

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Susan Brophy to Mack McLarty re: Nomination (1 page)	02/13/1993	b(6)
002. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (3 pages)	02/11/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 359

FOLDER TITLE:

February 1993 [4]

2018-0662-F

rs3030

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Denise Hyland Dangremond
16 Ronald Road
Barrington, RI 02806

President-elect Bill Clinton
Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
c/o Carolyn Huber
Rose Law Firm
120 E. 4th St.
Little Rock, AR 72201



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/15

NOTE FOR: *Sylvia MATTHEWS*

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

*Can you do a reply
for the President
let me know if that's
a problem John*

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

JAY ALIX
DOUGLAS A. BOOTH
MELVIN R. CHRISTIANSEN
THOMAS W. CROSS
ROBERT N. DANGREMOND
HENRY L. DRUKER
ELMER E. HEUPEL
JOHN G. MCGREGOR
LAWRENCE J. RAMAEKERS
TED STENGER
HARVEY E. SCHATZ

January 13, 1993

President-elect Bill Clinton
c/o Carolyn Huber
Rose Law Firm
120 E. 4th Street
Little Rock, AR 72201

Dear Bill:

The weeks since Election Day and our brunch at Carolyn and Jerry Staley's home have passed all too quickly. As January 20 approaches so does the opportunity for you to implement the creative economic reform and social accountability the country truly needs. Denise and I are enthusiastic about meeting the responsibilities each of us must assume to support your effort to build a consensual approach to our nation's challenges.

Recalling our discussion regarding problems and opportunities at the RTC, I am writing to outline for you some thoughts I have about the issues facing the agency. In addition, during a recent trip to Washington, I met with Al Casey and Lamar Kelly, who manages the RTC's Asset Sales Division, and discussed current challenges associated with their objectives

Three years, the RTC has developed some successful strategies to resolve problems presented by failing S&L's. Their process is now routinized and appears to be accepted by Congress and the public. The agency has also achieved a critical goal of restoring stability and confidence to the twenty-one states who were at risk within the savings and loan system.

There are still some very serious financial and political problems that your agency will face and be accountable for. I believe you now have unique opportunities to capitalize on past successes while correcting the remaining problems. Areas in which those problems and the opportunities to solve them are my ideas on initiatives, goals, measurements and action plans are not their development would be the logical next step that you'll need to

Requested from Congress additional S&L clean-up funds to close the failed thrifts. If the remaining \$40 to \$50 billion will allow the agency to proceed, then Congress should be encouraged to provide the funding.

To Bob Rubin
Thank you - a great
meeting

3 FEB 1993 15:29
Bob Rubin

President-elect Bill Clinton
January 13, 1993
Page 2

Completing the thrift clean-up process will allow the RTC to focus its efforts on other pressing problems that have not yet been fully addressed. However, the RTC should insure that it does not put itself in a position of having to go back to this "well" too many times.

The RTC's estimated monetary need must be carefully analyzed to insure that the funding is adequate to accomplish the goals for which it is earmarked. In addition, the amount of money and the goals should be clearly tied together in the public's and the Congress' minds. I believe this task is partly financial analysis and partly public relations and should be coordinated as such.

Establish a Reserve

In support of your overall effort to strike a "truth-in-deficit" pact with the nation, the RTC should also establish an adequate reserve or "insurance pool" for future contingencies. By presenting an "all-in" funding amount to Congress, which includes this contingency reserve, the risk of creating future opportunities to attack the RTC's and your administration's performance and credibility will be avoided. The level of the reserve should be determined in conjunction with your overall strategy for the RTC. If your administration waits too long on this issue, it could become a problem "on your watch", not your predecessors.

My experience with troubled institutions has demonstrated that there is almost always a tendency by management to significantly underestimate the problems still to be solved and the amount of money required. As a result, their turnaround efforts become hampered, stalled and unable to realize their full potential. Some times the programs failed. In other words, their strategies may be sound but due to unrealistic cost estimates, effort is wasted and management loses the confidence of its constituencies. Establishing a "worst-case" reserve and achieving the "expected or best case" outcome will protect your administration, the RTC and the voters' trust in you.

Develop a Strategy for Remaining Assets

According to Albert Casey, a major issue facing the RTC is how to dispose of its many less desirable assets. Selling something that no one wants is always difficult, no matter what business one is in, and regardless of the state of the market for the product. Over the last few years, the U.S. has suffered the worst real estate slump since the Great

President-elect Bill Clinton
January 13, 1993
Page 3

Depression. There are some signs that the industry is picking up but it is not widespread or in all sectors. However, if the RTC is saddled with bad properties and does not have a proactive strategy, this could create a real public mess as the overall real estate recovery could still be a long way off.

I am familiar with Mr. Casey's suggestion that the government pay "buyers" to take the properties. While I understand the political problems with his suggestion, the fact remains that it is imperative that Congress and the public have a full understanding of the costs and tremendous overhead associated with having the RTC continue to hold these properties at taxpayer expense. You can be the person who stops this drain on government and the country once and for all.

The RTC needs to develop an "EXIT STRATEGY" using a creative way to dispose of these assets that is fair and is perceived as such by Congress and the public. Our work at Cardinal Industries -- in which we too faced the dilemma of selling hundreds of millions of dollars of troubled real estate in a bad market -- demonstrates that properly packaged, fairly financed and aggressively marketed, an attractive value can be established and qualified buyers identified with a sound exit strategy for the RTC.

Pursue the SWAT Team Strategy Further

I am generally familiar with the SWAT teams currently in place. Your administration should expand the concept of delegating authority to teams which comprise RTC personnel and non-government professionals geographically located where the properties exist. The concept has many advantages if properly structured. My work at Jay Alix & Associates has pioneered the use of employee-staffed asset sales and turnaround teams within large multi-billion dollar corporations that are facing severe financial distress. We have found that teams of employees, guided by our leadership and programs, are able to provide the most valuable and creative solutions to a large organization's problems. The employees have the "hands-on" knowledge of the way things are and frequently the most practical and efficient ideas of how things can be improved. An extensive team approach to achieving specific, measurable goals could be an effective tool at the RTC.

In my experience of developing and deploying turnaround teams, I have identified a critical component of success: that is, they must be given authority and responsibility in balanced measure, and there must be proper accountability back to appropriate levels. Turnaround or "SWAT" teams are change agents -- out in the field making decisions,

President-elect Bill Clinton
January 13, 1993
Page 4

closing deals and minimizing risks for the taxpayer. They must be given the tools to do their jobs. If their goals are clearly communicated and the authority/responsibility scale properly balanced, a fully developed and implemented SWAT team approach could provide a fast start to finishing up the RTC's business in a favorable time frame for the new administration.

Build on the RTC's Successes: Consolidate All Loan Recovery

Many Federal agencies and departments, including the FDIC, HUD, FNMA, FHLMC, Commerce, Defense and others, are responsible for making loans and this results in all of them being involved in the collection of troubled loans and sale of assets. Each agency, however, shares a common goal -- to achieve the highest return from the "workout" and for the assets disposed. The problem is they all duplicate the overhead and operating costs of performing the same function, and it is a massive cost. The concept of consolidating all troubled loans and asset sales under one agency, which is currently a topic of interest in Washington, deserves careful study. The benefits of using one market-oriented "workout" and operating agency could prove to be substantial in terms of reduced overhead and greater efficiency. Bank lenders have operated this way for years, and so should government lenders.

Closing Thoughts

As I mentioned earlier, Bill, my approach here is broad, but I believe that during this transition period, a "big-picture" perspective is an important one to define, both for yourself and those who will work with you.

During my conversation with Mr. Casey, he recounted for me a scenario that is similar to those we encounter in the multi-billion dollar corporate restructurings we handle: the RTC has been criticized for selling assets too slowly and for selling assets too quickly; they have been criticized for being too large and bureaucratic and for downsizing too quickly, thus impeding regional activities. Some say the agency has pursued S&L wrongdoers too aggressively while others claim they have not been pursued aggressively enough. Such is life in the restructuring business, as it is in government. There is always a surfeit of criticism and limited accolades available for public consumption. However, I've found that a strong, well-focused and well-executed turnaround strategy combined with a positive communication strategy can be the best antidote and I believe will critically help your administration in this area.

President-elect Bill Clinton
January 13, 1993
Page 5

I believe the experiences I've had working with many Fortune 500 companies offer valuable insights and lessons that could be effectively applied to the RTC. I would be glad to speak at any time to members of your economic policy team to share my ideas regarding a turnaround strategy.

My sincere congratulations on your victory and best wishes for a smooth transition. Denise and I look forward to seeing you and your family during the Inaugural celebration.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'R. N. Dangremond'.

Robert N. Dangremond

JAY ALIX &
ASSOCIATES

575 FIFTH AVENUE, 21ST FLOOR
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

President-Elect Bill Clinton
c/o Carolyn Huber
Rose Law Firm
120 E. 4th Street
Little Rock, AR 72201

Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/15

NOTE FOR: *Eli Segal*

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

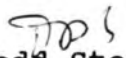
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1993

Mr. President,

I am enclosing two informational memos.
I have circulated Eli's memo to
relevant senior staff.


Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

FEB 11 P3:50

February 11, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Eli Segal *ES*

SUBJECT: UPDATE ON NATIONAL SERVICE

This memo will report on the status of national service legislation, progress in communications, and plans for legislative strategy. In a decision memo next week I will present key issues regarding the administrative structure of a new national service program as well as issues related to existing agencies such as ACTION.

I. National Service Legislation

We are drafting legislation to implement your campaign proposal. *X* The legislation will offer the option of income-contingent loan repayment to every American. By offering a longer repayment schedule with lower monthly payments, we will enable more young people to take lower-paying public service jobs and still repay their loans. The legislation will also create a national service program that will directly fund service positions, and provide a mechanism for students/graduates to repay loans in exchange for one or two years of service. The details of this program are as follows:

Y **Funding:** The legislation will offer a fixed post-service benefit to individuals completing one or two years of approved national service. It will also help pay for stipends, health and child care benefits, program costs including training and supervision, start-up and replication. Federal funds, other than post-service benefits, will require a match from non-federal sources.

Types of Service: National service positions will involve work in education, human services, environment and public safety. Positions in these areas may be in youth corps, specialized service corps dedicated to priority needs and individual placements in non-profit organizations.

*↳ I think we should have some things -
policy, teaching that every State must offer,
then let Sts, cities, non-profits suggest other
things, maybe thru St. channel, that we can OK*

Eligibility: Service will be possible after college, during college or before college (including non-college-bound youth). Individuals will be selected for participation by applying to and being accepted by a program offering approved national service positions. This will not be an entitlement program, but will have a mechanism for allocating a limited number of slots.

Operation: Local organizations, state programs, and federal agencies will all be able to receive funding through the national service agency. There will be an emphasis on supporting locally-based programs over top-down bureaucracies.

* National esprit de corps: To build a sense of unity across programs, the national service agency will establish shared features for all programs, create a national advertising campaign, and sponsor training and networking programs nationwide.

II. Summer Leadership Training

To launch the national service program quickly, we have requested \$15 million from the economic stimulus package to start a summer program. Based at four sites nationwide, the program will gather motivated youth to learn leadership skills and do national service in clearly defined areas. We envision some young people setting up programs for the homeless on military bases; others doing environmental cleanup; and others providing education and outreach to help the immunization program. In the fall, participants with innovative ideas will be eligible to receive grants to establish their own national service programs; these individuals will become service leaders for years to come. Headed by well-known figures, the summer program will be designed to demonstrate in a visible way the value of service.

III. Communications Strategy

* To emphasize the importance of a "season of service" in spite of the deficit, we need to give national service high visibility in every possible way. We are working with the communications and scheduling staffs to ensure that in activities like tomorrow's immunization event, service is highlighted as a way to meet shared goals. This effort to integrate the service message with other Administration programs will be ongoing.

* We are planning two special events to launch the service program, both around the March 1 anniversary of JFK's establishment of the Peace Corps. A New York Times op-ed authored by you on February 28 will show the elites how much service matters to you and place the legislative program in broader context. With a major speech to a college audience, you can again "pass the torch" of leadership to America's young people, and at the same time unveil the summer program. Such a speech would generate significant

excitement about service and about your presidency. I will also recommend specific opportunities for you to participate directly in service activities.

IV. Legislative Strategy

Starting next week, with your approval, I will begin to circulate an outline of legislation for comment to key House and Senate contacts. My office will coordinate with Howard Paster on this effort. I will then make a round of visits to key House and Senate members, and with their comments complete the actual drafting process. We are aiming to introduce legislation by early March.

We are working with the political staff to develop a strategy to follow through with a wider round of contacts in the education, service, labor and other constituent communities. To build further support for your initiative, we will hold (and encourage congressional committees to hold) field hearings. I also plan to make a round of program visits around the country to continue to highlight the importance of service and build support for the legislation we propose.

Chron
2/15/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/15

NOTE FOR: *MARSLA SCOTT*

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

These are from the President; please handle.

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:



Wt
met in yrtuey
at our Hualon we
have seen sign for
Cassien on bagel

MR. PRESIDENT
CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

to: CHELSE



Cham
2/15/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1993

Mr. Ron Carter
Apartment 10A
300 West End Avenue
New York, New York 10023

Dear Ron:

I want to let you know how much I appreciate the special part you played in the Inaugural week activities. Your participation helped create a truly memorable occasion for me, for my family, and for the American people.

I am enclosing a copy of my Inaugural Address, as well as a copy of the beautiful poem Maya Angelou read at the swearing-in ceremony -- "On the Pulse of Morning." I hope you enjoy them.

Again, thank you for your contribution. I look forward to your continued support on our journey to reunite America.

Sincerely,

Bill

Chrom
2/15/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1993

Mr. Al Grey
337 East Shore Drive
Box 4478
Great Neck, New York 11023

Dear Al:

I want to let you know how much I appreciate the special part you played in the Inaugural week activities. Your participation helped create a truly memorable occasion for me, for my family, and for the American people.

I am enclosing a copy of my Inaugural Address, as well as a copy of the beautiful poem Maya Angelou read at the swearing-in ceremony -- "On the Pulse of Morning." I hope you enjoy them.

Again, thank you for your contribution. I look forward to your continued support on our journey to reunite America.

Sincerely,

Bill

Chrom
2/15/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1993

Mr. Wynton Marsalis
Apartment 29H
3 Lincoln Center
New York, New York 10023

Dear Wynton:

I want to let you know how much I appreciate the special part you played in the Inaugural week activities. Your participation helped create a truly memorable occasion for me, for my family, and for the American people.

I am enclosing a copy of my Inaugural Address, as well as a copy of the beautiful poem Maya Angelou read at the swearing-in ceremony -- "On the Pulse of Morning." I hope you enjoy them.

Again, thank you for your contribution. I look forward to your continued support on our journey to reunite America.

Sincerely,

Bill

*Thank you
been great*

Chron
2/15/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Bobby K. Hayes
Hayes Oak, Inc.
Walnut and Rowden Street
Post Office Box 190
Calico Rock, Arkansas 72519

Dear Bobby:

Thanks so much for your friendship and support
over the years. It means a lot to me.

Sincerely,

Bill

Thacker



HAYES OAK, INC.

Walnut & Rowden Street
P.O. Box 190
Calico Rock, AR 72519

ID# 000952113

S

November 6, 1992

RECEIVED 11-9

RECEIVED

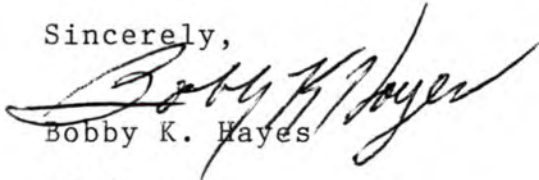
11-9

President Elect Bill Clinton
State Capitol
Little Rock, Ar.

Honorable Bill Clinton:

It is with great pride that I write this letter. Pride in knowing that in January you will become the forty-second President of the United States! I wish you good fortune in holding this prestigious honor. I feel you will succeed with a lot of hard work and determination, which I know you have. You are a strong and sincere person which I have known for twenty four years. You are still the same Bill Clinton that I met in Hot Springs in 1968. You have not changed an iota. Hold on to your beliefs and values. And once again my deepest congratulations on your landslide victory. It's like David slew Goliath!

Sincerely,


Bobby K. Hayes

EKH/bpr

Chrom

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 15, 1993

✓
Mr. President:

Please review before your 3:00p
meeting today.

John Podesta

cc: Lindsey

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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Chrom

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 11, 1993 11 FEB 11 P5:00

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BO CUTTER *BC*
SUBJECT: SPACE STATION #2

BACKGROUND: This is a follow up on the memo I sent to the plane yesterday (attached), which provided brief talking notes on the Space Station. This memorandum discusses:

- the existing space station concept; and
 - the alternatives as seen by the current administrator, Dan Goldin:
 - relevant costs; and
 - necessary contacts and briefings.
- I. The existing Space Station concept is a highly integrated approach:
- the Station will be built more or less as a whole, starting in 1996 with operational status achieved by 2001;
 - the construction of the Station will require most of the capacity of the shuttle during construction (late 1990's); and assumes the continued use of a high proportion of its capacity during its operational lifetime of 30 years;
 - this development and construction concept is regarded by Goldin as involving substantial risks because the Station would have to be put together as a whole for the first time while it is in space; and
 - total life costs for this concept are projected to be in the range of \$100 to \$130 billion over the next 30 years.
- II. Administrator Goldin is now considering other options:
- Option 1 -- follow a building block or modular approach -- in which the Station is built and operated in stages as needs evolve and design and construction knowledge increases.

- **Option 2** -- follow a skylab approach in which one overall framework is carried up by the shuttle and that framework is built out over time.

Administrator Goldin believes that either of these approaches involve less risk; could be carried out more quickly; and would result in a better Space Station than the current approach. Either of these approaches could be implemented within the existing schedule, and within the existing NASA baseline figures for the Space Station.

- NASA has not yet completed its numbers but the Administrator believes that either of these approaches could be completed for approximately \$6 billion (which is well within the NASA figures you have already been shown); that operating costs would, in addition, be substantially less;
- OMB has put enough funds in its figures so that no net NASA jobs would be lost through this change.

III. The decision to choose the options we are recommending is also a decision not to fund the very high but currently unstated costs of the current option.

- The recommended options would result in an improved Space Station program; a lower construction and operating cost; and a more balanced overall NASA program with more room for science.
- OMB emphasizes that if we stay with the current option we very rapidly reach the point at which the rising costs of the Station squeeze out most of NASA's other programs.
- However, the supporters of the existing concept, both within NASA and outside of NASA, are expecting the more integrated concept with its attendant higher costs. They will probably argue that the options are poorly thought through and conjectural.

IV. If we go with this alternative there are a large number of bases to touch. Both OMB and NASA believe that this cannot be accomplished without substantial Presidential support.

- The following members should be forewarned:
 - House -- Jack Brooks; George Brown; Louis Stokes; and Jim Bacchus.
 - Senate -- Barbara Mikulski; Howell Heflin; John Glenn; and Bob Krueger.
 - Governor Richards should also be briefed.
- We will also have to brief our international partners (EC, Japan, Canada) on this decision before its announcement.
- The above is not intended to be a full political plan but rather to alert you to the fact that others besides Senator Krueger have to be notified. I recommend that we ask the NASA Administrator to put together a full plan.

Attachment

February 10, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BO CUTTER
SUBJECT: SPACE STATION COMMENTS

I suggest that your comments be along the following lines:

"I intend to support a strong Space Station effort as part of a reenergized Space and Science program at NASA. However, I also intend to ask NASA:

- to redesign and streamline the existing Space Station program so that we can substantially reduce the costs both of building and operating the Station;
- to create an approach to managing this program that will be more effective and efficient; and that will reexamine every aspect and process by which we have managed this effort; and
- therefore, to develop a Space Station budget that we can afford over the long term and that will enable us to find room to support NASA's other important science missions.

I believe -- and equally importantly so does NASA -- that a redesigned and streamlined Space Station is possible and will:

- create more high technology jobs for America than the current design;
- preserve the best components of the present design; and
- minimize job disruption at NASA and contractor facilities.

I will show my faith in NASA by putting more funds into the Space Station effort. I have asked Administrator Goldin to present an approach to me as soon as possible. And I am also asking NASA to work with our international partners to preserve what has become an important example of international cooperation and joint investment."

I have discussed this language with the current Administrator who agrees with it.

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: 192/40

DTG: 102214Z FEB 93

MESSAGE NO. 04 CLASSIFICATION unclassified PAGES 1

FROM John Podesta The White House 2702
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION _____

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
Detroit	Andrew Friendly for the President	--	INFORMATION
"	George Stephanopoulos -FYI		

REMARKS:

The attached memorandum is the result of a ~~verbal request~~ made by the President and George Stephanopoulos following this morning's meeting for a possible discussion with Senator Krueger.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 10, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BO CUTTER *Bo Cutter*

SUBJECT:

SPACE STATION COMMENTS

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Chron

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 15, 1993

Mr. President:

Enclosed are new talking points
for your Congressional meetings.
Please review.


John Podesta

cc: Mack McLarty
Vice President Gore

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FEBRUARY 15, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Howard Paster

SUBJECT: Remaining meetings with House Democrats

It is not feasible at this point to portray these meetings as consultations. Too much has been written about the fact that the decisions have been made.

Therefore it is necessary to change the tone from one of soliciting their views to one of soliciting their support. Also, to the extent you invite their comments I recommend strongly you do NOT imply you want to hear from all of them. There simply is not sufficient time.

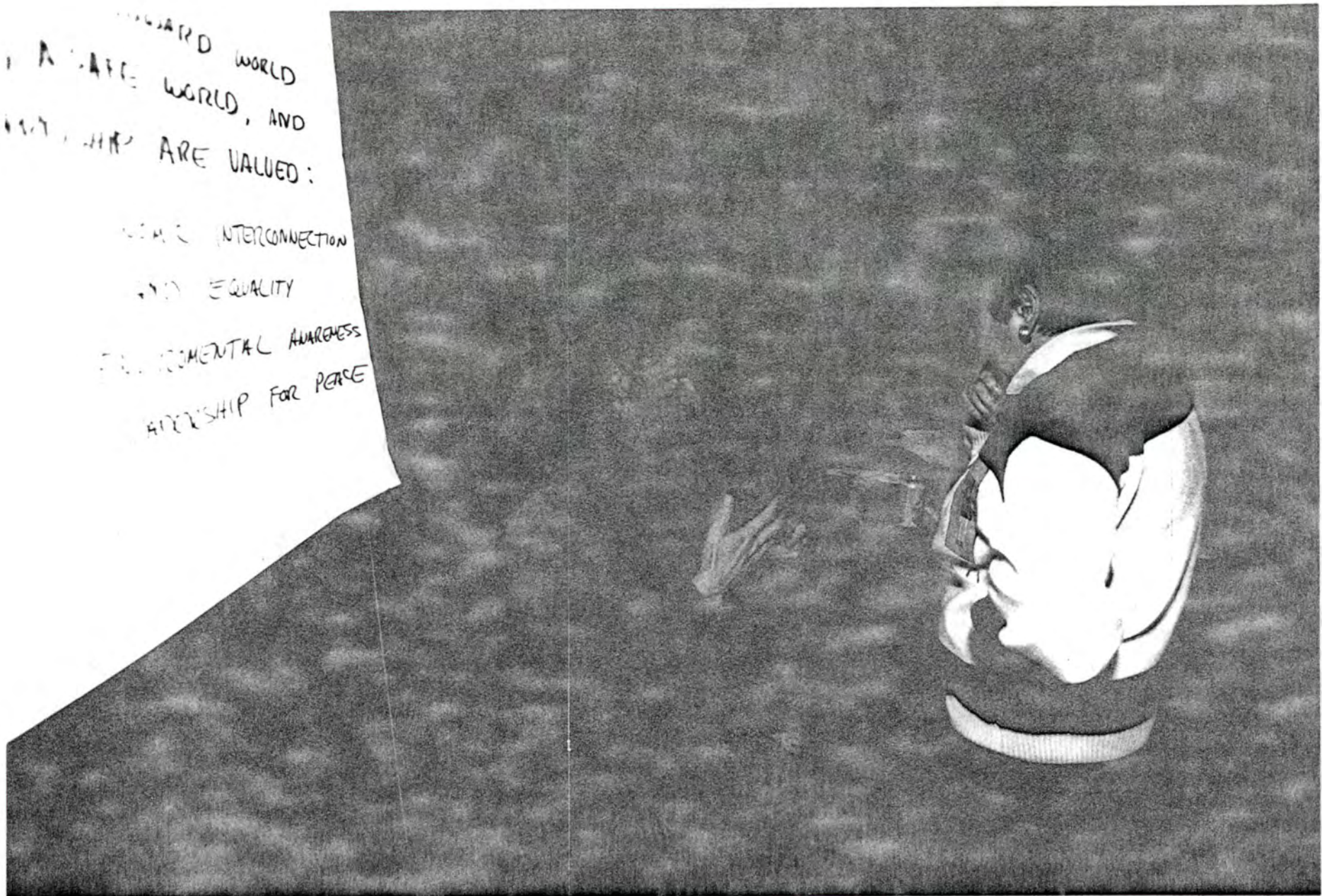
In your opening comments, please keep these thoughts in mind:

1. You have consulted extensively.
2. You insisted on a plan that was honest with the American people, and fair to the hard-working middle class.
3. Unlike Republicans who oppose deficits for their own sake, we Democrats pursue deficit reduction to create high-paying jobs in a growing economy.
4. If they have the will to resist the special interests who are unhappy with the plan, you are prepared to take to the road to help your supporters.
5. There has never been a time when it was more obvious that Democrats will succeed or fail together. Passing the Clinton economic plan is the only patriotic course, it is the way to restore hope, and it will be rewarded by the voters.

I cannot stress too strongly the importance of asking directly and specifically for their commitments of support.

...WARD WORLD
A SAFE WORLD, AND
... ARE VALUED:

... INTERCONNECTION
... EQUALITY
... ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS
... PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE



To Donna Shalala - Best time I'll do the listening!
Happy Birthday! Bill Clinton

CHRON
2/15/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Simon Chester
McMillan Bull Casgrain
Barristers and Solicitors
Suite 3800, South Tower
Royal Bank Plaza
Toronto, Ontario M5J 2J7
CANADA

Dear Simon:

Thanks for writing! One of the bonuses
of the election has been hearing from old
friends. Thanks for all the encouragement.

Sincerely,

Rain

I loved reading
your letter - Bob Reich & I
tried to fly Donfles over for
the inauguration but he said
he was too full —

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/15/93

TO: Bob Reich

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

The Honorable Robert Reich
Labor Department
Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ID# 000505
SIMON CHESTER
ANNA THARYAN
RAHAEL CHESTER



41 WALMSLEY BOULEVARD, TORONTO, ONTARIO, M4V 1X7

Dear Mr President

very many congratulations from the distant Univ
past on a hard-fought campaign and a stupendous
result — a victory that would have cheered John
Redcliffe-Maud. Not to mention Fulbright.

We missed you at the Gaudy in March — though
I can appreciate why Oxford was a lower priority
than the bus. I flew in from Washington for the
weekend — which pleased Master Albery — apparently
Dan Coquillette had done the same thing for the
Eldon Society last year. Maurice Shock and Soskice
weren't there to let us know how you'd applied their
PPE tut. Jean Maud sparkled, though sadly aged.

At the Gaudy the infamous '68 Matriculation photo
surfaced in the Sunday Times — and has gone the
rounds of all the papers, Newsweek and People too. I
enjoyed the ten seconds of fame for standing beside
your elbow; until last night — when Saturday
Night Live focussed in on me and accused me
of being Ross Perot! I knew the ears were
a running joke, but... Perot. That's libellous!

The English press managed to track those in the photo down - they got me in Chicago three days before the election - with results attached. Thought it might be fun for you to see the outcome. I thought you and I had aged best - so much for vanity. Pity it was printed in the Sun - a rag.

A couple of years back at the ABA Seattle Mid-year, Tom and Martha Leadbitter told me I should really try and get in touch with Hillary and yourself - only to find you'd checked out. Lots of support around ABA for her work on the Commission.

I don't know whether the Univ Record has caught up with you yet - Douglas apparently commented on your winning the Governorship by saying you'd been elected 'king of some place with two blokes and a dog'. Univ seems to be doing well - I'm sure Leslie Mitchell will be secretly glorying in the list - Attlee, Wilson, Bob Hawke and Clinton - not a bad list of progressive politicians. Not to mention Bob Reich joining Cole and Beveridge and the other advisers. I saw Ira Magaziner in September up here but missed seeing Bob R - schedules never in synch.

We wonder how Chelsea will cope with a new school, missing friends and the upheaval of a transition. DC's a world away from Little Rock. And a vulnerable age. Doubtless she'll rise to it all.

As for me the article sketches it, out of England to Canada, married a marvellous woman from South India, worked in government for a decade - policy, political speeches - on to private practice and a life that spans N. America Europe and India. And a lot for the ABA Oxford - Douglas, Desmond in the Beer Cellar, rigby and the rest - seem centuries back.

All the best for the next eight years. We'll be thinking of you - and the family - a huge leap from the Cowley Road - and a fair one from Little Rock. Rest wishes, Simon Chester

McMILLAN BULL CASGRAIN

BARRISTERS & SOLICITORS

Simon Chester

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EDUCATION

The Rhodes to leadership

Many Oxford scholars cut out for public service

By Edward L. Kenney
USA TODAY

If diamond magnate Cecil Rhodes were alive, he'd break into a smile as dazzling as unearthed paydirt: One of his scholars is heading for the White House.

Bill Clinton is the first Rhodes scholar elected to the presidency. The tycoon and South African statesman who set up the scholarship in his will in 1899 might only wonder what took us so long.

Prime ministers of Canada, Australia, Jamaica and Malta preceded Clinton as national leaders who spent time at Oxford University as Rhodes scholars.

"Half of the people I knew thought they were going to be president," says former Los Angeles Rams quarterback Pat Haden of his Rhodes scholar classmates of the late 1970s. One classmate was Senator-elect Russ Feingold of Wisconsin. Even then, Haden, now a lawyer and TV broadcaster, says, they referred to him as The Senator.

Many of the USA's Rhodes scholars — the U.S. leads other eligible countries with 2,628 elected since the first in 1904 — will meet in June in Washington, D.C., in what's being billed as the group's first North American reunion since 1965.

The reunion invitation list includes Supreme Court justices, former Cabinet members, senators, congressmen, authors and scientists.

Even a singer/songwriter/movie star. "Rhodes scholars are expected to be judges and at least secretaries of state," says Kris Kristofferson, a scholar in the late 1950s who acknowledges he doesn't fit the mold.

But he says his songwriting was "influenced in one way or another by the freedom I was exposed to at Oxford. It was at such a liberating time of my life. I was trying to decide what I wanted to be and had this little grace period over there. My exposure to the old culture and the art had a tremendous effect on my life."

More songwriters could be forthcoming. As it does every first Saturday in December, district committees will choose the USA's annual allotment of 32 Rhodes scholars — the most allowed to any country. Other countries' quotas: Canada, 11; South Africa and Australia, nine each; European Community, 10.



CLINTON AS RHODES SCHOLAR: The president-elect with some of his fellow students at University College in Oxford, England, in the late '60s. Rex Features

How they're selected

Each year selection committees chose 32 Rhodes scholars to represent the USA at Oxford University.

Unmarried students 18 to 23 years old who will have a bachelor's degree by the time they would arrive at Oxford may apply. They file in October, either in the state where they are legal residents or the state where they've gone to college two or more years.

(Note: Some students jockey for the state with the fewest applicants. But beware: "Committees are pretty smart at detecting someone who is trophy-hunting," says David Alexander, American secretary of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust.)

Applications include an academic record, statements of purpose and activities and five to eight references. Qualities the committees seek beyond academics: character, leadership and physical vigor.

Each state pares down its field — about 1,200 students apply nationally each year — to perhaps a dozen, for interviews to be held the first Wednesday in December.

Fetal widel

Scientists re health issues this North America m

A large pop performed on 70 be substandard in abnormalities, say of 96 facilities th year finds that 3

tests are done, sa Cancer Center, Ph

The standard groups, aren't ent ultrasound results many years to pro he says. If that hap standards will be Medicare, Clair sa

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The implants a tumors in standard been looking for w

Gi Hol FRE

This ho the gift really

2/15/93
CHRON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ms. Nancy Fishbain Lutz
Center for Creative Photography
The University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721

Dear Nancy:

Thanks for writing. It's always exciting to hear from old friends. My memories of London and the Tate are very dear to me. As always, I value your support and friendship.

Sincerely,

Bill

I loved hearing from you. David Edwards lives in Little Rock now and we've talked of you over the year. If you really thought I had forgotten you your respect for my memory is too low! - All David and I are here stage a reunion when? 501-666-3399 (H) 666-1011 (O)

CENTER FOR CREATIVE
PHOTOGRAPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA • TUCSON, AZ 85721

000391

Reply

3 5 5 2 6

November 18, 1992

Dear Bill,

Congratulations! There's a feeling of hope around me for the first time in years and I am very proud to have known the person responsible. I doubt you'll remember, but David Edwards and I looked forward to your visits on weekends in London and knew then that you would do great things. I have strong images of bright, involved people, good food and interesting conversations from those weekends. I also remember one Saturday when we all went to the Tate and how interested you were. That memory gives me hope for support of the arts in this country for the first time in years.

I'm sure your life will be even less your own from now on. I don't envy you that, but do respect all you've done and will lend support in any way I can. Life for me has been good, interesting, exciting. I've managed to work for issues I believe in, particularly in the arts on a local and state level, and am assistant director of a unique and exciting museum. It goes without saying that if you ever find yourself in Arizona, I would be delighted to see you. I realize this note isn't "presidential." It is a connection from an old friend with much caring.

I wish you all things good. I think the world is a better place because you care, and I thank you for that. If there's anything I can ever do to help, please let me know.

All my best,

Nancy Fishbain Lutz

Nancy Fishbain Lutz

2/15/93
CHRON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mrs. Ellen Canepa Brzytwa
Greater Cleveland Hospital Association
1226 Huron Road
Playhouse Square
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Dear Ellen:

Thanks for writing! One of the benefits of the campaign was hearing from old friends. I am grateful for your support, your encouragement, and your prayers.

Our real work is just beginning. It is good to know that I can call on you and your colleagues as we work toward a solution for our health care problems. I want and need your prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill

I loved reading your letter - I'll give a copy to Hillary + the Health Care folks - I did see J. in Cleveland on the (longer day) - Give him my love -

Bill



Greater Cleveland
Hospital Association

1226 Huron Road, Playhouse Square
Cleveland, OH 44115 (216) 696-6900

C. Wayne Rice, Ph.D.
President

IL# 000425
C-353582
351834
LKK

January 5, 1992

Dear President Clinton:

I've been composing this letter for a long time, Bill, as your campaign evolved. What an incredible achievement to become the President of our country. Everyone who knew you at Georgetown never doubted you were destined for great things - but this!!! You will top anyone's story at your 25th reunion at Georgetown in June!

Along with the heart felt congratulations of myself, my husband John, and our four children, comes an offer of support in two areas - professional and personal.

In the professional arena, I have enclosed a list of nursing alumni from Georgetown who join me in offering expertise to you as you move forward in healthcare reform. Georgetown has produced a cadre of national leaders in healthcare from the School of Nursing that are in positions of power across the country. We have each indicated our unique areas of expertise. Together we share with you a common background of values and a vision for improving the human condition in our country. We are a unique group of Jesuit-educated women leaders and healthcare experts for you to draw on in any way. We hope you continue to put nursing leaders at the table for all discussions of meaningful healthcare reform in this country.

Personally, Bill, I want to make you this promise. I currently have four children, ages 8-16 in three different Catholic schools. I spend a great deal of time, it seems, in church attending school liturgies, weekly mass, etc. I promise on these occasions to pray for you, Bill, as you bring the great gifts God has given you to bear our nation's future. Your heart is in the right place, and I know all good things will follow for your administration.

John and I look forward to seeing you and Hillary when you visit Cleveland. I still love government and politics, and we are both active Democrats here. John tells me he grabbed your hand on the Burke Airport tarmac in Cleveland on Election Day, and remembered me to you!

Please call on me and our nurse classmates, individually or collectively, if we can provide you with counsel or assistance in any way, Bill.

Congratulations, Mr. President!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Ellen Canepa Brzytwa". The signature is fluid and elegant, with the first name "Ellen" and last name "Brzytwa" clearly legible.

Ellen Canepa Brzytwa
Health Consultant

cc: Dr. Elaine Larson, Dean, Georgetown School of Nursing
Father Leo J. O'Donovan, S.J., President, Georgetown
University
Attached list

Georgetown University School of Nursing Alumni Leadership List

Alumni

Areas of Expertise

Kathleen Gainor Andreoli - GUNS '57
Vice President, Nursing Affairs and
the John L. and Helen Kellogg
Dean, College of Nursing
Rush University
1653 W. Congress Parkway
Chicago, IL 60612
(312) 942-7117; Fax - (312) 942-3043

- Health services delivery and management
- Health professional education
- Supply and demand of nursing manpower
- Managed care
- Primary care
- Patient centered models of care

Kathleen A. Bower, D.N.Sc., R.N. - GUNS '68
Principal and Co-Owner
Center for Nursing Case Management
6 Pleasant Street
South Natick, MA 01760
(508) 651-2600; Fax - (508) 655-0858

- Systems for managing healthcare cost and quality throughout the continuum (in-hospital, outpatient, and community), including Case Management and Critical Path/CareMap systems
- Organizational structuring and design

Ellen Canepa Brzytwa, M.S., M.P.H. - GUNS '67
Health Consultant
Greater Cleveland Hospital Association
1226 Huron Road
Cleveland, OH 44115
(216) 696-6900; Fax - (216) 696-1837

- Governance of not-for-profit hospitals
- Healthcare policy
- Supply and demand of nursing manpower
- HMOs
- Healthcare trustee education

Ellen Thomas Eggland - GUNS '69
Nursing Consultant
811 Bentwood Drive
Naples, FL 33963
(813) 598-2122

- Community Health Nursing
- Computerized clinical documentation in nursing
- Entrepreneurial activities in healthcare

Joyce Fitzpatrick, Ph.D., F.A.A.N. - GUNS '66
Professor and Dean of Nursing
Case Western Reserve University
10900 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44106
(216) 368-2540; Fax - (216) 368-5050

- Healthcare research
- Nursing education
- Health policy
- International health
- Nursing (primary care) centers

Margaret H. Jordan - GUNS '64
Vice President, Health Affairs
Southern California Edison
8634 Rush Street, GO-4 Ground Floor
Rosemead, CA 91770
(818) 302-6519

- Health policy
- Public health services organization
- Management
- Financing
- HMO prepaid group practice
- Quality Assurance
- Primary care research and demonstration

Georgetown University School of Nursing Alumni Leadership List

Alumni

Areas of Expertise

Christine McEntee - GUNS '77
Vice President for Political Affairs
and Management
American Hospital Association
Capitol Place, Building #3
50 F Street, NW, Suite 1100
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 638-1100; Fax - (202) 626-2345

- Healthcare financing/policy
- Healthcare delivery system reform
- Legislative/regulatory process & coalition building
- Grassroots organizing

Angela Barron McBride, Ph.D., F.A.A.N. - GUNS '62
Distinguished Professor and University Dean
School of Nursing
Indiana University
1111 Middle Drive
Indianapolis, IN 46202-5107
(317) 274-1484; Fax - (317) 274-2996

- Dean of largest school of nursing in the country, so familiar with systemwide education for a state.
- Women's healthcare
- Psychiatric/mental healthcare
- Parenting

Elizabeth Petrequin, R.N., C.N.A., M.B.A. - GUNS '79
Director, Operations/Member Services
Edison Biotechnology Center
11000 Cedar Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44106
(216) 229-0400; Fax - (216) 229-7323

- Community health nursing
- Medical products design
- Financing and marketing of biotechnology firms
- Growing small medical businesses

Mary Ann McCarthy Rose, R.N., Ed.D. - GUNS '63
Assistant to the Chancellor for Special
Assignments
Director of Equal Opportunity Programs
East Carolina University
104 Spilman
Greenville, NC 27858-4353
(919) 757-6804; Fax - (919) 757-4155

- Rural healthcare
- Nursing administration in rural settings
- Affirmative Action/Equal Employment Opportunity
- Sexual harassment

Polly Seitz, M.S., M.P.A., C.N.M. - GUNS '67
Senior Program Officer
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
College Road, P.O. Box 2316
Princeton, NJ 08543-2316
(609) 452-8701

- Health workforce issues
- School based health centers
- Community based health initiatives
- Philanthropy and healthcare

Colleen Conway Welch - GUNS '65
Dean, School of Nursing
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, TN 37240
(615) 343-3243; Fax - (615) 343-7711

- Health policy
- Nursing education
- Nurse practitioner/School of Nursing Primary Care Clinic
- Women's Health
- Nurse - Midwifery



Greater Cleveland
Hospital Association

Ellen Brzytwa
Consultant

1226 Huron Road, Playhouse Square
Cleveland, OH 44115 (216) 696-6900

(R) RVR-VIP/RB

Thanks for writing! One of the
benefits of the campaign ~~is that~~ ^{has been}
hearing from old friends. I am grateful
for your support, ~~and~~ your encouragement
and your prayers.
Our real work is just beginning.
We will need your help to find a solution
to our healthcare problems.

CHRON

DATE: 2/15/93

TO: Carol Rasco

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

Child Care in Europe: Admirable but Not Perfect, Experts Say

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Feb. 14 — In the fractious debate in the United States over child care for working parents, experts and other commentators are saying America should look to other industrial nations, especially in Western Europe, as models. And a survey of those countries makes it clear that arranging child care is a far easier matter in Europe.

But it is not easy for everyone. And it is not easy everywhere.

In Denmark and France, where child care is primarily a matter for the public sector, working couples are helped by well-established systems that seek to provide day care to families of all incomes.

In Britain, where the Government is committed to the free market, the private sector provides abundantly. The uproar that engulfed Bill Clinton's candidates for Attorney General — which made headlines in Britain and elsewhere in Europe — would probably never have happened here. The problem, child-care advocates say, is that the costs of private child care put it out of reach for low-income working couples; these couples often make do with the help of relatives and friends.

Models: Denmark and France

To European child-care experts, Denmark and France are among the most successful examples of what hap-

Experts say some systems can be models for America.

pens when governments put money and thought into child care. The French system is held in such high regard that a group of American experts — among them Hillary Rodham Clinton, then chairwoman of the Children's Defense Fund — studied French day care in 1989.

Public financing is "the only way you insure quality and access," said Bronwen Cohen, the British member of the European Commission's Child Care Network. "If you make it simply a market matter," she added, "you don't actually provide child care for all who need it, and that can create a kind of apartheid of child care. Good-quality child care is labor-intensive and it is expensive."

In the European Community, Denmark leads the way in public provision of child care. Kirsten a Rogvi, a spokeswoman for the Child and Family Division of the Danish Social Ministry, said that in 1991, about half of all children under the age of 3 were in public child-

care programs. Seventy percent of children aged 3 to 6 attended some form of public day care. Parents pay no more than 30 percent of the cost.

In France, nearly all children aged 3 to 5 attend free pre-primary school. Free after-school care is also widely available. Children under 3 can be placed in nurseries or in the homes of licensed baby sitters. Teams of doctors and nurses visit regularly to inspect facilities and check on the health of the children, and parents pay according to income. There are also subsidized day-care centers.

There are not enough centers for children under 3 to meet the demand, so the system is not immune to bending. Baby sitters are often paid under the table, and some parents hire illegal immigrants as nannies. Last spring, however, the French Government sought to give people a reason to play by the rules, by introducing tax relief for those who employed legal nannies.

Gaps: Germany and Italy

In Germany, where the illegal hiring of undocumented Filipinos and wives of foreign "guest workers" is widespread, there was also legislative action on child care last spring, but nothing as far-ranging as some Germans would like to see.

An amendment to a controversial abortion-rights bill gave every 3-year-

old child the right to a place in a kindergarten beginning in 1996. Politicians say the costs and size of the project will delay its implementation until well beyond that date. Kindergarten, which is half-day nursery care in many cases, is in any event only a partial solution.

In the new eastern German states, parents who work can place children aged 8 weeks to 3 years in state-supported full-day nurseries. Established under the old communist government, they provide day care for about 60 percent of all such children.

In western Germany, there remains a strong tradition for women to stay at home while their children are young, and generous maternity leave to enable them to do so. So fewer than 2 percent of children in that age group are in public day care.

The situation in Italy is mixed, with the quality and availability of public child care varying by municipality.

Private Networks: Britain

In Britain, local government is required by law to provide day care for the disabled and very poor. But a spokesman for the Department of Health said the Government "quite actively resists" the notion of a vast public network of child care.

Lucy Daniels, director of the Working Mothers Association, a national self-help organization, said the Government's reluctance to help pay for a range of child care meant that many working couples had to "rely on a very tenuous patchwork of provision which is both stressful for them and not very good for the children." Those who can afford it, she said, simply "buy their way out of trouble."

Unlike the United States, Britain has "cadres of young women" willing to serve as live-in nannies, said Helena Kennedy, a prominent British lawyer, writer and broadcaster.

Some parents trim costs by sharing nannies with other working couples. If British working couples play loose with the law, it is usually by failing to pay their nannies' taxes, or by placing their children in unregistered care.

For Mrs. Daniels of the Working Mothers Association, the only real solution is for child care to become a matter of "collective responsibility."

"To a certain extent," she said, "you need the Zoë Bairds and others to campaign to make sure these provisions are made."

The New York Times

2/15/93

CHRON

DATE: 2/15/93

TO: Gene Sperling

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

White House News Report

Gene Spurling
for his is the
info on new
discussing
B.



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CHRON

DATE: 2/15/93

TO: Bob Rubin

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

Buoyed but Wary, Union Chiefs Gather

By PETER T. KILBORN
Special to The New York Times

BAL HARBOUR, Fla., Feb. 14 — Gerry and Jack, Rich and Al, and Lane, Morty and Moc, all stalwarts of the once-mighty House of Labor, have every reason to gloat after 12 years of Republican administrations that these men, some past 70, found the most hostile they have ever known. Suddenly, there's no one to hate.

"Look at what happened!" Gerald W. McEntee, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, cheered to hundreds of union officers on the eve of their annual winter gathering. That only three of the 32 A.F.L.-C.I.O. union presidents, Mr. McEntee among them, endorsed Bill Clinton in the primaries a year ago has been lost in the pro-labor hints and pronouncements from the new Administration.

But the joy many union officers feel after President Clinton's first weeks in office could wane Wednesday night, when they assemble before big-screen television to hear Mr. Clinton's address to Congress and find out more of what he means about the shared sacrifices of higher taxes and cuts in Government programs. They are wary, too, about issues like how far he will go to keep jobs from fleeing south of the border, something unions expect from the free-trade agreement that former President George Bush signed with Mexico and Canada.

And for the unions themselves it is a time of testing. For years, they have blamed Ronald Reagan and George Bush for their shriveling membership, to just 15.8 percent of a 1992 work force

The A.F.L.-C.I.O. likes Clinton for now.

of 104 million. That unions survive at all is remarkable, says Lane Kirkland, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

"We've maintained our membership in a most extraordinary combination of adverse circumstances," he said.

But the decline actually started back in the 1950's, when more than a third of the work force belonged to unions. The question that always arises here is whether the leaders have lost touch with their troops. Only one of the presidents here is a woman, only two are black and most are in their 60's and 70's. In the growing services and retail industries, which account for nearly half the work force and have large concentrations of women and blacks, less than 10 percent of the workers belong to unions.

Doing the Right Things

But for now, the important thing to Big Labor is the Democrat in the White House who has been doing most of the right things. He reversed two of Mr. Bush's campaign-year executive orders that weakened unions. He appears committed to lifting President Reagan's ban on the hiring of the air traffic controllers whom he dismissed for striking 12 years ago. And he has promised to support legislation barring employers from dismissing their own workers when they go out on strike.

"We don't expect any President to be a rubber stamp," said Jack Sheinkman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. "But disagreements aren't going to be in the 98th percentile. We got the change we wanted."

Only a year ago, Mr. Clinton was the seen as the slick and blow-dried yuppie from the conservative wing of the Democratic Party and a state historically unfriendly to unions.

Yuppie? Mr. Kirkland considered the word and replied, "I don't regard that term as applying to him."

His Trust Isn't Blind

Moc Biller, president of the American Postal Workers Union and a supporter of Gov. Mario M. Cuomo's non-candidacy last year, is about as skeptical as the leaders come. "He seems to be trying," he said of Mr. Clinton. "Trust him? At this point, yeah. But I don't put blind trust in anybody."

Here, Big Labor and the Democratic Party seem to be speaking with the common voice of the New Deal era on most issues. Labor says it wants what President Clinton wants — a revved-up economy, jobs, training for better jobs, health care. "I feel very good, very positive, very encouraged by the actions I see them taking," said Lynn Williams, who is retiring as president of the United Steelworkers of America.

Mr. Williams said he was stunned to see the President go after the drug companies: "That was a long time coming, seeing a President stand up to the pharmaceutical industry and their indefensible price increases. And putting his wife in charge of health care. Obviously, he's putting himself on the line."

The unions have also been astonished to find in Robert B. Reich, whom few would have endorsed for the job, a Secretary of Labor who is behaving as though he is the President's top adviser on economic policy. "We had seen the Department of Labor drop to a subterranean level," Mr. Kirkland said.

Saying the Right Things

Much as they would like it, people here say they do not expect Mr. Reich to build a Department of Organized Labor. "But the issue is, do they think unionization is good for workers?" said Jo-Ann Mori, spokesman for the clothing and textile workers union. So far, he has been saying all the right things, like supporting an increase in the minimum wage, now \$4.25, and endorsing an extension of unemployment benefits before the unions even asked.

Indeed, rather than bicker with the Government, unions have begun bick-

ering among themselves. They think the White House might just start taking their agenda into account in devising its economic policy. So for the first time in years, they risk discord among their memberships' sometimes divergent interests.

For example, Ron Carey, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, would just as soon scrap the trade agreement. Morton Bahk, president of the Communications Workers of America, says the unions here will probably acknowledge that they are stuck with it. "But there has to be financial assistance," he says, for workers who lose jobs to Mexico, and there has to be assurance of retraining and new jobs.

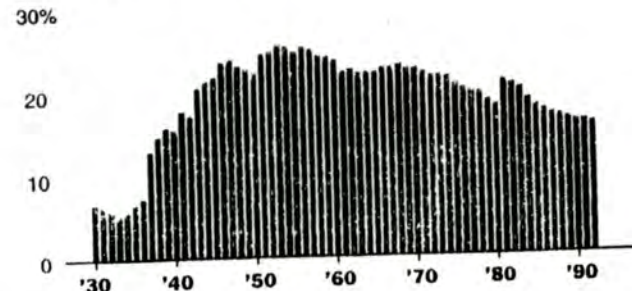
On another issue, raising the minimum wage, they appear united. They want it lifted to its historic level of 50 percent of the average worker's wage, currently about \$11.75. That would mean an increase to about \$5.35 that they would take in two steps, one this year, one next year.

Mr. Reich has said he supports a 10 percent increase, to around \$4.70, but he has not indicated whether that might be just a first step.

The New York Times
4/5/95

Declining Union Membership

Labor union membership as a percentage of the total labor force in the United States.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Labor Department

The New York Times

To Robert
F-M

54

DATE: 2/15/93

TO: *George S.*

FROM: **JOHN D. PODESTA**
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

OPINION USA

President Clinton this week unveils his plan to stimulate the economy and slash the deficit. While the specifics of his plan remain fuzzy, his overall message to the nation so far has been clear: Everyone must be ready to sacrifice.

Deficit is middle-class's problem, too

The great middle has enjoyed the benefits and now must help pay.

The economy is growing. The baby boomers are going back to work. The country is feeling more confident. The new president is due to unveil his economic program on Wednesday. Economically, demographically and politically, this may be our best chance to end the pattern of persistent high deficits which has overshadowed all other public-policy issues — and produced government in gridlock — for most of the past decade.



By Carol Cox
Wait, president of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, Washington.

How many times in the past decade has the president, or Congress, or both announced a plan to solve the budget deficit problem? How many times have they passed deficit-reduction packages? But the deficit just keeps on growing.

The deficit is projected to hover around \$300 billion per year through the mid-1990s, then go up later in the decade like the curved end of a hockey stick. By the turn of the century, the deficit easily could be half a trillion dollars per year!

How can we tell if the sacrifices President Clinton says he will ask of us really will solve the deficit problem? The answer lies in one question: What will the president ask of the middle class?

During the campaign, candidates kept reminding us that middle-class taxes have gone up in recent years. What the candidates did not say is that the middle class is the principle beneficiary of most government spending as well.

Means-tested programs for the poor add up to about \$100 billion per year — a lot of money, but only 6% of the \$1.5 trillion federal government budget. (Means-tested programs target benefits to poor people — those with incomes at or near the

Where the tax burden falls

The government does not have a standard definition of "middle class," but the Census Bureau divides the country into five household categories by pre-tax incomes. Many analysts consider the middle three groups the "middle class."

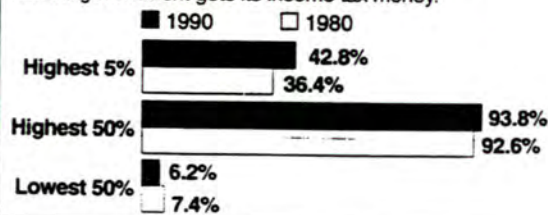
Who are the middle class?

Figures for 1991, when median household income was \$30,126

Lowest Fifth	Up to \$12,587
Second Fifth	\$12,588 to \$23,999
Third Fifth	\$24,000 to \$37,069
Fourth Fifth	\$37,070 to \$56,759
Upper Fifth	\$56,760 and above

Who pays the most U.S. income tax?

The upper-income people. Figures indicate where the federal government gets its income tax money.



Source: Census Bureau, Tax Foundation

official poverty level and very limited assets.)

Middle-class taxes did go up in the past decade; so did benefits for the same class. Middle-class workers got good jobs in defense plants. Social Security and Medicare are essentially middle-class programs, and they make up about a quarter of all government spending. Farm price supports, veterans' benefits, highways, mass transit — most government spending benefits the middle class.

Pogo said it: "We have met the enemy and he is us." Candidates may skirt the issue, but our president must make us face facts. Otherwise, deficits and debt will continue to rise, and disillusionment with government will set in once again.

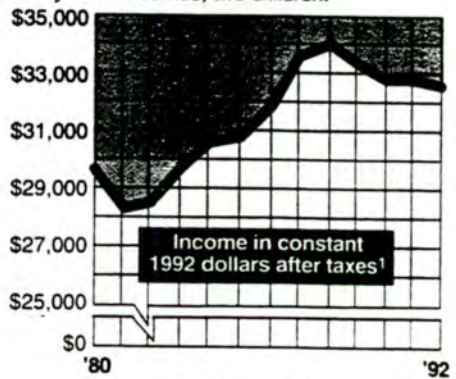
There is no way to solve the budget deficit problem unless we restrain the rate of growth in middle-class programs and/or raise taxes paid by the middle class.

Taxes on the rich seem certain to go up. But you could confiscate all incomes over \$1 million per year and it would not make a dent in the budget deficit problem.

Solving the deficit problem will re-

Are we losing ground?

Yes. In each of the last four years, taxes and inflation took bigger bites out of the purchasing power of the incomes of a typical middle-class family — two incomes, two children.



1 — Taxes include income, Social Security, indirect, and state and local

USA TODAY

How middle class could be hit

The president has said he intends to cut the deficit by \$145 billion in the last year of his term. What some options would raise, according to the Congressional Budget Office:

Income tax: If everyone's income tax were hiked 1%, it would raise \$29.4 billion in 1997.

Mortgage interest: Axing home mortgage interest deduction,

\$47.9 billion.

Health insurance: Taxing employer-paid health insurance benefits, \$28 billion.

Gasoline tax: Raising gasoline tax by 12 cents per gallon, \$11.7 billion.

Excise taxes: Doubling 24-cent-a-pack cigarette tax, \$3.7 billion. Hiking liquor tax to 25 cents per ounce, \$4.7 billion.

quire all of us to decide what we want from government, what we are willing to do without and how we will pay for what we want.

We cannot, we must not, keep sending the bills for what we want from government to our children and our grandchildren.

Russell Long, former chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, said lobbyists and constituents used to urge him, "Don't tax me, don't tax thee, tax that fellow behind the tree."

With apologies to Socks, will the pres-

ident finally let the cat out of the bag Wednesday? Will he tell us that there isn't anyone behind the tree?

I believe the country is ready for the transition from campaign to governance, from politics to policy, from rhetoric to reality. If the president will level with us and lead, I believe people will support the hard choices which will be necessary to put the deficit problem behind us and start building for a brighter future.

► Poll on taxes, 1A



CS - Autenbury -

GEORGE
FOR DAVID
KUSNET &
MIKE
WALDMAN

DATE: 2/15/93

TO: George S.

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

Remember Maclay on Presidents' Day

Creditably, President Clinton wants to make the White House more like a people's palace. An exclusive executive mess is soon to be a cafeteria, the motor pool fleet is shrinking, and ordinary citizens will be on guest lists for gala events. Yet official Washington, the permanent Government, tends to dismiss such gestures as either unserious or wrongheaded, the theory being that Americans prefer a certain aura of majesty around Presidents and their families.

It is worth remarking on Presidents' Day that history argues the contrary. Indeed, the degree of deference due to the chief executive was the focus of heated discussion in the first Senate, which convened in New York City in 1789. And the outcome was a victory for the popular party.

We tend to forget the startling novelty of our republican system. The first lawmakers had no models to emulate. Hence the worried remarks of Senator William Maclay of Pennsylvania after attending a lavish party for President Washington: "From these small beginnings we shall follow on, nor cease, until we have reached the summit of court etiquette and all the frivolities, fopperies and expenses practiced in European governments."

It was Maclay, a democrat and frontiersman, who successfully objected when the phrase "His most gracious speech" appeared in Senate minutes

referring to Washington — the very prefix used in England before the King's speech. And it was Maclay who led the attack when the Senate's new Judicial Committee proposed this title for America's first magistrate: "His Highness, the President of the United States of America and Protector of the Rights of the Same."

He retorted with this counterpunch: "Let us read the Constitution: 'No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States.' The Constitution goes further. The servants of the public are prohibited from accepting them from any foreign state, king or prince. So that the appellations and terms given to nobility in the Old World are contraband language in the United States."

He and other critics prevailed, and Maclay became a glowing historical footnote, an early-day "Senate man" who remarked of George Washington: "He is but a man, but really a good one, and we can have nothing to fear from him, but much from the precedents which he may establish." Because of the impulse he articulated, Americans speak of their chief executive simply as "Mr. President," just as someday, assuredly, they will refer to "Ms., Mrs. or Miss President."

William Jefferson Clinton would be right, at an appropriate state banquet, to raise a glass to the sweet memory of William Maclay, Senator from Pennsylvania.

Maclay is a good word + woman's name
speech stuff

2/15/93

To Michael Sherman - with thanks for your
fin help on this — Bill Clinton

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

42ND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE U.S. CAPITOL ~ WASHINGTON, DC

JANUARY 20, 1993

My fellow citizens:

Today, we celebrate the mystery of American renewal.

This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but, by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring.

A spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy, that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America.

When our Founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America to endure would have to change. Not change for change's sake. But change to preserve America's ideals: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness.

Though we march to the music of our time, our mission is timeless. Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American.

On behalf of our Nation, I salute my predecessor, President Bush, for his half-century of service to America. And I thank the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism.

Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the Cold War assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom, but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues.

Raised in unrivaled prosperity, we inherit an economy that is still the world's strongest, but is weakened by business failures, stagnant wages, increasing inequality and deep divisions among our own people.

When George Washington first took the oath I have just sworn to uphold, news traveled slowly across the land by horseback and across the ocean by boat. Now, the sights and sounds of this ceremony are broadcast instantaneously to billions around the world.

Communications and commerce are global. Investment is mobile. Technology is almost magical. And ambition for a better life is now universal.

We earn our livelihood in America today in peaceful competition with people all across the Earth. Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world. And the urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy.

This new world has already enriched the lives of millions of Americans who are able to compete and win in it. But when most people are working harder for less; when others cannot work at all; when the cost of health care devastates families and threatens to bankrupt our enterprises, great and small; when the fear of crime robs law-abiding citizens of their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead — we have not made change our friend.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

42ND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE U.S. CAPITOL ~ WASHINGTON, DC

JANUARY 20, 1993

*To my friend
Taylor Branch
with thanks for
your help in making
this better
Millennium*

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To my old friend Tom Caplan - with thanks for
all the late nights over the years, from studying
for exams to the night we spent on this speech, the

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

42ND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE U.S. CAPITOL - WASHINGTON, DC

JANUARY 20, 1993

beginning of the
biggest test

Bill Clinton

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2/15/93

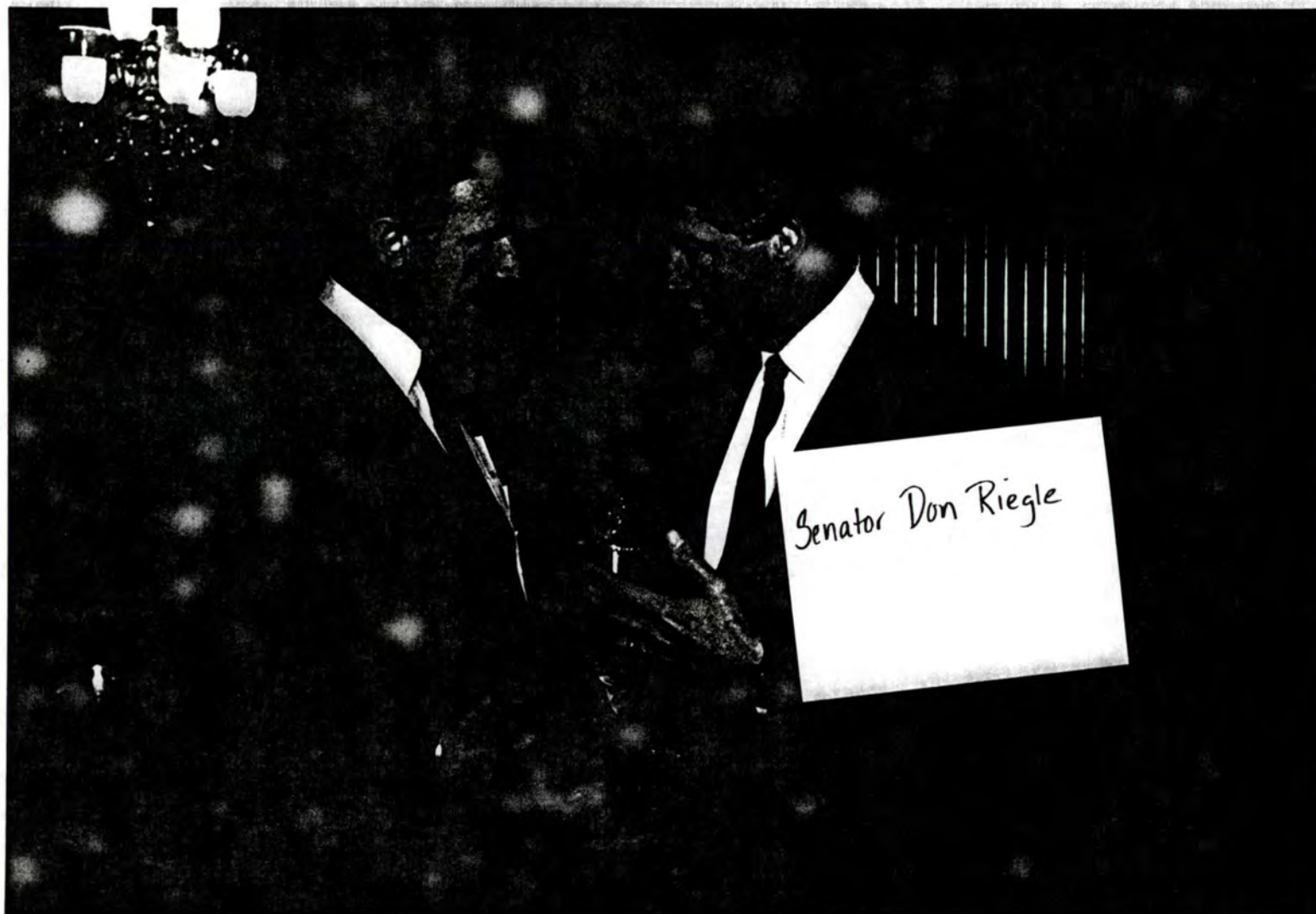
MEMORANDUM

FEB 12 09:37

↖
To: John Podesta
From: Howard Paster
Date: February 12, 1993
Re: Enclosed photographs

Enclosed please find photographs of the President and Democratic Senators taken February 2, 1993 during the Democratic Caucus lunch. Please ask the President to personally sign them; the Senators in the photographs are identified by yellow notes.

Thank you.



To Sen. Don Riegle — with thanks for your intense support and
friendship and for your singleminded determination
to give the dignity of work back to the men and
women of America. *BM Clinton*



To Chris — with thanks for long friendship, strong support
wise counsel — and for your boundless energy
in facing the challenges before us
Bill Clinton



To Sen. Claiborne Pell — with thanks for your many years
of service to our country and your continued
commitment to its future. — Buchanan



To John — with respect and appreciation for your friendship,
support, and wise counsel and for the dignity
and devotion you bring to public life —
Bill Clinton



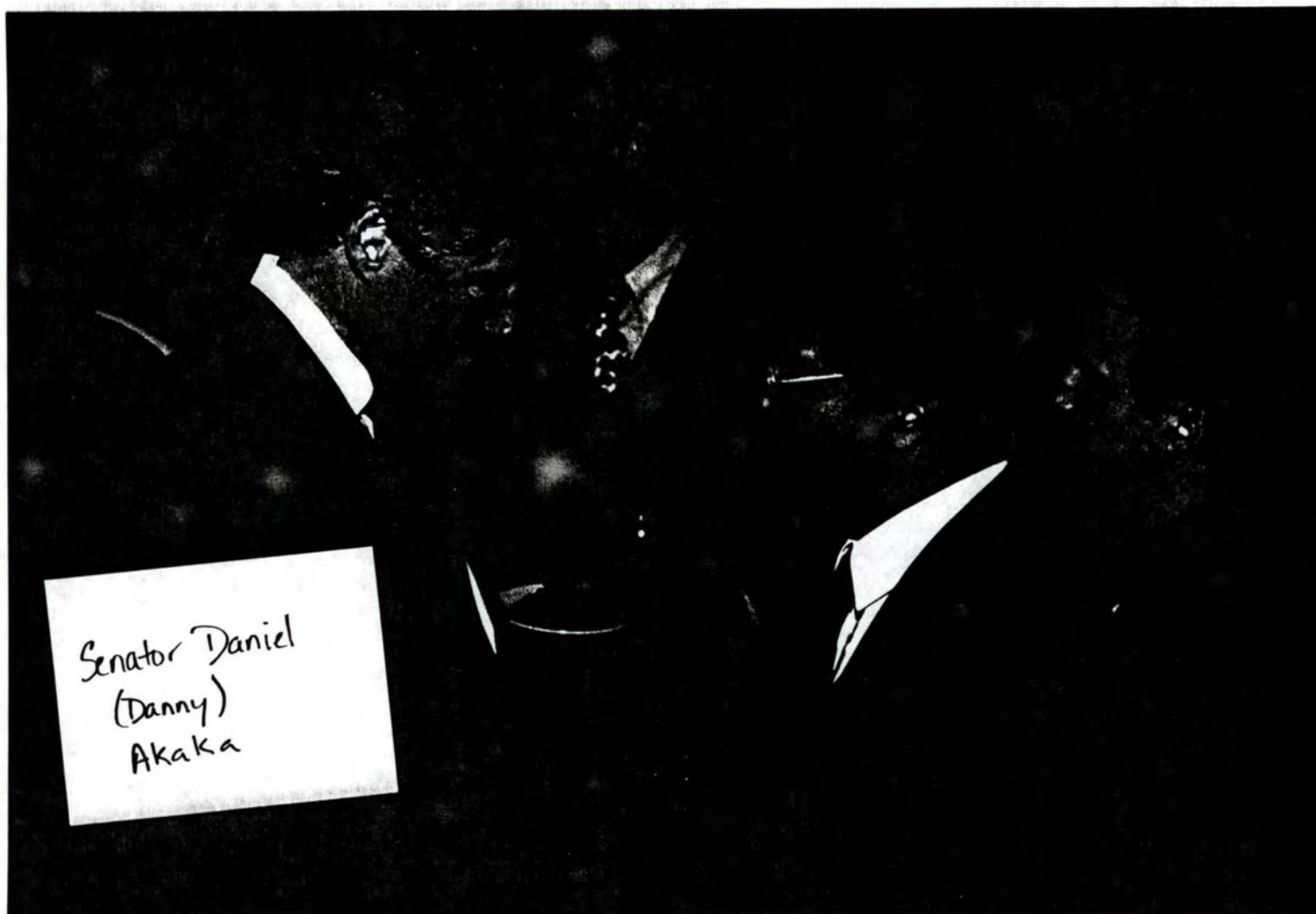
To Max - With thanks for your early support, good counsel,
and friendship - how we have to make good
on our ideas and dreams - Bill Clinton



To Sen. Barbara Boxer - with respect and high hopes that we
can bring smiles like ours to the faces of all Americans
Bill Clinton



To Bill — with thanks for wise counsel, support, and
friendship — and great expectations for our
adventure before us — Bill Clinton



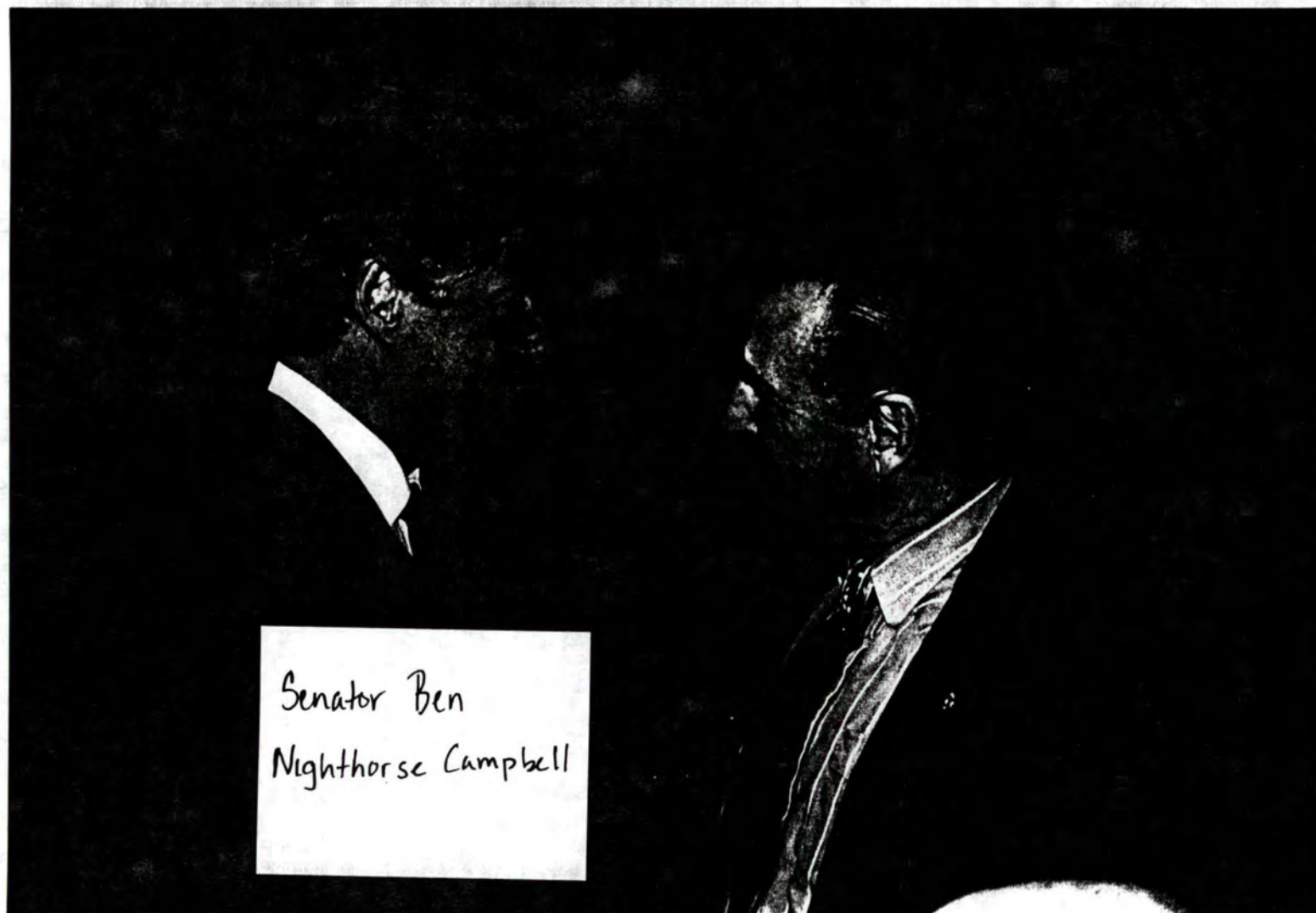
To Sen Danny Akaka — with respect and high hopes for a
new day of cooperation to move our
nation forward Bill Clinton



To Sen Pat Moynihan - with respect and admiration from one
who hopes to learn half as much as you
know about what bedevils us and what
to do about it Bill Clinton



To Sen Sam Nunn — with Thanks for your friendship, respect for
our occasional disagreements, and gratitude
for your support and your devotion to our
country
Bill Clinton



Senator Ben
Nighthorse Campbell

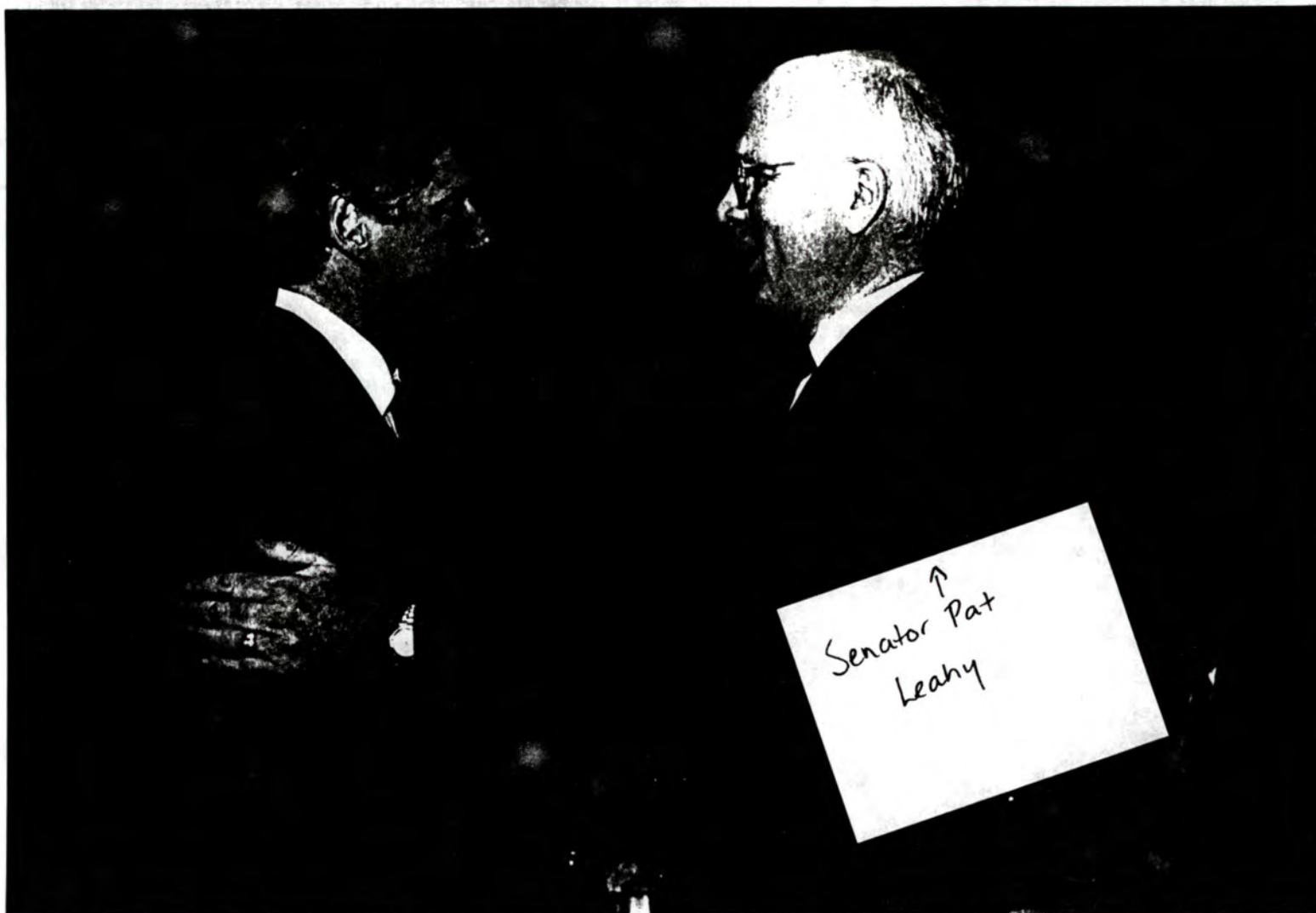
To Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell - with respect and great
appreciation of our battles we will fight together
Bill Clinton



To Jay - with thanks for long friendship, strong support,
and unwavering commitment to the health
and prosperity of our people Bill Clinton

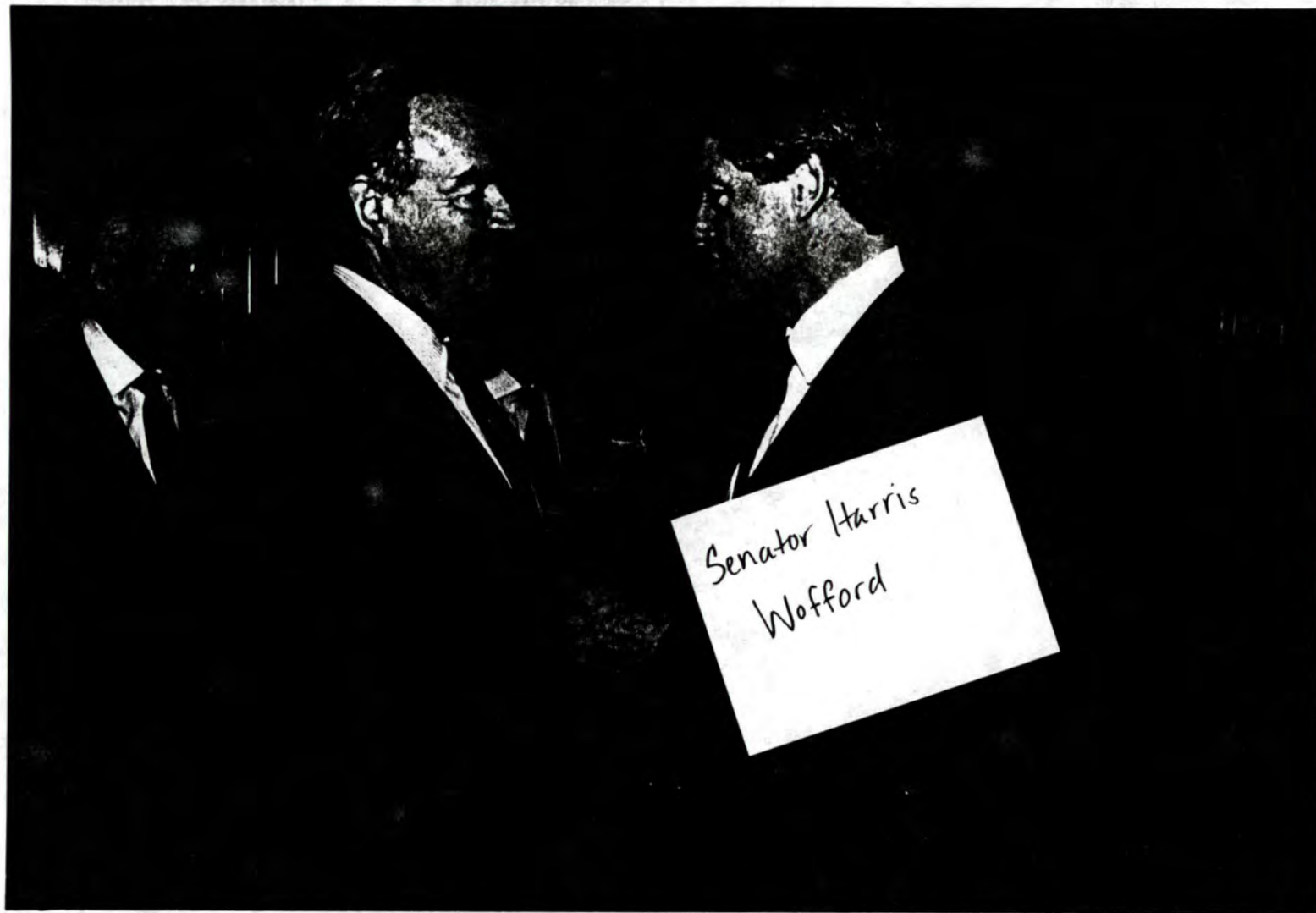


To Sen. Dianne Feinstein — who always makes me a good
listener — and who will be a
great Sec — Bill Clinton



↑
Senator Pat
Leahy

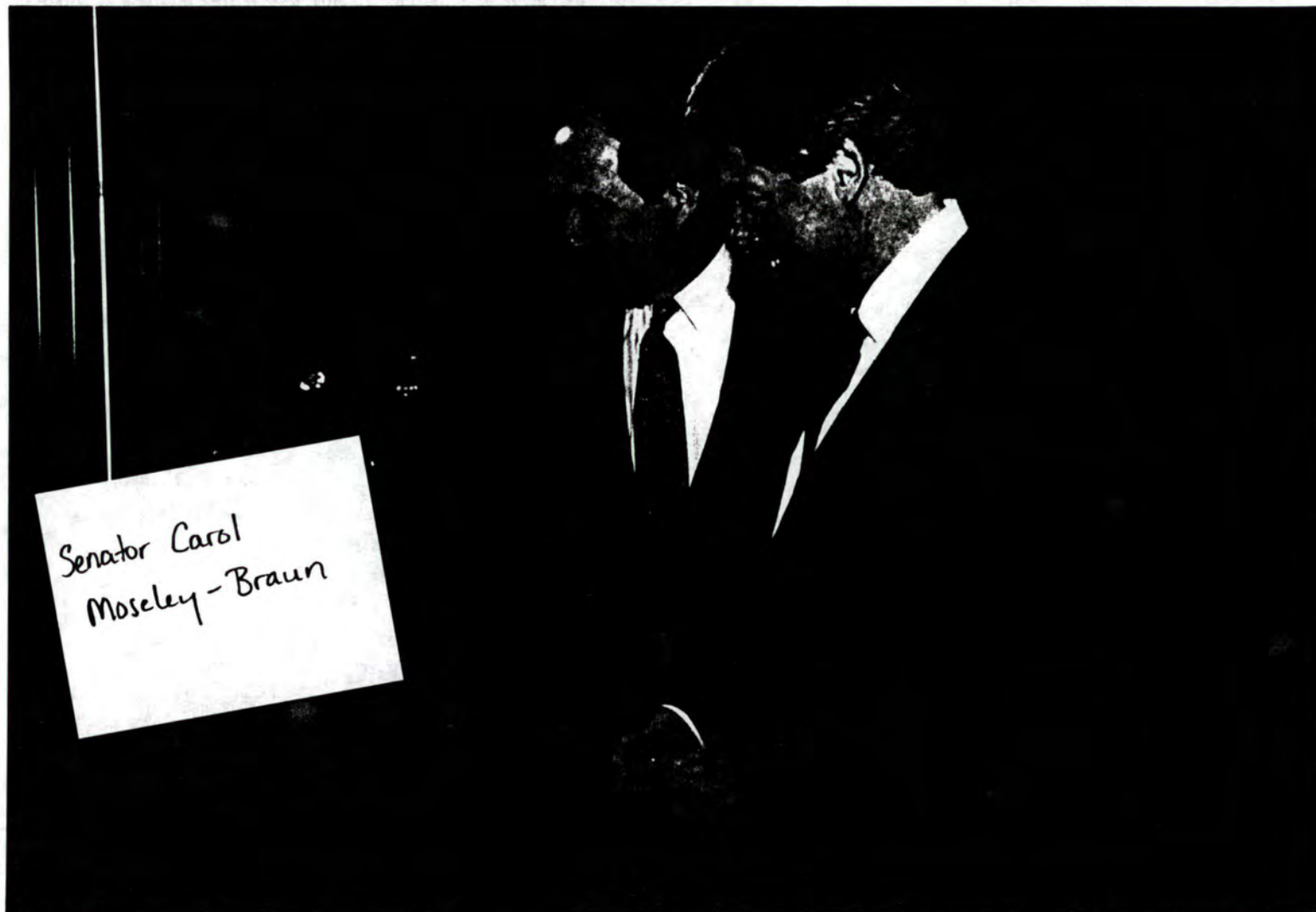
To Sen. Pat Leahy with thanks for your support and
your leadership for our country
Bill Clinton



To my friend Sen. Harris Wofford - who had so much to
do with my election and who will have so much
to do with a victory for the American people -
Tom Clanton



To Sen John Glenn - who refused to let me give up on Ohio -
now we must believe for Ohio and our
nation - Bill Clinton



Senator Carol
Moseley-Braun

To Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun - we come in together
to push our country forward together - with
best regards Bill Clinton



To my friend Sen Paul Simon
with thanks for helping me get here
and for helping put our country on the
right course
Tim Christen

2/15/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/14

TO: Bo CUTTER

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

I think you
should have killed
the space station
the first time around
Toitw

Lesson for a High-Tech President

By STEVE LOHR

It is no mystery why Silicon Valley became Clinton country in last year's election. The Clinton Administration's style and policy pronouncements appeal to the people who labor in high-technology industries like software and semiconductors. The Clintonites talk technospeak, often at length. They aren't squeamish about declaring that some industries are more equal than others, or that these favored high-tech fields should get government help and taxpayers' money.

President Clinton arrives in Washington with an ambitious technology policy that calls for using government-backed research projects, tax incentives and trade policy to help high-tech industries become engines of economic growth and job creation.

But the future has an elusive quality in fast-changing technology fields, which raises questions about government's ability to help industry get there. Even Japan, often viewed as a model of high-tech industrial policy, hasn't had much luck lately. Its so-called fifth-generation computer project, so feared in the early 1980's, closed up shop recently, left in the dust by the private sector's pace of innovation. Similarly, Japan's high-definition television effort seems to have bet on yesterday's technology.

Perhaps the most vivid example of how quickly shifts in technology can change markets and assumptions is illustrated by the plight of the International Business Machines Corporation, the humbled giant of the American computer industry. Last week, I.B.M. reported a \$4.97 billion loss for 1992, the largest in corporate history. Its work force has been slashed, the company's shares trade for less than half the price they did last summer, and some fear that I.B.M. may not be able to pull out of its slide.

Yet not so long ago, in the mid-1980's, the setting was very different. Back then, I.B.M. was the dominant force in the world computer industry. But the great worry in the American computer and semiconductor industries, and in policy circles, was the threat posed by Japan. The Intel Corporation, which makes microprocessor chips that serve as the brains of personal computers, was reeling from heavy losses.

A few years earlier, when Intel was first under pressure, I.B.M. made a big investment in it. This was an act of benevolent self-interest by I.B.M., supporting a key supplier and American semiconductor development.

For its part, the Japanese computer industry viewed I.B.M. as its White Whale. Catching up to I.B.M. was an obsession for Japan and every possible effort, legal or otherwise, was made to match it.

Today, not only is I.B.M. embattled, but the big Japanese computer makers have similar problems. Intel, meanwhile, is enjoying explosive growth as the demand surges for personal computers that use its chips. New,



The New York Times

powerful Intel chips let small, cheaper computers replace larger ones.

So I.B.M. is being hurt not by its perceived enemy of a few years ago, Japan Inc., but by its old friend — or, more precisely, by its inability to adjust to the technological pace set by other American companies.

There is a lively debate about why this happened to I.B.M. Still, whatever the cause, if I.B.M., with all its resources, could not keep up with the trajectory of change, what chance does government have of guiding technology development?

"A crisis like the one I.B.M. is going through raises questions about the kind of technology policy a nation should pursue," said Peter Cowhey, a professor of political science and international relations at the University of California at San Diego.

Synfuels to Data Highways

In Mr. Cowhey's view, there has been an evolution in the thinking about technology policy. The first generation, he says, was the effort to back huge projects like the synthetic fuels plan of the late 1970's to do things like extract oil from shale. The next generation's idea, much discussed in America and active-

ly pushed in Europe in the 1980's, held that Western nations needed to compete with Japanese industrial groups by backing similar groups and so-called national champions — big corporations with the financial strength and research prowess to be technological standard bearers. I.B.M. long epitomized the national champion corporation.

The focus now is less on the structure of industries or on fostering technologies within single companies than on insuring that the United States has key technologies within its borders or access to them abroad.

The Clinton technology policy is a blend of infrastructure projects like a national optical-fiber telecommunications highway, spending on education to create a more skilled work force, tax incentives for investment in startup companies and aggressive use of trade policy to open foreign markets.

To nurture technologies deemed critical to the economy, government-industry collaborations would be encouraged, patterned after Sematech, which was founded in 1987 to develop American-made tools to make computer chips. The idea is that with private industry putting up at least half the money, there is far less chance of creating costly high-tech pork barrels.

To help pay for new programs, President Clinton plans a post-cold war shift in the Federal research-and-development budget away from defense, freeing up an additional \$7 billion over three years.

The Administration's early positions on technology and trade policy owe much to the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy at the University of California at Berkeley, where the new chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, was research director.

Government, said Michael Borras, a co-director of the Berkeley Roundtable, should distinguish between a pervasive and essential technology, like semiconductors, which Washington should back, and a product, like high-definition television, which it should not.

Yet many economists warn that having government select target areas, even broadly, is risky. Washington, they say, should create an environment for innovation with policies that reduce the cost of capital, provide an ample pool of scientists and skilled workers and offer tax incentives for research. Bolster the nation's technological infrastructure, they advise, but then let companies and markets pick the projects.

"It doesn't mean there's nothing government can do," said Robert Z. Lawrence, an economist at Harvard University, "but that you get precise at your peril."

The New York Times

1/24/93

78

Presidents Ask a Place in Posterity; Posterity Keeps Rearranging Them

By ADAM CLYMER

AS Bill Clinton begins to seek a place in history, and George Bush wonders what his will be, they need to remember that those places are fixed not just by their accomplishments and their failings, but also by the values of the time when they are judged.

For most of the 19th century, for example, Andrew Jackson was dismissed as a backwoodsman whose populism wrecked the economy and as the forefather of the spoils system whose excesses civil service was meant to cure. But in this century, new times called forth different values. Old Hickory was seen by the first Roosevelt as the exemplar of a strong Presidency, and by the second as a great upper and lower case Democrat, and the histories have reflected those shifts.

In the business-oriented 1920's, and in histories published in that decade and the next, progressives like Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson were devalued. Their stock soared when the country, in the New Deal, revalued their approach.

But changing Presidential reputations are more than just a function of historians following the election returns. Stephen E. Ambrose, biographer of Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon, offers two more thoughtful reasons.

One is "how things turn out." He said Mr. Wilson was considered a disaster in foreign affairs when he left office. By the late 1930's, he said, "the common wisdom became World War II started because we didn't enter the League of Nations" and his standing improved. Now, he said, history may turn again, watching the bloodshed in Bosnia and wondering if Wilson's commitment to self-determination in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire was at fault.

The second reason is that historians can actually learn more about the President they study than people knew at the time, especially with the development of serious Presidential libraries for every President, except Mr. Nixon, since Herbert Hoover.

"The image of Eisenhower as the mumbling, grinning empty-headed President who played golf and let Foster Dulles run the world had to give way once the Eisenhower Library opened up," Mr. Ambrose said. For example, when Mr. Dulles wanted to reject North Korea's proposal to resume armistice talks in 1953, the President squelched him.

The Public Counts Hope

But the judgment of history is not the exclusive property of historians. The American public claims a say. For example, it regards John F. Kennedy as an ideal President even if recent histories have argued that he accomplished little and have stressed his sex life, emphasizing his successes in domestic liaisons more than his triumphs in foreign relations.

David McCullough, Harry Truman's biographer, says that by now Kennedy is "too far

down — it's almost as though he had no ability at all." But the public's view is not based on a contrary reading of the same evidence. The public focuses on the inspiration he provided, starting with the stirring words of his inaugural address. The hopes he raised then in young Americans, recalled last week when one of them, Mr. Clinton, visited his grave, are too imprecise for many historians to weigh, but the public counts them in the balance.

There was a similar disconnect on Mr. Tru-

man: "As the free world grows stronger, more united, more attractive to men on both sides of the Iron Curtain — and as the Soviet hopes for easy expansion are blocked — then there will have to come a time of change in the Soviet world. Nobody can say for sure when that is going to be, or exactly how it will come about, whether by revolution, or trouble in the satellite states, or by a change inside the Kremlin. I have not a doubt in the world that a change will occur." And he was right.

Lacking that sort of historic anchor, most of his successors' images seem less firmly fixed. For example, Mr. Nixon's floats up, bit by bit, though his disgrace is indelible.

The Vietnam Albatross

So is the Vietnam War's legacy to Lyndon B. Johnson. But the temper of this time may affect his status. If Mr. Clinton seems a successful, activist President, Johnson's reputation may rise. The public may come to remember him more for the domestic successes of his first years in the White House — a record it has largely dismissed as it focuses on the war.

Historians have hardly started in on Ronald Reagan, thus far the subject of more partisan scribbling than of serious history. Mr. Reagan, as a two-term President of often staggering popularity, has a chance for major Presidential stature in the future.

Ultimately, his standing may come to depend fundamentally on whether he gets credit for the end of the cold war or blame for the awesome budget deficits he left behind. And that in turn may depend on which seems more salient when histories are written.

As George Bush begins to write his own memoirs, a genre usually so trivial and self-serving that it hardly ever has significant impact on a President's lasting reputation, he goes with decent poll ratings. The last Gallup Poll measured approval of his handling the Presidency at 56 percent. The only post-war President with a distinctly higher rating was Mr. Reagan, at 63 percent.

But Mr. Bush seems almost certain not to be ranked above the middle range of Chief Executives. One-term Presidents seldom are. The public viewed Mr. Bush quite well on foreign policy, but as it made clear in the most important poll of all, last November's election, it didn't care about foreign policy all that much. And it is hard to foresee how the Gulf War could come to be thought of as a central moment in the nation's history.

Mr. Bush is relatively old at 68 to expect to read the measured judgment of history on his Presidency. But if it seems to sour, to him or his followers, they have a consolation to contemplate: it is likely to change. As Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the Jackson, Roosevelt and Kennedy biographer, put it in 1986 in his "The Cycles of American History":

"Revisionism is an indispensable part of the historical enterprise. 'The one duty we owe to history,' said Oscar Wilde, 'is to rewrite it.' But second opinions are not necessarily wiser than the first. Time in due course revises the revisionists."



Citizens George and Barbara Bush arriving home in Houston Wednesday a few hours after the Clinton inauguration.

A historian says Woodrow Wilson is being reassessed — in light of the war in Bosnia.

man when he left office. His last Gallup Poll approval rating was 31 percent, lower than that of any who followed him except Mr. Nixon. And he was widely scorned and disliked. But at the same time there was a strong element of respect from the internationalist community for his firmness against the Soviet Union.

Mr. McCullough says the rise in Truman's popularity since then has come about partly for the wrong reasons. Merle Miller's "Plain Speaking" made him come across as "kind of a cosmic hick," Mr. McCullough said. "The real man was much more complicated, far more intellectual, sentimental, sensitive and certainly much harder-working than he was generally perceived." Politically, Truman is dragged out every four years by whatever candidate hopes to replicate his comeback victory in 1948, with hardly a reference to the liberal domestic program he ran on.

His reputation seems settled, and perhaps most of all by the first test Mr. Ambrose offered, "how things turn out." For in his farewell address, on Jan. 15, 1953, Truman told

NY TIMES 1/24/93

1/3

99

2/15/93
CHRON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/15

NOTE FOR:

Susan Brophy

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

Information

☒

Action

☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 13, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Susan Brophy *SB*

SUBJECT: Weekly Congressional Report (February 8 - 12)

I. SUMMARY

The House and Senate were not in session this week so there were no floor votes or committee action.

II. DISCUSSION

Senate - The Senate reconvenes of Tuesday, February 16 and will take up the NIH Reauthorization. We are concerned that Senator Helms will introduce an amendment codifying the ban on the entrance into the United States of HIV-positive travelers. One or two other Senators might introduce amendments attempting to reinstate the moratorium on fetal tissue research.

It is expected that Motor Voter will be the next significant matter the Senate addresses after NIH reauthorization.

The Senate Budget Committee will hold hearings on Thursday, February 18, following your address to the Joint Session of Congress. Secretary Bentsen and Deputy OMB Director Rivlin are scheduled to testify on the economic program. Secretary Reich will be testifying on the same subject before the Senate Finance Committee, and on Friday, Director Panetta will appear before the Senate Budget Committee.

The following Cabinet members are tentatively scheduled to testify on the economic package before Senate committees during the week of February 22: Shalala and Aspin before Senate Budget, and Bentsen and Kantor before Senate Finance.

Before Wednesday, we hope to schedule individual meetings for you with Senators Moynihan and Sasser. In addition, you are being asked to phone several Senators over the weekend to discuss various aspects of the plan. You are also scheduled to meet early in the week with Senators Johnston and Bradley.

*Still think
can an
Senate*

*Let's do
ASAP*

*Keep
do*

The economic team met this past week, and will continue next week, to meet with Senators, Representatives and key committee staff.

House - The House will reconvene on Tuesday. The major legislation that will be considered this week is HR 670, which will reauthorize the Family Planning program and overturn the gag rule. This is expected to be on the floor by Thursday.

The leadership thusfar continues to be unable to bring the one year authorization of its four select committees to the House floor because of a lack of support from the members. They will continue to work on this throughout the week.

On Thursday, following your address to Congress, Director Panetta will testify on the economic plan before the House Budget Committee. Secretary Reich will appear before the Ways and Means Committee to discuss the extension of unemployment compensation and the economic package.

Your meetings with House members will continue on Monday and Tuesday. Following today's meeting, you had met with sixty- six Members of Congress. The final four meetings will be significantly larger than the first four because many members who were unable to return to Washington last week have asked to be rescheduled for Monday and Tuesday.

These meetings have received rave reviews from the members and are extremely valuable to the staff for vote-counting purposes.

We are also recommending that you have private meetings with Representatives Rostenkowski, Sabo and Natcher.



THE PRESIDENT

2/14

Mike

Looks good - Be sure to stay
in touch w/ key Congressional
leaders on these matters - Also
might be wise to touch base w/
other trade sensitive members
of Cong. who really helped us.
~~that~~ We can put it together from

2/15/93
CHRON



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

413

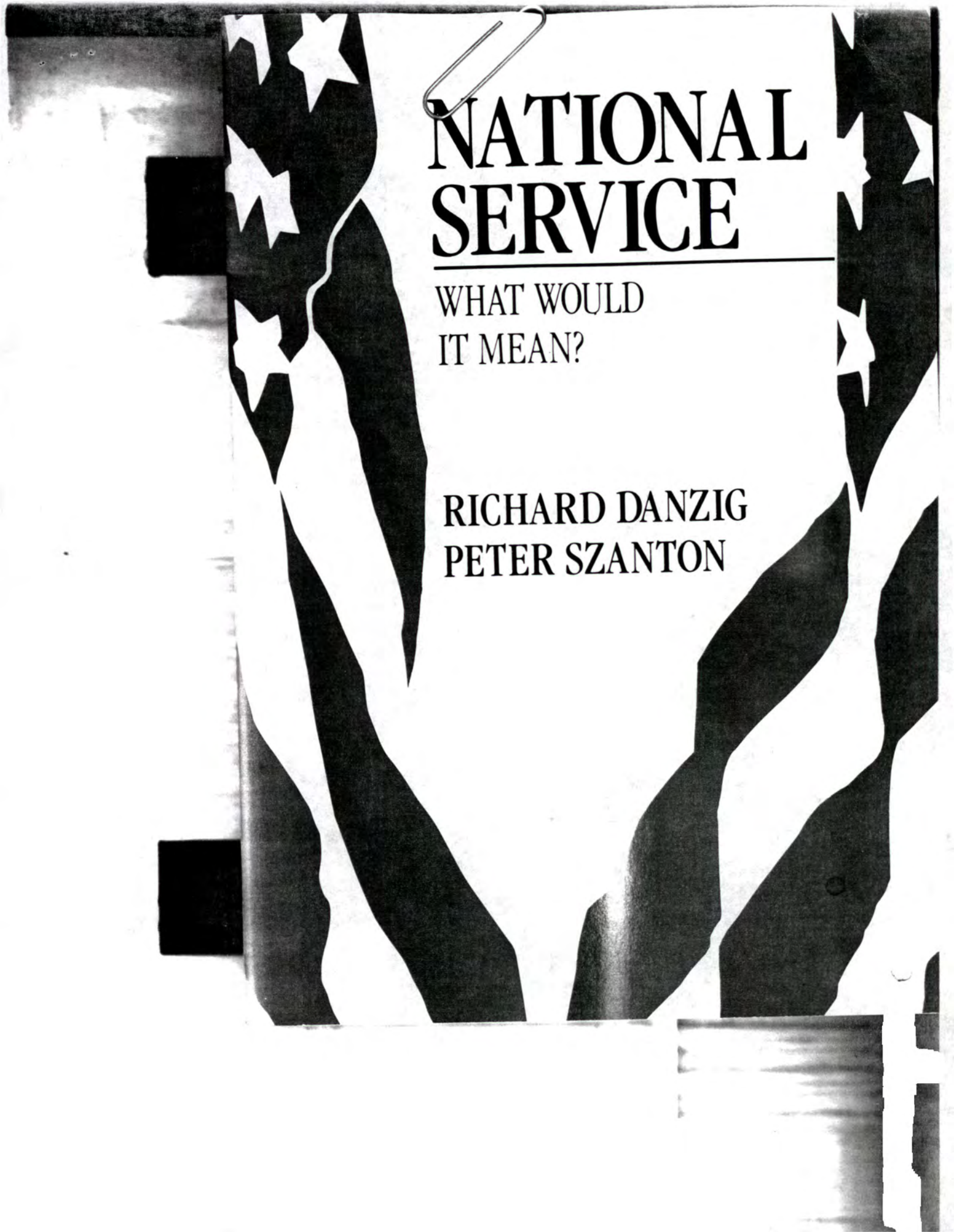
Eli —

You probably hear
this but in case you
don't I thought I'd
send it —

But,

Bin

I'm so glad you're
doing this project
I know it'll be done
well, with nothing less



NATIONAL SERVICE

WHAT WOULD
IT MEAN?

RICHARD DANZIG
PETER SZANTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2/15/93
CHRON

DATE: 2/15

NOTE FOR: Bob Rubin

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

Information

☒

Action

☐

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

CSIS

Mexico _____
Monograph _____
Series _____

Volume XIII, Number 6

Significant Issues Series

Strategic Sectors in Mexican-U.S. Free Trade

edited by M. Delal Baer and Guy F. Erb

contributions by Susan Walsh Sanderson

Alan Stoga

James P. Womack

Ricardo Zermeno-González

foreword by Federico Estévez


The Center for Strategic
and International Studies
Washington, D.C.


The U.S. Council of the
Mexico-U.S. Business Committee
Washington, D.C.

2/15/93
Chron.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 12, 1993

The Honorable Bob Krueger
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Bob:

I want to thank you for your help as we have been putting together the economic package. In particular, your knowledge and advice and that of Governor Ann Richards have been extremely helpful as we have focused on the NASA program and the Space Station.

Due, in no small measure, to your strong advocacy and your insistence that we focus on eliminating the waste and mismanagement, I have decided to support a robust man in space effort and a strong Space Station program. I will be instructing the administration of NASA to redesign the Space Station so that it is a program the Nation can afford and so that it fits within our resources. To this end, my economic program will provide additional resources, over the current baseline, for the Station. In addition, I will ask that the Station be managed more effectively to avoid the kinds of overruns the program has been experiencing. Finally, my economic program will provide technology and science investment funds that will significantly enhance NASA's science program. Together these new directions will help us revitalize NASA; will lead to the development of a better Space Station program; will provide the Texas economy with the assurance of a long-term, growing science and technology base; and will protect NASA's existing job base in Texas.

As you know, I will present my economic program to the Nation in a joint session of Congress next Wednesday night. A significant part of that program will involve investment to develop our Nation's science and technology resources. I am committed to this effort and to NASA's role in it and I look forward to having you in the Senate as a strong partner.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

2/15/93
cheon.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/15/93

TO: MAC K McLARTY

FROM: **JOHN D. PODESTA**
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/15/93

TO: VICE PRESIDENT GORE

FROM: **JOHN D. PODESTA**
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 15, 1993

Mr. President:

Enclosed are new talking points
for your Congressional meetings.
Please review.



John Podesta

cc: Mack McLarty
Vice President Gore

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FEBRUARY 15, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Howard Paster *HP*
SUBJECT: Remaining meetings with House Democrats

It is not feasible at this point to portray these meetings as consultations. Too much has been written about the fact that the decisions have been made.

Therefore it is necessary to change the tone from one of soliciting their views to one of soliciting their support. Also, to the extent you invite their comments I recommend strongly you do NOT imply you want to hear from all of them. There simply is not sufficient time.

In your opening comments, please keep these thoughts in mind:

1. You have consulted extensively.
2. You insisted on a plan that was honest with the American people, and fair to the hard-working middle class.
3. Unlike Republicans who oppose deficits for their own sake, we Democrats pursue deficit reduction to create high-paying jobs in a growing economy.
4. If they have the will to resist the special interests who are unhappy with the plan, you are prepared to take to the road to help your supporters.
5. There has never been a time when it was more obvious that Democrats will succeed or fail together. Passing the Clinton economic plan is the only patriotic course, it is the way to restore hope, and it will be rewarded by the voters.

I cannot stress too strongly the importance of asking directly and specifically for their commitments of support.

MEMORANDUM

2/15/93
chron

exec
clerk

To: Distribution List
From: Bruce Lindsey
Subject: Announcement of Nominations
Date: February 11, 1993

FEB 12 P3:34

The President has expressed his "intention to nominate" the following individuals who have now been cleared by White House Counsel.

OMB Philip Lader - Deputy Director for Management

Commerce Sheila Anthony - Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs
James Baker - Under Secretary for Oceans and Atmospheres
Doug Hall - Assistant Secretary for Oceans and Atmospheres
Larry Irving - Assistant Secretary for Communications and
Information

FEMA James Lee Witt - Director

The Communications Office is authorized to announce these individuals at 2:00 p.m. on February 12, 1993. Legislative Affairs, Intergovernmental Affairs, Political Affairs and Public Liaison are advised that they have prior notice before this announcement is made and are authorized to notify interested parties. Legislative Affairs should also informally notify staff of the relevant Committee so that their preliminary confirmation work can begin. As you know, the actual nomination will be sent to Congress at the conclusion of the FBI field investigation.

Distribution List: Communications Office - Ricki Seidman; David Seldin
Legislative Affairs - Karen Hancox; Nestor Davidson
Intergovernmental Affairs - Jeff Watson
Political Affairs - Joan Baggett; Linda Moore
Public Liaison - Doris Matsui
Office of the Cabinet Secretary - Christine Varney
Office of the Staff Secretary - John Podesta GFL ww
Office of the First Lady - Anne Bartley
Office of the Vice President - Roy Neel

Attachments

PHILIP LADER, South Carolina

Current Position:	President, Vice-Chancellor, Professor, and Director, Bond University, 1991-present
Experience:	President and Director, Business Executives for National Security, 1990-1991; President, GOSL Land Assets Management and Executive Vice President, GOSL Acquisition Corporation, 1986-1989; President and Professor of Business & Public Policy, Winthrop University, 1983-1985; Various positions, up to President and Director, Sea Pines Company, 1973-1983
Education:	B.A., Duke University, 1966 M.A., History, University of Michigan, 1967 Graduate Studies in Law, Oxford University, 1968 J.D., Harvard Law School, 1972
Comments:	An FOB who has a record of innovation and substantial managerial experience; Lader would bring fresh perspective to this job; He is also the creator of Renaissance Weekend

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (3 pages)	02/11/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 359

FOLDER TITLE:

February 1993 [4]

2018-0662-F

rs3030

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

CANDIDATE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SHELIA ANTHONY, District of Columbia

Current Position:	Senior Associate, Dow, Lohnes & Albertson (1985-present)
Experience:	Arkansas Public School System, Classroom teacher (1962-63; 1974-76); Speech Therapist (1969-71)
Education:	B.A., University of Arkansas, Fayetteville (1962) Certification in Speech Correction, South Arkansas University (1971) • J.S., American University (1984)
Views and Publications:	Anthony has written law review articles on ground water pollution control, the 1989 trademark reform act, and licensing agreements.
Comments:	In her law practice, Anthony specializes in intellectual property law, including unfair competition, licensing and technology transfers. She is a frequent speaker and panelist on legal programs. Although she began her legal career later than most, she has significant political and management experience. She has served on a variety of community boards, including four years as a Trustee of Southern Arkansas University. A Democratic Party activist since 1968, she has served on the Platform and Executive Committees of the Arkansas Democratic party. She had substantial campaign and management responsibilities on her husband's many political campaigns and actively participated in the campaigns of Governors Clinton, Pryor and Bumpers and Senator Fulbright. A long-time supporter of President Clinton, she served on the Washington Steering Committee since its inception.
Personal History:	(b)(6) She is married to Congressman Beryl Anthony and is Vince Foster's sister.

D. JAMES BAKER, Washington, D.C.

Current Position: President, Joint Oceanographic Institutions, Inc. (since 1983), Distinguished Visiting Scientist, Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology (since 1982)

Experience: Various teaching positions at the Univ. of Washington: Professor, School of Oceanography, 1979-86; Adjunct Professor, Dept. of Atmospheric Sciences, 1979-86; Senior Oceanographer, Applied Physics Laboratory, 1973-86; Dean, College of Ocean and Fishery Sciences, 1981-83; Chairman, Department of Oceanography, 1979-81; Group Leader, Deep-Sea Physics, Pacific Marine; Environmental Laboratory, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Seattle, WA; Associate Professor of Physical Oceanography, Harvard; 1970-73; Assistant Professor of Oceanography, Harvard University, 1966-70; Member of numerous science advisory panels

Education: B.S., Stanford University, 1958
Ph.D. in Physics, Cornell University, 1962

Views & Publications: Author of Planet Earth - The View from Space. 1990, and 68 other publications in various journals and encyclopedias.

Comments: Supported substantive initiatives important to Senate Space Subcommittee; extensive background; highly regarded

Personal History:

(b)(6)
Married

DOUG HALL, Virginia

Current Position:	Vice President and Director of Communications, The Nature Conservancy, 1/92-present
Experience:	Political Director for Vice Presidential campaign, Clinton/Gore, 8/92-11/92; Partner, The Communications Company, 1989-91; Chief of Staff to Sen. Jim Sasser (D-TN), 1987-89; Press Secretary to Sen. Jim Sasser, 1980-85; Staff Writer, Detroit Free Press, 1979-80; Reporter, The Tennessean, 1974-79
Education:	B.A., University of North Carolina, 1973 M.B.A., Stanford University, 1987
Comments:	Dynamic; strong environmentalist; committed to Clinton/Gore agenda; would be an excellent communicator of the Administration's message; counterbalance with academically-oriented Deputy Secretary
Personal History:	(b)(6) Married, 2 children

CLARENCE L. (LARRY) IRVING, JR., District of Columbia

Current Position:	General Counsel, Subcommittee on Telecommunications and Finance, House Energy and Commerce Committee
Experience:	Since 1987 has served as the principal advisor to the Subcommittee on Mass Media and Advanced Technology; Legislative Director and Counsel, Office of Congressman Mickey Leland, 1983-1987; Associate, Hogan & Hartson
Education:	B.A., Northwestern University, 1971 J.D., Stanford Law School, 1979
Comments:	African American
Personal History:	Born 1955

Director, Federal Emergency Management Agency

JAMES LEE WITT, Arkansas

Current Position:	Director, Arkansas State Office of Emergency Management (1988-present)
Experience:	County Judge (Chief Executive Office), Yell County, Arkansas (1977-1988); Extensive national and international emergency management
Comments:	As Director of Arkansas Office of Emergency Services, Mr. Witt is responsible directly to the Governor for all state and local level disaster/emergency planning, mitigation, response and recovery activities and actions. He serves as direct liaison for the Governor to the national and regional directors of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. He chairs and/or serves on subcommittees for international arms reduction projects involved under the Chemical Stockpile Emergency Preparedness Program with direct liaison to the Department of Defense, other federal agencies and Congressional Oversight Committees. Mr. Witt is a member of the Board of Directors of the Central United States Earthquake Consortium and a state representative for the Chemical Stockpile Emergency Preparedness Planning Program (CSEPP). He is also a member of the Governor's Task Force on Flood Prevention and the past chairman of the Nuclear Response Advisory Board for Arkansas Power and Light Company's Nuclear Power Plant. He is very highly regarded by the Disaster Assistance Community.
Personal History:	Born 1944

2/15/93
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prec
clerk

MEMORANDUM

To: Distribution List
From: Bruce Lindsey
Subject: Announcements of Intention to Nominate
Date: February 11, 1993

3 FEB 12 P3:39

The President has expressed his "intention to nominate" the following individuals who have been approved by White House Counsel. These names have previously been released on the dates indicated.

DATE	NAME	DEPT	POSITION
1/19	Peter Tarnoff	State	Under Secretary for Political Affairs
1/19	Joan Spero	State	Under Secretary for Economic and Agricultural Affairs
1/19	Lynn Davis	State	Under Secretary for International Security Affairs
1/19	Brian Atwood	State	Under Secretary for Management
1/19	Timothy Wirth	State	Counselor
1/19	Strobe Talbott	State	Ambassador-at-Large and Special Advisor to the Secretary on Independent States
1/19	Tom Donilon	State	Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs
1/19	Stephen Oxman	State	Assistant Secretary for European Affairs
1/19	Edward Djerejian	State	Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
1/19	George Moose	State	Assistant Secretary for African Affairs
1/19	Winston Lord	State	Assistant Secretary for Asian Affairs
1/19	Harriet Babbitt	State	US Permanent Representative to the

1/19	Sam Lewis	State	Organization of American States Director for Policy and Planning
1/21	Larry Summers	Treasury	Under Secretary for International Affairs
1/21	Frank Newman	Treasury	Assistant Secretary for Domestic Finance
1/21	Gene Ludwig	Treasury	Comptroller of the Currency
1/22	Alicia Munnell	Treasury	Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy
1/22	Ron Noble	Treasury	Assistant Secretary for Enforcement
1/22	Jack DeVore	Treasury	Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs
1/22	Mike Levy	Treasury	Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs
1/25	James King	OPM	Director
1/29	John Rollwagen	Commerce	Deputy Director
2/1	Ken Brody	Export-Import Bank	Chairman
2/2	Terrance Duvernay	HUD	Deputy Secretary
2/2	Robert Achtenberg	HUD	Assistant Secretary for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity
2/2	Andrew Cuomo	HUD	Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development
2/2	Jean Nolan	HUD	Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs
2/3	William Perry	Defense	Deputy Secretary

2/15/93
CHRON.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/12

TO: *Melanne Verveer*

FROM: **JOHN D. PODESTA**
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

GREGG P. SKALL
ATTORNEY AT LAW
200 MONTGOMERY BUILDING
1776 K STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 296-0600

January 11, 1993

*Nancy -
Pls ask me
President
to sign this.
The letter is
self explanatory.*

Thanks,

*The laund
P.S. This guy did
work hard in the campaign*

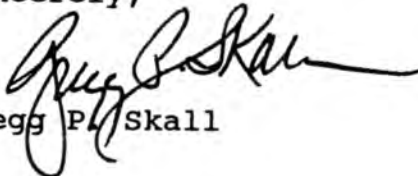
The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Congratulations on your election! I wish you success in your efforts to lead our nation through this tumultuous decade.

I had the honor of preparing the attached Political Broadcasting Manual for your presidential campaign. If you would be kind enough to autograph a copy for me, it would provide me a lasting memento of my small contribution. I would be very grateful.

Sincerely,


Gregg P. Skall

*A - Melanne
per your request
for your forwarding to Gregg
John Podesta*

Rm. 100 EOB

2/15/93
CHEON

2/11/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RM

MAILYN —

The President bumped
this back to Mack.

As you know, Vice
Foster was looking at it.

Are you following up?

John
This has been
addressed.
Total
mailyn

February 1, 1993

TO: John Podesta
FROM: Marilyn Yager
x7925

Mack felt that the President should have the opportunity to review this. I have asked Legislative Affairs to ask DOT to slow down the process to give the President the opportunity to voice his recommendation.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bc
Des

To: Mack McLarty
From: Karen Hancox, Legislative Affairs
Subject: Flight Service Station in Little Rock
Date: January 28, 1992

Ed Fry, Congressman Thornton's AA called and was concerned that the FAA was about to close the essential air service station in Little Rock.

I spoke with Neil Dhillon with the Department of Transportation. Dhillon said that there are only five employees at this service station, and 3 of the employees do not mind moving. DOT does not want to set the precedent of accepting requests to keep open stations slated for closing. The FAA is consolidating service stations across the country, Little Rock's being one. DOT's recommendation is that the station be closed.

Then-Governor Clinton wrote a letter asking that the service station be kept open. Congressman Ray Thornton would very much like to keep this service station open -- it is very important to him. According to Thornton's office, the Little Rock airport services more private pilots than all the other airports in Arkansas combined, therefore he thinks it is critical that it be kept open.

Does the president want to order the Department of Transportation to keep this service station open?

The FAA has apparently planned to close this air station next week.

Please advise.

cc: Howard Paster

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 2, 1993

Mr. President:

I asked for Vince Foster's views on this,
but wanted you to be aware of this and
get your guidance.

John Podesta

CC. to
Vince Foster
Counsel's
office

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/3/93

February 1, 1993

TO: John Podesta
FROM: Marilyn Yager
x7925

Mack felt that the President should have the opportunity to review this. I have asked Legislative Affairs to ask DOT to slow down the process to give the President the opportunity to voice his recommendation.



Mack

I don't have much feel
for this - might want
to check up Pryor & Brungas
then you decide.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

B c
Des

To: Mack McLarty
From: Karen Hancox, Legislative Affairs
Subject: Flight Service Station in Little Rock
Date: January 28, 1992

Ed Fry, Congressman Thornton's AA called and was concerned that the FAA was about to close the essential air service station in Little Rock.

I spoke with Neil Dhillon with the Department of Transportation. Dhillon said that there are only five employees at this service station, and 3 of the employees do not mind moving. DOT does not want to set the precedent of accepting requests to keep open stations slated for closing. The FAA is consolidating service stations across the country, Little Rock's being one. DOT's recommendation is that the station be closed.

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Does the president want to order the Department of Transportation to keep this service station open?

The FAA has apparently planned to close this air station next week.

Please advise.

cc: Howard Paster



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

2/15/93
chron
RM

February 9, 1993 -- 8:35 a.m.

8:44

Note For: Todd Stern
From: Jim Murr *[Signature]*
Subject: HHS Memorandum to the President on Childhood
Immunizations

In response to your request, attached is a draft of OMB staff comments on the subject memorandum. The Deputy Director, Alice Rivlin, is now working with HHS to address the concerns expressed in the attached. Accordingly, we request that the HHS memorandum not be forwarded to the President at this time. We will be following up to let you know the results of the HHS/OMB discussions. If you have any questions, please let me know.

Attachment

cc: Deputy Director



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

DRAFT

THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN D. PODESTA

FROM: Alice M. Rivlin
Deputy Director

SUBJECT: Your Request for Comments on Secretary Shalala's
Memorandum to the President on Childhood Immunizations

Based upon a review within the short deadline given to us, OMB's initial reactions to the subject memorandum are summarized below:

- The scope of the proposed legislation is extraordinarily ambitious. The proposed legislation would include universal vaccine purchase, a nationwide tracking system, a new appropriated entitlement, and increased support for State and county public health infrastructure.
- The specific resource levels associated with this initiative are not identified. Preliminary OMB staff estimates indicate that the vaccine costs for universal purchase could range from \$700 to \$900 million annually, with additional amounts required for administrative costs, research, and infrastructure funding. This estimate assumes that the price negotiated under universal purchase is not significantly higher than the current price charged to the Federal Government.
- It is not clear whether the HHS proposal would fit within the resources allocated during preliminary FY 1994 budget decisions. Preliminary budget decisions addressing immunization-related stimulus and investment initiatives contain the following increases over the base (dollars in millions):

<u>FY 1993</u>	<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1995</u>	<u>FY 1996</u>	<u>FY 1997</u>	<u>FY 1998</u>
+\$200	+\$300	+\$400	+\$400	+\$500	+\$500

- The HHS proposal also addresses financing for vaccine compensation claims payments as an immunization access issue. We believe that the retrospective vaccine compensation claims payment has little relationship to immunization access and should be considered separately.

- The proposal mentions the creation of a new entitlement for supporting vaccine purchasing, delivery, and infrastructure. The implications of this proposed increase in Federal health funds and the financing mechanism need to be assessed.
- The HHS proposal does not address its relationship to health care reform. This relationship should be considered carefully. It may be appropriate for the Council of Economic Advisors to undertake an assessment of the effects of making the Federal Government the sole purchaser of vaccine.



February 7, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DONNA SHALALA
SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

SUBJECT: Legislative Initiative to Comprehensively
Address the Nation's Childhood Immunization Crisis

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT

We understand that you plan to include in your State of the Union Address a proposal for swift enactment of a comprehensive initiative to assure that all American children are adequately protected against preventable infectious disease. This initiative is a cornerstone of your prevention strategy. It is both a first phase of your overall plan to reform the American health care system and a free-standing effort aimed at addressing a fundamental matter of public health safety for all Americans. It reflects two promises made during the 1992 Presidential campaign: to assure all children access to preventive health services; and to control drug prices which now are escalating at three times the rate of inflation.

In order to have this initiative ready for introduction with key Congressional support immediately following your State of the Union Address, we need your approval to prepare legislation. The Department, in cooperation with the Domestic Policy Council, will develop legislation. In doing so, we plan to intensively consult key Members of Congress.

In readying the information and recommendations contained in this Memorandum, we have had wide-ranging discussions with experts both within and without the Department. We also have consulted with the First Lady in her capacity as head of the Interagency Health Reform Task Force.

II. BACKGROUND ANALYSIS

A. The Problem

Like clean water, immunization against preventable diseases constitutes not only medical care but a basic public health protection. A stable, reliable, easily accessible, and

affordable vaccination system is a tenet of all civilized nations. Indeed, so basic is the need for vaccination against disease that the United Nations has undertaken special childhood immunization efforts throughout the world as a fundamental public health measure.

In 1979, the Surgeon General of the United States established a series of public health goals for the nation, which were to be achieved by 1990. One of the most important goals was protecting all children against infectious, vaccine preventable disease. In order to achieve this goal, it was deemed essential that by 1990, at least 90 percent of all children under age two should be fully immunized.¹

The Surgeon General set clear outcome measures for determining whether the childhood immunization goal would be met. In the case of vaccine preventable disease, the outcome measure used was the number of preventable disease cases nationally in 1990. With respect to measles, for example, the Surgeon General estimated that successful immunization efforts would reduce the number of cases nationally to no more than 500 by 1990.

By 1990, however, only 60 to 70 percent of all infants and toddlers were fully immunized against preventable disease.² In some large cities, pre-school immunization levels as low as 10 percent have been reported by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). Rather than improving immunization levels among America's youngest children they actually appear to have declined slightly.

Unacceptably low immunization levels pose a basic health threat to very young children. Moreover, very low immunization rates permit controllable diseases to spread throughout communities. A clear example of this phenomenon was the measles epidemic which swept the nation between 1989 and 1991. According to the CDC, the epidemic produced 55,467 cases of measles in three years. In 1990 alone, the year in which there were to be no more than 500 measles cases nationwide, there were more than 27,000 cases. One hundred and sixty people (by and large children) died. Most of these deaths were considered preventable.

¹ While 100 percent of all children should be vaccinated, a 90 percent immunization rate constitutes the minimum level required to assure community-wide protection against disease (often referred to as "herd immunity").

² Indeed, because the nation made no progress, the goal of protecting all children was postponed until the Year 2000.

The 1989-91 measles outbreak also produced significant and avoidable health care costs. Each dollar spent to immunize children has been estimated to save between ten and fourteen dollars. The recent measles epidemic illustrates these numbers. The outbreak produced 11,260 separate hospitalizations and 44,100 hospital days. Avoidable hospital costs alone amounted to more than \$20 million. These costs do not include either medical or the long term health, educational or social costs associated with measles and its complications. Experts believe that further outbreaks of measles and other preventable diseases will occur without significant improvement in childhood immunization levels.

B. Barriers

Health officials point to many factors underlying low immunization levels among American children. These are:

1. A significantly eroded public health care infrastructure which has further limited the availability of essential immunization services in inner city and low income communities. Publicly funded health programs, such as community and migrant health centers, rural health clinics, the National Health Service Corps, county and city health clinics, and public hospital clinics, are a principal source of care for low income patients. These clinics by definition are located in areas where poverty impedes access to health care and increases risks to health.

These programs are substantially under-funded. They do not have adequate staff. They cannot afford to remain open on nights and weekends. They do not have a sufficient supply of publicly purchased free vaccine. They do not have the community workers they need to find and assist particularly hard-to-reach families, whose children remain un-immunized.

As a result, the recent measles outbreak struck poor children with particular severity. Based on a 10-city study, the Public Health Service has estimated that between 40 and 91 percent of unvaccinated infants who developed measles were enrolled in public assistance programs.

2. High vaccine prices that make immunizations purchased outside the federal CDC procurement system all but unaffordable. Currently the CDC purchases half of all vaccines used in the U.S. These vaccines are sent to state health agencies which in turn distribute them to local clinics. In New England and Washington State, state health agencies purchase additional vaccines through CDC to

distribute directly to private physicians. In this way, physicians receive free vaccines purchased at a reduced price, participate in state immunization efforts, and charge families only a modest administration fee (if anything at all). In recent years, in response to high vaccine prices, several other states, including Texas, South Carolina and Hawaii, have sought to establish these programs but their efforts to buy additional vaccines through the CDC contract have been rejected by manufacturers as "against public policy".

Childhood vaccine price increases over the past decade have been dramatic. For example, in 1981 a dose of DPT vaccine cost \$.33. By 1991, the cost of the same vaccine dose had risen to \$9.97 -- a 2,921% increase.

At the price private physicians now must pay, it costs \$ 245 for the vaccine alone for families with children cared for by private doctors to fully immunize each child against preventable disease. With the cost of injecting the vaccine included, each dose of vaccine costs a family about \$45.00.³ Children need 18 separate doses of vaccine to be fully immunized.⁴

Paying for vaccinations out-of-pocket poses a significant burden on lower income working and uninsured (or underinsured) families. This is particularly true for young families, who are most likely to have young children and who have seen their real earning levels decline substantially over the past 20 years. Reimbursement for vaccine at the full market rate also poses a major cost problem for private insurers and for both the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

The escalating cost of privately administered vaccines has led an increasing number of physicians to send families to public clinics, where vaccinations are cheaper. The same vaccination series that costs \$196.00 in a private physician's office costs only \$96.00 in a public clinic. It is no surprise, therefore, that families are routinely sent to public clinics. But many may fail to ultimately get the vaccine for their children because of the burdens imposed by multiple visits.

³ The CDC estimates that it costs about \$5.00 to administer an injection in a public clinic.

⁴ This includes 2 doses of oral polio vaccine, 2 measles/mumps/rubella vaccinations, 3 vaccinations against Hepatitis B, 4 vaccinations against hemophilus influenza, 3 vaccinations against diphtheria, pertussis and tetanus, and 2 vaccinations against acellular pertussis.

Experts agree that opportunities to immunize children cared for by private physicians thus are being lost. At least one-third of the children with measles during the 1989-1991 outbreak had at least one previous visit at which an opportunity for vaccination was lost. This shift of privately cared for children into the public system is also adding to the strain on the public system.

3. Poor provider understanding about appropriate immunization practices (such as the acceptable practice of giving multiple vaccines in a single visit) that leads them to under-immunize children.

4. The lack of a national tracking system (like the vital statistics system for recording births and deaths) which helps local, state and federal officials identify and vaccinate children who remain unvaccinated. A tracking system is deemed essential by public health officials. It permits them to measure the current immunization status of a community, not merely guess at it. Without a tracking system the nation has no accurate, "real time" information on immunization status and cannot respond to potential crises. Federal officials literally cannot measure with accuracy whether basic public health goals have been met.

5. The failure to develop safer, simpler vaccines through aggressive research. Although manufacturers claim they are spending billions of dollars on vaccine research, results have been inadequate. The NIH does not have sufficient research stimulus funds⁵ to generate an appropriate level of effort targeted on childhood immunization. Left to establish their own research priorities, manufacturers have not moved swiftly enough to bring safer and more efficient vaccines to market. Indeed, the sheer number of separate vaccinations children must now receive to be adequately immunized may be contributing to under-immunization. Parents simply do not understand that children need 18 separate vaccinations.

6. Insufficient funding for the FDA to assure that new vaccines are rapidly tested for safety and efficacy. This further slows innovation in research.

⁵ According to the Public Health Service, NIH research funds now represent 10 percent of all funds spent on immunization research.

7. A troubled, non-functioning vaccine compensation system which lacks sufficient funding to settle backlogged cases, is applying dated standards, and whose funding base for future cases is no longer authorized. In 1986 a federal vaccine compensation program was developed in order to address manufacturers' concerns over their liability for vaccine related injuries (they threatened to cease production of vaccines altogether). The system is now in need of repair in several respects. Four thousand cases arising prior to enactment await action and settlement and cannot be resolved without additional appropriations. Legislation authorizing a special vaccine excise tax to settle post-enactment vaccine injury claims has expired. Without a functioning compensation program, continued involvement by both manufacturers and physicians in vaccination activities is potentially in question.

8. A related problem is that federally developed informed consent materials (written information used to educate families about potential vaccine dangers to their children) are considered unnecessarily complex and difficult for families to understand. It may have a deterrent effect on both the families who read it and on physicians' willingness to provide immunization services.

C. An Action Plan

Experts both within and without the federal government have made numerous recommendations for effectively addressing all of these problems. Virtually all of these recommendations are contained in an Immunization Action Plan which was developed by the Public Health Service and which calls for improvements in both public and private immunization delivery systems. The plan is comprehensive. Yet it remains virtually non-implemented because of a lack of interest and commitment by the Reagan and Bush Administrations. The Action Plan's recommendations mirror approaches to vaccine purchase, distribution and administration used in virtually all industrialized nations with private health insurance systems.

The recommendations include the following elements:

1. An infusion of funds to improve and strengthen publicly funded primary health care programs. This means increased funding to local health departments, community and migrant health centers, rural health clinics, the National Health Service Corps, and other vital "safety-net" providers of

health care for low income and medically underserved patients. These clinics all need a stable supply of vaccine. They also need additional staff and operating resources to both furnish immunizations and to provide the primary health care for children that should accompany immunizations.

With funds included in the economic stimulus package, these improvements can begin as early as this summer.

2. A new system under which the federal government would purchase the vaccines needed by both public and private providers at a negotiated rate. Manufacturers would ship vaccines directly to physicians, clinics and other providers. These health providers would, in turn, charge families only a modest administration fee. Such a system also would permit the establishment of a national tracking system, since all providers participating in the vaccine distribution system would, like hospitals delivering babies, provide state and federal agencies with information about each child immunized. Insurers such as Medicare, Medicaid and private insurers potentially would realize significant savings, since vaccines would be bought and shipped in a coordinated fashion through negotiated rates.

Families and insurers (including Medicare and Medicaid) would therefore pay only a modest administration fee, regardless of whether patients receive care from public clinics or private doctors. The crisis of missed opportunities would be reduced dramatically, with potentially enormous financial savings to families, insurers and state health agencies.

3. Assurance of a stable funding source for vaccine infrastructure, purchasing and delivery activities that is based on mandated spending through a capped entitlement not subject to year-to-year variations (as is the case with discretionary appropriations). The number of needed doses is known and the prices can be negotiated. In this way, financing for vaccine activities would keep pace with the appropriate cost of a comprehensive vaccination effort. This type of budgeted and stabilized financing arrangement is consistent with your long-range thinking about how to purchase health care generally.

4. Funds to develop and maintain a vaccine tracking system, tied to the distribution of vaccines, that permits patient tracking and community surveillance.

5. Reforms in the vaccine compensation program so that it is once again operational, as well as simplification of the vaccine information materials in order to reduce the burden on families and providers. Funds will be needed in both Fiscal 1993 and Fiscal 1994. Additionally, the taxing authority for post-enactment claims will need to be extended.

6. A new approach to vaccine research that emphasizes funding through NIH (rather than less reliable, indirect funding through profits to manufacturers) for childhood vaccine research.

7. Increased funding to the FDA to improve and simplify approval systems and strengthen safety and oversight activities.

8. Funds for renewed international vaccine efforts in cooperation with the World Health Organization and UNICEF. According to the Public Health Service, the nation's experience with smallpox showed that the \$32 million spent by the U.S. to help eradicate smallpox worldwide through a combined international effort has led to savings of \$600 million annually.

9. Educational efforts aimed at patients and health providers to inform them about the importance of vaccinations (and in the case of providers, safe and effective immunization practices).

10. Involve the private sector in community vaccination efforts and make community vaccination outreach a key element of your National Service program.

D. Support for these recommendations

Support for improving immunization levels through these comprehensive reforms is widespread. Supporters include experts in public health, pediatricians, the Public Health Service, many Members of Congress, children's advocates and others. Key individual and organizational support comes from Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Bumpers and their childhood immunization effort (known as Every Child by Two), Marian Wright Edelman and the Children's Defense Fund, the American Academy of Pediatrics, (particularly its incoming President, Dr. Betty Lowe), the March of Dimes, and others.

E. Opposition to the reforms

Only two of the reforms described above have generated significant opposition. These are proposals to simplify vaccine information materials and to establish a universal vaccine purchasing program for all families.

Simplification of vaccine material: This is opposed by an organization known as Dissatisfied Parents Together, a group consisting of several thousand families with children who allege injury by vaccine.

Universal purchasing: This system is adamantly opposed by the manufacturers, as well as by Dissatisfied Parents (which opposes any effort to increase access to vaccines). In addition, a number of key industry critics are concerned by one issue as described in the first bulleted argument.

Manufacturers make several arguments. These are:

- o first, that by reducing current profit levels, a coordinated purchasing arrangement will cut into vaccine research (industry critics also are concerned about retaining sufficient funding levels for research efforts);
- o second, that such a system will provide free vaccines to rich children; and
- o third, that prudent purchasing lead them to give up the production of vaccine altogether.

The industry is extremely powerful. We believe that it will fight this effort because of its precedent-setting value.

F. Responding to opposing arguments

Public health experts, children's advocates, health care providers, and public officials respond strongly to these points. With respect to the parents group's concerns about the safety of vaccines, experts uniformly reply that the dangers associated with not vaccinating children vastly outweigh those associated with childhood immunization.⁶

⁶ Indeed, a new study from the National Academy of Sciences calls into question earlier conclusions about the injury potential of certain vaccines. At this time, there are widespread recommendations for tightening the Vaccine Injury Table contained in the Vaccine Compensation Act. Experts believe that many of these injuries are in fact not traceable to vaccines.

With respect to the manufacturers' arguments, public health officials respond as follows:

Research and marketing concerns: there is no evidence to suggest that negotiated rates will so reduce manufacturers' profits as to make research impossible. Indeed, many question whether funds paid to manufacturers for research have achieved adequate results. No one has suggested a negotiated rate so low that research can no longer be supported. Moreover, it may be preferable to directly fund added research through direct allocations out of a mandated spending fund (rather than by building it into the price) in order to increase childhood immunization research efforts.

Additionally, developing a strong and stable purchasing system for vaccines may have the opposite effect from that predicted by the manufacturers. Companies that left the business of vaccine production conceivably could be attracted back into the business through a more stable financing system with integrated purchasing and liability protection.

It is also important to note that manufacturers have produced no evidence showing that even the reduced price paid by CDC would harm them financially. Indeed, the CDC price may be equal to or greater than prices paid by other first world countries. Even the CDC price appears to be well above the CPI rate of growth.

It appears that manufacturers are realizing large profits without demonstrating sufficient reforms and improvements for children. Moreover, in no other Western industrialized country but South Africa is access to so basic a child health service as vaccine directly tied to family wealth.

Concerns about vaccines for well-to-do children: The most direct response to this concern is that unlike many other forms of medical care, vaccination is such a basic public good that, like clean water, it simply must be available to all. Moreover, families will continue to pay for the actual administration of vaccines if they are well off. The only issue is whether they should pay for vaccines themselves at the point of service. To make families do this is like forcing families to pay for a drink of clean water every time they turn on the tap. This is simply not the way to manage a basic public health need.

Paying for vaccines through a government purchasing system means that the vaccines have been paid for by families in advance of when they are actually needed by children. In this way, a child's access to vaccine is never dependent on his or her family's particular circumstances.

In short, the notion that it is against public policy to furnish free vaccines to children is incorrect in its basic assumption that the vaccines are "free". A coordinated purchasing system changes only when vaccines are paid for, not whether they are paid for. Moreover, the argument overlooks the unique nature of vaccines.

Threats of market pull-out: There is no evidence that this would happen if purchasing systems are mandated and stabilized. Indeed, as noted above, a more stable market might attract additional manufacturers. The only time that manufacturers withdrew from vaccine production was when their liability was at issue. This problem has now been addressed.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend proceeding with the above-outlined reforms. Substantial consensus exists on all of the reforms discussed above except revising the informed consent materials and establishing universal purchasing. We believe industry critics who oppose universal purchasing will support it if, as recommended here, the system is financed through a stable, mandated funding source that includes sufficient funding for research. Repairing the vaccine compensation act and establishing universal purchasing will generate opposition. But experts agree that these reforms are essential to a successful effort to address the childhood immunization crisis in the U.S.

Opposition will be strong, particularly in the case of manufacturers. They understand the power of this issue and its precedent setting quality. They can influence many Members of Congress. This is also a particularly complex piece of legislation that requires many separate statutory reforms. Crafting the legislation will involve resolving a broad array of issues. Strong Presidential involvement will be needed to bring this initiative to fruition.

However, these reforms are essential to families who cannot meet the cost of health care for their children. They represent an extremely important step in containing the cost of vaccine and in promoting its availability. And this initiative allows you to take an early leadership role in national health reform on a "bellwether" issue of central concern to families and children.

For these reasons we recommend a two-step process:

1. Inclusion in the economic stimulus package of sufficient funds to permit initial implementation of the public investment reforms.
2. Introduction, and passage as quickly as possible, of comprehensive legislation that addresses all of the issues contained in this memorandum on a permanent basis.

IV. DECISION

☐ Approve	☐ Approve as Amended
☐ Reject	☐ No Action

cc: Hillary Rodham Clinton

2/15/93
Chelon

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/14

TO: Bruce Lindsey

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

Bruce
When all is said
& done, this is
a job reference --
I think

John

*John Adams**This is the man
who called
yesterday, I think*

February 10, 1993

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20505

In Re: United States Marshals Service

Dear President Clinton:

It is clear that this Administration is making efforts to reduce the size of Government spending to reduce the amount of "Red ink" that covers government services each, and every year.

This morning I spoke to Samuel Cicchino, who currently is assigned to the Columbus District Office of the United States Marshals Service as its Chief Deputy.

From 1987 through 1990, Cicchino served the District Court in Los Angeles as the Court Appointed Marshal for Chief Judge Manuel Real. During his appointment, Cicchino became aware of the tremendous amount of waste that was occurring in the appropriation of Marshal Service staffing, and the waste involved in the usage of seized vessels, aircraft, and other seized property.

Because of this, Cicchino tried unsuccessfully to be considered by the former Administrations as the Director. Cicchino went as so far as being interviewed by the Director of Presidential Personnel in Washington.

However, after he stated the deep necessary cuts that he felt could be made to bring the Marshals Service to the level of service it once had, he was passed over for K. Micheal Moore, of Florida, who actually wanted the position of a District Court Judge.

President William J. Clinton
February 10, 1993

Page 2.

In my morning conversation with Cicchino, he cited to me the cuts he proposed that I would like to share with you.

In 1971 when Cicchino started with the Marshals Service Headquarters had about 12 Administrative, and Support positions. Currently there are about 380. As Director, Cicchino states that even with the tremendous changes and demands on the Service today, he could still reduce staffing to 95.

Second, in the prior Administration, \$ 670,000.00 Dollars were wasted on the procurement of special vehicles for each of the Presidentially appointed Marshals in the 93 Federal Districts in order to separate them from Service Employees, and to give them the aire of privilege.

Thrid, During the Reagan, and Bush Administrations, the Director of the Service utilizing seized Lear Jets under the control, and direction of the Headquarters Bureau flew Senior Republican Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee around the Country during appropriations periods. Cicchino feels that with the absolute exception of having an aircraft for highly sensitive special operational missions, all of the aircraft held in the air operations program with the exception of prisoner transport Jets should be sold.

Presidential personnel has Cicchinos Resume, and I really feel that his suggestions translates into monies saved to the Federal Deficit.

Thank you for your anticipated interest, and cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,



ROBERT A. DANFORD

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 22, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Re: Summary of First Cabinet Meeting
January 22, 1993

Present at the first Cabinet meeting were the President, the Vice President, Secretary Christopher, Secretary Bentsen, Secretary Aspin, Secretary Espy, Secretary R. Brown, Secretary Reich, Secretary Shalala, Secretary Cisneros, Secretary Pena, Secretary O'Leary, Secretary Riley, Secretary J. Brown, Administrator Browner, Director Panetta, Ambassador-designee Albright, Trade Representative Kantor, and Chief of Staff McLarty.

The President began the meeting at 11:05 a.m. with a short prayer and then welcomed the Cabinet to the White House. The President congratulated the Cabinet on their confirmation and swearing in.

The President observed that this was the first meeting of the Cabinet and that the Cabinet had much to do in the coming weeks and months. The President indicated his intention to discuss in more detail some of the issues in today's meeting at the upcoming Cabinet retreat.

The President shared his vision of the Cabinet as a coordinating body. It is the President's goal to coordinate economic, domestic and foreign policy across Department and Agency lines.

The President emphasized that he envisions a White House with a high-level of access working in partnership with members of the Cabinet. It is the President's belief that effective government occurs only with close contact between the White House and the Agencies and Departments. The President stated that he has three commitments to all members of the Cabinet:

1. He will return all telephone calls;
2. He will meet with any member of the Cabinet at their request; and
3. He will read any memoranda sent by any member of the Cabinet.

2/15/93
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The President then turned to the Vice President for remarks. The Vice President stated that his job is making this the most successful Presidency ever. The Vice President indicated his desire to help facilitate the Cabinet members' access to the White House.

The President then introduced and turned the meeting over to Mr. McLarty. Mr. McLarty welcomed the Cabinet and introduced the senior members of the White House staff.

The President commented that he intends the Cabinet to work closely with all White House offices, but most particularly with Public Liaison, Political Affairs, and Inter-Governmental Relations.

Mr. McLarty then discussed the White House organization. He indicated that he believes strongly in teamwork and looked forward to working closely with members of the Cabinet. He asked each member of the Cabinet to designate a contact for the White House in their Department or Agency, most likely the Chief of Staff. Mr. McLarty then discussed the President's desire to have a Weekly Cabinet Report. This report should discuss upcoming events of interest to the President.

Secretary Espy raised a question on the appropriate White House coordination for Cabinet level contacts with the Congress. The President noted that many Cabinet members have long-standing relationships on Capitol Hill. The President indicated his intention to use these relationships. The President observed that it would be most helpful if Cabinet members would let the White House Legislative Affairs Office know when they are working on the Hill or with specific members.

Secretary Cisneros raised a question regarding White House participation in policy development, particularly policies that involve multiple jurisdictions. The President indicated his desire to have agencies work with the Assistant to the President for that particular policy area.

The President observed that he believes in open meetings. He encouraged Cabinet members to be candid with him on their views. He emphasized his interest in engaging in debate.

Secretary Riley then discussed the need to be extremely focused during the first 100 days. He observed that a high level of communication coordination is necessary to ensure a successful first 100 days.

The President stated his intention to have a 100 day plan that outlines what this Administration will accomplish in the first year. The President believes that such a plan can be developed with full Cabinet support.

Chief of Staff McLarty then called on several Assistants to the President to discuss particular issues.

Mr. Lindsey discussed the appointment process for Presidential appointments at the sub-Cabinet level.

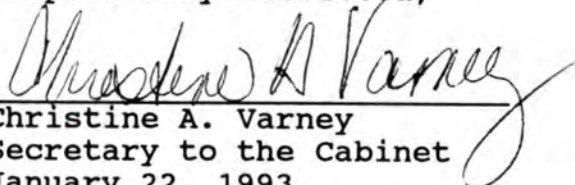
Mr. Paster discussed congressional relations and expressed his hope that the Administration's contacts with Congress would be with a single, seamless web. Mr. Paster reiterated the President's belief that this is a single Administration with a single set of relationships.

Mr. Stephanopolous stressed the need for close communication coordination. It is his intention to establish a morning conference call with the public affairs or communications directors of each Department and Agency.

Mr. Nussbaum discussed the Executive Order on ethics and indicated the need for the highest adherence to the ethical principles set forth by the President.

The President adjourned the meeting at 12:30 p.m.

Respectfully Submitted,


Christine A. Varney
Secretary to the Cabinet
January 22, 1993