense NATO summit reception held during the Kosovo campaign.

As he approached a receiving line of President Clinton, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Defense Secretary William Cohen and Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Hugh Shelton, he was met with angry stares.

Although **Clark** helped win the war without a single U.S. battlefield casualty, he was handed a decidedly ignominious end to his military career when Clinton forced his retirement in 2000 by replacing him three months early.

WESLEY CLARK

Father was an Orthodox Jewish lawyer and Democratic activist; his mother a Baptist from Arkansas. His father died when he was 5 and his mother took him back to Little Rock, where she married a banker, Victor Clark.

Raised a Baptist, he didn't learn about his Jewish heritage until he was in his 20s.

Graduated first in his high school class in Little Rock and first in his class of 1966 at West Point. Rhodes Scholar at Oxford.

Clark commanded a mechanized infantry company in Vietnam, where he earned a Silver Star and a Purple Heart.

Assignments that helped propel him to four-star status: White House Fellow; National War College and the Command and General Staff College; command of the 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Hood; director of strategic plans and policy for the Pentagon joint staff.

Immediately before assuming the NATO command post in 1997, he was head of the Southern Command in Panama, responsible for all U.S. military activities in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Since retiring from the military in 2000, Clark has worked as an investment banker.

GRAPHIC: Graph: 1. WESLEY CLARK (TEXT); Mug: 2. Wesley Clark

LOAD-DATE: September 1, 2003

The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, September 20, 2003, Saturday

Copyright 2003 Little Rock Newspapers, Inc. Arkansas Democrat-Gazette (Little Rock, AR)

September 20, 2003, Saturday

SECTION: FRONT SECTION; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 1027 words

HEADLINE: Leverage, not war, 'vote' aim, **Clark** says

BYLINE: BY PAUL BARTON ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

BODY:

IOWA CITY, Iowa - Just three days into his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** of Little Rock was forced to backpedal and clarify remarks on one of the key issues of the race - the war against Iraq.

As **Clark** left Little Rock early Friday to fly to Iowa for a foreign-policy speech, he saw that The New York Times and The Washington Post had quoted him as saying he would have voted for the congressional resolution that authorized use of force against Iraq if he had been a lawmaker.

Clark had given special access to reporters from the two papers as he flew to Florida on Thursday for a fund-raiser.

Clark, along with Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, was supposed to be one of the leading anti-war candidates in the Democratic field. The quotes in the Times and the Post had suddenly cast doubt on his anti-war credentials.

On Friday, shortly before he was to give a speech on foreign policy and national security at the **University of Iowa, Clark** was forced to use a series of brief one-on-one interviews with other news organizations to explain his stance.

"I would have never voted for war. I would have voted for leverage," **Clark** told the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette. "The headlines got it wrong."

By leverage, **Clark** referred to the approach preferred last year by many congressional Democrats and Republican moderates who wanted to instruct the president to seek the approval of the United Nations, then present the issue to Congress a second time.

"The president of the United States should have come back to the Congress of the United States after he had the U.N. Security Council resolution that laid out the urgency that justified going to war," **Clark** said. His position all along was that Iraq was "an elective war."

In other campaign-related developments:

Clark told the Democrat- Gazette that improving America's infrastructure, not just highways and bridges, but facilities important to homeland security and broadband Internet capabilities, would be key part of the economic-development proposals he will soon unveil.

"We're going to tell you what we should do to create jobs in America," he said.

Clark said he would definitely participate in next week's debate of Democratic presidential candidates in New York. The scheduling hesitancy was only a matter of getting out of a speech he was contracted to give at Midwestern State University in Texas, he said.

"I don't view it as a risk, I view it as an opportunity," **Clark** said of the debate, which is to focus on economic issues. He said he hopes voters will come away from the debate with a view of him as

"knowledgeable, thoughtful, competent."

Clark got a rousing reception at the **University of Iowa.** More than 1,000 faculty, students and Iowa residents curious about the new candidate packed a lecture hall in the Iowa Memorial Union.

Clark got standing ovations when he entered the hall, when he was formally introduced and at the end of a almost one-hourand-10-minute speech during which he took numerous questions from the audience. ON FOREIGN POLICY

The former NATO commander started off with some self-deprecating humor about the perks of his various military commands and how he missed them upon retiring in 2000.

But then he quickly tore into the practice of American foreign policy since the end of the Cold War in 1989, describing the country as "rudderless" and roundly condemning how the Bush administration has fought the war on terrorism.

"When we won the Cold War and defeated our adversary, we lost our strategy," he said. "There wasn't meat in the concept of a new world order."

Clark's rhetoric grew stronger as he moved to United States' situation in Iraq.

"We have to use international institutions and not condemn and abuse them," he said. "If we didn't have a U.N., we would have to invent one."

As he came down on the Bush administration, **Clark's** address was interrupted by loud applause on at least 10 occasions in the cradle of this traditionally liberal state.

"We have to recognize that force should only be used as a last resort," said the man who supervised a 78-day war against Serbia in 1999 to stop ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. "It's very difficult to change people's minds when you are bombing them and killing them. They don't like it."

Iraq, he added, "is beginning to look like an endless occupation."

But the United States cannot pull out now without inviting "chaos," he said. "I don't think there is an easy exit."

NO IRAQ EASY EXIT

Clark ended by quoting from Carl Sandburg's poem Chicago, which described an emerging city flexing its muscles and anxious to take on its destiny. Clark said he considered that a description of the United States as a whole, one that fits as well at the beginning of the 21 st century as it did 100 years ago. After his speech, Clark was mobbed by well-wishers and autograph seekers who presented him with everything from baseball caps to copies of his book, Waging Modern War, to sign.

"He was everything I wanted to see," said Dale Todd, 46, the first black to serve on the Cedar Rapids City Council. "He was articulate, had a good presentation and command of his facts."

Cynthia Crossett, 25, a law student, predicted that **Clark** will quickly become a co-front-runner in the race with Dean. "I thought it went over well," she said.

Less-impressed was Jim Arenson, 54, a Cedar Rapids attorney who described himself as a moderate Republican. Arenson faulted **Clark** for failing to address Arab-Israeli tensions. "I thought it was a glowing omission," he said.

As for the reaction from the audience, Arenson said, "I didn't think it was overwhelming."

Earlier Friday, **Clark** met a packed house at the Hamburg Inn No. 2, one of Iowa City's leading diners and coffee shops, and a place frequented by presidential candidates over the years. Pictures of former presidents Clinton and Reagan are among the political offerings on the walls.

Owner Dave Panther, 56, said **Clark** drew one of the largest crowds he had ever seen for a candidate. "I think he's got a chance," Panther said.

This story was originally published on Saturday, September 20, 2003.

LOAD-DATE: September 22, 2003

Des Moines Register September 20, 2003 Saturday

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Des Moines Register

September 20, 2003 Saturday

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1183 words

HEADLINE: Clark says he wouldn't have voted for war

BYLINE: Beaumont Thomas, Staff

BODY:

By THOMAS BEAUMONT

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Iowa City, Ia. -Democratic presidential candidate **Wesley Clark,** in his first Iowa campaign visit, backed away Friday from a comment that he would have supported the congressional resolution giving President Bush power to order the war in Iraq.

"I never would have voted for war," **Clark,** a retired four-star Army general, said during an interview with The Des Moines Register. Reports published Friday quoted **Clark** as saying he probably would have supported the resolution.

"I would have voted for a resolution which gave the president leverage to seek a diplomatic, non-military solution to the problem in Iraq. I would have never voted for war," he said. "I'm a soldier. I know what war is like."

Clark, the former NATO commander, has been a vocal critic of the war, but had kept other policy positions a mystery for months as speculation mounted about whether he would seek the 2004 Democratic nomination.

Clark began fleshing out his candidacy Friday, promising to propose a health-care plan built on existing programs, rather than a government-run, single-payer system. He also said he favored repealing incometax cuts for the wealthiest Americans but leaving in place all other cuts enacted under Bush.

"I think we have to protect especially the tax cuts for middle-income and ordinary people across the country," he told the Register.

War, tax cuts and health care have been the main dividing issues of the Democratic field, which reached 10 with **Clark's** entry into the race Wednesday. Campaigning Friday in Iowa City, **Clark** was making his first visit as a candidate to Iowa, where the Democratic precinct caucuses mark the opening event of the presidential nominating season on Jan. 19.

On his second full day as a candidate, **Clark** sought to clarify his position on the war after press reports Friday quoted him as saying he probably would have voted for a resolution giving Bush broad war-making authority in Iraq.

The resolution, which authorized Bush to order the attack in Iraq without United Nations approval, has been a dividing point among Democrats seeking to challenge the president next year.

Candidates who voted for the measure have faced pointed questioning by Iowa Democratic activists who opposed the war, while candidates who opposed the resolution have accused its supporters of handing Bush a blank check.

"I said I probably would have (supported the resolution)," **Clark** told reporters during an impromptu press conference on the **University of Iowa** campus. "The reason is because it gave important leverage to internationalize the opportunity, the response to Saddam Hussein. It wasn't a bad tactical move."

But **Clark**, who said Bush waged war "under false pretenses," told the Register just hours later that he would have supported only a measure that would have required Bush to go back to Congress after exhausting diplomatic avenues. Such a measure was proposed, but failed.

During a speech to more than 1,000 students, faculty and supporters, **Clark** again said he opposed the war, but would have backed a resolution as a way of giving Bush proper backing to win support from allies.

"What I would have voted for is leverage, leverage for the president of the United States to internationalize the challenge of Iraq, leverage for the United States to avoid a war," he said, calling the war "a major blunder."

Clark's visit to Iowa City was tied to the speaking engagement through the **University of Iowa** law school, which was scheduled months before this week's campaign launch.

Clark's political supporters quickly set up an event at a campus-area cafe, where roughly 100 Democratic activists and more than a dozen media gathered to chronicle **Clark's** foray into Iowa.

He flew into Iowa from his hometown of Little Rock., Ark., early Friday and met with supporters at the cafe, but spent most of the day holed up in meetings with the press and making fund-raising phone calls.

Clark remained reluctant Friday to say how aggressively he would campaign in Iowa.

However, state Democratic Party Chairman Gordon Fischer said **Clark** called him Friday morning and said he was committed to competing in the caucuses.

"He said he was going to campaign in Iowa and compete in the caucuses," Fischer said of his 20-minute conversation with Clark. "He said, 'We can't take anything for granted.' "

Seven of **Clark's** rivals established caucus campaigns months ago and spent the summer crisscrossing the state where a candidate's success is often determined by how many activists he or she meets.

The career military officer-turned businessman seemed at ease on the second full day of his campaign. He waded into the crowd outside the Hamburg Inn near campus, shaking hands and soliciting comments and questions.

"What's on your mind? Come on, let's go!" the candidate, standing on a chair, urged the cafe crowd.

Answering a health-care question shouted from the crowd, **Clark said:** "We've got to look at the existing system and we've got to take it forward. How we get from where we are right now to where we want to be with health care is a whole process that we've got to work to."

Iowa City Democrats Matt and Julie Thatcher, who talked with **Clark** about education, said they found him to be a good listener.

"He wasn't just warm and attentive, but he has a mental acuteness," said Julie Thatcher, a graduate student in education.

After the event, he walked with a handful of supporters to the Iowa Memorial Union, literally stopping traffic to shake hands with a driver at one point.

Joyce Conklin-Van Kirk left Perry at 6:30 a.m. to get to Iowa City and see **Clark.** She initially was leaning toward former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, but Van Kirk said she finds **Clark** more electable.

"Dean tends to shoot from the hip. **Clark** is more thoughtful in his responses," said Van Kirk. "I absolutely believe General **Clark** is going to be our next president."

Wesley Clark on the issues

Democrat **Wesley Clark** criticized the Bush administration's foreign policy as one that alienates other countries and accused Bush of rushing to war in Iraq during a speech Friday in Iowa City.

ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS:

"We're not the sort of you're-with-us-or-you're-not kind of people. We're a come-and-join-with-us kind of people."

ON THE UNITED NATIONS:

"We built it to reflect our values and our democracy. It was built as an institution to help America protect our interests and preserve peace around the world. . . . We have to use international institutions, not condemn and abuse them. . . . If we didn't have the United Nations, we'd be wanting to invent one."

ON THE WAR IN IRAO:

"There was no reason for this administration to take our forces and launch them into war in March against Iraq when we hadn't done the proper preparation, we didn't have the allies, we didn't have reinforcements on the ground, we hadn't thought through the consequences afterward of going in and taking down that regime. It was a mistake. It was a blunder and I think it was a major blunder by the United States of America."

GRAPHIC: s_By: MARY CHIND, THE REGISTER: Campaigning: Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** speaks Friday during a visit to Iowa City. Tax cuts: In Iowa City on Friday, Democrat **Wesley Clark** said he favors repealing income-tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans and leaving in place all other cuts enacted under President Bush.

LOAD-DATE: September 23, 2003

The San Diego Union-Tribune, September 28, 2003

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The San Diego Union-Tribune

September 28, 2003, Sunday

SECTION: OPINION; Pg. G-1

LENGTH: 1151 words

HEADLINE: Gen. Clark's political baptism by fire

BYLINE: John O'Sullivan; O'Sullivan is the editor of The National Interest.

BODY:

As Gen. **Wesley Clark** plunges into the campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, he would be wise to recall the warning of a shrewd Roman historian. Tacitus wrote of a gifted but disastrous political leader: "capax imperii nisi imperasset."

This crabbed Latin judgment is famously hard to translate but its rough meaning goes: "He would have made a very fine emperor if, poor fellow, he had not actually become emperor."

All too many presidential candidates fit this mordant description. They peak on the day of their announcement and decline precipitously thereafter. Gov. George Romney was once considered a shoo-in for the Republican nomination. Then, seeking to explain earlier statements of support for the Vietnam War, he rashly admitted to being "brainwashed" by the U.S. Army. This admission wounded him, but not mortally. It was left to Professor (later senator) Daniel Moynihan to deliver the coup de grace: "Brainwashing? In the case of the governor, a light rinse would be sufficient."

Clark is probably made of sterner stuff. He had a distinguished academic career as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford who also graduated first in his class at West Point. His military career is no less creditable. He served in Vietnam, where he was thrice decorated for heroism as commander of an armor company. And as supreme allied commander in NATO alliance he waged its successful war in Kosovo.

Democratic strategists are hailing his candidacy because they see him as the perfect Democratic standard-bearer -- namely, an anti-war soldier. As such, they calculate, he can unite both wings of the party and

also insulate it against the charge of not being serious about national security. And, because he is an unknown quantity on almost all domestic questions, he is free to define himself as the polls dictate.

But there are always obstacles on the road to the White House. And Clark faces at least four.

In the first place, he is a general. Contrary to the widely held myth that Americans long to vote for a man on a white horse, the voters are actually quite wary of military men. As UPI's Martin Sieff has pointed out, only six generals have been elected president since the founding of the Republic; the last example was President Eisenhower almost 50 years ago; and the last general to be elected as a Democrat was Andrew Jackson in 1828! And even when they smile on generals, the voters are highly selective. They elect those who are military heroes with major victories to their credit on the Washington-Eisenhower model rather than merely able commanders. And **Clark** himself would not claim to be in that heroic mould.

Of course, soldiers from lower ranks have sometimes been elected president. Harry Truman is a case in point. But they have been elected on other grounds, domestic political grounds, not because they were trailing clouds of military glory. If he is to be elected in turn, **Clark** will need to get a domestic program, and quick. On his first outing, he was visibly stumped by questions that his rivals, Gov. Howard Dean, Sen. John Kerry, Sen. Joe Lieberman et al. could have answered in their (and the voters') sleep.

Clark's second problem is that he is a not very anti-war candidate in a thoroughly anti-war party. Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, the left-wing media watchdog, has unearthed a wonderful series of embarrassing contradictions about the Iraq invasion that **Clark** committed in the last year.

For instance: George Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair "should be proud of their resolve in the face of so much doubt." (The London Times, April 10) Or, in the same newspaper on the following day, "... If there is a single overriding lesson, it must be this: American military power... is virtually unchallengeable today. Take us on? Don't try. And that's not hubris, it's just plain fact." And much more in like vein.

These quotations sit oddly alongside his recent claims that he was an opponent of the war from the very beginning. His own Kosovo victory further undermines any anti-war credentials. For it was an undeclared war without U.N. approval against an enemy -- namely, Slobodan Milosevic -- who never had weapons of mass destruction and posed much less of a direct threat to the United States than Saddam Hussein. And Clark cannot resolve these contradictions even by some desperate Romney-like claim to have been brainwashed by the U.S. Army, since his army resume is at least half his campaign.

That seriously aggravates his third problem -- namely, that as the candidate appealing to both wings of the Democrats, he necessarily also annoys both wings. **Clark's** arrival has undoubtedly sunk the campaign of Southern moderate Sen. John Edwards, the "Pretty Boy Floyd" of trial lawyers, and is sucking the air and finance out of the campaign of veteran anti-war veteran Kerry, whose military credentials are considerably less impressive. So far, so good.

But in the latest Newsweek poll, taken only a day after **Clark** entered the race, when he had all the advantages of novelty, he is a mere two points ahead of both the left-wing progressive Dean and the right-wing moderate Lieberman. As the campaign progresses, **Clark** is bound to alienate natural Dean supporters in the course of appealing to natural Lieberman ones and, vice versa, even if he makes no actual gaffes. Both Dean and Lieberman, however, have campaign experience, good organizations loyal to them, financial backing and real issues about which their constituencies feel passionate. They show no sign of being hustled off the political stage by the media swooning over **Clark**.

Clark's final drawback is the apparent backing he has received from the Clintons and their political apparat. Former Clinton advisers surround the general, and favorable comments on his campaign have been leaked from their eyrie in New York.

But if bad things happen to enemies of the Clintons, worse things happen to their friends -- Kathleen
Willey got groped in the course of being "comforted" in her widow's grief; Vince Foster committed suicide;
and Webb Hubbell, Jim and Susan MacDougall, and former Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker all went to jail.

Probably Clark will not go to prison or be groped. If President Bush looks vulnerable in early 2004,

Angeles to support embattled California Governor Gray Davis. The visit by Clinton begins a big push for Democrats in the state, with Al Gore and Jesse Jackson also scheduled to appear with Davis this week.

So, let's talk more recall and party politics this morning.

Political analyst Mark Plotkin from WTOP Radio joins us live from Washington.

Good morning, Mark.

MARK PLOTKIN, WTOP RADIO: Good morning, Carol.

COSTELLO: OK, so for Gray Davis it must have been one beautiful sight, Bill Clinton shining like a bright, warm light beside him. Has the momentum shifted to Gray Davis?

PLOTKIN: Well, if you listen to the polls, it sure has. You know, it's a two part ballot. You first have to throw Gray Davis out for there to be a recall. And there was about 65 percent a few weeks ago who said they wanted to do that. Now, it's almost even and the momentum is going toward Davis. And having Bill Clinton there, who is the consummate master politician, he's really basking in reflected glory. And Clinton, I think, articulated it best. This is an overwhelming Democratic state. The Democrats have won the presidential election there every year except for '88 in the past years. They control both houses of the legislature. They control the statewide offices. And they're appealing to the yellow dog Democrats, Democrats come home and don't throw this guy out.

COSTELLO: Oh, yes, but, Mark, Arnold Schwarzenegger is going to appear on "Oprah Winfrey" today along with his wife. Do you think that will help his campaign?

PLOTKIN: Well, you know, first, I keep on stressing is that you have to vote yes for the recall...

COSTELLO: I know.

PLOTKIN: If they don't vote yes for the recall and Schwarzenegger beats Cruz Bustamante and McClintock and every other of the 133 other candidates, it doesn't mean anything. And I think some way people have lost sight of that fact.

Schwarzenegger's got problems even if they vote to recall Davis because McClintock is pulling votes away from him. And then Bustamante and Davis, who are not the president of each other's fan club, Bustamante showed up over the weekend and Davis -- and they kind of embraced, sort of, and...

COSTELLO: Oh, look, they look really warm together, don't they?

PLOTKIN: Yes, they're very cordial. They have a somewhat distant and diffident relationship. But at least they now have a unified message. It is vote no on recall and then vote for Bustamante. And so at least there is sort of a cohesive message.

COSTELLO: Got you.

We've got to talk about the presidential election...

PLOTKIN: Yes.

COSTELLO: ... because, you know, Howard Dean has been coming along but he's now become a target.

PLOTKIN: Yes, he sure has. You know, before he was the minuscule, one percent, some obscure governor, some physician from Vermont who nobody even knew. And now he's a hot property. And when you're the front runner, other candidates are going to go after you.

Joe Lieberman, I was at the debate in Morgan State at Baltimore; went after him with a vengeance on his Mideast views. Richard Gephardt went after him on statements he made in the '90s about Medicare. So when you're not really considered the leader, nobody pays any attention. But now you're the leader and

they're going to dissect everything you have to say and particularly about his Mideast views.

COSTELLO: Well, let me ask you about Wesley Clark.

PLOTKIN: Yes?

COSTELLO: Because he's going to speak on Friday.

PLOTKIN: Yes.

COSTELLO: What do you think he'll say? Will he be running for president or will he join Howard Dean?

PLOTKIN: Do I get invited back if I make the wrong prediction? Will you kill the tape? I think he's going to get in. I really do. I think he wants to get in. He thinks he's Dwight David Eisenhower, he's going to be recruited, he's going to be drafted. He's got the, you know, first in his class at West Point, Rhodes Scholar, four star general. I think he feels that I'm the class of the whole group and I should be president.

COSTELLO: Yes.

PLOTKIN: He has a bit of hubris and I think he wasn't going to be doing this dance for so long. I think he's going to jump in. First he's going to start in Little Rock and then he's going to go to the **University of Iowa**, which has the second contest, you know, after the D.C. primary January 13. And then I think he'll jump in and see what happens. At least, even as much as he says I'm not running for vice president, he would be a great vice presidential choice for any of the Democratic candidates.

COSTELLO: Of course, yes, any of those many Democratic candidates.

PLOTKIN: Right.

COSTELLO: Thank you very much, Mark Plotkin.

PLOTKIN: Great to see you again, Carol.

COSTELLO: We'll see you next Monday.

PLOTKIN: You've got it. TO ORDER A VIDEO OF THIS TRANSCRIPT, PLEASE CALL 800-CNN-NEWS OR USE

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LOAD-DATE: September 16, 2003

Des Moines Register August 27, 2003 Wednesday

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Des Moines Register

August 27, 2003 Wednesday

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 948 words

HEADLINE: Clark to decide candidacy before

BYLINE: Beaumont Thomas, Staff

BODY:Iowa visit

By THOMAS BEAUMONT

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

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Gen. **Wesley Clark,** a former NATO commander who has kept the political world guessing about his presidential aspirations, said Tuesday he will announce before he visits Iowa next month whether he will seek the 2004 Democratic nomination.

"I'm going to have something to say soon," **Clark** told The Des Moines Register by telephone from his office in Little Rock, Ark.

"I expect to have my decision made by September 19th."

Clark, who has been mentioned as a potential presidential candidate since last year, is scheduled to speak Sept. 19 at the **University of Iowa** in Iowa City.

A **Clark** campaign would siphon support from the top three candidates in Iowa, especially from Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts, an independent national pollster and Democratic activists said Tuesday.

Clark, a retired four-star Army general who has criticized President Bush's handling of the war in Iraq, said he hoped Iowa Democrats would welcome his late entry in the race, should he decide to run.

"If I were to make the decision to go ahead, then they have to make their decisions, and I hope the people in Iowa would consider what I have to say," he said.

Iowa's precinct caucuses Jan. 19 begin the presidential nominating process.

The latest Des Moines Register Iowa Poll showed former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean with a narrow lead over Rep. Dick Gephardt of Missouri. Kerry was third.

In addition to commanding NATO forces during the conflict in Kosovo in 1999, **Clark** has been a Rhodes scholar and decorated veteran of the Vietnam War. He appeared regularly this year on CNN as a military expert during the war in Irag.

Independent pollster John Zogby said Tuesday that **Clark's** resume would make him a formidable candidate.

"Clearly, no Democrat's taking off, and the strength of his biography suggest this could be a compelling candidate," Zogby said of **Clark.**

Zogby published a poll last week showing **Clark** would place fifth among the Democrats running for president.

Zogby said **Clark** could attract supporters now drawn to Kerry, who is a decorated Vietnam War naval officer and the only combat veteran in the field of nine Democratic presidential candidates.

"Whatever piece of the pie Kerry could count on strictly on the war record, I think **Clark** could suck the oxygen out of that," Zogby said.

Kerry, who campaigned in Des Moines and Adel on Tuesday, said a **Clark** campaign could take support from several candidates.

"I think he takes away from lots of different people and different things to whatever degree he earns votes." Kerry said-after an event-in Des Moines with Iowa veterans.

"His positions are similar to some other people in the field, too, on certain different things, and he'll

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undoubtedly have an impact."

Zogby said **Clark,** who objected to the way the war in Iraq was conducted, could hurt Dean, who opposed the war but has no military background.

Clark had argued that more ground troops were needed early in the war, and said Bush misjudged the situation.

"The simple truth is that we went into Iraq on the basis of some intuition, some fear, and some exaggerated rhetoric and some very, very scanty evidence," **Clark** said on CNN.

Clark, 58, who has never sought elected office, also could be appealing as a fresh face and hurt 27-year U.S. House veteran Dick Gephardt, who ran for president in 1988.

Clark has not yet declared himself a member of the Democratic Party, and party officials in Iowa have heard nothing from him this year.

He could enter the race around Labor Day and still be a viable candidate in the January caucuses, but time is running out, said Polk County Democratic Party Chairman Tom Henderson.

"I think it's getting late," Henderson said. "I think things really start to firm up in November and December. "If he doesn't have grass roots on the ground soon after Labor Day, it will be hard for him to play catch-up."

Henderson and state Sen. Keith Kreiman of Bloomfield, both of whom are undecided, said they would like to see **Clark** enter the race.

They agree he could hurt Kerry's candidacy, but only with a narrow swath of caucus activists.

"Clark's resume is impeccable," Kreiman said, "but Kerry has more domestic policy experience and is a more complete package."

A group has launched an Internet movement to draft Clark into the race.

Last week, the group began airing television advertisements in Cedar Rapids, and this week it expects to air the ads in Des Moines and other markets, said John Hlinko, co-founder of DraftWesleyClark.com.

He said the group also is airing ads in New Hampshire, which hosts the nation's first primary on Jan. 27, as well as in Washington, D.C., and Little Rock, Ark., where **Clark** lives.

"We're fighting a two-front war," Hlinko said. "We want Democrats to keep from making up their minds at the same time we're trying to get General **Clark** to run."

Hlinko, whose group commissioned a portion of the Zogby poll, pointed to results that showed poll respondents rated **Clark's** resume the highest compared with the other Democrats in the field.

Donna Brazile, who managed the 2000 campaign of Democratic nominee Al Gore, said **Clark** would have an instant effect on the race.

But he would have to be very aggressive in courting big-name endorsements to compensate for his late entry, she said.

"He would have to come in with a huge splash," Brazile said. "He'd take a little from this campaign and a little from that one, but he will have to make his own footprints. He's no Bill Clinton."

Reporter Thomas Beaumont can be reached at (515) 286-2532 or tbeaumont@dmreq.com

GRAPHIC: _By: Gen. **Wesley Clark** is a retired four-star Army general and former NATO commander.

The state of the s

LOAD-DATE: August 28, 2003

The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, September 16, 2003, Tuesday

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September 16, 2003, Tuesday

SECTION: FRONT SECTION; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 515 words

HEADLINE: Clark calls campaign vets to LR Sources: D-day near for general

BYLINE: BY PAUL BARTON ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

BODY:

WASHINGTON - Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** of Little Rock is expected to "make a statement" by Wednesday about the 2004 presidential race. Meanwhile, he is summoning potential campaign advisers to Little Rock, sources said Monday.

Clark is to meet today with several veteran Democratic hands to plan strategy for a Clark candidacy. New Hampshire Democratic activist and longtime Clark friend George Bruno confirmed that he is one of those traveling to Little Rock. Other sources have told the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette that Clark has also invited Ron Klain, who was Al Gore's chief of staff when Gore was vice president; Mark Fabiani, Gore's communications director in 2000; and Peter Knight, a very prominent Washington lobbyist who ran Gore's fund raising in 2000.

"Expect something in the next 48 hours," one source said Monday.

That something is expected to be a statement of some kind from **Clark** announcing whether he intends to enter the race. Nearly all signals from **Clark** and his inner circle in recent weeks have indicated that he will become the 10th announced candidate for the Democratic nomination.

After an initial statement this week, a more formal announcement of his candidacy could be delayed another week or two, sources said.

Most of the other Democratic candidates started campaigning before their formal announcements, as well. "That's the game plan," one source said.

Bruno said his understanding is that **Clark** only promised to reach a decision this week and that the formal announcement could come later. "We're not ready for the support and enthusiasm that would follow that," Bruno said.

Clark has said for weeks that his intentions would be known before he gives a speech on foreign affairs at the **University of Iowa** on Friday.

Rumors have had **Clark** looking at MacArthur Park in Little Rock as a possible site for a formal announcement, giving reinforcement to the links between **Clark** and military tradition.

On the wall of **Clark's** office in Little Rock is a painting of Gen. Douglas MacArthur speaking to cadets at West Point, where **Clark** graduated first in his class in 1966.

A Little Rock city official said Monday that **Clark's** office inquired several weeks ago about using MacArthur Park but has not called back since. The campaign would have to pay a fee of \$ 200 to rent the park.

Meanwhile, Bruno, the former New Hampshire Democratic Party chairman, is being met at the Little Rock airport Tuesday by Patty Criner, a Little Rock real estate agent who campaigned extensively in New Hampshire for former President Clinton in 1992.

When asked about his role in a possible **Clark** campaign, Bruno said only that it would be "to help out." Bruno said he thinks **Clark** has probably made his decision but said the retired general and former NATO supreme commander has not told him what it is.

Criner, Little Rock Democratic activist Skip Rutherford and other former Clinton campaigners have indicated they are ready to go to work for **Clark** the moment he gives them a signal.

This story was originally published on Tuesday, September 16, 2003.

LOAD-DATE: September 16, 2003



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August 29, 2003 Friday

SECTION: NEWS; Pq. 5

LENGTH: 631 words

HEADLINE: Clark still wants to run, friends say;

General said to be weighing chances in presidential vote

BYLINE: Michael Janofsky

SOURCE: The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON:

BODY:

Wesley Clark, the retired four-star general who has been contemplating a run for president, has told close friends that he wants to join the Democratic race and is delaying a final decision only until he feels he has a legitimate chance of winning the nomination.

"It's safe to say he wants to run," said a longtime friend who has had frequent political conversations with **Clark.** "But he approaches this like a military man. He wants to know, Can I win the battle? He doesn't want to have a situation where he could embarrass himself, but I'm absolutely certain he wants to run." Whether he does, his friends said, will be determined by his instincts and a firm assessment of Howard Dean, the former governor of Vermont, whose early success has come in part through criticism of White House strategies in Iraq that is every bit as strong as **Clark's.**

While **Clark** has consistently maintained that he has not yet made up his mind, his friends said a major obstacle has been cleared family approval. They said his wife, Gert, who had expressed reservations, now favors his running. "He is going to do it," said another of **Clark's** friends. "He's just going back and forth as to when" to announce.

In an interview from his office in Little Rock, Arkansas, the former four-star general said Wednesday that he intended to announce his decision whether he would run in two weeks or so.

"I've got to by then," he said. "I've just got to. I can't have done nothing, and if I do it, there's groundwork to be laid."

More than likely, **Clark** would wait until some time after Sept. 15, a financial reporting date for presidential contenders. If he announces before then, he would have to reveal how much money he raised in the third quarter of the year, which pales beside the millions generated by Dean, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts and other leading Democratic candidates.

A possible date for an announcement is Sept. 19, when **Clark**, who has been highly critical of Bush administration foreign policy, is scheduled to deliver a speech at the **University of Iowa**. The subject is "The American Leadership Role in a Changing World."

While some contenders view **Clark** more as a running mate than presidential threat, his credentials could pose problems for several of them. As a former military commander, he would sound at least as credible on national security matters as Dean. As a Southerner from Little Rock, **Clark** might blunt the appeal in the South of Senators John Edwards of North Carolina and Bob Graham of Florida.

And as a Vietnam veteran, he would temper a prominent theme of the campaign of Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts that he is the only Democrat running to have served in combat.

But almost all the other Democrats have financial and organizational advantages over **Clark.** He has done almost nothing to prepare for a nationwide campaign or even one centered in the early test states, Iowa and New Hampshire. A spokeswoman, Holly Johnson, said his only political activity had been traveling the country, giving speeches.

Despite his lack of financial and personnel support, two Internet-based groups have worked for months as de facto campaign organizations, rousting up as much potential support as volunteer groups can in the hope that their services would be called upon. Neither has had any direct contact with **Clark.**

One group, whose home page is draftclark.com, is lining up operatives in all 50 states and recruiting people who might serve as campaign manager, pollster and political advisers. The other, DraftWesleyClark.com, had generated pledges for nearly \$900,000, and an event in Manhattan Wednesday night put the figure over \$1 million. Leaders of both groups say they are ready to combine forces in a **Clark** campaign.

LOAD-DATE: August 29, 2003

Articles pertaining to General Wesley Clark's presidential run Prior to signing the University of Iowa Contract (ANNOTATED NEWS ARTICLES).

World Markets Analysis February 18, 2003
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World Markets Analysis
February 18, 2003

SECTION: IN BRIEF **LENGTH:** 135 words

HEADLINE: US Democrat **Presidential Candidates** May Increase to Nine

BYLINE: Alison Taylor

BODY:

The field of Democratic **presidential candidates** looks set to increase to nine, as three more people have announced that they are considering entering the race. Representative Dennis Kucinich of Ohio, former Illinois senator Carol Moseley-Braun, and *retired General Wesley Clark have said they are considering bids*. Candidates already in the race are the former governor of Vermont Howard Dean, North Carolina senator John Edwards, Missouri representative Dick Gephardt, Massachusetts senator John Kerry, Connecticut senator Joe Lieberman and the Reverend Al Sharpton. There is no clear front-runner in the race since former **presidential candidate** Al Gore announced his decision not to stand again in **2004**, which is encouraging a plethora of candidates to try their luck in the early stages of the race.

Los Angeles Times August 18, 2003 Monday
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Los Angeles Times
August 18, 2003 Monday Home Edition

SECTION: Main News; Part 1; Page 10; National Desk

LENGTH: 86 words **HEADLINE:** The Nation; IN BRIEF / WASHINGTON;

Former NATO Chief Might Run for President

BODY:

Former NATO commander Gen. Wesley K. Clark said he would decide in two to three weeks whether to seek the Democratic presidential nomination.

Clark, interviewed on CNN's "Late Edition," said he had found an "enormous hunger for leadership" as he toured the country.

Clark singled out House Republican leader Tom DeLay of Texas as an antagonist. DeLay had disparaged **Clark**, until recently a CNN military analyst, as "a blow-dried Napoleon" pushing his own political agenda under the quise of commentary.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Former NATO chief Gen. Wesley Clark PHOTOGRAPHER: Getty Images

LOAD-DATE: August 18, 2003

The Washington Post, March 04, 2003
Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington Post
March 04, 2003, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A06; POLITICS DAN BALZ

LENGTH: 705 words

HEADLINE: Countering a Trend, Dodd Won't Join Democratic Field

BYLINE: Dan Balz

BODY:

...Dodd is in his fourth Senate term and is up for reelection in **2004.** His decision leaves the Democratic field at nine candidates, with several others still considering the race. They include Sen. Joseph R. Biden (Del.), former Colorado senator Gary Hart and retired Gen. **Wesley Clark.**

LOAD-DATE: March 04, 2003

Chattanooga Times Free Press (Tennessee) February 21, 2003 Friday
Copyright 2003 Chattanooga Publishing Company
Chattanooga Times Free Press (Tennessee)
February 21, 2003 Friday

SECTION: METRO; Pg. B7

LENGTH: 627 words

HEADLINE: And now there are eight (so far)

BYLINE: Lee Anderson

BODY:

...Still reported to be considering the contest are Sen. Bob Graham of Florida, former Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado, Sen. Joe Biden of Delaware, Sen. Chris Dodd of Connecticut and former NATO commander Gen. **Wesley Clark** of Arkansas.

LOAD-DATE: March 2, 2003

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania) January 9, 2003 Thursday
Copyright 2003 P.G. Publishing Co.
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)
January 9, 2003 Thursday SOONER EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg.A-11

LENGTH: 748 words

HEADLINE: MORE THAN A PRETTY FACE WHY JOHN EDWARDS STANDS OUT IN THE FIELD OF

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES **DATELINE:** WASHINGTON

BODY:

...The first of those assets is geographical. He is currently the only Southerner in the field, and Democrats know their only successful **presidential candidates** in the past 40 years came from Texas, Georgia and Arkansas. Sen. Bob Graham of Florida and retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** of Arkansas may yet run, so this advantage is possibly perishable. But while it lasts, it is significant, especially since the South Carolina primary may be as important to the Democrats in **2004** as it was to the Republicans in 2000.

David S. Broder is a syndicated columnist for The Washington Post (davidbroder@washpost.com).

LOAD-DATE: January 9, 2003

THE PARTY OF THE P

The Hotline February 20, 2003 Thursday Copyright 2003 The National Journal Group, Inc. The Hotline February 20, 2003 Thursday

SECTION: WHITE HOUSE 2004

LENGTH: 298 words

HEADLINE: CLARK: SOLID AS A LITTLE ROCK

BODY:

Ex-NATO Supreme Allied Commander **Wesley Clark** "seems to have cleared up some lingering questions about his party affiliation" and WH '04 plans. Dem sources say **Clark** called AR Dem Chair Ron Oliver this month "and asked him to hold off endorsing a candidate." A source: "Endorsing anyone else by his home state party would hurt him bad." **Clark** "said he'd decide after the anticipated war with Iraq" (Bedard, U.S. News, 2/24 issue).

REMINISCENT OF MCCAIN?

Syndicated columnist Matt Miller writes, **Clarks** "directness and authenticity" on nat'l security "evoke something of the feeling" Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) "inspired" -- "'at last,' you think, 'we're not being spun.'" **Clark** "doesn't need to convince us he could be a credible commander in chief." Unlike "many" Dems, he's "not trying childishly to score points on every Bush misstep." **Clark** "offers a nuanced, credible critique that seems to reflect his best judgment, not partisan calculation." He hasn't "gamed out the pros and cons of his 'positioning' on Iraq" with his consultants. "When someone with authority and experience is telling you what they really think, it shows" (mattino@worldnet.att.net, 2/20).

Columnist Charles Krauthammer: "I think the real sleeper here is **Wesley Clark** ... who says he's not running. I think he's being rather coy about it. And he appears on a network whose name will not pass my lips here" ("Special Report," FNC, 2/19).

FNC's Kondracke: "That gives him exposure, but a very small exposure with a small audience. ... But if he ran, and in a situation like we learned in the last **election** where national security is the Achilles heel of the Democrats, I think he would be strong. He's a shoo-in as a vice-**presidential candidate**" ("Special Report," 2/19).

LOAD-DATE: February 20, 2003

The Virginian-Pilot(Norfolk, Va.) February 21, 2003 Friday
Copyright 2003 Landmark Communications, Inc.
The Virginian-Pilot(Norfolk, Va.)
February 21, 2003 Friday Final Edition

SECTION: LOCAL, Pg. B8 **LENGTH:** 336 words

HEADLINE: A FRESH FACE FOR DEMOCRATS TO PONDER

RODY:

The teeming field of Democratic presidential candidates just got more interesting.

Retired Army Gen. Wesley Clark has indicated he's mulling a 2004 run against President Bush because he's concerned about the direction America is taking internationally. "We are about to embark on an operation that's going to put us in a colonial position in the Middle East. . . . It's a huge change for the American people and for what this country stands for," he said on Sunday's "Meet the Press." While Clark hasn't gone so far as to form an exploratory committee, he no longer denies his interest in running.

Clark joins a gaggle of Democrats weighing a challenge to Bush. They include U.S. Sens. Joe Lieberman,

John Edwards and John Kerry, Missouri Rep. Dick Gephardt, former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean and the Rev. Al Sharpton. And former Illinois Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun and Ohio Rep. Dennis Kucinich are also filing papers to run.

But the ex-general may be one of the few who could make George W. Bush look over his shoulder. **Clark's** strengths lie in areas where Democrats tend to be weak.

Clark, a former Rhodes scholar from Arkansas, may prove popular in the South, where the Democrats have lost their foothold. His military background as NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, lends **Clark** stature and credibility on international matters.

And **Clark** is a believable voice against Bush's stance on Iraq. His potential candidacy could win over Democratic and undecided voters who have opposed war. Other hopefuls, most notably Kucinich, are running on an anti-war platform. But as an ex-general, **Clark** would bring added authority to the issue.

If he decides to join the fray, **Clark** will face huge hurdles. A Johnny-come-lately to politics, he will have to convince Democratic Party honchos that he deserves their backing. He'll have to hone his knowledge of domestic issues. And anything can happen in the 21 months until **elections**. But if he runs, **Clark** may prove an intriguing choice for Democrats.

LOAD-DATE: February 22, 2003

The Washington Post, January 08, 2003
Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington Post
January 08, 2003, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. A19

LENGTH: 753 words

HEADLINE: Edwards's Raw Talent

BYLINE: David S. Broder

BODY:

...The first of those assets is geographical. He is currently the only southerner in the field, and Democrats know their only successful **presidential candidates** in the past 40 years came from Texas, Georgia and Arkansas. Sen. Bob Graham of Florida and retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** of Arkansas may yet run, so this advantage is possibly perishable. But while it lasts, it is significant, especially as the South Carolina primary may be as important to the Democrats in **2004** as it was to the Republicans in 2000.

LOAD-DATE: January 08, 2003

The Bulletin's Frontrunner February 4, 2003 Tuesday
Copyright 2003 Bulletin Broadfaxing Network, Inc.
The Bulletin's Frontrunner
February 4, 2003 Tuesday

SECTION: Presidential Campaign

LENGTH: 716 words

HEADLINE: Small Group Of Anti-War Protestors Occupy Kerry Office.

BODY:

...In recent weeks, Gen. **Wesley Clark**, the former NATO commander who is considering a run, revealed to the Forward newspaper that he descends 'from generations of rabbis' in Minsk, and former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean has touted his Jewish wife and children..

LOAD-DATE: March 5, 2003

The Independent (London), February 27, 2003 Copyright 2003 Newspaper Publishing PLC The Independent (London) February 27, 2003, Thursday

SECTION: FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 15

LENGTH: 580 words

HEADLINE: KERRY TAKES EARLY LEAD IN DEMOCRAT RACE

BYLINE: RUPERT CORNWELL IN WASHINGTON John Kerry, left, is fighting Dick Gephardt among others in

the race for the Democrat presidential nomination

BODY:

The field may yet grow further. A couple of other senior senators, Joseph Biden of Delaware and Bob Graham of Florida, are thinking of running. So are the former Colorado senator and **presidential**

candidate Gary Hart and the retired general Wesley Clark.

LOAD-DATE: February 27, 2003

The Bulletin's Frontrunner February 26, 2003 Wednesday
Copyright 2003 Bulletin Broadfaxing Network, Inc.
The Bulletin's Frontrunner
February 26, 2003 Wednesday

SECTION: Presidential Campaign

LENGTH: 1166 words

HEADLINE: Kerry Leads NH Democratic Field Two-To-One Over Nearest Rival.

BODY:

A Zogby poll of 600 likely New Hampshire voters, conducted over February 22-24 (+/- 4.1%), shows: --26% would vote for Sen. John Kerry; 13% would vote for former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean; 11% would vote for Rep. Richard Gephardt; 9% would vote for Sen. Joseph Lieberman; 2% would vote for Sen. John Edwards; 2% would vote for Carol Moseley-Braun; 2% would vote for Gary Hart; 1% would vote for Rep. Dennis Kucinich; 1% would vote for Al Sharpton; 1% would vote for Wesley Clark; 0.4% would vote for Sen. Bob Graham; 4% would vote for other candidate; 29% were undecided. -- 26% said President Bush's job performance was excellent or good; 74% said it was fair or poor. -- 19% said Bush was very likely to be reelected; 44% said Bush was somewhat likely to be reelected. -- 71% have a favorable opinion of Kerry: 10% have an unfavorable opinion; 16% were not familiar with Kerry. -- 43% have a favorable opinion of Dean; 4% have an unfavorable opinion; 51% were not familiar with Dean. -- 58% have a favorable opinion of Gephardt; 22% have an unfavorable opinion; 17% were not familiar with Gephardt. --62% have a favorable opinion of Lieberman; 25% have an unfavorable opinion; 12% were not familiar with Lieberman. -- 26% have a favorable opinion of Edwards; 10% have an unfavorable opinion; 63% were not familiar with Edwards. -- 25% have a favorable opinion of Moseley-Braun; 16% have an unfavorable opinion; 57% were not familiar with Moseley-Braun. -- 33% have a favorable opinion of Hart; 45% have an unfavorable opinion; 20% were not familiar with Hart. -- 8% have a favorable opinion of Kucinich; 6% have an unfavorable opinion; 85% were not familiar with Kucinich. -- 9% have a favorable opinion of Sharpton; 53% have an unfavorable opinion; 37% were not familiar with Sharpton. -- 10% have a favorable opinion of Clark; 8% have an unfavorable opinion; 80% were not familiar with Clark. --20% have a favorable opinion of Graham; 16% have an unfavorable opinion; 62% were not familiar with Graham. -- 30% would "never vote for" Sharpton; 11% would never vote for Lieberman; 9% would never vote for Moseley-Braun; 9% would never vote for Hart; 8% would never vote for Gephardt; 7% would never vote for Dean; 5% would never vote for Edwards; 5% would never vote for Kucinich; 4% would never vote for Kerry; 4% would never vote for Clark; 4% would never vote for Graham; 5% were not sure.

LOAD-DATE: February 26, 2003

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri) February 17, 2003 Monday Five Star Lift Edition
Copyright 2003 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Inc.
St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

February 17, 2003 Monday Five Star Lift Edition

SECTION: NEWS; U.S. Digest Column; Pg. A8

LENGTH: 596 words **HEADLINE:** U.S. DIGEST **BYLINE:** From News Services

BODY:

WASHINGTON

Retired general may run for president in 2004

Retired Army Gen. **Wesley Clark**, the former NATO supreme commander, said Sunday that he had been asked to run for president in **2004** and was considering a challenge to President George W. Bush.

"Sure I've thought about it, and a lot of people have come to me and asked me to think about it," **Clark** told NBC's "Meet the Press" program, during which he criticized Bush's handling of the weapons inspections process in Iraq.

It was **Clark's** first public admission he was considering a run, although media and politicians have speculated for months that he could become a Democratic Party candidate.

"I haven't declared a party, but it would be hard to conceive of running as a Republican only because the administration's policies are what is causing me to have these concerns," he said, adding he had no deadline for making a decision...

LOAD-DATE: February 17, 2003

The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, January 19, 2003, Sunday
Copyright 2003 Little Rock Newspapers, Inc.
Arkansas Democrat-Gazette (Little Rock, AR)
January 19, 2003, Sunday

SECTION: FRONT SECTION; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 858 words

HEADLINE: Democrats look at **Clark,** Sen. Clinton with eye to presidency

BYLINE: BY PAUL BARTON ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

BODY:

WASHINGTON - While Bill Clinton may be gone from the scene, two names with strong Arkansas connections continue to pop up in speculation about potential **presidential candidates** for **2004** and beyond.

One of them is Clinton's wife and now Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York. The other is retired Gen. **Wesley Clark,** former supreme allied commander in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Poll after poll in recent months has documented that the senator remains wildly popular among fellow Democrats. And the speculation is that **Clark's** military experience would add heft to a Democratic candidacy when it comes to national-security and foreign-policy issues. Although **Clark** has yet to declare

a political affiliation, he voted in the 2002 Democratic primary in Arkansas.

Neither is a native Arkansan - both, in fact, were born in Chicago - but they have spent considerable time in the state. Sen. Clinton, 55, was Arkansas' first lady for 12 years before her husband was elected president in 1992. Her Arkansas connections notwithstanding, she appears to have distanced herself from the state in recent years. The latest Almanac of American Politicsrefers to her "dreary days in Arkansas." Sen. Clinton has traveled to the state only twice in the past three years, both times for funerals. Her official Senate biography does not mention the state even one time. A spokesman, Jennell Cofer, says no one on her Senate staff can recall her talking about Arkansas.

Cofer, however, says the senator is in no way ashamed of her Arkansas past. Democratic activist Skip

Rutherford of Little Rock, for instance, says she keeps in contact with many of her friends in Arkansas and is very interested in the development of the Clinton library.

Others say she is a complete New Yorker. "But if she appeared on Jeopardy and had to identify Arkansas on a map, I think she could do it," Maurice Carroll, head of political polling at Quinnipiac University in Connecticut, adds.

For now, Sen. Clinton has repeatedly insisted that she's not interested in **2004**, and plans to serve out her six-year term in the Senate. But her disavowals have done nothing to dampen speculation about her usefulness to the party at some point in the future.

"A lot of Democrats are yearning for a woman to lead this country," says Democratic political strategist Victor Kamber of Washington.

"A lot of people see a very strong candidate," adds Robert Spitzer, political scientist at State University of New York in Cortland.

THE MILITARY MAN

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Clark, 58, was raised in Little Rock, his mother having moved him there at the age of 4, after his father died.

Asked in an interview Friday if he were interested in running, Clark declined to answer.

"I'm not speculating about the future," said Clark, who works at the offices of the Stephens Inc.

investment-banking firm in Little Rock and Washington and as a military analyst for CNN.

Clark acknowledges that people are "looking for leadership" and are coming to him to talk about politics.

"That's why you see my name coming up."

Does Clark see himself running for office? "I hope one day to have another chance for public service," he says. "I am concerned about what's happening in this country and where we are headed."

But, just as he quickly, he adds, "I have raised no political money. I have not hired a consultant."

For the moment, Clark's name continues to show up among "other possible candidates" in stories about the presidential race.

Don't make fun of that, Rutherford warns. "Bill Clinton was in that 'other' paragraph a long time."

He and others see plenty of pluses.

"The idea that you have stars on your shoulder can't hurt," says Carroll.

"He's very articulate and very bright," says Kamber.

Challenges Rutherford: On national security, "tell me a better Democrat to address those issues than Wesley Clark."

ON THE OTHER HAND But would he have the connections, fund-raising and otherwise, to mount a viable campaign?

Kamber's not so sure. Political-scientist Spitzer puts it more bluntly: "Not that many Americans know who he is."

Even his military credentials may fall short, others say.

"I don't think he brings the high-hero status of a Colin Powell, Dwight Eisenhower or Norman

Schwarzkopf," says Stephen Wayne, American politics professor at Georgetown University.

Larry Sabato, political analyst at the University of Virginia, finds the speculation "amusing." "Somehow, I don't think Wesley Clark is another Dwight Eisenhower."

Meanwhile, the pundits confidently predict that Sen. Clinton will do her best to stay away from the **2004** race, despite scenarios that envision a last-minute entry at the beseeching of party officials.

"It makes no sense for her to get in," says Sabato. Her popularity "is only among Democrats who identify with the party and remember the Clinton years as a time when they were in power. ... She's too liberal. She's a polarizer. And it's much too close to the Clinton years."

"She's not crazy," adds Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac Poll. "Would you want to run in 2004?" This story was originally published on Sunday, January 19, 2003.

LOAD-DATE: January 20, 2003

Times Newspapers Limited, January 4, 2003
Copyright 2003 Times Newspapers Limited
The Times (London)
January 4, 2003, Saturday

SECTION: Overseas news; 18

LENGTH: 365 words

HEADLINE: Gephardt joins the race for President

BYLINE: Roland Watson in Washington

BODY:

FIFTEEN years after failing in his first bid for the White House, Richard Gephardt yesterday declared his intention to seek nomination as the Democrat **presidential candidate** in **2004...**

... Wesley Clark, the former supreme commander of Nato, and Al Sharpton, the New York civil rights activist, are also considering running.

LOAD-DATE: January 4, 2003

THE HARTFORD COURANT, March 4, 2003
Copyright 2003 The Hartford Courant Company
Hartford Courant (Connecticut)
March 4, 2003 Tuesday, STATEWIDE

SECTION: MAIN; Pg. A2 **LENGTH:** 572 words

HEADLINE: TEST--CAUCUS/; PEOPLE, POLITICS, PUNDITRY

BODY:

THE EMPIRE STRIKES

The Empire State is shaping up to be a nice state of affairs for Joe Lieberman. Sheldon Silver, the Assembly speaker and one of the most powerful Democrats in New York, said he'll endorse Lieberman's candidacy for the party's presidential nomination. "I think the American people have a certain degree of confidence in Joe Lieberman," Silver said. "He's not a flashy, flamboyant individual, but one who is respected on both his intelligence and his ability to give people confidence that he's thought things out before he's done something."

Both men are considered moderates and both are Orthodox Jews. The endorsement isn't formal yet, but the two plan to meet on Wednesday when Silver is in Washington for a \$1,000-a-person fund-raising event for the Assembly speaker's campaign committee.

And that wasn't Lieberman's only good news from New York. Right now it may be the only state Lieberman is winning. A Zogby International poll conducted Feb. 22-23 has him beating the rest of the Democratic field, though not exactly trouncing them.

Joe Lieberman -- 14%

Dick Gephardt -- 12%

Al Sharpton -- 9%

John Kerry -- 7%

John Edwards -- 4%

Howard Dean -- 3%

Carol Moseley-Braun -- 3%

Gary Hart -- 3%

Bob Graham -- 2%

Wesley Clark -- --

Dennis Kucinich -- --

-- Associated Press, Zogby International

LOAD-DATE: March 5, 2003

The Baltimore Sun January 8, 2003 Wednesday
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The Baltimore Sun
January 8, 2003 Wednesday FINAL Edition

SECTION: TELEGRAPH, Pg. 3A

LENGTH: 515 words

HEADLINE: Daschle won't seek presidency next year;

Democrat's decision surprises colleagues

BYLINE: Julie Hirschfeld Davis SOURCE: SUN NATIONAL STAFF DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

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WASHINGTON - Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota announced yesterday that he would not seek his party's nomination for president next year, declining to join a growing field of Democratic hopefuls...

Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut is expected soon to announce his intention to run, and several others are considering a presidential campaign. They include Sen. Bob Graham of Florida, the Rev. Al Sharpton and Gen. Wesley K. Clark, the former NATO commander.

Daschle pointedly left the door open to a presidential bid after 2004.

"There may come a time in my future when a national campaign, a campaign for the presidency, is one that I will, again, entertain," the 55-year-old Democratic leader said.

LOAD-DATE: January 8, 2003

The New Republic January 27, 2003
Copyright 2003 New Republic, LLC
The New Republic
January 27, 2003

SECTION: Notebook; Pg. 8 LENGTH: 1556 words HEADLINE: Notebook

BODY:

GENERAL OPINION: Retired General Wesley Clark has all the makings of the Democrats' dream presidential candidate: West Point graduate, Rhodes scholar, Vietnam veteran, the supreme allied commander who led the 1999 NATO campaign in Kosovo and Serbia. There's just one problem: Very few voters know who he is. But that might not be a problem for much longer. Clark is a commentator on military and international affairs for CNN. He currently appears on the news network about twice a week, but, should the United States go to war in Iraq, his airtime will greatly increase--and, unlike any of the other Democratic presidential hopefuls at this point, Clark will become a regular presence in voters' living rooms. Clark has not formally declared that he is a presidential candidate (he does not even have an official party affiliation at this point), but he certainly is acting like one: He campaigned for Democratic congressional candidates in New Hampshire last year, his associates have been reaching out to Democratic insiders and party activists in Iowa, and he is in the midst of a "dialogue tour" that has had him giving speeches around the United States for the past several months. Still, because Clark is not a declared candidate, his CNN gig does not run afoul of the Federal Communications Commission's "equal time" guidelines, which require media outlets to give political candidates roughly the same amount of coverage and exposure. "We would not have any political candidate on air except to comment about politics or a particular race, and the person would be clearly identified as a candidate," a CNN

spokeswoman recently told The New York Sun's Ben Smith, who first noted the unfair advantage Clark derives from his TV work. CNN is right: Clark is technically not a candidate. But, as Clark himself told the Sun about his CNN contract, "There are some very strict guidelines on it. It's just common sense that if you become a declared candidate, or if you take political money or become overtly political, you've got to give up your CNN contract." We say it's common sense that Clark has already become overtly political.

LOAD-DATE: January 20, 2003

Los Angeles Times January 14, 2003 Tuesday
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Los Angeles Times
January 14, 2003 Tuesday Home Edition

SECTION: Main News Main News; Part 1; Page 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1357 words **HEADLINE:** The Nation;

Lieberman Joins Race, Faults Bush

BYLINE: Ronald Brownstein, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON -- Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.), presenting himself as "a different kind of Democrat," declared his candidacy for his party's **2004** presidential nomination Monday with a sweeping indictment of President Bush's record at home and abroad...

Former Colorado Sen. Gary Hart, who sought the nomination in 1984 and 1988, has suggested he's likely to join the field, and Sen. Bob Graham (D-Fla.) and retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** are considering candidacies.

LOAD-DATE: January 14, 2003

National Review February 10, 2003, Monday
Copyright 2003 National Review
National Review
February 10, 2003, Monday

SECTION: National Review Online; Guest Comment

LENGTH: 676 words

HEADLINE: Candidate Chutzpah

BYLINE: By Sheri Annis; Sheri Annis is a media and political consultant based in Washington D.C.

BODY:

Jews make up two percent of the American population. At the moment, though, they make up more than 33 percent of the Democratic **presidential candidates.** Toss General **Wesley Clark** into the mix and the figure tops 42 percent. Who knew?

The Irish-sounding John Kerry was always quite Catholic, or so we thought. Even though the Massachusetts senator learned of his Jewish roots some 15 years ago, he only got around to trumpeting the news the other day that he's more Jewish than he thought. First it was just a Jewish grandmother; now he's discovered a Jewish grandfather as well. Suddenly, on the campaign trail in Florida, he could hardly talk about anything else.

Clark, the former NATO commander who is flirting with a presidential run, discovered his Jewish roots more than 20 years ago. But only in recent weeks did he reveal that he is descended from "generations of rabbis."...

LOAD-DATE: February 13, 2003

Daily News (New York) February 23, 2003, Sunday Copyright 2003 Daily News, L.P. Daily News (New York) February 23, 2003, Sunday SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 42

LENGTH: 587 words

HEADLINE: WHERE'S THE PARTY? The host of Democrats running for prez may show depth - or chaos

BYLINE: BY E.R. SHIPP

BODY:

With the entry last week of Richard Gephardt, the congressman from Missouri; Carol Moseley-Braun, the former senator from Illinois; and Dennis Kucinich, the congressman from Ohio, into the Democratic **2004** presidential campaign, the list of actual or potential candidates has grown to eight. But that list could continue to grow, as others have indicated they, too, are thinking of tossing their hats in the ring...

Sen. Donald Graham of Florida says he intends to announce soon. **Wesley Clark,** the retired general and former NATO commander, says his dissatisfaction with the Bush administration has him mulling a bid; he hasn't declared a party but sounds like a Democrat. Even former Colorado senator - and 1988

presidential candidate - Gary Hart is thinking about a candidacy...

LOAD-DATE: February 24, 2003

The Baltimore Sun February 19, 2003 Wednesday
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The Baltimore Sun
February 19, 2003 Wednesday FINAL Edition

SECTION: TELEGRAPH, Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1306 words

HEADLINE: Vt. Democrat's anti-war stance could be ticket from obscurity;

Speaking out gives boost to long-shot '04 campaign

BYLINE: Paul West

SOURCE: SUN NATIONAL STAFF **DATELINE:** HENNIKER, N.H.

BODY:

HENNIKER, N.H. - Howard Dean says he didn't set out to become the anti-war candidate in the **2004** Democratic presidential contest. "I had no idea this would happen to me," he admitted as his two-car caravan sped across snowy New Hampshire...

Two others who have spoken out against Bush's Iraq plans - former Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado and retired Gen. Wesley Clark, a former supreme allied commander in Europe - have said they are thinking about running.

LOAD-DATE: February 19, 2003

The Virginian-Pilot(Norfolk, Va.) March 8, 2003 Saturday
Copyright 2003 Landmark Communications, Inc.
The Virginian-Pilot(Norfolk, Va.)
March 8, 2003 Saturday Final Edition

SECTION: LOCAL, Pg. B8 **LENGTH:** 237 words

HEADLINE: LESS IS MORE FOR DEMOCRATIC FIELD

BODY:

Thank you, Chris Dodd.

If there's one thing America doesn't need at least at this juncture - it's a 10th Democratic **presidential** candidate...

With the party's nomination well over a year away, there will be more comings and goings. Some current candidates may get out when they feel the fund-raising pinch; others, such as retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** and former Colorado Sen. Gary Hart, are still contemplating getting in...

LOAD-DATE: March 9, 2003

Slate Magazine January 9, 2003, Thursday
Copyright 2003 Microsoft Corporation
Slate Magazine
January 9, 2003, Thursday

SECTION: assessment LENGTH: 1157 words HEADLINE: Wesley Clark BYLINE: Chris Suellentrop

BODY:

Tired of running as John McCain, the Democratic candidates and pre-candidates for president have settled on a new archetype to emulate: Bill Clinton. John Edwards "the young, glib, pretty, Southern moderate "is the front-runner for the Most Likely To Be Like Clinton award, but there's a dark horse in the running, too: **Wesley Clark.** The former NATO commander, who led the 78-day bombing campaign in Kosovo, bears a superficial resemblance to the 42nd president. He's a former Rhodes scholar from Arkansas who has long been tabbed as one of his generation's brightest stars (in the military, not in politics). But the substantive parallel is the more important one. Just as Clinton restored the Democratic Party's reputation on economic policy, there's hope that **Clark** can lead the party out of its national-security wilderness.

Before he could do that, of course, **Clark** would actually have to run for president (and win the nomination, which is a long shot). But there's mounting evidence that he is going to do just that. During the fall **election** cycle, he met with New Hampshire Democrats and spoke to the centrist Democratic Leadership Council. In November, Time reported that **Clark** met with prominent Democrats in New York City to discuss his potential candidacy. Since then, he's been issuing carefully crafted non-denial denials about his White House ambitions, saying he has no intention to run, that he hasn't raised any money, and that he doesn't really have any plans. But according the Des Moines Register, he's enlisted a member of the Gore 2000 team as his top aide, he's sought advice from Donna Brazile (who's publicly urging him to run), and he's contacted top Iowa Democrats about a caucus campaign. He's now on the Associated Press's shortlist of possible candidates, and just this week he talked with Democratic National Committee chairman Terry McAuliffe about his prospects.

Despite all that, a **Clark** candidacy isn't necessarily going to happen. As a New Hampshire Democrat told PoliticsNH.com last year, I'd say he is running, but I don't know if he is running in **2004** or 2008 or beyond. I first met Clinton in 1979. If it did happen, what would a **Clark** run look like? That's an open question. He's good-looking, but is he warm? Can he connect with a room? Can he raise money? He's a blank slate on Democratic litmus-test issues such as abortion, affirmative action, economic policy, and

health care "without even getting into picayune but essential primary issues such as ethanol subsidies. He's on the record as opposing the trade embargo with Cuba, for example, but that's the sort of issue a **presidential candidate** can easily back off from if need be.

The centerpiece for the 58-year-old **Clark's** campaign would obviously be his biography, and it's an impressive one: first in his class at West Point, Rhodes scholar, wounded in Vietnam, recipient of both the Purple Heart and the Silver Star. In 1981, when **Clark** was a 36-year-old lieutenant colonel, the Washington Post magazine profiled him as the ideal, the perfect modern officer. Since then, he continued his career as an Army water walker, moving effortlessly up the ranks to four-star general. Just as Dr. Bill Frist gives the Republicans some moral authority on health care, a traditional GOP weakness, Gen. **Clark** could strengthen the Democrats' national-security hand.

One of the most compelling things about **Clark** is his ability to articulate "better than other Democrats, who sometimes resort to tiresome calls of chickenhawk or quagmire "the intellectual justification for what many Democrats feel in their gut: skepticism about the need for immediate war with Iraq; concern about the status of the war against al-Qaida; a preference for working with allies over going it alone; and a respect for the institutions that make up the international order that the United States built upon the ashes of World War II.

Clark is no dove. But he argues that the biggest mistake the Bush administration made in the aftermath of Sept. 11 was its refusal to conduct the war under the auspices of NATO, despite the alliance's declaration that an attack on the United States was an attack on all its member nations. As a result, Europe is not accountable for success in the war on terrorism, only the United States is. European leaders see it as George W. Bush's war, according to Clark, because Bush has made it his war. Not a single European election hinges on the success of the war on terrorism, Clark wrote in the September Washington Monthly. Clark even went so far as to employ a classic Vietnam metaphor to describe Bush's policies: Because the Bush administration has thus far refused to engage our allies through NATO, we are fighting the war on terrorism with one hand tied behind our back.

Clark calls this the lesson of Kosovo: If you bring allies into a war, they will want to win it as badly as you do. That's counterintuitive: The lesson most Americans took from Kosovo was that war by committee was a disaster that allowed, for example, a British commander to refuse Clark's order to take an airfield. But, as David Halberstam showed in War in a Time of Peace, the fact that so many leaders had staked their reputations on the Kosovo war meant that they had to win it, despite strong opposition at home: What [losing] would do to NATO "effectively signal the end of it "and to their countries (and it was known but never said, to their own careers and place in history) was also unacceptable.

This obsession with Kosovo and the lessons that the military could learn from it call to mind another characteristic Clark shares with Clinton: He's conducting a permanent campaign for his legacy. Practically the entire preface to the paperback edition of Clark's memoir Waging Modern War (which was panned in Slate by Christopher Caldwell and Debra Dickerson) advances the argument that the war in Afghanistan and the fight against al-Qaida more closely resemble Kosovo than they do the Gulf War. The first strikes against Afghanistan in October 2001 seemed so familiar and predictable, it was as if we were refighting the Kosovo operation on different ground, Clark writes. (He concedes, Maybe I was almost alone in this feeling)

Like Clinton, **Clark** was the brightest boy in the class who finally got his shot at the biggest job of all, but it didn't represent the historic opportunity he imagined. **Clark** didn't return from Kosovo a war hero "instead he was dumped as supreme allied commander by the Pentagon (which never really liked him and suspected him of being too close to Clinton). As a candidate, he wouldn't be Dwight Eisenhower or Ulysses S. Grant or Andrew Jackson or George Washington. He wouldn't even be Zachary Taylor. As that 1981 Post profile of the young **Clark** concluded, As any military man will tell you, it takes a great war to produce a great general. **Clark** never got that war. Now's his chance.

LOAD-DATE: March 6, 2003

News and Observer (Raleigh, NC) January 8, 2003 Wednesday, Copyright 2003 The News and Observer News and Observer (Raleigh, NC) January 8, 2003 Wednesday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A3 **LENGTH:** 584 words

HEADLINE: Daschle won't run for president **BYLINE:** Muriel Dobbin, McClatchy Newspapers

BODY:

M

WASHINGTON -- Senate Democratic leader Tom Daschle followed in the footsteps of former Vice President Al Gore on Tuesday when he made a surprise announcement that he would not run for president...

The South Dakota senator's departure from the lineup of Democratic candidates left the field to fellow Sens. John Edwards of North Carolina, John Kerry of Massachusetts, Vermont Gov. Howard Dean and former House minority leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri. New York's Rev. Al Sharpton has said he also plans to run. Sen. Joe Lieberman of Connecticut is expected to announce his candidacy next week, and Sens. Bob Graham of Florida and Christopher Dodd of Connecticut and former NATO commander Gen. Wesley Clark have hinted at presidential runs.

LOAD-DATE: January 8, 2003

The Washington Post, February 02, 2003
Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington Post
February 02, 2003, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pq. A16; POLITICS BRIAN FALER

LENGTH: 521 words

HEADLINE: Barr Might Run Again in Ga.

BYLINE: Brian Faler

BODY:

...If he enters the **2004** race, he would likely run to the left of most, if not all, of the six Democratic candidates who have declared their presidential aspirations.

Among the others still considering a run: Sens. Bob Graham (Fla.), Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.) and Christopher J. Dodd (Conn.), former senators Gary Hart (Colo.) and Carol Moseley-Braun (Ill.) and retired Array Gen. Wesley Clark.

LOAD-DATE: February 02, 2003

Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN) January 8, 2003, Wednesday, Metro Edition
Copyright 2003 Star Tribune
Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)
January 8, 2003, Wednesday, Metro Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 12A

LEIGTH: 397 words

HEADLINE: Daschle won't seek presidency in **2004**;

Widely expected to run, he said he wanted focus on Senate duties.

BY NE: Muriel Dobbs; Staff Writer DATELINE: Washington, D.C.

BODY:

Senate Democratic leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota, following in the footsteps of former Vice President Al Gore, announced Monday that he would not run for president in **2004...**

Sens. Bob Graham of Florida and Christopher Dodd of Connecticut and former NATO commander Gen. **Wesley Clark** have hinted at runs.

- __ The Associated Press contributed to this report.
- _ Muriel Dobbin is at mdobbin @mcclatchydc.com.

LOAD-DATE: January 8, 2003

Austin American-Statesman (Texas) January 14, 2003, Tuesday
Copyright 2003 The Austin American Statesman
Austin American-Statesman (Texas)
January 14, 2003, Tuesday

SECTION: News; Pg. A10

LE: GTH: 707 words

HE DLINE: Lieberman announces intentions to win White House//Connecticut senator is 5th Democrat to

seek party's favor in the 2004 race

BYLINE: Scott Shepard, WASHINGTON BUREAU

BODY:

ST. FORD, Conn. -- Sen. Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut launched his campaign for president Monday wit a vow to be "a different kind of Democrat" and a vigorous critic of the Bush administration...

In the weeks ahead, other Democrats are likely to enter the field, further complicating strategy for Lieberman, especially if Connecticut's other senator, Chris Dodd, decides to run. Others thought to be weighing a campaign are Sen. Bob Graham of Florida, former Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado and retired Gen. **Wesley Clark.** Civil rights activist Al Sharpton also has said he will run.

scc 3@coxnews.com

LO -D-DATE: January 14, 2003

Chattanooga Times Free Press (Tennessee) January 3, 2003 Friday
Copyright 2003 Chattanooga Publishing Company
Chattanooga Times Free Press (Tennessee)
January 3, 2003 Friday

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A10

LE IGTH: 404 words

HE. :DLINE: Edwards asks presidency; Gephardt forms panel

BY LINE: Will Lester The Associated Press

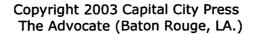
BODY:

WASHINGTON -- The Democratic field for the White House swelled to three with the entrance of North Carolina Sen. John Edwards Thursday and probably will double to a half-dozen or even more in the next week or so -- nearly two years before the **2004 election...**

Sen. Bob Graham of Florida is expected to announce his intentions later this month. Delaware Sen. Joe Biden and Connecticut Sen. Christopher Dodd are considering bids, too. **Retired Gen. Wesley Clark of Lit** le **Rock, Ark.**, has also been mentioned as a possible candidate.

LOAD-DATE: January 15, 2003

The state of the s



January 3, 2003, Friday METRO EDITION

SECTION: News; Pg. 2-A Dateline WASHINGTON Credit AP Keywords Nov. **2004** Filename 03demos1.ap Story Lead Democrats' presidential field growing Sen. John Edwards third to announce candidacy for **2004** By WILL Editor gpe Art Photo; Graphic

LENGTH: 571 words

HEADLINE: Democrats' presidential field growing *** Sen. John Edwards third to announce candidacy for

2004

BYLINE: WILL LESTER, Nov. 2004

DATELINE: 03demos1.ap

BODY:

WASHINGTON - The Democratic field for the White House swelled Thursday. Sen. John Edwards announced his candidacy for president in **2004**, and supporters of Missouri Rep. Dick Gephardt announced formation of a presidential exploratory committee in the coming days...

Sen. Bob Graham of Florida is expected to announce his intentions later this month. Delaware Sen. Joe Biden and Connecticut Sen. Christopher Dodd are considering bids, too. Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** of Little Rock, Ark., has also been mentioned as a possible candidate.

LOAD-DATE: January 6, 2003

Des Moines Register March 21, 2003 Friday
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Des Moines Register
March 21, 2003 Friday

SECTION: MAIN NEWS; Pg. 5A

LENGTH: 1006 words

HEADLINE: Outcome of war will dictate impact on Iowa caucuses

BYLINE: Beaumont Thomas, Staff

BODY:

By THOMAS BEAUMONT REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Depending on the war's outcome, the Democrats running for president in Iowa could be helped or haunted by their positions on Iraq...

...The war could have another potential impact on the caucuses. It could expand the field of candidates.

Retired NATO commander Gen. **Wesley Clark** is a good bet to get in if the war goes poorly, Bystrom said. **Clark,** who retired in 2000, has spent much of the past year as a guest military expert on CNN, traveling with an Arkansas financial firm and meeting influential Democrats. He has said he is not a candidate, but is widely believed to be considering a run. **Clark's** staff made introductory calls to Iowa Democratic operatives late last year.

"I think we are going to see people getting into this race after Iraq," Bystrom said. "We might see people drop out if it goes well and Bush is flying high. We just don't know right now."

If the Iraqi invasion goes well, it's possible that by the time of the caucuses, scheduled for Jan. 19, **2004**, war won't be a dominant campaign issue.

LOAD-DATE: March 29, 2003

The Washington Post, January 08, 2003
Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington Post
January 08, 2003, Wednesday, Final Edition

And in the control of the control of

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 917 words

HEADLINE: Daschle Says He Won't Seek Presidency in 2004

BYLINE: Dan Balz, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) unexpectedly announced yesterday that he will not seek the presidency in **2004**, saying he preferred to make his fight against President Bush and the Republicans from his post in the Senate than from the presidential campaign trail...

McAuliffe lunched yesterday with retired Army Gen. Wesley Clark, who has been talked about as a possible candidate. In a phone interview, Clark refused to rule out a candidacy, but said, "I am not a candidate, I haven't declared a political party, I haven't taken any political money. I'm just a concerned citizen, and I'm talking to anybody and everybody and I'm not speculating on the future."

LOAD-DATE: January 08, 2003

The National Journal February 22, 2003
Copyright 2003 The National Journal, Inc.
The National Journal
February 22, 2003

SECTION: POLITICS; Vol. 35, No. 8

LENGTH: 1735 words

HEADLINE: And Then There Were Nine ...

BYLINE: James A. Barnes

BODY:

Lately, it seems as if the only thing growing faster than Starbucks is the field of Democratic **presidential candidates.** This week alone, Sen. Bob Graham of Florida, Rep. Dennis Kucinich of Ohio, and former Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois jumped into the fray with announcements that they are forming presidential campaign committees.

Those three joined former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean; Sen. John Edwards of North Carolina; Rep. Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, who formally entered the race this week; Sen. John F. Kerry of Massachusetts; Sen. Joe Lieberman of Connecticut; and New York civil-rights activist Al Sharpton. Graham made his move on Thursday and is expected to make a final decision on running this spring.

Even before Graham's announcement, ABC News' online political Weblog, The Note, headlined an article on the swelling Democratic field as "Eight Is Enough Or Maybe More Than Enough." At least two other candidates might join the race: retired Army Gen. **Wesley Clark,** a former commander of NATO, and former Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado, who unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination in 1984 and 1988.

But leave it to a cagey ex-general to figure out a novel way to wage a free media campaign in the invisible primary without even entering the Democratic presidential race. When he's quizzed about whether he'll join the Democratic contest, **Clark** has demurred and said that although he's being encouraged to consider a White House run, he hasn't even declared whether he's a Democrat.

Maybe **Clark** is genuinely undecided about his partisan leanings. Or maybe he doesn't want to jeopardize his job as a military analyst for CNN.

The former NATO commander, who presided over alliance forces in the 1999 conflict in Kosovo, is likely to get even more talking-head time on the cable network if the United States goes to war with Iraq, provided he coyly keeps his distance from the label "Democratic **presidential candidate."**

If Clark does end up joining the race, that will swell the Democratic field to 10, the biggest contingent since the party saw 14 hopefuls pursue its 1976 nomination. Fretful party loyalists might do well to

remember that that big field produced a president, Jimmy Carter, just as the GOP dozen did in 2000.

LOAD-DATE: February 24, 2003

The New York Times, February 26, 2003 Copyright 2003 The New York Times Company The New York Times February 26, 2003, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final Correction Appended

SECTION: Section A: Page 14; Column 1; National Desk

LENGTH: 1499 words

HEADLINE: In the First Mile of a Marathon, Kerry Emerges as a Front-Runner

BYLINE: By ADAM NAGOURNEY DATELINE: HOLLYWOOD, Fla., Feb. 25

BODY:

Ą

Senator John Kerry was not on hand today as his rivals for the Democratic presidential nomination pitched for support from A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders assembled here. And he was not in Washington this past weekend as Democratic contenders tried out their speeches at the winter meeting of the party's leaders...

Chart: "Sizing Up a Crowded Field for 2004"

The declared candidates for the 2004 Democratic presidential nomination, and some who may join the race:....

Others Who Say They Are Considering Joining the Race Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware Gen. Wesley K. Clark, former NATO supreme commander Senator Christopher J. Dodd of Connecticut Senator Bob Graham of Florida Gary Hart, former senator from Colorado LOAD-DATE: February 26, 2003

Daily News (New York) January 3, 2003, Friday Copyright 2003 Daily News, L.P. Daily News (New York) January 3, 2003, Friday SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pq. 8 LENGTH: 579 words

HEADLINE: EDWARDS IN RUNNING SHOES N.C. pol ready for Prez race

BYLINE: By THOMAS M. DeFRANK DAILY NEWS WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

BODY:

WASHINGTON - Vowing to fight for "regular folks," Sen. John Edwards (D-N.C.) yesterday joined the growing list of Democrats eager to challenge President Bush in 2004...

Wesley Clark, 58

Retired general and former NATO commander.

GRAPHIC: AP [JOHN EDWARDS] [John Kerry Joseph Lieberman Howard Dean Richard Gephardt

Tom Daschel Bob Graham Wesley Clark Al Sharpton]

LOAD-DATE: January 3, 2003

The Hotline January 15, 2003 Wednesday Copyright 2003 The National Journal Group, Inc. The Hotline

January 15, 2003 Wednesday

SECTION: WHITE HOUSE 2004

LENGTH: 111 words

HEADLINE: NEW HAMPSHIRE: KERRY HAS DOUBLE-DIGIT LEAD; BUT LOOK WHO'S IN; SECOND!

BODY:

An American Research Group poll; conducted 1/7-10; surveyed 600 regis. Dem voters; margin of error +/- 4% (release, 1/14).

Note: "Mostly" indicates likely Dem primary voters with a

"mostly Democratic point-of-view" -- 60% of likely Dem primary

voters.

WH '04 Dem Primary Matchup

All Mostly Fav/Unfav ID
John Kerry 27% 32% 61%/ 5% 91%
Howard Dean 15 14 30 / 4 64
Joe Lieberman 6 4 61 / 19 100
Dick Gephardt 5 3 54 / 20 97
John Edwards 4 2 24 / 4 59
Joe Biden 2 2 37 / 4 71
Wesley Clark 1 1 2 / - 14
Chris Dodd 1 1 15 / 10 53
Bob Graham 1 1 8 / 7 49
Al Sharpton - - 5 / 40 66
Undecided 38 40

LOAD-DATE: January 15, 2003

The Record (Bergen County, NJ) February 17, 2003 Monday All Editions
Copyright 2003 Bergen Record Corporation
The Record (Bergen County, NJ)
February 17, 2003 Monday All Editions

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A08

LENGTH: 312 words

HEADLINE: Ex-NATO commander mulls **2004** presidential bid;

Cites concerns over Bush's handling of foreign affairs

SOURCE: Wire Services

BYLINE: WILL LESTER, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

BODY:

WASHINGTON - Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** said Sunday that he's thinking about challenging President Bush in **2004** because he's concerned about the direction the administration is taking on international affairs.

"Well, I have thought about it," the former NATO supreme commander said on NBC's "Meet the Press." "And a lot of people have asked me to think about it."

Clark usually gives a standard line that he is not currently a candidate, not a member of a political party, and not raising money.

Clark, an Arkansas businessman, said that for him the question about running for president "is about ideas, it's not about candidacies." It was his first public acknowledgment that he's considering a run.

"We're at a turning point in American history here. We are about to embark on an operation that's going to put us in a colonial position in the Middle East following Britain, following the Ottomans," **Clark** said. "It's a huge change for the American people and for what this country stands for."

Clark was asked about a travel schedule that sent him to New Hampshire, Iowa, and back to New

THE RESERVE OF THE PROPERTY OF

Hampshire over the last couple of years, and also included a lunch with Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe.

Clark said he's been "traveling all over this country" since he left military service and he is concerned with how the administration has handled longtime allies, like those in Europe.

If **Clark** decides to run, he would be joining a Democratic field that is about to grow to eight this week. Former Illinois Sen. Carol Mosely-Braun and Ohio Rep. Dennis Kucinich are preparing to file papers to run for president. Already in the race are former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, North Carolina Sen. John Edwards, Missouri Rep. Richard A. Gephardt, Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry, Connecticut Sen. Joseph Lieberman, and the Rev. Al Sharpton.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO - Clark

LOAD-DATE: February 19, 2003

The Union Leader (Manchester NH) February 10, 2003 Monday STATE EDITION

Copyright 2003 Union Leader Corp.

The Union Leader (Manchester NH)

February 10, 2003 Monday STATE EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A2 **LENGTH:** 700 words

HEADLINE: Candidates quickly sign up activists **BYLINE:** By WILL LESTER Associated Press Writer

BODY:

And the state of

WASHINGTON -- Democratic **Presidential candidates** are moving aggressively to sign on activists and local politicians in the early stages of a **2004** campaign that is moving far more quickly than many anticipated...

On a New Hampshire Web site dedicated to the **2004** race, almost a third of the 105 top party activists had chosen a candidate. Kerry and Edwards had nine apiece, Gephardt six, Dean and Lieberman three and former NATO commander **Wesley Clark**, who is not currently a candidate, one.

LOAD-DATE: February 11, 2003

Des Moines Register January 18, 2003 Saturday
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Des Moines Register
January 18, 2003 Saturday

SECTION: METRO IOWA; Pg. 1B

LENGTH: 512 words

HEADLINE: Unofficial beginning of Iowa;

Three Democratic **presidential candidates** will attend a dinner in the Cedar Rapids area.

BYLINE: Beaumont Thomas, Staff

BODY:

caucuses is today

By THOMAS BEAUMONT

REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Marion's Prairie Hill Pavilion today will double as the center of the Democratic political universe.

Three **presidential candidates** will make the Linn County Democrats' Sustaining Club dinner here more than just roast pork for 250 Cedar Rapids-area party faithful. Instead, the event is the unofficial start to

the 2004 Iowa caucuses, which launch the race for the White House.

Miller said Delaware Sen. Joseph Biden and retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** also received invitations even though they haven't established exploratory committees for a presidential bid. Former Colorado Sen. Gary Hart, civil rights activist the Rev. Al Sharpton and Florida Sen. Bob Graham were not invited because "we didn't get to the ones that have only come out in the last week or 10 days," Miller said.

Biden, Clark, Hart, Sharpton and Graham are said to be considering a run for the nomination in 2004.

GRAPHIC: s: Dean; Gephardt; Kerry

LOAD-DATE: January 23, 2003

The Washington Times February 17, 2003, Monday, Final Edition
Copyright 2003 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times
February 17, 2003, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: NATION; INSIDE POLITICS; Pg. A14

LENGTH: 1255 words

BYLINE: By Grea Pierce. THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

Thinking about it

Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** says he is thinking about challenging President Bush in **2004** because of concern about the administration's foreign policy.

"Well, I have thought about it," the former NATO supreme commander said yesterday on NBC's "Meet the Press."

"And a lot of people have asked me to think about it."

It was his first public acknowledgment that he is considering a run, the Associated Press reports.

"We're at a turning point in American history here. We are about to embark on an operation that's going to put us in a colonial position in the Middle East following Britain, following the Ottomans," Mr. **Clark** said.

"It's a huge change for the American people and for what this country stands for."

Mr. Clark said he is concerned with how the administration has handled longtime allies.

"This is an administration which really hasn't respected our allies," he said.

The Times Union (Albany, NY) February 23, 2003 Sunday
Copyright 2003 The Hearst Corporation
The Times Union (Albany, NY)
February 23, 2003 Sunday THREE STAR EDITION

SECTION: MAIN, Pg. A2 **LENGTH:** 330 words

HEADLINE: Democrats end meeting with bash of Bush record; Presidential hopefuls add voices to chorus for victory in **2004**

BYLINE: Paul West; The Baltimore Sun

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Two days of Bush-bashing by Democrats eager to take on the President in **2004** concluded Saturday with Sen. John Edwards branding Bush's presidency "a failure for the great middle class of America and everyone struggling to enter it."...

The state of the s

Several other Democrats have said they might run. They include Sens. Bob Graham of Florida, Christopher J. Dodd of Connecticut and Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware, former Sen. Gary Hart from Colorado and retired Gen. **Wesley Clark.**

LOAD-DATE: February 24, 2003

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution January 19, 2003 Sunday
Copyright 2003 The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
The Atlanta Journal and Constitution
January 19, 2003 Sunday Home Edition

SECTION: News; Pg. 6A **LENGTH:** 993 words

HEADLINE: 2004 Democratic hopefuls develop their story lines;

Presidential trail begins in early caucus

BYLINE: SCOTT SHEPARD

SOURCE: Cox Washington Bureau

BODY:

Des Moines, Iowa --- The first voting in the **2004** presidential campaign is one year away, but the campaign story lines of the Democratic candidates are already apparent.

Wesley Clark

Friends of the former NATO commander have been telephoning party activists to sound them out about whether he should join the fray.

He has no elective political experience, but is articulate and has television experience as a CNN military analyst. He is a fresh face and a Southerner, two qualities that Edwards also is relying on to boost his appeal.

GRAPHIC: Photo: Al Sharpton; Photo: Bob Graham; Photo: Wesley Clark; Photo: Gary Hart; Photo: Joe

Lieberman; Photo: John Edwards; Photo: Howard Dean; Photo: John Kerry; Photo: Dick Gephardt

LOAD-DATE: January 19, 2003

The Washington Post, January 05, 2003
Copyright 2003 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

January 05, 2003, Sunday, Final Edition
Correction Appended

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 1070 words

HEADLINE: Gephardt to Seek Presidency; Bush Leading U.S. Down the Wrong Path, Democrat Says

BYLINE: Dan Balz, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Outgoing House Democratic leader Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.) yesterday announced his intention to run for president in **2004**, saying President Bush is leading America "down the wrong path or not leading at all," and pledging to offer "a distinctive choice and a different direction" on domestic and national security issues.

Others who have indicated they are thinking about running include Sens. Bob Graham (Fla.), Christopher J. Dodd (Conn.), Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.), former senator Gary Hart (Colo.) and retired Gen. **Wesley Clark.**

Even if they all don't run, this will add up to the biggest field of Democratic **presidential candidates** since 1988. Unlike that contest, it has no dominant candidate, which is one reason why there is so much

activity so early in the year. **LOAD-DATE:** January 05, 2003

St. Petersburg Times (Florida) January 8, 2003 Wednesday 0 South Pinellas Edition
Copyright 2003 Times Publishing Company
St. Petersburg Times (Florida)
January 8, 2003 Wednesday 0 South Pinellas Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 718 words

HEADLINE: Graham looks likely to run

BYLINE: BILL ADAIR DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

A possible presidential campaign by Sen. Bob Graham picked up momentum Tuesday amid signs he is likely to run...

Daschle's decision shrinks the list of likely candidates. That list is likely to include Sen. Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts, Sen. John Edwards of North Carolina, former House Democratic leader Richard Gephardt and Vermont Gov. Howard Dean. Other possible candidates include Sen. Joseph Biden of Delaware, Gen. **Wesley Clark** and the Rev. Al Sharpton.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO; Bob Graham **LOAD-DATE:** January 8, 2003

The Hotline March 21, 2003 Friday
Copyright 2003 The National Journal Group, Inc.
The Hotline
March 21, 2003 Friday

SECTION: WHITE HOUSE 2004

LENGTH: 306 words

HEADLINE: IOWA (1/19 CAUCUSES): WAR AND CAUCUSES

BODY:

Also, the war could "expand the field." Ex-NATO commander Gen. **Wesley Clark** "is a good bet to get in if the war goes poorly," according to Bystrom. Bystrom added: "We might see people drop out if it goes well and Bush is flying high. We just don't know right now" (Beaumont, Des Moines Register, 3/21).

LOAD-DATE: March 21, 2003

The Scotsman, January 10, 2003
Copyright 2003 The Scotsman Publications Ltd.
The Scotsman
January 10, 2003, Friday

SECTION: Pg. 13 **LENGTH:** 796 words

HEADLINE: DEMOCRAT HOPEFULS START RACE FOR VOTE

BYLINE: Jacqui Goddard In Miami

BODY:

AS PRESIDENT George Bush continues to surf a wave of public popularity, the Democrats' chances of ousting him at next year's **election** seem slim...

Another is the former NATO commander **Wesley Clark**, the retired four-star general who led the 78-day bombing campaign in Kosovo.

Like Mr. Clinton he is a Rhodes scholar from Arkansas. While he has talked to senior Democrats about a possible candidacy, he says coyly he "doesn't really have any plans".

The wounded Vietnam veteran is billed as the model of the modern major general - but he has yet to take the field.

LOAD-DATE: January 10, 2003

The American Prospect March, 2003
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The American Prospect
March, 2003

BEST ARTICLE

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg. 30

LENGTH: 2461 words

HEADLINE: Meet Mr. Credibility;

Candidate or no, Wesley Clark upstages Bush on Iraq and national security

BYLINE: BY MICHAEL TOMASKY; MICHAEL TOMASKY, New York magazine's political columnist, is a Shorenstein fellow at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government for the spring 2003 term.

BODY:

THE DEMOCRATS, AS WE KNOW, HAVE MANY POLITICAL problems: their uncertainty, their inability to trade jabs with the Republicans, their likely minority status in Congress for some time to come. Checked out a map yet of which senators are up in **2004?** Let's just say that if you're not sure you can take much more depressing news, don't. But oddly enough, they don't have that many policy problems. Majorities in polls repeatedly are closer to the Democrats on abortion rights, environmental protection and a tendency toward deficit hawkishness rather than tax cuts.

But there is one issue, or set of issues, where polls show Democrats having all the credibility of Cardinal Law on sex: On national security and defense, the Republican advantage is enormous. This perception goes back 30 years or so. In many ways, it's no longer as true now as it was then. Bill Clinton helped liberate Kosovo and, however belatedly, Bosnia. The candidate who received the most votes in the 2000 presidential **election** was the one who enlisted in the Army and insisted on being sent to Vietnam (Al Gore), not the one who ducked and covered with a reportedly incomplete term of service in the Air National Guard (George W. Bush). But the hardwired image of Republicans being stronger on national security persists in the public mind. Bush's midterm **election** rhetoric about Democrats being soft on homeland security may not have enjoyed the benefit of actually being true, but it sounded all too believable to a country where fear is still driving the body politic. In a post -- September 11 world, where the threats to America are real and serious, it's of critical importance that Democrats establish some credibility in this realm.

THE RUMORED PRESIDENTIAL BID OF RETIRED GEN. **Wesley Clark**, bandied about mostly in inside-dope items in the press over the last three months, may or may not materialize. The considered judgments of rumor-mill initiates run the gamut from "slim chance" to "almost certainly." For his own part, **Clark** keeps it vague. "A lot of people have come to me and talked about the need for leadership," he said in an interview, "but I haven't made any plans. I haven't raised money or formed any committees." Whether **Clark** runs or not -- and if he doesn't, he seems like a vice-**presidential candidate** sent from God, which may be the real angle he's playing -- his mere presence on the national stage, his coming out of the closet, as it were, as a functional Democrat who opposes the administration's war aims and who just happens to have been a NATO commander, could instantly make the Democratic Party more plausible on foreign affairs than it's been at any time since a general named George Catlett Marshall was containing communism and rebuilding Europe with a president named Harry Truman. "I think it's safe to say," says former Clinton Chief of Staff John Podesta, "that the supreme allied commander of NATO has a certain credibility on military affairs that is not usually associated with members of the Democratic Party."

Think Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.) looks good because he fought in a war? Well, check **Clark** out. **Clark**, now 58, fought in Vietnam, too, of course, but that was just his stretching routine. He won a war. He was

NATO commander during the Kosovo operation. Granted, this may not be the military equivalent of beating back Adolf Hitler. But it arguably is something of a moral equivalent in that it led to the downfall of a Hitler manque in the person of Slobodan Milosevic. It was, however sliced, a successful, multilateral mission that largely achieved its objectives, both military and political. And the Kosovo campaign was merely the most recent in a long line of **Clark's** feats. After graduating from high school in Little Rock, Ark., in 1962, he went to West Point, where he finished first in his class; after that, to Oxford University, where he earned a master's degree in philosophy, politics and economics as a Rhodes Scholar (an Arkansas Rhodes Scholar, eh?); to Vietnam in the late 1960s; thence up the ladder, all the way to NATO command, which Bill Clinton bestowed on him in 1997. Although both from Arkansas, Clinton and **Clark** first met, **Clark** says, at a 1965 student leadership conference while both were in college. Since then, **Clark** has won the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, a Silver Star, a Purple Heart, and more accolades and decorations than Secretariat.

So there's all that. And there's this: He votes Democratic. In Arkansas most voters enroll with no party affiliation; you show up on primary day and select the ballot of whichever party you want to support. Clark told me he voted in the Democratic primary in last year's state elections. He seriously considered seeking the Democratic nomination for governor of Arkansas in 2002, challenging Republican incumbent Mike Huckabee. He told me in an interview that he favors both abortion rights and affirmative action. We spoke just after the Bush administration filed its brief against the University of Michigan's admissions policy, and Clark said he was "surprised and dismayed" by the president's decision. He has "tremendous regard" for the Clintons. And, just as a little sweetener for the culture department, he quotes Bob Dylan toward the end of his book, Waging Modern War, and writes affectionately about the protest folk music that he used to love to listen to as a young man.

But still none of these facts, salient as they may be to Democrats, gets to the heart of Clarkism, which is this: As viewers of his regular appearances on CNN know, **Clark** has emerged as a ferocious critic of the Bush administration's national-security policy. To **Clark**, the administration has not made even a version of a case against Iraq. Iran and North Korea are obviously bigger and more immediate threats. And the administration's cowboy unilateralism, he says, goes against everything the United States is supposed to represent to the world. "After 9-11, who are we?" he asked me. "Are we going to be an angry, beleaguered giant swatting out at selected nations with our sword of vengeance? Are we going to be Daddy Warbucks handing out money? What are we?"

He has a rhetorical answer, if not quite a fully fleshed-out policy, which we'll get to. But even at this early, uncertain juncture, it can safely be said that the prospect of a **Wesley Clark** presidential candidacy is tantalizing. There isn't much doubt that he's giving it some serious thought. Just before Thanksgiving, he had a lunch meeting with a group of New York Democrats led by investment adviser Alan J. Patricof, who headed Hillary Clinton's financial campaign in 2000. (*Time* magazine got wind of this, and its item started the **Clark** boomlet.) The group included prominent New York Democrats who customarily receive Democratic **presidential candidates** who hit town; this same klatch, or a near version of it, auditioned Bill Clinton in 1991. "Oh, my impression was that he's very seriously considering it," one member told me. "He said he's not ready to announce yet because he doesn't want to leave CNN" where his criticisms of Bush receive their maximum exposure. "But he sure seemed serious to me."

Other Democratic insiders, several in the Clinton circle, agreed. I spoke with one about **Clark's** mid-January lunch with Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe, which happened at **Clark's** behest. This insider spoke with McAuliffe about the **Clark** lunch and said, "Terry's view is that he's very seriously considering it. Now there's serious, and there's serious, so who knows, but Terry thought it was pretty real."

Of course, a few conversations may be only that, and it's obviously true that rumors can get converted into fact or elevated beyond their reality in no time. There were reports that **Clark** had met with the Democratic Leadership Council's (DLC) Al From; the DLC's Karin Kullman says that **Clark** has spoken at council forums on military policy, not talked political turkey with From. Also, according to press reports, he had talks with former Gore campaign aide Donna Brazile, but **Clark** says the conversation was the result of an accidental meeting in a green room at CNN. ("But I've known Donna for many years," he says, "and she's always been one who has told me, 'You should run for something one day.'")

So it's far from clear that there's a there there. And Clark's not saying -- yet. But another source

indicates that **Clark** may be planning an announcement around April. When a non-candidate says something like, "I've always hoped I would someday be able to go into elective office," which he said to me, it's probably a signal of something.

Clark had several chats last year with Arkansas Democratic Party Chairman Ron Oliver about the possibility of taking on Huckabee for the governorship. "It was 2001 when his name started popping up," says Michael Cook, the party's executive director in Arkansas. "He and Ron had a series of discussions." Clark took a pass, obviously; but equally obviously, he had caught the bug.

If **Clark** runs, his clear raison d'etre would be to articulate a more tenable opposition to Cheneyism than the other Democrats can. "The issue to me has been that we have known for a long time that Osama bin Laden is a problem," he says. "The difficulty was always to mobilize the American people and bring enough comprehensive pressure to bear to do something against terrorism. Well, 9-11 did that. But the administration has squandered a lot of the international goodwill that came our way after the attacks and is now squandering our domestic energy by forcing us into Iraq."

For which, he argues, there is no honest military or diplomatic rationale. "The Iranians are further along with regard to nuclear weapons," he says. "The North Koreans are much further along. Iraq is third. We went after this in a reverse order. . . . They chose Iraq as a problem before they explained what the problem was."

The substance of **Clark's** critique of the Bush foreign policy hinges chiefly on two assertions. First, that the administration has offered competing -- sometimes, in **Clark's** view, dodgy -- rationales for an invasion of Iraq and therefore has not adequately or properly unified the American public behind the idea. He gives the administration points for having done this well with regard to al-Qaeda, which he regards as the more important war to be waging right now. But on Iraq, he says, a rationale for attacking now has "never been clearly and decisively articulated."

Second, **Clark** feels that if the administration's efforts with regard to U.S. public opinion have been wanting, its attempts to change world opinion have ranged from halfhearted to down-right hostile. He disdains the administration's unilateralist bent both as a moral matter -- preemptive war, he says, is something the United States could always do if it needed to, "but we never made it a principle" -- and on the strategic grounds that antagonizing old allies will come back to bite us one day.

"Terrorism is a multilateral problem," **Clark** says. "You cannot defeat it in one nation. You need international police work, teamwork, international harmonization of laws against terror, a whole series of things. You act unilaterally, you lose the commitment of your allies to make it work. That's the one thing that will kill you in the war on terrorism."

That should ring true to voters coming from a four-star general whose experience has taken him as high up the military and diplomatic chains of command as a person can go. But he will also need to put more meat on the bones of a real alternative vision. If **Clark** were president, how would he handle Saddam Hussein? He would do what exactly in North Korea? How would he bring about that harmonization of laws? He speaks beautifully of basing the United States' role in the world on an articulation of the nation's better principles: "The United States is a 225-year rolling revolution. . . . We are the embodiment of the Enlightenment. If we're true to those principles, then it's a foreign policy of generosity, humility, engagement and of course force where it is needed. But as a last resort." As a candidate, though, he will be asked to cast himself into specific situations, involving not a few nasty fellows whose use for our principles is scant indeed.

Two more things. First, **Clark** would have to be a pol. Can he connect with people? The man I spoke with was intelligent, direct and forceful. But qualities such as neighborly, empathetic and humble tend to work better in presidential campaigns. And does he have any idea what campaigns do? "I'm sure he knows that Iowa is a caucus state," says a Democratic operative. "But does he know what that means in terms of the organization required, which is immense? He's been a commander, so he's used to giving orders and having people follow them. It's not quite that way in political campaigns."

Clark may benefit, interestingly, from some of the political infrastructure and know-how left behind in his home state by a certain other famous Arkansan. "Bill Clinton taught Arkansas how to win," says Skip

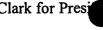
Rutherford, who heads the William J. Clinton Presidential Foundation. "We weren't exactly a presidential hotbed. Clinton changed that. Now a lot of Arkansans know what a presidential campaign is like. They've seen the demands and the requirements. There are a whole lot of people here who, if he ran, would immediately hop on board."

The second thing **Clark** would have to do if he runs: get votes. Let's assume that there are no sex or tax scandals, or what have you. Even if he vets clean, will Democratic primary voters give him backing? Surely many will agree with his foreign-policy views, but Democratic primary voters are used to voting on domestic issues, and they aren't used to voting for generals, even Dylan-quoting ones. And if **Clark** runs and fares poorly, if Democratic voters repudiate Mr. Cred., if, for example, they actually cast more votes for the Rev. Al Sharpton . . . well, you can just imagine how much fun FOX News will have with that.

A party operative avers that **Clark** will need to declare himself by April or so (and there's the little business of his needing to raise about \$ 10 million this year). So we'll see what we see. But whether as candidate, big-name veepstakes contender or even just prime-time convention speaker without portfolio, **Wesley Clark** can represent positive change for the Democratic Party. Are a general and the Democratic Party machinery, as currently constituted, a good match? That's the question. The answer, you might say, is blowin' in the wind.

GRAPHIC: Photos 1 and 2, no caption, AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO; Photos 3 and 4, Wearing many hats: Retired Gen. **Wesley Clark** as scholar, soldier and leader, NATO PHOTOS

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Meet the General

US Army (retired)

General Wesley K. Clark is one of the nation's most distinguished retired military officers. During his thirty-four years of service in the United States Army, he held numerous staff and command positions, rising to the rank of 4-star general and NATO Supreme Allied Commander.

From 1997 through May of 2000, General Clark was NATO Supreme Allied Commander and Commander in Chief of the United States European Command. In this position, General Clark commanded Operation Allied Force, NATO's first major combat action, which saved 1.5 million Albanians from ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.



From 1996 to 1997 General Clark served as Commander in Chief of the United States Sou Command, Panama, where he was responsible for the direction of U.S. military activities in America and the Caribbean.

From 1994 to 1996, he served as Director for Strategic Plans and Policy for the Joint Chie with responsibilities for worldwide U.S. military strategic planning.

General Clark is a 1966 graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point whe graduated first in his class. He holds a Master's Degree in Philosophy, Politics and Econor Oxford University where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

General Clark is a recipient of numerous U.S. and foreign military awards, including the Sil Bronze Star and Purple Heart. He has received honorary Knighthoods from the British and governments and was made a commander of the French Legion of Honor. In August 2000 Clark was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.

An acclaimed public speaker and commentator for CNN, General Clark is the author of the Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Future of Combat (Public Affairs, New York

General Clark is also licensed as an investment banker. He joined Stephens Inc. as a con: July of 2000 and was named Managing Director -- Merchant Banking of Stephens Group, March 2001 through February 2003. He is currently the chairman of Wesley K. Clark & As: strategic advisory and consulting firm.

He and his wife Gert live in Little Rock, Arkansas where he grew up and graduated from hi They have one son, Wesley, who lives in New York City.



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