

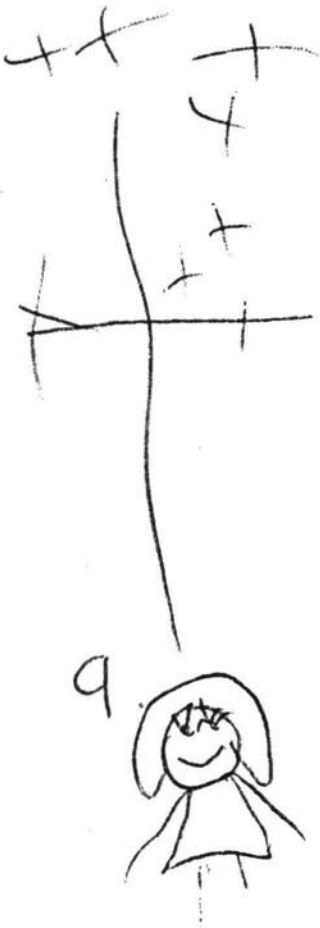
5/30 TODD -

this came back from
Stephen Goodin w/ Potos'
Wisconsin trip Book.

To Doriskind for reply?

yes ————— no

- John



Sander
CS

Dear Chancellor Kohl and President Clinton,

Well come to Milwaukee!

My name Molly Mollenkamp

My address 403 Black Earth Rd Wales wi,
53183

Love
Molly J.M.







Sim
DPRKIND

~~ACTS~~

5/30/96

Form Letter Tracking

Code: 0-620

Topic: Agriculture general / Farm Bill

PLM Writer: Kyle Baker

Doc. Name & Dir. Loc.: slr/draft/^{Farm}~~Conservation~~

Cleared by: Original to Gov. Schaffer (included) ✓

Comments:

New form
Revision



LLA Hold/Created

Date

Initial

3/13

KB

LLA Assigned

Written

(PLM)

Referred for Clearance

Clearance Rec/Final Sub

4/11

~~5/13~~

KB

LLA To Review

4.11

KB

JS Reviewed

~~3/13~~ 5/6

~~KB~~

LLA To Mail Analysis

5.6

KB

(MA) Entered

5/7

KB

LLA To Director

5/7

KB

JD/JM Final Director's Approval

w/edick

5/9

KB

LLA To Jim for West Wing

(WW) West Wing Approval

MH To Mail Analysis for Activation

(MA) Activated

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1996

Mr. John M. Doe
Title
Organization
Business Adr1
Business Adr2
Business City, BState BZip-BZip9

Dear John:

Thank you for your views regarding H.R. 2854, the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996.

As you may know, I signed H.R. 2854 into law on April 4, 1996. ^{but I did so} I signed the bill reluctantly because it fails to provide an adequate safety net for family farmers. The fixed payments established in the bill do not adjust to changes in market conditions, leaving farmers and rural communities susceptible to reductions in crop prices or yields. I am committed to working with Congress next year to strengthen the farm safety net.

The bill ~~does, however,~~ include many of my Administration's proposals that will help achieve our environmental and economic development goals. For example, the planting flexibility provisions allow farmers to plant for the market, and not for government programs, thereby improving U.S. competitiveness in world markets and simplifying farm programs.

I am especially pleased with the rural development, research, and conservation programs in the legislation that ensure the Administration's investment in traditional infrastructure while expanding our investments in information infrastructure and in human capital. The Performance Partnership Initiative provides flexibility to States to use Federal programs funds to fit their needs. The bill also provides \$300 million in additional resources for rural development and agricultural research through a new "Fund for Rural America." I also support the bill's conservation provisions ^{which} enhance contributions to environmental quality and farm income from the Conservation Reserve Program, and ~~that~~ provide more than \$1 billion over 7 years for on-farm conservation measures, including assistance for livestock producers.

Thank you again for your interest in this important issue. I will certainly keep your views in mind, ~~as I work with Congress to improve the farm safety net, and as I use the farm bill's new tools.~~

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

(5/7/96)

Don't necessarily have to do all the positive details but at least a summary sentence of why it's good

You can't lead to like this. Have to say something positive that justifies his signing of the bill explaining that he felt all that short in this way.

96 MAY 30 P4:41

May ~~22~~, 1996

40

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM: TIM SAUNDERS
ED THOMAS

SUBJECT: Request for President's Signature on American Red
Cross Certificates of Merit

We have received the attached request for Presidential signatures
on 40 American Red Cross Certificates of Merit.

This is the nineteenth request received by President Clinton for
his signature on such certificates.

This is a long-established program, recommend that you approve
this request.

DK
TOS

5/30/96

-010 nat xerox
complete pkg.

5

96 MAY 30 P4:41

May ~~22~~, 1996
30

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM:

TIM SAUNDERS
ED THOMAS

SUBJECT:

Request for President's Signature on Hubert H.
Humphrey Fellowship Program Certificates

We have received the attached request from the USIA for the President's signature on 163 certificates for the 1995-1996 class of Humphrey Fellows.

The Humphrey Fellows Program, which was announced in 1978 by President Carter, brings mid-career professionals from developing countries who have exemplified leadership in public service to the United States for one year of study and practical, work-related experience.

Traditionally, at the end of one year of study the Fellows each receive a certificate signed by the President. This is the fourth request for signatures during this Administration.

In keeping with past practice, recommend you approve this request.

DOJ

OK

5/30/96

-did not xerox complete

PIKs

S

Mack said
this should
go through
"regular" channels.
Patty

O. S. WYATT, JR.
NINE GREENWAY PLAZA
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77046

original to
NSC 5/30
S

06 MAY 30 11:39

5-30-96
TODD

to NSC for action?

May 24, 1996

✓ yes — no

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

- John

I am aware of the fact that you are in the beginning of a Presidential election campaign and that this period creates special concerns and pressures for you. However, I cannot justify keeping silent about my disappointment in the events of the past three years.

As you know, I was a major contributor and supporter of your candidacy in 1992. I believed that your election would begin the process of this country's development of a national energy policy. I also believed that your administration would re-evaluate the self-destructive Middle East policies followed by your predecessors. Neither has occurred.

Of specific concern to me is the basic unfairness to American companies caused by your recent expansion of U.S. sanctions against Iran. Prior to that action, refineries outside the United States owned or controlled by U.S. persons could purchase and refine Iranian crude oil. Now, such refineries are prohibited from such activity. The consequence to Coastal is to force our Aruban refinery to buy crude oil from Venezuela and Mexico. These crudes are more expensive and are "high-metal" and increase the cost and maintenance of facilities which consume fuels refined from such crudes. This includes Coastal's power plants in Latin and South America which are supplied from Aruba.

Your decision to accept AIPAC's view of the world and expand the Iranian embargo is simply not fair to U.S. businesses in competition with foreign rivals. (DuPont is not the only victim of these policies, although permitting Total to take the Conoco contract and the benefit of Conoco's work is particularly harsh and inequitable.) Venezuela regularly buys and refines Iranian crude and sells the refined product directly into the U.S. Our Aruba facility, 80 miles away, cannot. And, since Coastal is reliant on purchasing Venezuelan crude, I dare not create too much commotion about it. (I had asked for your help in securing a supply of crude oil from the Saudis, who appear to still resent my support of you in opposition to George Bush. Nothing came of it.)

The President
Page Two
May 24, 1996

It would take some political courage to recognize the inequities of this particular embargo and modify it to permit U.S. owned foreign refineries to be competitive with the English, French, Italians, Spanish and South Americans. Among other things, you would have to be willing to reject the pressure generated by parochial groups like AIPAC, who are willing to sacrifice the long-term interests of the United States in favor of advancing their own agendas. Frankly, I don't think you should worry too much about AIPAC. I don't believe that they have anywhere to go but with you. I doubt very much that they would bolt to the Republicans if you modified the Iranian embargo along the lines I've suggested. In fact, as you probably know, Israel has been buying and running Libyan and Iranian crude oil for years and Israeli pipelines consistently move Iranian crude to the Mediterranean.

I do not think that your anti-terrorist objectives would be injured by this decision. This is really a question of sound national economic policy versus naked political considerations. I understand the temptation to "go for the votes," but I hope you can take the longer view in the interest of American industry and your real constituency.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the left below the signature.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 30, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR SENIOR STAFF

FROM: EVELYN S. LIEBERMAN
TODD STERN *TS*

SUBJECT: Clearance Process

This is intended to reiterate the importance of providing documents to the Staff Secretary's Office with adequate time for them to be circulated to relevant White House policy and communications staff for comment, editing, etc.

Documents are circulated in the first place to ensure that they are accurate in terms of substance, message and form. On several recent occasions, lengthy documents -- e.g., EOP agency reports introduced by a Presidential message -- were delivered to the Staff Secretary's office far too late for relevant staff to provide anything more than a cursory review. That can create problems. Failure to allow proper review of Presidential documents can result in the release of inaccurate or unclear information.

Substantive documents must be submitted to the Staff Secretary's Office to allow a minimum of five days of clearance time.

Thank you for your cooperation.

5/30/96

original taken
to E's ofc
for her
initials

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR SENIOR STAFF

FROM: EVELYN ^SLIEBERMAN
TODD STERN ^{TS}

SUBJECT: Clearance Process

*please add
middle initial
S.*

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~~There is no hard and fast rule for how many days in advance a document should be submitted, but substantive documents must be submitted to the Staff Secretary's Office ~~so as~~ to allow a minimum of five days of clearance time.~~

*There is
now's*

Thank you for your cooperation.

*TO
Evelyn
TO: TODD*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 MAY 16 P4:45

May 3, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR SENIOR STAFF

FROM: EVELYN SLIEBERMAN
TODD STERN

SUBJECT: Clearance Process

This is intended to reiterate the importance of providing documents to the Staff Secretary's Office with adequate time for them to be circulated to relevant White House policy and communications staff for comment, editing, etc.

On several recent occasions, lengthy documents -- e.g., reports of EOP agencies introduced by a Presidential message -- were delivered to the Staff Secretary's far too late for relevant staff to be able to give them anything more than a cursory review. That can create real problems. The reason documents are, ^{office} ^{EOP agency} ^{must be} circulated in the first place is to make sure that they are in accurate good shape in terms of substance, message and form. If the staffing process is short-circuited, the end result can be documents released in the President's name that are inaccurate or fail to adequately reflect our policy or message. * KA

While there is no hard and fast rule for how many days in advance a document should be submitted, ^{but} ~~you should assume that~~ substantive documents should be submitted to the Staff Secretary's Office with several days of clearance time.

at allowing
a minimum of five

must

Thanks for your cooperation.

Failure to allow proper review of Presidential documents can result in the release of inaccurate or unclear information.

(to replace hi-lighted sentence)

May 17, 1996

96MAY 17 P2:18

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM: G. TIMOTHY SAUNDERS 
Executive Clerk

SUBJECT: White House Staff Certificates

Shall we prepare White House Office certificates for the following new staffer who appear on White House Management's new list:

Robert Johnson
Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
(eff. 4/7/96)

Suzanna A. Valdez
Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
(eff. 4/7/96)

James P. Weber
Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs
(eff. 4/22/96)

David Wofford
Special Assistant to the President for Political Affairs
(eff. 3/14/96)

  
Can you
give me list
of Special
Deputies &
Assistants?
5-20-96

Todd

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 MAY 29 P3:10

May 29, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FIRST LADY'S STAFF (MELANNE VERVEER)

✓ TODD STERN (PHIL CAPLAN)

JACK QUINN (KATHLEEN WALLMAN)

KITTY HIGGINS

JOHN HILLEY

CAROL RASCO

DOUG SOSNIK

ALEXIS HERMAN

JODIE TORKELSON

ANNE WALLEY/STEPHANIE STREETT - FYI

FROM:

Lana Dickey/Julia Bator
for JIM DORSKIND

SUBJECT:

(Draft Proclamation)
Small Business Week

Attached for your review is the above-mentioned proclamation designating June 2 - 8, 1996 as "Small Business Week."

It was submitted by the Small Business Administration through the Office of Management and Budget, and edited/revised by the Presidential Letters and Messages Office.

IMMEDIATE ATTENTION REQUIRED. Written or oral response required by no later than ~~3:00 p.m.~~, Thursday, May 30, 1996. IF WE HAVE NOT HEARD FROM YOU BY ~~3:00 p.m.~~, WE WILL ASSUME THAT THE DRAFT IS ACCEPTABLE TO YOU.

10AM

10AM

For questions, discussion, or routine clearance, contact Lana Dickey, extension 67487, or Julia Bator, extension 65518, via phone or interoffice mail, in room 91. Thank you.

cc: Tim Saunders

*Todd - See any edicts.
Photo opportunity here?
Small Business Photo op
on for Wed Jun 5*

SMALL BUSINESS WEEK, 1996

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

The American Dream has long held out the promise of a better life to our citizens -- one of prosperity, security, and personal fulfillment for all those who are willing to work hard to reach their goals. Our Nation's 22 million small business owners exemplify that determination and initiative, and their entrepreneurial spirit drives the principal engine of our economy. Creative industries and products such as the

artificial heart valve, the pacemaker, and the personal computer have revolutionized our world and call us to imagine further transformation of our daily lives.

The number of new small businesses has increased steadily over the last three decades, with 800,000 new businesses incorporated in 1995 alone. Small businesses employ some 53 percent of the private work force, ^{account for} contribute 47 percent of all sales in the country, and ^{generate} are responsible for more than half of our private gross domestic product. In addition, ^{industries dominated by} small business ^{were responsible for} generated 75 percent of the 1.66 million new jobs created during 1995.

This year, delegates to the White House Conference on Small Business forged an agenda that will continue such progress and prepare our economy for the challenges of the next century. By implementing their recommendations, "reinventing" the United States Small Business Administration, and pursuing other incentives and initiatives, we can establish an even better environment for small business creation and growth. These efforts are vital to keeping our economy strong and strengthening the proud legacy of innovation that has always inspired our people and made America great.

There's no reference for "that" "willing" is not sufficient. It's a synonym for "determination & initiative"

meaning what?

[put something else here]

industries dominated by

were responsible for

account for

generate

5/30/96

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim June 2 through June 8, 1996, as Small Business Week. I call upon Government officials and all the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies, activities, and programs that celebrate the achievements of small business owners and encourage the formation of new firms.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this
day of _____, in the year of our
Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-six, and of the Independence of
the United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410-0001

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5.28.96

5/28/96

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Honorable William J. Clinton
Vice President Al Gore

FROM: Henry G. Cisneros

DATE: May 20, 1996

SUBJ: Administration Accomplishments

Todd -
Potus note says
set up appointment
OK to send to
scheduling?
Yes
No.
+ Evelyn

Setting up
to see
Gore
re: HUD

As we go into the most critical months for telling the story of your Administration's accomplishments, your entire team at HUD has focused on three concrete successes - the homeownership strategy as it is working in the cities, the Empowerment Zones, and the transformation of public housing - all wrapped in a rubric of hopefulness about the signs of recovery in city after city across America. *

I presented a "test run" of the coherence of that message in a speech and slide presentation at the National Press Club last month. (See Attached) It works. The reviews have been good, the response from the cities appreciative, and much good press has been stimulated. We are employing a fully orchestrated effort behind each message and will intensify it over the months ahead. The attached clips will give you a sense for how the message comes through.

You may wish to use some of these ideas in your travels to cities across the nation. We have examples of successes in the hundreds of cities in which we have been active. The core message: "President Clinton's Administration is a partner with hopeful communities all across America; we can do it if we work together!"

Mr. President: In 20 minutes, sometime I'd like to show you some very impressive slides of the revitalization projects underway in cities. I will work on scheduling.

Henry

The State of America's Communities

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development



A Report on The State of America's Communities

Delivered by
Secretary Henry G. Cisneros

April 25, 1996

National Press Club

Introduction

This address is dedicated to the memory of three great Americans who died recently. Their deaths are a tremendous loss for America because these three persons -- Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown, nonprofit housing builder Don Turner (who was with Secretary Brown on his mission to Bosnia), and urban dynamo Jim Rouse -- were American visionaries.

In thinking about their lives, I've been struck by the difference they made in other peoples' lives. Each had the clear, optimistic vision to see that our country, including our cities, could work for all our people and could remain great.

Their clear-eyed optimism was important because it was so natural and so different in a time when so many Americans are so pessimistic about America's cities. Those are the people I'd like to reach with my message today.

I am here to reach out to those among us who have given up on America's cities. Who have advocated or secretly thought about building walls around the cities and their inhabitants and throwing away the keys. I'm here to talk to those Americans who find themselves spending more and more of their income on the social costs of urban decay -- the home security systems, the auto alarms, the private schools, the security guards -- and hating their own unaccustomed pessimism.

I'm here to talk to you about the future and to deliver some good news of new potentials and possibilities: American cities are at a point of rebirth and renewal.

We have been to the bottom of the well, and now America's cities are demonstrating that they're capable of climbing back. One block at a time. One school at a time. One neighborhood at a time. It's happening right before our eyes.

This may be hard to believe. After all, conditions in some cities are so bad, they're difficult to describe in words. The blocks of burned-out buildings that scar parts of North Philadelphia. The endless vacant lots and fields of litter that mark Detroit. The gang-controlled areas of Los Angeles that keep children and their parents in a state of constant fear.

Well, those things are true, too. I'm not going to stand here and tell you that we have solved the problem. I'm not telling you the recovery is complete. But I am saying the cities are Recovering.

When I say cities are recovering and are climbing back, I don't mean that Detroit is once again going to have two million people living within its city limits and that the long-vacant auto plants are going to be active again. I don't mean that Pittsburgh will hold the same number of residents it once did or that the South Bronx will top the list as the nation's most livable city.

But I will tell you this: Detroit is becoming a hopeful place again. The South Bronx is becoming a good place for families to live again. And Pittsburgh is becoming a good place to start a small business. American cities can be good places to live and work and play and and study and enjoy life. Together, we have begun to make it happen. We Can do This.

Our task has been to **stop the downward momentum**, to **stem the downhill slide**. **Our task has been to help** neighborhoods and cities start the climb back up. **We are succeeding in these tasks**.

One piece of good news is that we have learned what works and what doesn't. In the past three years, mayors and citizens, business leaders and federal officials have identified those strategies and programs that work, and we have invested our time and money in them. This is important not only to those who live in the cities but to all Americans.

Across the nation, city trends are moving in the right direction.

Central city homeownership rates are up -- from 48.7 percent in 1990 to 49.5 percent in 1995. That represents 686,000 additional homeowners in those five years. Consumers are voting to invest in the future of our urban centers.

Wall Street is recognizing the economic rebound of many cities. For example, Cleveland's bond rating, for example, has now been increased to investment grade, reflecting the renewed corporate commitment to downtown development.

Fiscal conditions in many cities -- Buffalo, Boston -- are in the best shape in years.

The interdependence of city and suburb continues to be critical. One third of suburban income, for example, in the Chicago metropolitan area depends on jobs located in the central city.

And across the nation, some 5,000 entrepreneurial community-based organizations are tackling the tough issues of crime, affordable housing and economic development.

Why? Because ultimately, we all pay for the problems of the inner cities, no matter where we live. Why? Because distress spreads. Just take a look at some of today's older suburbs that have begun to take on the problems of the cities from

which its residents once fled. And don't forget that almost a third of America's future work force is being educated by failing central city public school systems. These children will be the future strength of our nation ... or they will be part of what causes its heartache.

The stark polarization of urban communities -- isolating the poor from the well-off, the unemployed from those who work, and minorities from whites -- frays the very fabric of our civic culture. It threatens our democratic traditions. It threatens the nation's long-term prosperity.

Our national future depends in large part upon the well-being of our cities. Thankfully, there are strong signs that cities are starting to climb back.

AMERICAN CITIES ARE BEING RENEWED

Examples and Principles

They are climbing back simply because together we have done the hard work of planting seeds. The seeds we've been planting in the cities in the past few years of the Clinton Administration are not the seeds of welfare and handouts that lead to a deadening of the human spirit. We have been cultivating something different.

We have been planting the seeds of opportunity -- and now those seeds are beginning to sprout.

Our strategy has been simple: Invest in neighborhoods, in housing and in people. Give communities the opportunity to help themselves. Get the private sector to re-engage in urban communities. This isn't social welfare redux. This is something new.

In a moment, I will show you some examples of places where it's beginning to happen, but first, I want to tell you the principles which underlie everything that we've been doing within President Clinton's urban policy. A policy that's been led so effectively by Vice President Gore.

First, we believe that real solutions to the problems which plague communities must come from within those communities themselves. No one can possibly care more about a city or its neighborhoods than the people who live there. No official from Washington, D.C., or a state capital -- no matter how effective -- can possibly supplant local leadership. The vision, the incentive, the ideas must be locally driven in order to be effective. Community development corporations, locally based churches, neighborhood groups have stepped up to the challenge and have shown that they are willing and able to provide that leadership.

Second, urban solutions must reflect and reinforce traditional values. There is no such thing as value-less policy, value-less laws, value-less living. We not only encourage, we insist upon community values in our own policies. That means we reward those who work hard, we remove those who harass and intimidate, we encourage family and stability.

Third, urban solutions must come about not in isolation, but in partnership with business and

market forces. Thirty years ago, Sen. Robert Kennedy said, "To ignore the potential contribution of private enterprise is to fight the war on poverty with a single platoon, while great armies are left to stand aside."

He was right. Simply providing social services will not solve the underlying problems in many of the worst cities. Business opportunities, jobs, incomes, careers, and futures must flourish there.

And cities cannot be thought of as isolated islands, but must be connected to the economy of the larger metropolitan area and its growth centers of hospitals, universities, high-tech industries, business parks, research centers, airports, and office parks.

Finally, perhaps our most important principle: our national policies must break down the destructive barriers that separate Americans by race and class. Our success as a nation, as a democracy, as a culture depends upon it.

Are we going to be a nation of walls? Of gated communities? Of compassionless stares across chasms of poverty? None of us wants that. The time to shift toward a more inclusive, less class- and race-divided country is now. We know how if we have the will to do it. We must work to break down concentrated areas of poverty, develop mixed-income communities, and encourage collaboration between cities and their suburbs. These principles are at the heart of the urban policies of the Clinton Administration and of HUD.

From the start of his Administration, President Clinton has worked to change the role of the federal government in the cities. Knowing that we must become providers of opportunity rather than obstacles of bureaucracy, President Clinton has set policies which revitalize communities by encouraging private investment in them (Empowerment Zones), by cleaning them of environmental hazards ("brownfields" initiative), and by enlisting new and existing financial institutions to provide capital to the communities themselves (CRA reform and community development banks).

AMERICAN CITIES ARE BEING RENEWED

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He's working to strengthen families by reforming welfare so that it rewards families who work, by raising the minimum wage and by preserving the earned income tax credit so that working families can lift themselves out of poverty. He's dedicated to improving both the education children receive in the early years (Head Start and Goals 2000) and to help them get access to higher education later (tuition tax benefits, Pell Grants). He's enabling college students to give back to their community through national service while earning tuition credit (Americorps). And he's created training programs to prepare the three-quarters of young people who don't go on to college for high-skill, high-wage jobs in tomorrow's economy ("school-to-work" initiative).

PART TWO:

WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED

Three Programs that Work

At HUD, we are doing our part to advance the President's new urban approach by casting off many of the old attitudes and orthodoxies. Poverty Incorporated is not our game. Well-meaning paternalism is not our method. We see ourselves as champions of opportunity. It is as simple as that. If a community has the vision, the strength, the ingenious American drive to turn itself around, then we will move heaven and earth to help that community get the tools to create success. It works.

I have seen it work in three of our most hopeful programs in the cities. These three programs: Our **Homeownership Zones**, our **Empowerment Zones** and our **Public Housing** reforms are different from the urban programs of the past because each starts with principles of locally driven self-improvement which I've just discussed.

A. Homeownership Zones

There is no better place to begin a family's quest for self-sufficiency than at home. Home is where safety begins. Home is where self-respect begins. Home is where our connections to our community, our city and our nation begin.

And that is why our homeownership strategy is a beginning. Cities are reclaiming large tracts of vacant or blighted land and renovating whole neighborhoods by building affordable homes. I don't mean building a few affordable homes. Cities are actually building whole neighborhoods of homes. Hundreds of homes which together create a community of safety, prosperity, jobs, and better schools.

This is one of the important ways we're carrying out President Clinton's national homeownership strategy, a nationwide public/private partnership to increase homeownership by eight million new homeowners and reach an all-time high national homeownership rate by the end of the decade.

There is no better way to encourage a multi-class, multi-ethnic population in the cities than by creating opportunity in the form of homeownership. Let me show you how this works:

Take a look at **Newark's Central Ward**. Once a literal wasteland, broken by riots and the devastation of years of decay. Now, a neighborhood lives and thrives there. Eight hundred townhouses have brought homeownership and new construction and hope.



Before



After

Photos by Camilo José Vergara

Victoria Park, just across the Detroit River, is a suburban oasis in Detroit's inner city. Here it is a place of new life, with a local shopping center, a new police substation and the replacement of abandoned structures.



Views of the new Victoria Park

Many of the families on the West Side of San Antonio are Hispanic families. They have been in the area for a long time, and sometimes without clear titles to the property. The city and community organizations changed all that beginning in the

1970s. They began to build larger homes on bigger and better plots. Instead of spending their money on paying rent, the residents have become homeowners for the



After

In **South Central Los Angeles**, no new homeownership subdivision had been built in Watts since the 1950s. Until now. A public/private partnership recently built Santa Ana Pines, a new development that will consist of 82 affordable townhomes, and located just a block away from the 21 new single-family homes constructed last summer by Habitat for Humanity.



Before



After

These cities -- and Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, Houston, the South Bronx and Brooklyn, and so many others -- are places where homeownership zones have renewed neighborhoods and the architecture of the new urbanism has helped turn these neighborhoods into real communities. Homeownership zones are one of the most hopeful trends spurring the recovery of the cities, a 21st century urban program that undoes the damage of 1960s urban clearance by recharging our cities with people, life, families, children, schools, businesses, and hope.



Clockwise from top left: houses in Pittsburgh, Houston, South Bronx, and Chicago.



Photo by Camilo José Vergara

B. Empowerment Zones

So we start with homes, and then we raise our sights to neighborhoods and their economic underpinnings. That's where our empowerment strategy begins, at places such as a neighborhood supermarket in Philadelphia's Empowerment Zone. The philosophy behind our Empowerment Zones is simple. President Clinton saw distressed communities and disadvantaged people who were being left behind. The system wasn't working for them. He asked the Vice President to search for ways that the federal government could become partners with institutions and resources already there.



A new market in the Philadelphia Empowerment Zone.

...provided leadership at a level urban programs have never had. Here is what he

...acted by incentives, are investing in empowerment zones. In the Detroit zone, for example, the General Motors Corp. has created 40 new jobs. Its owner, Detroit Pistons, has made a commitment to his city. And in the same area, we're helping



Detroit Empowerment Zone investor Vinnie Johnson.

Empowerment zones build on community involvement, as in the Philadelphia zone, where residents have taken charge by forming an organization called Sea Change to beautify distressed neighborhoods and create jobs through gardening, landscaping, and tree farming.

The zones bring together the private sector with educational and religious institutions. LA's Community Development Bank is a case in point. The bank works to bring financial capital to places which typically don't have access to investment funds. We brought together all the stakeholders -- the city, the banks, community groups, the public, private and community sectors -- to create the bank which is now working to turn empty lots of land like this into an area of business and job creation.

The Empowerment Zones represent a strategic vision. Look at the Boston Zone, where an industrial park has been created, in which the factory being built there is expected to save 25 jobs and create 65 new ones. Where a public housing complex is being redeveloped. Where YouthBuild trains area young people for jobs and life skills. Where the Empowerment Zone grants are being used to match residents' skills to the job requirements in the growth sectors of the metropolitan economy -- the bio-medical industries, electronics firms, business services and global trading companies.

The result of all this: people whose faces reflect new hope. Businesses are growing in areas once left for dead. Jobs have been created. Housing has improved and neighborhoods have been strengthened. And the results will be lasting because the communities have designed the formula themselves and can do it again and again.



Los Angeles Councilmen and Community Development Bank supporter Mike Hernandez.



Young trainees in Boston's Youthbuild program.

C. Public Housing

As we look across the panorama of urban America, no neighborhoods cry out for change louder than the huge superblocks of desolate public housing, those islands of pain that Senator Mikulski has referred to as "zip codes of pathology."

I've heard President Clinton say that one definition of insanity is to do the same thing over and over again and yet to expect different results. We have been -- as a country, as urban activists -- in a cycle of insanity when it comes to our public housing policies. In too many cities, especially the big cities, public housing isn't working, but we keep on doing the same things.

Let me be clear. Public housing nationally has provided a stable supply of rental housing that is affordable to the 1.3 million households that live there. And of the 3,400 housing authorities HUD works with, only about 90 are officially designated as troubled, which leaves more than 3,300 doing a reasonable job.

But the worst developments in the big cities are very bad. Because of their obsolete design, because of the perverse regulations, because of their isolated locations, the worst of our public housing developments have not been much help to their low-income residents -- for too many, public housing has been their hell.



Demolition in Newark.

Now, with the help of Congress and housing authorities and residents, we have changed the drill.

We are tearing down the worst of the public housing complexes and replacing them with townhouses, with scattered-site homes, and with certificates and vouchers. Prior to this Administration, about 1,000 units of public housing were replaced each year. By the end of this year, we will have torn down an unprecedented 23,000 housing units that were vacant, abandoned, unsafe or unlivable.

In their place, new signs of hope have been planted and are beginning to grow. Instead of the superblocks of Cabrini-Green, grids of traditional streets are being designed. Instead of mammoth apartment buildings, small-scale, townhouse-style housing is being constructed. Instead of acres devoted exclusively to housing, neighborhood services are being encouraged. Instead of large, open pedestrian areas, small parks and squares -- as well as civic buildings and police stations and daycare centers -- are being sited.

Instead of housing built, owned and managed by public entities, partnerships with for-profit and nonprofit developers are being forged. Instead of housing built only for the poorest of our society, economically integrated communities are coming to life.



New townhouses on site.

Our second task is to hold public housing agencies accountable for performance. If they don't work, they are not allowed to languish in the hopes they will recover on their own. We have assumed control of the Chicago and San Francisco housing authorities, entered into strong partnerships with the determined Mayors of Detroit and New Orleans, and are actively assisting court-appointed receivers in Kansas City and Washington, DC.

LARGEST PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITIES

TOP FIVE PERFORMERS	PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SCORE
St Paul, MN	98.64
Denver, CO	98.49
Richmond, VA	98.30
Seattle, WA	96.99
Norfolk, VA	96.59

TROUBLED PHAs

PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT SCORE

Puerto Rico	54.00
Atlanta, GA	49.77
Pittsburgh, PA	47.65
Chicago, IL	44.97
Detroit, MI	43.68
Philadelphia, PA	35.15
District of Columbia	33.33
New Orleans, LA	28.75

Public housing performance management scores.



Demolition in Baltimore's Sandtown-Winchester.



New townhouses on Baltimore site.

Our third challenge is to change the underlying social dynamic in public housing. Until now, the rules of public housing have discouraged work and created lifetime residential dead-ends.

But now we have changed admission policies so that Housing Authorities can create preferences for working families. We've changed rent rules to end the discouragement of people who work. And we have begun connecting tenants to education and employment opportunities through innovative partnerships with universities, community colleges and schools.

Finally, we've begun to establish a regimen of tougher expectations by drafting stricter conditions for residency. Leases are written more tightly so that drugs and criminal activity can be screened out.

The President has called for, and HUD has issued, "one strike and you're out" guidelines for public housing.

There is a feeling among the drug gangs that public housing is their personal playground. That they have a "right" to live there and that because of this, they can harass and intimidate and frighten with impunity.

Our expectations for public housing are clear: It should be a safe and clean. It should be integrated into neighborhoods. It should be an important part of families' overall efforts to lift themselves. A place from which people can get jobs, and move up the economic ladder, instead of something that pulls them further down.



Before construction in East Brooklyn.

Photo by Camilo José Vergara



New townhouses on East Brooklyn site.

The Challenge

I've told you about three major HUD programs that are at work right now to turn inner city's urban landscape around. They work.

But the sad truth is: **they are succeeding IN SPITE OF the enormous obstacles they have to overcome in the political arena.**



Training center in Baltimore's Empowerment Zone.

Urban empowerment zones? There are only 12 zones in the entire nation, and those are implemented against a backdrop of criticism and second-guessing by the very people who have been calling for Empowerment Zones for 15 years.

Public housing? The progress we're making in public housing? Congress has substantially reduced funding for public housing. At the funding levels currently authorized, an already difficult challenge becomes insurmountable. To make matters worse, Congress is moving legislation to repeal basic rent controls for public housing residents. Families with monthly incomes of \$300-400 could be looking at rent increases of up to \$50 a month. I can tell you from the families I have visited they will not be able to pay and they will become homeless.

Homeownership Zones? Fifty million dollars HAD BEEN appropriated for this initiative but Congress took away 40 million dollars which was taken away by Congress in 1995. The zones I described are examples from cities that have creatively used

other HUD funds to support these efforts. If that 50 million dollars hadn't been taken away, there would have been, already, thousands of homes under construction around the country.

This Congress has exacted severe cuts in federal programs. That is in understandable accordance with the American people's expressed desire for deficit reduction. But disproportionately these cuts have been in programs which serve low-income families in cities: Summer jobs, education, training, transit subsidies, and housing. They've hit the poor. They've hit them hard. And they've hit them where they live.

Until recent years, the fight to rebuild the cities, to expand opportunities for low income Americans, has not been principally a partisan battle. It should not be a partisan battle now. Democrats and Republicans -- respected Republican leaders -- throughout our nation have called for the kind of urban programs we have put in place.



Trainees at Focus: Hope in Detroit's Empowerment Zone.

- Former HUD Secretary Jack Kemp and Democratic Congressman Charlie Rangel have both called for tax incentives to bring the private sector back to the inner city.
- Both Republican Senator Abraham from Michigan and Democratic Senator Lieberman of Connecticut have introduced legislation to create a federal version of renaissance zones.
- Republican Senators Kit Bond and Connie Mack and Democratic Senators Barbara Mikulski and John Kerry have sponsored the key legislation to transform the physical landscape of public housing.
- Republican Congressman Rick Lazio and Democratic Congressman Joe Kennedy both fought for and passed community-based affordable housing strategies.
- Connecticut Governor Rowland, a Republican, and Oregon Governor Kitzhaber, a Democrat, have both entered into innovative partnerships with the federal government to strengthen urban communities.
- Republican mayors Giuliani, Schundler and Riordan on one hand and Democratic mayors Rice, Daley and Rendell on the other, are all

working in their individual cities on innovative ways to attract the middle class back.

So this is not about Republicans and Democrats. This is about the future of America. This is about the real lives of real Americans. This is not about suburban constituencies versus urban constituencies. This is about the American constituency.

Unless we come together on an urban policy that makes sense for America ... unless all of us sit down together and do the hard work of building cities that can work ... we are all guilty of political malpractice.

I am profoundly hopeful that in partnership we can work together to create meaningful change in America's cities.

Here's my checklist of 5 things that we can do together right now that would send strong signals -- and more importantly, be strong actions -- a real commitment to America's cities and people:

1. We can begin a second round of Empowerment Zones as President Clinton called for.
2. We can protect and preserve the Community Reinvestment Act and the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit and fund community development banks.
3. We can clean up and restore environmentally hazardous brownfields by funding incentives for business in the tax code.
4. We can restore funding for the transformation of public housing and the expansion of affordable housing.
5. And, we can dramatically increase American homeownership in the cities.

The divisions which separate us as Americans are not so great that we can't rise to take on the truly pressing national challenges. We can either proceed as if our best years are behind us, or as if the best is yet to come. Whichever direction we choose will surely become our reality. If our collective will is resigned to a future of greater poverty and hopelessness, of abandonment and inattention, then as a nation we'd better post a red flashing light that signals "Extreme Danger Ahead."



Community policing at public housing in Alexandria, Va

The cities and the attendant crises of race and poverty may not pose the greatest challenge America has ever faced. But, they are the greatest challenge we face right now.

And as with every other challenge we have faced as a nation, we must face them with a double dose: Optimism and action. Those are the values embodied in my favorite quotation from Senator Robert Kennedy:

"It is the shaping impulse of America, that it is not fate, nor is it chance, nor is it the irreversible tides of history that determine our destinies as individuals or as a nation. Rather, it is reason and it is principle and it is the work of our own hands. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but there is also truth and experience, and in any event, it is the only way we can live."

He was right. It is not fate. It is not chance. It is not history's tide. It is what we do -- block by block, school by school, neighborhood by neighborhood -- that shapes our future.

I am certain that Don Turner, Jim Rouse, and Ron Brown would agree.



Family in front of their public housing in Alaska.



Playground in Jersey City public housing.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 28, 1996

Dear Mr. Gutman—

Several weeks ago I read your very moving tribute to your father in the Wall St Journal. It impressed me so much that I cut it out and carried it around, re-reading it from time to time.

My grandfather, who had barely a grade school education, was much the same kind of man. He ran a grocery store in a poor Southern town before food stamps. He sold food on credit to poor hard working people he knew could never repay him when he knew too, that they were doing their best.

I have been trying to start a discussion in the country on what we owe each other on the edge of a new century. Your wonderful piece certainly will help.

Sincerely
Bill Clinton

cc: HOC / Ken's

A Magnificent Misfit

By W. E. GUTMAN

My father the doctor did everything himself without benefit of nurses, clerical staff, or drafty assembly-line consultation cubicles. He took your temperature as you sat on a white enamel swivel chair. He even drew blood from your finger and let it run up a thin graded tube as you marveled at the strange powers of capillary action.

This wonderful man had his own centrifuge, a gleaming autoclave and an old Roentgen that hummed with imperturbable omnipotence in a bright, cheerful room that smelled of lavender and cloves. When he administered injections, he'd deaden the point of impact with a dry little slap, and he'd talk about this and that with neighborly solicitude long after the needle was out.

You were never surprised to learn that he'd pedaled several kilometers at night in the rain to deliver a baby on an old kitchen table, or to hold the hand of a dying village patriarch as family and friends looked on. Sometimes it lasted till morning. He'd go straight back to his office looking tired, but he'd smile, put on a fresh smock and patch up scraped elbows and knees, and he'd even ask how Aunt Lucy or Uncle John was feeling these days.

"How much do I owe you, doctor?" I'd often hear his patients ask.

"Oh, I don't know," he'd answer, star-

ing at his feet, clearly embarrassed by the question. "Whatever you can." Then he'd quickly add, "Don't worry if you're short. You can pay me next time."

Money made him feel uncomfortable. He had an almost prudish disdain toward it. "There is something incongruous about charging money to heal, relieve pain or save lives," he once told me. "I shall never get to used to it"—a remarkable ethos for a man who, by his own admission, had embraced medicine to escape the abject poverty of his childhood.

"It all happened in dissection class," he recalled in a rare moment of wistful introspection. "I wept at the sight of my first cadaver. He was so very young, so very much alone, forgotten. Who is this wretched mass no one has claimed, I asked myself. Has he no family? Is there no one to mourn him? He was alive, he felt pleasure and pain, joy and sorrow. He had dreams. He loved. Was he loved in return? Could he have been saved? Did poverty deprive him of good health or rob him of a decent funeral?"

A pre-med student who now boasts a Fifth Avenue practice, a New Canaan estate, and a yacht at anchor in a secluded cove on some Caribbean coral archipelago once asked my father what he considered to be the three most important medical taboos. My father replied:

"Do not operate unless your patient's

life clearly is in danger. Do not overmedicate. Never charge more than patients can afford. Ignore the first two injunctions and you are unprincipled. Break the third and I shall call you a vampire."

I miss my father. He was incorruptible. He had no time for sophistry, no patience for equivocation, no room for the shaded areas separating right and wrong. Compassion was his guide, his patients' health and welfare his sole mission and reward. He lived frugally—"how much does one really need to live with dignity?" he once asked a wealthy colleague who found the question incongruous and contentious. My father died poor but debtless.

I wish I had a dollar in my pocket for every patient this 1935 summa cum laude graduate of the Paris Faculty of Medicine treated for nothing, for every leg of lamb or basket of eggs he accepted in lieu of honorarium, for every debt he forgave. I would have had more than enough to afford the thorough checkup doctors denied me when I lost my job, when unemployment benefits ran out and I could no longer afford medical insurance.

I was 45 then. I am now 58. Will I find a doctor like my father when I retire and my meager scribbblings barely cover the cost of a simple pine casket? They say it's cheaper to die than to live. My father devoted his career to deconstructing aphorisms. He was the magnificent misfit. Lesser men do not have the courage to be.

Mr. Gutman is a writer in Connecticut.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: May 30, 1996

TO: Merrick Garland
DOJ

FROM: Staff Secretary

Elena asked me
to forward these
to you - Hope all
is well over there

WJF

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May 20, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have heard that Elena Kagan, a professor at this law school now on leave at the White House, is a candidate for head of the Office of Legal Counsel. I write because I know Elena well and because I think she would be a wonderful choice.

Having worked at OLC in the early 1980s, I have a sense of the Office's functions and needs, and I think that Elena is unusually well-suited to the job. As a lawyer, she is both brilliant and entirely level-headed -- in academia at least, a fairly unusual combination of skills. When she approaches legal issues, she shows a lot of creativity and imagination, but she's also got outstanding judgment, real maturity, and a fine sense of proportion. It's perhaps unnecessary to say that despite her relative youth, she has a wide understanding of many areas of the law. Her work on the first amendment is a nice example; it takes a big step back from the law, organizes it wonderfully, and makes sense of a range of areas not normally grouped together. In fact she has a terrific head start on the questions with which OLC deals, and she's an amazingly fast learner.

Elena also deals wonderfully with people. She's one of the fairest and most decent people I know, and she is exceptionally well-liked and admired by a wide range of people at the law school -- moderates, conservatives, liberals, and everyone else. As a lawyer she's not at all "political," but she is very well-attuned to people and audiences, and she has a terrific sense what to say and when to say it. In fact she's established herself very quickly as the very best teacher at the law

Page Two

school (I say this with some chagrin). I've also seen her in a range of administrative capacities, and she's an excellent leader. In fact she is widely regarded as a strong candidate to become the next Dean of this law school. From what I've seen, I imagine that she would deal very well with the Congress and with other potentially adversarial bodies. It helps that she has a terrific sense of humor and is extremely reluctant to treat other people as adversaries.

I'm sure that there are a number of excellent choices to head OLC, but as someone who knows Elena and the Office well, I hope you won't mind if I suggest that this would be a terrific match. Very best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Cass R. Sunstein', written in a cursive, flowing style.

Cass R. Sunstein

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May 20, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear President Clinton:

I recently learned from a colleague that Elena Kagan may be under consideration for appointment as Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel. In the hope that this is true, I am writing to put in my two cents in support of her appointment.

I first met Elena some six years ago when I was Dean of the University of Chicago Law School and she was a young lawyer at Williams & Connolly. I had heard wonderful things about her from a variety of sources, including Ab Mikva, a graduate of Chicago, for whom Elena had clerked. I set about trying to recruit her to join the faculty. In our very first meeting, I saw in Elena all the qualities that Ab and others already had described -- she was a tough, independent, smart lawyer with a clear academic bent. After a year of cultivation, she joined the faculty in the fall of 1991. She has been a great success as a teacher, scholar and colleague.

Elena has focused most of her teaching in the fields of constitutional law, labor law and civil procedure. She is a rigorous, engaging and lively teacher. She demands the best from her students, and they delight in meeting her expectations. She probes, challenges and tests her students' assumptions, and she encourages them to challenge hers. From her very first course, she was regarded by the students as a simply brilliant teacher. Indeed, in only her third year on the faculty she received the Law School's annual award for Excellence in Teaching -- the first and only untenured member of the faculty ever to receive that honor.

President William J. Clinton

May 20, 1996

Page two

Elena has also flourished as a scholar. Most of her research arises out of her interest in freedom of expression. Because this is also my field of study, I am intimately familiar with her work. In her short time on the faculty, she has completed two major articles, as well as several lesser pieces. In her first major work, published in *The Supreme Court Review*, Elena offered a careful, innovative and powerful analysis of the Court's decision in *R.A.V.* (the cross-burning case). In this article, Elena dissected the opinions of the Court and put forth an original and already influential reinterpretation of the central issue presented in the case.

In her second major work, soon to be published in *The University of Chicago Law Review*, Elena sets forth an ambitious and novel understanding of the Court's overall First Amendment jurisprudence. In this article, Elena surveys the entire corpus of First Amendment doctrine and demonstrates that most, if not all, of this doctrine can be explained by the Court's concern with improper governmental motivation -- that is, with its concern that laws regulating speech may consciously or unconsciously be the result of governmental favoritism for or hostility to particular ideas and viewpoints. This is an innovative and provocative thesis which persuasively challenges most of the accepted understandings of existing First Amendment jurisprudence. This article will inform and, indeed, shape academic and legal discourse about freedom of speech for years to come. On the basis of these articles, Elena was promoted last year to the rank of full Professor, with tenure.

It is important to understand that Elena is not one of those all-too-common legal scholars whose primary interest is in abstract theory, divorced from legal doctrine. To the contrary, Elena is a lawyer's scholar. She takes courts, precedents and doctrine seriously. She believes that law matters. She writes in the best tradition of Paul Freund, Harry Kalven and Thomas Emerson. I am confident that, when she returns to the Law School and again turns her energy and curiosity to scholarly research, she will emerge as one of the leading constitutional voices of her generation.

Finally, I should note that Elena is a valued colleague. In only a few short years she has come to be regarded as a central figure in the Law School's decision making structure. As Dean, I sought her advice regularly on a broad range of issues, including faculty appointments, student concerns and institutional policies. She is strikingly forthright, honest and direct. She has wisdom beyond her years, and always offers thoughtful and sensible advice. She listens. She is a person of integrity, independence and commitment to principle. I trust her completely, and I know that every one of my colleagues

President William J. Clinton
May 20, 1996
Page three

-- regardless of seniority or ideology -- shares that trust. It is thus no surprise that, when we speculate about the future, Elena is invariably mentioned as a possible future Dean of the Law School.

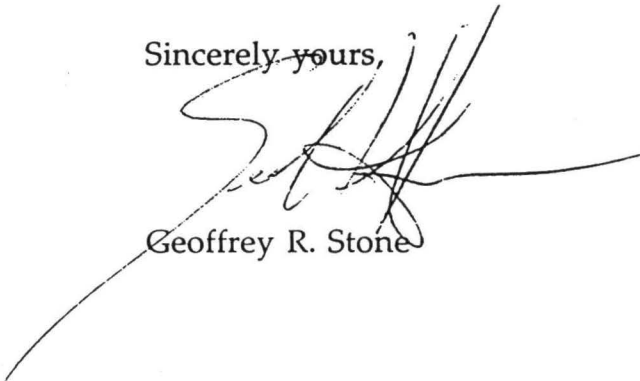
Last year, Ab Mikva -- borrowing back what he first "gave" us -- persuaded Elena to take a leave of absence from the faculty to join him in the office of Counsel to the President. I trust that Elena has performed well in that role, and that her colleagues in that office, as well as others who have worked with her in the past year, will confirm all I have said above.

Although Elena may be on the young side for the position under consideration, she is a truly remarkable person. She is a serious individual who cares deeply about the law, and she has the intellectual and personal skills to fulfill her responsibilities to the very highest degree. Although I would hate to see her remain away from the Law School any longer (I miss her), I am compelled in good conscience to recommend her enthusiastically and without qualification for the position of Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel. She would be a treasure.

If I can be of any further assistance in this matter, please feel free to call or write me at any time.

With warm best wishes.

Sincerely yours,



Geoffrey R. Stone

GRS:cm

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
LAW SCHOOL

LAURENCE H. TRIBE
*Ralph S. Tyler, Jr. Professor
of Constitutional Law*



HAUSER HALL 420
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May 19, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I've heard reports that Walter Dellinger's former position — head of the Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice — might go to any of several people, and I hope you won't mind my imposing on you with my own views on the matter.

If the rumors I've heard are correct, Elena Kagan is not necessarily at the top of the current list to fill the position. Elena is a professor of constitutional law at the University of Chicago Law School who has taken a leave of absence to serve as an associate White House counsel. I had spoken to the Attorney General at an earlier stage of the process to tell her what I thought of Elena, and I hope the rumors I now hear are wrong. I know quite a lot about all of the people being discussed, and I think Elena is the one who clearly stands out as being genuinely capable of filling Walter Dellinger's shoes.

That's a hard task, because obviously Walter is an extraordinary person and has done a splendid job as head of the Office of Legal Counsel. I think the world of how well he's discharged that important duty.

Having known Elena since she was a student of mine quite some time ago and having watched her meteoric rise to tenure and her current position with Jack Quinn at the White House, I have to say that an enormous admirer of her intellectual and moral qualities. She is one of the most insightful constitutionalists of her generation. I have seen her work at close range, and her writing is always illuminating and imaginative. She has a degree of wisdom well beyond her years and a degree of judgment and maturity that is quite remarkable. Her views are thoughtful, moderate, and balanced, and she has no private agenda.

I'm sure that her time in the White House Counsel's office has given her valuable experience in the Administration. I have no doubt that she would discharge the challenging duties of the OLC position with extraordinary distinction and would be a truly knowledgeable source of advice on the sort of issues that Walter has handled so well. In

short, I think that the Attorney General couldn't have a better legal advisor.

At Harvard, we've been trying for some time now to persuade Elena to serve as a visiting Professor of Law. I think something has finally been tentatively arranged for 1997. But I hope that it will be delayed by Elena's tenure at the OLC.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to express my views.

Sincerely,

Laurence H. Tribe

Laurence H. Tribe



HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

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MARTHA L. MINOW
Professor of Law

GRISWOLD 407
(617) 495-4276

May 21, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
FAX: (202) 456-2215

Dear President Clinton:

I understand that the Office of Legal Counsel in the Department of Justice will be needing a new director, and I write to give the strongest recommendation for Elena Kagan, who currently serves on your White House counsel staff. On leave from the University of Chicago Law School, Ms. Kagan is one of the most talented lawyers in her generation. She was a student of mine here at the Harvard Law School, and set such a high standard for accomplishment that colleagues and I talk about talented students using her as the benchmark.

What makes her such a stand-out, I believe, is that she combines the kind of precise analytic rigor we expect from top-flight lawyers with a far more rare quality, good judgment. She has a capacity to see the big picture and to keep it in mind while holding on to all the particular details relevant to a problem. She well understands the multiple arenas in which consequences should be anticipated. She works well with a wide range of people and earns respect quickly. At the University of Chicago, she soared to the top of the students' evaluation of teachers within a short time after her arrival and she similarly impressed her colleagues who promptly placed her in positions of responsibility, such as the hiring committee.

Other qualified candidates surely exist, but it would be difficult to find anyone who combines truly unusual analytic prowess with the quite extraordinary qualities of integrity and good sense exhibited by Elena Kagan. I hope you select her to head OLC.

Sincerely,

Martha Minow
Professor of Law

TO

TODD STERN
EVELYN LIEBERMAN

5/30/96

- Do not xerox entire pkg
- Delivered original to
EL's office

FROM:

JIM DORSKIND

DATE: May 30, 1996

S.

COMMEMORATIVE PROCLAMATION REQUEST

Commemoration Title: National American Automobile Centennial Week

Commemoration Date(s): June 16-23, 1996

Requestor Name(s): Carol Whitmore, Manager of Special Projects

Organization: American Automobile Centennial Commission (a "partnership" of automobile-related organizations)

Request Date: March 1996

Congressional Support: None

Contact Telephone Number: 313-832-1996

History: In 1986, at the request of Congress, President Reagan issued a proclamation to commemorate the "Centennial Year of the Gasoline-Powered Automobile."

NOTES: According to the materials accompanying the request, in 1896, Charles Duryea "founded the American automobile industry . . . with a 'production run' of 13 matching motor-wagons." There will be car shows across the country where the proclamation or message would likely be displayed. I recommend that we prepare a message and that it be cleared by CEQ in light of the obvious environmental issues. I don't object to a proclamation, but I don't think it's necessary.

Please indicate approval or disapproval of a MESSAGE, or another recommendation:

EL _____

TDS message

5-30-96

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-29-96

cc To Ann Lewis

poss. surrogate

do min reply for us to sign

✓ **Lisabeth B. Schorr** - She and Dan had a terrific time and felt so privileged to be with you for wonderful evening at the White House. Your own energy and hope, and the celebration of both Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt, combined to leave her with a renewed sense of optimism -- just what she needed to finish her book.

1-96

DDD:

copies sent
Who should
prepare reply?

Lewis ✓ 4 — 1
Forster — 4 — 1

-Jon

for POTUS
files.

mini
list

Pam

FV: Mrs. Ann...
F Ann

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL MEDICINE

LISBETH B. SCHORR
LECTURER IN SOCIAL MEDICINE
DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON EFFECTIVE SERVICES



96 MAY 29 P6:10

3113 WOODLEY ROAD, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008
TEL. 202-462-3071
FAX 202-319-7085

May 5, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-29-96

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I've spent the week basking in the glow of last Tuesday's wonderful evening at the White House. (Dan had a terrific time too, even though he only got to sit *across* the table from you). I did want to write to thank you and to say how privileged I felt, and how very much I enjoyed your company.

Your own energy and hope, and the celebration of both Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt, combined to leave me with a renewed sense of optimism -- just what I needed to finish the last two chapters of my new book.

With appreciation, admiration, and every good wish for you and Mrs. Clinton,

Yours sincerely,

Lee Schorr

Get her
have the
Bible

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To
Nancy

May 28, 1996

Mr. and Mrs. James W. Cassidy
Number 227
18717 Mill Villa Road
Jamestown, California 95327

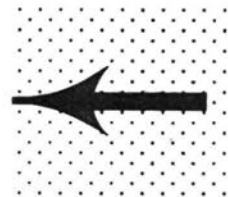
Dear Lydia and James:

Thank you so much for the inscribed bible,
which Debbie passed along to me. It's
beautiful, and I'm very grateful for your
thoughtfulness and generosity.

Your encouragement and support mean a great
deal to me, and I hope to be able to thank you
someday in person.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



SIGN
HERE

May 10, 1996

cc Her letter to
Lester
T. Campolo
R. H. H. H.

Dear President Clinton,

I recently had the opportunity to visit Washington D.C. I was absolutely shocked how beautiful it is. The trees, the buildings, the landscaping, the monuments, the history. It was all so wonderful.

I was attending the Washington for Jesus event, held at the Capitol on April 29th & 30th. There was only one reason I attended, it was to stand up for our heritage.

The White House was so cordial in allowing me to come tour your home, I was thrilled. Afterwards I spoke with Carolyn Huber. I shared with her a few things that was on my heart. She suggested that I write you.

I live in Tulsa, Oklahoma and I'm attending Rhema Bible Training Center. As you well know I'm sure, this is the Bible belt. So I have plenty opportunity to attend tremendous Revivals and meetings, where the move of the Holy Spirit is incredible and to sit under the most anointed Prophets, Pastors and Teachers in the world. I'm so Blessed. But there is one thing that amazes me and that is how Christians can be so hateful and mouthy when it comes to those who are in authority over us. It seems they forget one of the greatest commandments, to love one another. (I Corinthians 13:13) Faith, Hope and Love (Charity), the greatest of these is Love. Without Love are speech is nothing more than a gonging symbol.

I want to apologize to you, Hillary and Chelsea and ask for your forgiveness for all of the narcissistic Christians who think they are above God's law and commandments.

On April 5, 1996 the Lord gave me this word. I believe it is prophetic and for such a time as this.

"It is time for this country and my people to keep their mouth shut about the President of the United States of America, William Jefferson Clinton.

Your position as the body of Christ is to humble yourself and pray. Then God will hear you and heal your land.

No man, not the President, not anyone can heal this country, only God can Bless American.

We must take up the position in which God has given unto every man and Pray, Pray, Pray.

It is not a Republican issue or a Democrat issue. It is a God issue and God said for us to Pray.

United we stand
Divided we fall
PRAY."

I could never tell you how many times the Lord has used me in the Christian arena to rebuke people for talking about our President. The most memorable was last November in Branson, Missouri I was at a three day meeting with ministers such as Kenneth and Gloria Copeland and Mrs Billye Brim. There was approximately 2, 000 in attendance. Mrs Brim had me come up and address the people. Before I knew it was talking about our President. It was precious, after the meeting so many came up to me with tears, apologizing and thanking me for opening their eyes. With sincerity in their hearts telling me that they love you and will be praying for you. It was awesome. To God be all the Glory. I simply spoke the word of the Lord in truth and the Bible says we must pray for those in Authority over us.

(ROMANS 13:1&2) Let every person be loyally subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God by his permission, His Sanction, and those that exist do so by God's appointment.

V2. Therefore he who resist and sets himself up against the authorities resists what God has appointed and arranged in divine order. And those who resist will bring down judgement upon themselves receiving the penalty due them.

That is a pretty strong word. However it is the written word of God and we must obey.

(I TIMOTHY 2&1-3) First of all I admonish and urge that petitions, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgiving be offered on behalf of all men.

V2. For Kings and all who are in positions of authority or high responsibility of authority, that outwardly we may pass a quiet and undisturbed life and inwardly a peaceable one in all Godliness and reverence and seriousness in every way.

V3. For such praying is good and right and it is pleasing and acceptable to God our Savior.

President Clinton this is my commission and it is pretty plain to me that regardless of mans political persuasion or personal convictions God's written word says he appoints those who are in authority over us. We are to Love one another and pray for those who are in authority.

Enclosed is a personal invitation to you from Oral and Richard Roberts to attend their annual Golf Classic and to have an open invitation to address the Ministers Conference which proceeds.

A good friend of mine Gary Gibson has been Director of Security at Oral Roberts University for nineteen years and a personal friend of Oral and Richards. He also spent over twelve years with DEA. He is in charge of the Classic and has assured a secure place for you and your family to stay as well as cooperating with Secret Service in any extra security needed.

We know it is such a short notice. But thought that it would be great publicity in the Christian arena and Oklahoma for your 1996 Presidential Campaign. Of course you would be golfing with Oral and Richard. They would love for you to come.

Personally it seems like such a waste of time and money having another Presidential Campaign. It is very clear to me no bags will be packed at the White House for yet another four years.

In closing, I would like to tell you that one day I would love to bless you with something I have. It is a huge cast iron boiling pot that belonged to our Great Grandfather Cassidy, He had it with him on his covered wagon when he moved from Kentucky to Arkansas. My Grandmother gave it to my Daddy and He gave it to me. I love my heritage!! My family and my roots. It would be a privilege and a great honor to pass this piece of our family heritage to you.

Daddy and Mother sends their Love and wants me to tell you how proud they are of you.

I Love you, Hillary and Chelsea, please always remember that my labor for you is in prayer and lifting you up where every I go for Jesus. I know your heart !!!!!

LOVE, LIFE AND LIGHT ABIDES,

Debbie Leuthesser

DEBBIE (Cassidy) LEUTHESSER

May 10, 1996

Thank you

Dear Carolyn,

What a blessing it was for me to come to the White House and tour President Clinton's home. Thank you for meeting with me and my friends. It was very thoughtful of you to take the time to see me. I had never been to Washington D.C. what a delightful surprise it was for me, I had no idea it would be so beautiful. I never thought anywhere could be as beautiful as Arkansas. Of course Arkansas is still #1 with me.

* Enclosed is a letter and a Bible to President Clinton with some of the things I shared with you while I was there. Your assistance in given it to him is very much appreciated. I've also enclosed an invitation to President Clinton to participate in Oral and Richard Roberts Golf Classic and Ministers Conference this year.

I know that it is late in time but if there is any way President Clinton would like to participate, we will be very cordial in any assistance you may need.

Again thank you for your help. If you ever need anything please feel free to get in touch with me. Oh yes, would you read President Clintons letter, I told him about something I would like to give him and if he is interested would you let me know.

In Christ Service,
Debbie Leuthesser
Debbie (Cassidy) Leuthesser

Debbie
Debbie Leuthesser
10432 E. 43rd Street
Tulsa, Ok 74146

(918) 665-2585

James & Lydia Cassidy
James & Lydia Cassidy
18717 Mill Villa Road #227
Jamestown, Calif. 95327

(209) 533-2232

P.S. Daddy wanted me to tell you the Bible is from him and his family "The Cassidys"

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-30-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 27, 1996

96 MAY 28 8:53

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: John Hilley

Subject: Legislative Summary, Week of May 20, 1996

House of Representatives: Highlights

On three crucial votes Thursday, a coalition consisting of virtually all House Democrats and a sizable number of moderate Republicans successfully upheld the President's demand for an acceptable minimum wage increase. The House took up the proposed increase as an amendment to the Employee Commuting Act (the "portal-to-portal" bill), which permits employers not to pay employees for time spent commuting in employer-owned vehicles.

- ✓ a. First, the House rejected a conservative Republican claim that the wage hike amounts to an impermissible unfunded mandate on the states (266:167 -- 76 Republicans for consideration of the minimum wage increase).
 - ✓ b. Next, members voted to increase the minimum wage to \$5.15 by July 1997 (266:162 -- 78 Republicans for the increase).
 - ✓ c. Finally, the House rejected a Goodling (R-PA) amendment exempting from the increase employees of small businesses (229:196 -- 43 Republicans against the amendment). The President had pledged to veto the entire bill if the Congress sent it to him with this exemption in place.
- ✓ The underlying bill passed 281:144 (93 Republicans for passage).

Additional Floor Action

1. The House passed a partial repeal of the 4.3-cents gas tax (301:108). The cost of repeal will be offset largely by sale of the broadcast spectrum and significant reductions in the Department of Energy's budget. Democrats twice tried unsuccessfully to insure that the benefit of the decrease would pass directly to consumers.
2. The House passed the Small Business Job Protection Act (414:10), which extends certain small business tax breaks and makes it easier for small businesses to provide pensions for their workers. House Republicans cast the bill as an antidote to losses they claimed the higher minimum wage would inflict on

small business owners. The Administration has few problems with the tax reductions but has expressed opposition to some of the offsets, particularly provisions repealing a tax break given to firms doing business in Puerto Rico and U.S. territories.

3. The House passed by voice vote the conference report for the FY97 Intelligence Authorization Bill. Members rejected an amendment declassifying the amount authorized and appropriated for U.S. intelligence activities (248:176) and a proposal to reduce the bill's total authorization by 4.9%, bringing it to last year's authorized level (235:192). We have issued a SAP raising concerns with the bill and stating a willingness to work with Congress to correct them.

4. House Republicans planned to introduce a national missile-defense (NMD) bill but did not because of inadequate support. Our office has been successful in keeping moderate Republicans with the Administration on this issue.

5. The House Democratic leadership introduced a campaign finance proposal that closely resembles earlier Administration-supported bills. It would limit spending to \$600,000 every two-year cycle, sharply limit donations by PACs, prohibit soft money, and provide incentives for broadcasters to offer candidates free television time; the proposal contains no direct taxpayer subsidy. The proposal exempts from its bundling prohibition non-affiliated, non-connected PACs, such as Emily's List.

The Week Ahead

✓ 1. On Wednesday, the House will return from recess to consider the Omnibus Civilian Science Authorization Bill. It provides inadequate or no funding for several of the President's priority science programs, including the Globe program. The Commerce Secretary, NASA Administrator, EPA Administrator, NSF Director, President's Science Advisor, and OMB Director all would recommend a veto.

✓ 2. The House will consider next the Military Construction Appropriations Bill, which provides more than \$900 million above the President's request.

✓ 3. Finally, the House will take up a resolution holding certain current and former White House Staff in Contempt of Congress for allegedly failing to comply with subpoenas issued regarding the White House Travel Office matter.

Senate

1. The Senate spent the entire week considering the FY97 Budget Resolution, which passed 53:46 along party lines (Sen. Bumpers did not vote due to illness). Key votes:

a. The Senate passed a Domenici 2nd degree amendment to an

underlying Specter/Harkin amendment, thereby increasing the FY97 non-defense discretionary allocation to the Appropriations Committee by \$5 billion in budget authority and \$4 billion in outlays (75:25). The Administration supported the amendment.

X/ b. The Democratic Leadership offered three amendments based on the President's budget. A motion to add \$18 billion to Medicaid was tabled (55:45 -- Sens. Kerrey and Nunn the only Democrats voting to table). An amendment adding \$7.3 billion for environmental programs was tabled (55:45). And an amendment adding \$56 billion to education and training funding was tabled (52:48). All three would have restored funding to the level requested by the President and all three would have offset the increased spending by closing corporate tax loopholes.

c. The Breaux/Chafee "centrist budget" was rejected (53:46 -- 22 Republicans and 24 Democrats for passage). Measured over seven years, the proposal saves \$154 billion in Medicare, \$62 billion in Medicaid, and \$58 billion in welfare. It saves \$126 billion by adjusting the Consumer Price Index (CPI).

2 Sen. Dole introduced the Defend America Act, which would initiate creation of a national missile-defense (NMD) system at a CBO-estimated cost of \$30-60 billion. A SAP pending with OMB states that the President will veto the bill in its current form.

The Week Ahead

1. The Senate stands in recess until June 4, at which time members will vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the motion to proceed to Sen. Dole's Defend America bill. The Senate will also consider the Department of Defense Authorization bill passed by the House last week at a level \$12.4 billion above the President's request. We have issued a "senior advisors" veto warning based on excessive spending levels, interference with the President's conduct of foreign policy, and objectionable personnel policy (discharge of HIV-infected and homosexual soldiers).

2. Sen. Dole also indicated that he may bring up the Balanced Budget Amendment, the TEAM Act, the minimum wage increase, the gas tax repeal, and the Kennedy/Kassebaum health care reform. Dole intends to resign before June 11.

cc: The Vice President
Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
Evelyn Lieberman

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-30-96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 MAY 28 P6:35

May 28, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Carol H. Rasco *CH*

Subject: Weekly Reports: May 11 - May 17, 1996
May 18 - May 24, 1996

UPDATE ON KEY INITIATIVES

See to us need a statement
Immigration Legislation -- Preparation for conference is continuing, particularly meetings with members of Congress and Democratic staff. The House has yet to appoint conferees. Everything points to a Republican strategy that closes the conference to meaningful Democratic participation. We are organizing meetings with various groups about the legislation. An Administration views letter and accompanying agency issues letters are in the final stages of the clearance process.

English-Only Legislation -- The House Judiciary Subcommittee marked up the English-only restrictions to the Voting Rights Act Thursday, May 23. The Administration submitted a views letter opposing the restriction. The bill was passed out of Subcommittee and may be taken up by the full Committee within the next two weeks. The bill may become a vehicle for a number of English-only measures.

VP **Brownfields** -- Senators Moseley-Braun, Lieberman, Abraham, and others are crafting a bill that will include a variation on your brownfields proposal as well as the new empowerment zone tax incentives for round two of the EZs.

TRAVEL

Monday, May 13, I traveled to Reno, NV and joined Governor Miller's wife, Sandy, for a visit to the Nevada Baby Your Baby program at the Washoe Health Systems Medical Center. I also participated in a roundtable discussion with representatives from the Children's Cabinet to discuss partnerships and the delivery of social services at the Children's Center in Reno. Governor Miller attended the children's meeting as well as a meeting I had with representatives of Reno Air. Monday evening I attended a reception hosted by Governor and Mrs. Miller for science, engineering, and technology professionals at the University of Nevada, Reno.

Tuesday, May 14 I attended a lunch with Las Vegas Mayor Jan Lavery Jones and several women business and community leaders. Tuesday afternoon I visited two Clark County schools with Americorps participants. I toured the Las Vegas Enterprise Community with County Chairperson Gates and visited an education and training facility, youth recreation program, and full service day care center.

Thursday, May 16 I gave the commencement address at Douglass College in New Brunswick, N.J. Prior to commencement I had lunch with student leaders, faculty, and alumni.

Saturday, May 18 I traveled to Cedar Rapids, Iowa to attend a commencement banquet at Coe College and deliver the keynote address at the commencement on Sunday; I was also presented an honorary degree. I then travelled to Arkansas on Monday and delivered the keynote address at the Governor's eighth annual Conference on Leadership at the University of Central Arkansas in Conway. I also participated in a panel discussion later that day regarding the "glass ceiling."

Tuesday, May 21 I travelled to Philadelphia and met with faculty and students at the Pennsylvania School of Social Work and delivered the commencement address there.

Thursday, May 23 I travelled to Nevada and participated in a panel discussion, "Your Children and You," at Senator Reid's "Opening Doors to the Future" women's conference in Las Vegas. I also visited the REACH OUT AIDS Day Care Center and the Ross Miller Cancer Center with Governor Miller.

On Thursday and Friday, I joined Patsy Fleming and several other Administration officials for the San Francisco AIDS Forum sponsored by the White House AIDS Office and the President's Advisory Commission on AIDS. About two hundred people attended.

Earlier in the day Friday, we visited the San Francisco General Hospital and met with their medical staff regarding AIDS patients, and then visited the Rafiki House in San Francisco, a center for AIDS patients who also have substance abuse problems.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: w/ incoming:
Carol Rasco
As try to keep
w/ Fred + me + my
PR

May 28, 1996

Fred Davison
3705 Pope Avenue
North Little Rock, Arkansas 72116

Dear Fred:

Thank you so much for your thoughtful letter and, as always, your support. As you can imagine, the last few weeks have been difficult since Ron Brown's plane crash. I, too, remember well that stormy approach into Mountain Home, but I knew with you in the cockpit we had talent, skill, and God on our side.

I'm so sorry to hear that June's ALS continues to deteriorate. We've been praying for her, and I'm sure the FDA will carefully and quickly consider any applications for new drugs presented to it. Meanwhile, I have asked Carol Rasco to monitor the FDA's approval of myotrophin.

I miss seeing you and hope you know that you and June are often in my thoughts. Give her our very best.

Sincerely,

Bill

*Maureen
Mentim Health
of Mrs. Davidson*

3705 Pope Avenue
North Little Rock, Ar 72116

April 30, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

June and I thank you and Hillary for the nice letter we received on our Golden Wedding Anniversary in March. It meant a lot to us and our family.

Some of our Church members who are neighbors, returned from the General Conference of the United Methodist Church in Denver, Colorado where Hillary spoke. They said she was wonderful and the Bishop said Hillary gave the most inspirational speech at the entire event.

We've been watching events over the months with considerable interest. It looks like Newt Gingrich's legislative program hit a "high speed stall", a phenomenon pilots encounter when trying to turn too abruptly while flying at high speed.

Our paper carried a New York Times article about Ron Brown's plane crash. The article was fairly detailed in its coverage. According to the article, in this case, the Dubrovnik airport had the same type radio beacon as the Russellville, Arkansas airport and others around the US where major instrument land guidance equipment is not installed. I flew with this type equipment in the B17 in WW2. I recall you and I made an approach in a rain storm at Russellville one day in a Beechcraft Baron. I had a "home field" advantage because we had gone there several times and I was familiar with the terrain near Mt. Nebo which is 11 miles Southwest of our approach course as we descended. Also the plane had other navigation equipment I referred to during the descent. That young Captain didn't have that advantage going into Dubrovnik. Looking back on another occasion, I remember we were flying to Mt. Home with stormy conditions, including some lightning, and you asked if I weren't afraid and I told you no but I was concerned. We were OK, I wasn't about to take you into conditions I considered unreasonable. I remember that trip with some humor because your host who met us at the plane later told me you shouldn't be wearing brown shoes with your blue suit. You won the election anyhow.

Page Two

We watch the Campaign events with great interest. The Republicans have shot themselves in the foot. Even their own advisors seem resigned to the fact you're going to be re-elected. They are dangerous, however, in their scheming way like your opponents were in last minute adverse TV adds here. Well, you won anyway and you'll do it again.

June continues to be adversely affected by ALS (Lou Gehrig's) disease. She now goes about with the aid of a walker or wheelchair. Her speech has become more difficult. she is currently receiving Rilutek, a French drug approved by the FDA. This has had very limited, if any, effect. But it's the only thing we have available to us now. Her Doctor at the UA Medical Center tells us that a much more promising drug has been presented to the FDA for approval. this is Myotrophin, developed by Cephalon, a US firm. FDA has indicated its willingness to accept a New Drug Application for Myrotrophin during 1996. The FDA has promised a priority evaluation by an FDA Panel to speed up the process. We would dearly appreciate your consideration in making Myotrophin a "fast track drug". Access to a drug that may prolong life and perhaps raise the quality of life is of utmost importance.

You have so much to be concerned about in World events, I thought I might send a few worlds from "home" and let you know you folks are in our thoughts, always.

Sincerely,


Fred Davison

FD/cb

cc: w/incoming
Scheduling

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: Peter Keyser/ETS
House work in Pa
GOP & campaign

May 29, 1996

Eric Zoller
3706 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Eric:

Thanks for your very fine letter. I was deeply touched by your newfound support for our efforts here and by your confidence in the job I'm doing. Be assured that I'll continue working hard to bring hope and opportunity to all our people and to ensure that our country is leading the world to peace, freedom and prosperity.

Thanks, too, for your very kind offer to arrange a town meeting at the University of Pennsylvania. While I never know what my schedule will hold, I've shared your letter with my schedulers, Anne Walley and Stephanie Streett, who will keep it in mind.

It's good to know you are on our side, and I hope you'll stay involved. You can make a real difference in our nation's future.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Thank you - we need
you here.

STERLING

Eric Zoller
3706 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104

5/24

*Naureen
Lipley
at School*

Naureen

Mr. President:

I am writing you this letter in order to express my opinion of the upcoming elections and hope that you personally read it.

My name is Eric Zoller and I am a sophomore at the University of Pennsylvania. Four years ago you came to speak at my high-school in Livingston, N.J. upon the invitation of my History teacher, Mrs. Friedman. While only sixteen years old and unable to vote, I firmly supported George Bush's campaign and worked very hard to help re-elect him in the state of New Jersey through extensive volunteer efforts. When you came to speak in our gym, I remember you answering a set of prepared questions as I personally questioned your ability to become our next president. When I went home that evening I told my parents that I got your autograph on a Clinton/Gore sign as souvenir and put it in my closet, hoping for a Republican sweep. However, you surprised some people when you won and disappointed others concerned about the future of this country.

Four years have passed since we last met and I can say with my whole heart that you sir, have eased my concerns and given me hope. As this great nation of ours heads into the twenty-first century, it needs a strong, determined, and focused leader to lead it through a troubling time. With the fall of communism and the rise of third world threats, environmental concerns, and economic fragility, I have decided to offer my support to the person I feel is most willing and able to represent my interests and those of my fellow countrymen.

As the election campaign develops, there will assuredly be personal and administrative attacks upon you. Mr. Dole and his Republican coalition have once again painted a bleak picture of this country's future in the hopes of securing power. They have emphasized the need to bring back the Reagan Democrats and to restore this country to its rightful place. Well, I am sick of their distortion; the next time you hear Dole refer to these Reagan Democrats in the media, please sir, be aware that I am now your Clinton Republican.

In all, I would like to pledge my full devotion to your campaign and look forward to any opportunities to aid in getting your message across to younger voters. At this time, I would also like to extend to you another invitation to meet me, this time as your supporter. If it would please you, I would be able to organize another town meeting here at the University, as I believe that if you are able to convey your message well enough, that people will realize what you are offering this country: A land of free trade and economic stability, equal opportunity, security, and most of all, a sense of unity which seems to have been lacking in recent times. This country can not afford this continuing division, and so we look to you Mr. President to lead us through. These are the thoughts which run through my mind when I now look up at my wall, and see a blue banner which reads: Clinton/Gore '92-- and I hope for a Democratic sweep.

Sincerely

Eric Zoller

Eric Zoller

00 MAY 29 P6:24

May 15, 1996

Dear Mr. President:

I was deeply touched to receive your very warm letter expressing concern about my broken wrist. I cannot begin to express how very much this meant to me. I greatly appreciate your kind and thoughtful gesture.

My husband joins me in sending our very best wishes to you and Mrs. Clinton.

Sincerely,

Akiko Saito
Akiko Saito

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

5-29-96 (from OVA/Ofc)

TOOO

TO Donskind for reply?

yes
NSC

no

5

Do mine try later to her
for her books —

ce then to HRC
Alec
Ann Lewis

BR

BUC [✓] Liza Lewis —

5/29/96 [✓] Todd

To Doris Kind for Reply?

✓ yes — no

S.

May 1, 1996

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5.29.96

I wanted to give you my books as a gift to express my deep admiration and respect for you both in your mutual commitment to healing the problems in our country, and as models of a truly egalitarian marriage in the best sense. As someone who has functioned as a psychotherapeutic educator who specializes in healing people's conflicts over money, I have long felt a desire to communicate with you both about the nature of my work, because I felt a kinship with your deeper goals and orientation. The accidental meeting with your lovely daughter Chelsea enabled me to pass on my books to you. I hope you find them interesting, and that one day, our paths will cross more directly. My ultimate career goal is to have a Bill Moyers-type TV talk show interviewing healers of all kinds, to destigmatize getting help in a variety of ways for a variety of problems: psychological, physical, spiritual, emotional. Even in this, I feel a certain identification with your deeply abiding commitment to positive change for our country.

Again, thanks for accepting this gift, and for your mutual gifts to our nation, for your sincerity and integrity.

Sincerely,



Encl: books.

*Olivia Mellan
Psychotherapist, Author,
& Business Consultant*

Olivia Mellan & Associates, Inc.

2607 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. * Washington, D.C. 20008 * (202) 483-2660 Ext. 4 403-2000

May 1, 1996

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

I wanted to give you my books as a gift to express my deep admiration and respect for you both in your mutual commitment to healing the problems in our country, and as models of a truly egalitarian marriage in the best sense. As someone who has functioned as a psychotherapeutic educator who specializes in healing people's conflicts over money, I have long felt a desire to communicate with you both about the nature of my work, because I felt a kinship with your deeper goals and orientation. The accidental meeting with your lovely daughter Chelsea enabled me to pass on my books to you. I hope you find them interesting, and that one day, our paths will cross more directly. My ultimate career goal is to have a Bill Moyers-type TV talk show interviewing healers of all kinds, to destigmatize getting help in a variety of ways for a variety of problems: psychological, physical, spiritual, emotional. Even in this, I feel a certain identification with your deeply abiding commitment to positive change for our country.

Again, thanks for accepting this gift, and for your mutual gifts to our nation, for your sincerity and integrity.

Sincerely,



Olivia Mellan
Psychotherapist, Author,
& Business Consultant

Enclosures: books.



GONZAGA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF LAW

To
Scheduling ✓

May 28, 1996

BY FAX 202-456-2215

Mr. Todd Stern
Staff Secretary to the President
Ground Floor
West Wing of the White House
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Stern:

On behalf of Gonzaga University School of Law, the Student Bar Association, and the William O. Douglas Committee, we would like to extend an invitation to President Clinton to be our 26th William O. Douglas Guest Lecturer. Our lecture is scheduled in the fall or spring of each year depending upon our speaker's scheduling requirements. This fall, with the 1996 presidential campaign, our distinguished lecture series presents an opportunity for the President to visit the Inland Pacific Northwest in an academic setting. We are willing to work with almost any date convenient to the President's schedule.

Our Lecture Series is named after the great Supreme Court Justice, William O. Douglas. Justice Douglas was our first speaker and has been followed by a diverse and famous group of speakers. A full list is attached for your information. The Lecture Series is focused on the First Amendment to the Constitution, always a timely topic.

We would like to extend a formal invitation to the President. If this is possible, would you please advise us as to the proper protocol for his invitation. If you need any further information, please contact me at your earliest convenience. My phone number is (509) 328-4220 ext. 3703 and my fax number is (509) 324-5840. Thank You.

Sincerely,

Speedy Rice
Externship Director
Gonzaga University
School of Law

The William O. Douglas Lecturers

The Honorable William O. Douglas
The Grand Design of the Constitution
April 6, 1972

Alexander M. Bickel
Civil Disobedience and the Duty to Obey
February 2, 1973

The Honorable James S. Browning
*The New Death Penalty Status:
Perpetuation of a Costly Myth*
March 27, 1974

Maurice Rosenberg
*Enlarging the Federal Courts' Capacity
to Settle National Law*
March 13, 1975

The Honorable William H. Rehnquist
*The First Amendment:
Freedom, Philosophy and the Law*
October 19, 1976

David L. Bazelon
Probing Privacy
April 20, 1977

Edward J. Devitt
Standards to Practice in the Federal Courts
March 30, 1978

Irving Younger
The Idea of Sanctuary
March 22, 1979

Vern Countryman
Justice Douglas and American Citizenship
April 17, 1980

Arthur R. Miller
*The Clash of Values Between
the Right of Privacy and Free Speech*
March 24, 1981

The Honorable Byron R. White
*The State of the Law:
The Bar's Responsibility*
March 15, 1982

&
Ramsey Clark
October 15, 1982

The Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg
First Amendment Protections
November 4, 1983

Archibald Cox
The Garden and the Wilderness
February 28, 1985

Fred W. Friendly
*The Good Guys, the Bad Guys
and the First Amendment*
November 7, 1985

Nat Hentoff
*What Are the Odds that the
First Amendment Will Survive?*
November 20, 1986

Linda Wertheimer
*The Summer of the Constitution:
The President, The Congress and the Press*
November 5, 1987

Cathleen Douglas Stone
Looking Back While Stepping Forward
November 10, 1988

William M. Kunstler
The First Amendment... Can It Survive?
November 3, 1989

The Honorable Yvonne Kanger
Reflections on Federalism
November 9, 1990

Morris Dees
*Freedom of Expression or Crimes of Hate?
Walking the First Amendment Tightrope*
January 17, 1992

John Prohinmayer
Giving Offense
October 2, 1992

The Honorable Antonin Scalia
Religion Clauses of the First Amendment
April 6, 1994

Rex E. Lee
*The Role of the Private Lawyer
and the Government in Developing
First Amendment Jurisprudence*
April 21, 1995

Charles Ogletree
*Testing the Limits
of the First Amendment:
Does Race Matter?*
April 10, 1996

Gonzaga University School of Law
The Student Bar Association
and
The William O. Douglas Committee

present

The 25th William O. Douglas Lecture



A Lecture Series On the First Amendment

April 17, 1996

TONIGHT'S PROGRAM

Opening Remarks

Kate Szurek

President, William O. Douglas Lecture Committee

Introduction of Our Honored Guest

Judy Clarke

Federal Defender for the Eastern District of Washington
and the District of Idaho

present

The 25TH William O. Douglas Lecture

CHARLES OGLETREE

**Testing the Limits of the First Amendment:
Does Race Matter?**

**The William O. Douglas Lecture Committee
1995-1996**

Johanna Copeland, Kris DeMarce, Wade Foley, Suzanne Frishman,
Nino Furneri, George Gagnon, Scott Hislop, Laurie Maier,
Amber Pang, John Puente, James Shipman, Kristy Smith,
Kate Szurek, George Telquist

Charles Ogletree

Charles Ogletree, Harvard Law School professor and prominent legal theorist, has made a reputation by taking a hard look at complex issues of law and by working to secure the rights guaranteed by the Constitution for everyone, equally under the law. Ogletree has examined these issues not only in the classroom and in the pages of prestigious law journals, but also in the everyday world of the public defender in the courtrooms and in the forums where these issues can be dramatically revealed. Professor Ogletree factually presents and discusses the challenges that face our justice system as it tries to deliver equal treatment to all our citizens and protect those rights that the law guarantees them. Professor Ogletree has earned the "Albert Sacks-Paul Freund Excellence in Teaching Award," "the Man of Vision Award," the "Ellis Island Medal of Honor" and has appeared on numerous television programs. In addition to serving as legal counsel to Anita Hill, he recently co-authored Beyond the Rodney King Story.

William O. Douglas 1898-1980

William Orville Douglas grew up in Yakima Washington where he overcame the vestiges of childhood polio by hiking in the Cascade Mountains. His academic record at Yakima High School earned him a scholarship to Whitman College in Walla Walla where he graduated with honors. After teaching English and Latin in Yakima, he enrolled at Columbia Law School in 1922. He graduated in 1925, second in his class, specializing in business and finance law. He worked in private practice on Wall Street until 1936, when he joined the SEC, rising to the role of chairman.

In 1939, Mr. Douglas became Justice Douglas after President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him to the United States Supreme Court. His 36 years on the high court, the longest to date, resulted in his writing over 1200 opinions. Even with his great success, Justice Douglas never tired of the mountains, the William O. Douglas Wilderness continues to honor his love of the Cascades.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS LECTURERS

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The Grand Design of the Constitution
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April 10, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/29/96

*Calligraphy
to Bob Baker*

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P R E S I D E N T

May 29, 1996

Jock Gill
18 Woods Edge Road
Medford, Massachusetts 02155

Dear Jock:

Thanks for your recent letter. I especially appreciated your comments about storytelling. We've an impressive and important story to tell, and the way we tell it can make a significant impact on shaping our country's future.

Take care and keep in touch.

Sincerely,

Bill Mauldin

*Bill
Mauldin*

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Seinfeld & Friends Effect. It repeated positive stories about the quality of life in NYC may in fact have driven up prices!

Amanda is looking forward to interning in Melanne Verveer's office this summer. It is a very exciting opportunity for her which we appreciate very much. If you get a chance, you might ask her about the term paper she wrote at Princeton on the Communications Decency Act. Yes, I did suggest the topic. ;-)

Johanna is just back from Milwaukee where she helped celebrate her sister

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

20-May-1996 09:35am

TO: Nancy V. Hernreich

FROM: Jock Gill

SUBJECT: Gephardt Gala

*Photos in
see
Muller
right*

Mr. President,

Good morning.

I very much enjoyed reading this morning your comments at REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT GALA FOR REPRESENTATIVE RICHARD GEPHARDT. I especially liked your question about what sort of America do we wish to find when we get to 2020? I enjoyed as well as your affirmation of a positive role for government and your comments on Bill Gate's views.

As an aside, do you remember my comments to you about how Gephardt had done a lot to improve the use of New Media in the House - this was at dinner with you in March 1995 on the eve of my return to living at home.

Your third goal, a strong leadership role for America on the world stage, offers a further reason for a strong government: America must have a government at least as strong as the strongest other government it must work with. I would hope that all Americans would recognize and value this.

Your list of the positive accomplishments has lead me to change my current speech. My speech is about the role of story telling and how the stories we tell ourselves and each other define who we are. You are telling a story of positive developments in a sea of changes. We are strong and vibrant with great possibilities even if the stories based upon the conditions of the 1950s no longer ring true. It is the death of these old stories that is at the root of America's anxiety. We need to honestly admit and confront the death of these old stories while we celebrate the birth of many exciting new ones. Your telling of new stories for our new times is critically important. You are a great story teller just at the moment that the nation needs great new stories.

By way of example, in yesterday's NYT, there was a story about real estate prices in NYC going up beyond reason. The proffered explanation: 'The Seinfeld & Friends Effect'. IE repeated positive stories about the quality of life in NYC may in fact have driven up prices!

Amanda is looking forward to interning in Melanne Verveer's office this summer. It is a very exciting opportunity for her which we appreciate very much. If you get a chance, you might ask her about the term paper she wrote at Princeton on the Communications Decency Act. Yes, I did suggest the topic. ;-)

Johanna is just back from Milwaukee where she helped celebrate her sister

Martha's ordination by the Anglican church. By the way, Johanna's father, Dr. Branson, is not too well. He is having heart irregularity problems as a lingering consequence of the by-pass operation he had several years ago.

We send our best to you, Hillary and Chelsea.

Best regards,

Jock

Jock Gill
Penfield Gill, Inc.
Boston, MA
jgill@penfield-gill.com
<<http://www.penfield-gill.com/gill>>

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 21, 1996

Mr. Mike Hardgrave
4902 Smith Road
Plano, Texas 75094

Dear Mike:

Thanks so much for writing and for passing along a copy of your letter to the Federal Aviation Administration. Thanks, too, for your recommendation of John McLuckey. I appreciate knowing your thoughts about this, and I've shared a copy of your letter with Bob Nash, my Assistant for Presidential Personnel.

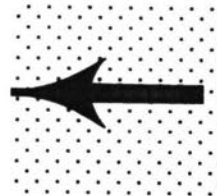
As always, you and Nan have my best wishes, especially as you attend Jason's graduation. I know you must be very proud of him.

Sincerely,

Bill

*Just look into the prices
you made - remember - Always
free free.*

*cc: ~~as per~~ ~~to~~ ~~VP~~ ~~U.S. FAX~~
Hardgrave is a boyfriend
friend - I was best man
in his wedding nearly 30
years ago*



**SIGN
HERE**

8 May 1996

4902 Smith Road
Plano, TX 75094
Office: 214/705-3697
Work: 214/422-4234

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Bill:

I thought I would drop you a note and pass on a letter I helped author for Rockwell and Lockheed relative to the recent termination of the Wide Area Augmentation System by the FAA. If you recall, I was the Rockwell Proposal Manager on WAAS back in the summer of '94 until it was finally awarded to Wilcox (Thomson-CSF) in mid '95. I was pretty upset at the time, not only because I didn't feel Rockwell got a fair review from the FAA, but more importantly, because I didn't think the Wilcox team with Hughes and TRW could successfully perform.

I wasn't too surprised to be proven right, but I was again disappointed to see the FAA continue to ignore basic business practices and award a sole source contract to the major Wilcox subcontractor, Hughes. Hughes is a good company; however, they were an integral portion, along with the FAA, of the terminated WAAS contract and were directly culpable.

Usually I side with David Hinson on most of his decisions, but this one is pretty shaky. In this day of acquisition reform and your push to allow the FAA to be more commercialized, actions such as this bring back memories of the '70's when free-wheeling by DoD and other Government agencies resulted in increased Congressional oversight -- a poor solution to correct poor program performance.

The FAA is attempting to demonstrate that they can make quick and decisive decisions -- that's laudable, but they still have to make intelligent ones also. I had talked to the FAA prior to them awarding directly to Hughes and suggested they at least talk to the original bidders just to see what we would have suggested. I personally recommended having Hughes remain as the lead software developer and just award a system management and test contract. That probably would have made better sense.

Oh well, at least the FAA is trying to put their house in order! I was delighted with your decision on GPS -- keep pushing the military to drop the unique Selective Availability feature. Rockwell was very happy to win the new GPS IIF satellite contract too.

Election year must be hell. It seems every single action you take is implied to have direct political consequences. Fortunately most of your team is hitting their stride and supporting you well. I certainly hate to see Bill Perry leave as SecDef; he has been superb. If you are looking for a replacement, consider John McLuckey, President of Rockwell Aerospace and Defense. He's a good man. I wouldn't mind serving in your administration this next time around either!

Nan and I are heading to New Orleans tomorrow to see Jason graduate from Tulane. He still has another year to go on his MBA but is getting his bachelor's in Econ and German. Nancy is beginning to realize he is growing up, and probably not coming back home -- she'll probably cry through the ceremony.

Good luck staying sane over the next six months. Your second term will be a joy.

Sincerely,



Mike Hardgrave

/rsg

Enclosure

May 3, 1996

Dr. George L. Donohue
Associate Administrator for
Research and Acquisition
Federal Aviation Administration
800 Independence Ave., SW
Washington, DC 20591

Dear Dr. Donohue:

We are very concerned by the FAA's recent announcement that, after the termination of Wilcox Electric, Inc., it intends to award a sole source contract to Hughes Aircraft Company to complete the development work for the Wide Area Augmentation System (WAAS). We feel strongly that this action would not be in the best interest of the FAA and are requesting your immediate action to explore more viable alternatives.

As you are aware, there were initially five competitors for the WAAS contract. Four of these, including Lockheed Martin (formally Loral) and Rockwell, were eliminated by the FAA's determination that they were outside the competitive range. Of great concern to both companies at the time was the fact that this determination was made without the benefit of oral discussions or the usual procedures of issuing CRs and DRs which would have permitted these competitors to address any perceived issues with their proposed solutions. Neither Lockheed Martin nor Rockwell elected to formally protest the award to Wilcox, despite serious concerns about the evaluation and selection process.

Unfortunately, the failure of the Wilcox team to perform has demonstrated that the initial award was made to a team that lacked the capability to execute and manage a program of this size and complexity. A sole source award to one of the failed team members may well compound this initial mistake and further jeopardize achievement of the WAAS objectives. Hughes, for whatever reasons, had determined that they were either not qualified or interested in bidding the original contract as a prime. How can a sole source award now be justified?

Although we understand that the FAA is anxious to proceed with the WAAS Program and to avoid undue delay in fielding the system, the FAA's decision to proceed immediately with an award to Hughes on a single source basis is not well considered or consistent with the FAA's new Acquisition Management System. The decision contradicts FAA policy statements that clearly encourage competition. Furthermore, even if the FAA feels compelled to proceed expeditiously, we question whether the FAA's new regulations would permit the FAA to proceed in this fashion without, at a minimum, conducting a market analysis to determine all potential sources.

Equally disturbing is the fact that the FAA appears to have made no efforts to determine if any of the other original bidders have the capability or interest in assuming responsibility for timely program execution and performance. Lockheed Martin and Rockwell have both the capabilities and strong business motivation to accomplish your program.

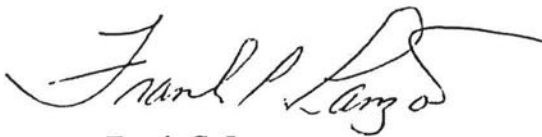
Dr. George L. Donohue
May 3, 1996
Page Two

To achieve the objectives of the FAA with a low risk program implementation, Lockheed Martin and Rockwell will team to offer their superior credentials to execute the WAAS Program. As the builder of the GPS Space System, the contractor for the Operational Control Segment and a major supplier of GPS user equipment since the inception of GPS, we are recognized by the DoD and the industry as the GPS experts.

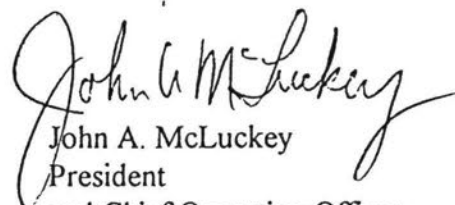
Each of our companies expended significant resources to participate in the original WAAS procurement. Together, we have the skills, experience and technical know-how to implement, deploy and sustain WAAS. Our team benefits greatly from pre-WAAS award activities, including the decomposition of WAAS requirements into documentation. This effort will expedite a combined SRR/SDR to minimize schedule and cost risk. Lockheed Martin had also begun its development of the algorithms for a GNSS prototype system. These activities continued in the period following award of the WAAS contract and resulted in completion of the GNSS prototype which covers the Eastern third of the U.S. The working prototype system delivers three meter vertical position accuracy. In addition, Rockwell has participated with DASA in a joint venture to develop and produce DGPS ground stations that are currently undergoing CAT I certification with the FAA. Rockwell's recent demonstration in China validated the system concepts of combined navigation augmentation and communication management leading toward CNS/ATM.

We urge the FAA to reconsider its decision to award a single source contract to Hughes because, by not doing so, the FAA would once again fail to reap the benefits of competition. The remarkable history of the WAAS Program unquestionably demonstrates the consequences of failing to give due consideration of all qualified companies, such as ours, that over the years have invested significant time, effort and expense in developing an expertise in this technology.

If it is not practical for the FAA to start from square one on the WAAS Program, good judgment and compliance with its own procurement policies would dictate that the FAA conduct some form of accelerated procurement limited to the four original offerors who were eliminated in the initial competition. We therefore request that you withhold any award to Hughes. We view this as an important and time urgent business matter and are eager to discuss it with you.



Frank C. Lanza
Executive Vice President
and Chief Operating Officer
Lockheed Martin Corporation



John A. McLuckey
President
and Chief Operating Officer
Aerospace and Defense
Rockwell International

cc:

Mr. David R. Hinson
Mr. Dennis DeGaetano

*1/cls/Smile
with conspiracy
as part of connection*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: w/incoming
Scheduling
(Edwards invitation is lost)
Phil

May 28, 1996

Millard Fuller
Habitat for Humanity
121 Habitat Street
Americus, Georgia 31709-3498

Dear Millard:

Thanks for your letter of May 13 and for passing along John Edwardson's invitation to join him and the United Airlines crew on their housing units in Chicago. While I'm not sure what my schedule will hold during the summer, I've asked my schedulers, Stephanie Streett and Anne Walley, to keep it in mind as the date approaches. Hillary, Chelsea, and I continue to be so grateful for our experience in Atlanta four years ago.

Please give our best to Linda. We hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

RM



May 13, 1996

Millard Fuller
Habitat for Humanity International

Building houses in partnership with God's people in need

President Bill Clinton
Presiden of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Bill,

Warm greetings to you from "high in the heavens" between Chicago and Fort Lauderdale. It is Saturday morning, May 4, as I am dictating this letter to you.

Yesterday, I had a fine meting with John Edwardson, president of United Airlines. One of the purposes of our meeting was to discuss a big building project being done by Habitat for Humanity in Chicago quite close to the United Center where the Democratic Convention will be held this summer.

We are expecting to have sixteen units under construction, with two of them sponsored by United Airlines. Other units will be sponsored by corporations like the Notre Dame Alumni Association of Chicago, the National Association of Home Builders and other organizations. The project is being called "Summer of New Hope".]

As you can see from the enclosed letter to you from Mr. Edwardson, he is inviting you to join him and others with United Airlines to work on the two units they are sponsoring. I would like to encourage you to do that.

Of course, I'm sure you will also want to visit and maybe drive a nail or two at some of the other units. In any event, your presence at the site would give a tremendous boost to these efforts, as I'm sure you know.

I still remember so well when you, Hillary and Chelsea worked on the Habitat house in Atlanta in August of 1992 along with the Gore family. People all over the country still talk about that day of blitz building.

So, I do hope you can include this on your busy schedule. I know it would benefit Habitat for Humanity and I also think it would be beneficial to you and your campaign.

I hope you, Hillary and Chelsea are doing well. You seem to be thriving in all sorts of ways. I am very happy for you.

Incidentally, I delivered your message to our daughter, Georgia. She really appreciated you remembering her and sending warm greetings. She is one happy young lady these days, now engaged to the dream man of her life. Linda and I are also pleased and quite happy about her engagement. They will have a civil wedding in Americus next April and will have a religious ceremony in Switzerland in May.

Take care. Linda joins me in sending all of our love to your whole family.

In friendship,

Millard Fuller
Millard Fuller
MF/slt (signed in his absence)



DATE: May 30

TO:  Evelyn Lieberman

FROM: Staff Secretary

py1: on the DLC front.
4 impressive letters
from constitutional
heavies endorsing
Eliza Ryan -
Tabel

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
THE LAW SCHOOL
1111 EAST 60TH STREET
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS 60637-2786

CASS R. SUNSTEIN
KARL N. LLEWELLYN DISTINGUISHED SERVICE PROFESSOR OF JURISPRUDENCE
CO-DIRECTOR, CENTER ON CONSTITUTIONALISM
IN EASTERN EUROPE

TELEPHONE: 312.702.9498
FAX: 312.702.0730

electronic mail: cass_sunstein@law.uchicago.edu

May 20, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have heard that Elena Kagan, a professor at this law school now on leave at the White House, is a candidate for head of the Office of Legal Counsel. I write because I know Elena well and because I think she would be a wonderful choice.

Having worked at OLC in the early 1980s, I have a sense of the Office's functions and needs, and I think that Elena is unusually well-suited to the job. As a lawyer, she is both brilliant and entirely level-headed -- in academia at least, a fairly unusual combination of skills. When she approaches legal issues, she shows a lot of creativity and imagination, but she's also got outstanding judgment, real maturity, and a fine sense of proportion. It's perhaps unnecessary to say that despite her relative youth, she has a wide understanding of many areas of the law. Her work on the first amendment is a nice example; it takes a big step back from the law, organizes it wonderfully, and makes sense of a range of areas not normally grouped together. In fact she has a terrific head start on the questions with which OLC deals, and she's an amazingly fast learner.

Elena also deals wonderfully with people. She's one of the fairest and most decent people I know, and she is exceptionally well-liked and admired by a wide range of people at the law school -- moderates, conservatives, liberals, and everyone else. As a lawyer she's not at all "political," but she is very well-attuned to people and audiences, and she has a terrific sense what to say and when to say it. In fact she's established herself very quickly as the very best teacher at the law

Page Two

school (I say this with some chagrin). I've also seen her in a range of administrative capacities, and she's an excellent leader. In fact she is widely regarded as a strong candidate to become the next Dean of this law school. From what I've seen, I imagine that she would deal very well with the Congress and with other potentially adversarial bodies. It helps that she has a terrific sense of humor and is extremely reluctant to treat other people as adversaries.

I'm sure that there are a number of excellent choices to head OLC, but as someone who knows Elena and the Office well, I hope you won't mind if I suggest that this would be a terrific match. Very best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Cass R. Sunstein', written in a cursive style.

Cass R. Sunstein

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
OFFICE OF THE PROVOST
5801 Ellis Avenue
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS 60637-2786

Geoffrey R. Stone, Provost
Harry Kalven, Jr. Distinguished Service Professor of Law

TELEPHONE: (312) 702-8810
FAX: (312) 702-2732

May 20, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear President Clinton:

I recently learned from a colleague that Elena Kagan may be under consideration for appointment as Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel. In the hope that this is true, I am writing to put in my two cents in support of her appointment.

I first met Elena some six years ago when I was Dean of the University of Chicago Law School and she was a young lawyer at Williams & Connolly. I had heard wonderful things about her from a variety of sources, including Ab Mikva, a graduate of Chicago, for whom Elena had clerked. I set about trying to recruit her to join the faculty. In our very first meeting, I saw in Elena all the qualities that Ab and others already had described -- she was a tough, independent, smart lawyer with a clear academic bent. After a year of cultivation, she joined the faculty in the fall of 1991. She has been a great success as a teacher, scholar and colleague.

Elena has focused most of her teaching in the fields of constitutional law, labor law and civil procedure. She is a rigorous, engaging and lively teacher. She demands the best from her students, and they delight in meeting her expectations. She probes, challenges and tests her students' assumptions, and she encourages them to challenge hers. From her very first course, she was regarded by the students as a simply brilliant teacher. Indeed, in only her third year on the faculty she received the Law School's annual award for Excellence in Teaching -- the first and only untenured member of the faculty ever to receive that honor.

President William J. Clinton
May 20, 1996
Page two

Elena has also flourished as a scholar. Most of her research arises out of her interest in freedom of expression. Because this is also my field of study, I am intimately familiar with her work. In her short time on the faculty, she has completed two major articles, as well as several lesser pieces. In her first major work, published in *The Supreme Court Review*, Elena offered a careful, innovative and powerful analysis of the Court's decision in *R.A.V.* (the cross-burning case). In this article, Elena dissected the opinions of the Court and put forth an original and already influential reinterpretation of the central issue presented in the case.

In her second major work, soon to be published in *The University of Chicago Law Review*, Elena sets forth an ambitious and novel understanding of the Court's overall First Amendment jurisprudence. In this article, Elena surveys the entire corpus of First Amendment doctrine and demonstrates that most, if not all, of this doctrine can be explained by the Court's concern with improper governmental motivation -- that is, with its concern that laws regulating speech may consciously or unconsciously be the result of governmental favoritism for or hostility to particular ideas and viewpoints. This is an innovative and provocative thesis which persuasively challenges most of the accepted understandings of existing First Amendment jurisprudence. This article will inform and, indeed, shape academic and legal discourse about freedom of speech for years to come. On the basis of these articles, Elena was promoted last year to the rank of full Professor, with tenure.

It is important to understand that Elena is not one of those all-too-common legal scholars whose primary interest is in abstract theory, divorced from legal doctrine. To the contrary, Elena is a lawyer's scholar. She takes courts, precedents and doctrine seriously. She believes that law matters. She writes in the best tradition of Paul Freund, Harry Kalven and Thomas Emerson. I am confident that, when she returns to the Law School and again turns her energy and curiosity to scholarly research, she will emerge as one of the leading constitutional voices of her generation.

Finally, I should note that Elena is a valued colleague. In only a few short years she has come to be regarded as a central figure in the Law School's decision making structure. As Dean, I sought her advice regularly on a broad range of issues, including faculty appointments, student concerns and institutional policies. She is strikingly forthright, honest and direct. She has wisdom beyond her years, and always offers thoughtful and sensible advice. She listens. She is a person of integrity, independence and commitment to principle. I trust her completely, and I know that every one of my colleagues

President William J. Clinton
May 20, 1996
Page three

-- regardless of seniority or ideology -- shares that trust. It is thus no surprise that, when we speculate about the future, Elena is invariably mentioned as a possible future Dean of the Law School.

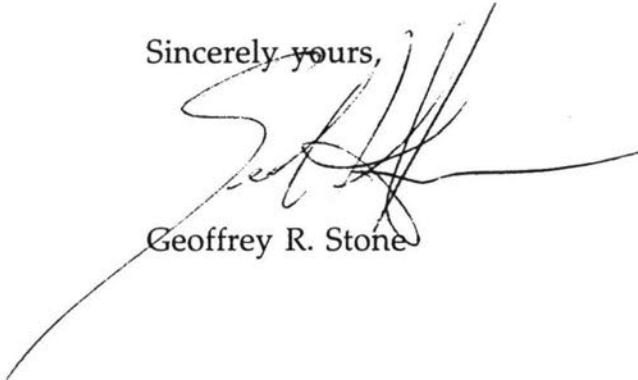
Last year, Ab Mikva -- borrowing back what he first "gave" us -- persuaded Elena to take a leave of absence from the faculty to join him in the office of Counsel to the President. I trust that Elena has performed well in that role, and that her colleagues in that office, as well as others who have worked with her in the past year, will confirm all I have said above.

Although Elena may be on the young side for the position under consideration, she is a truly remarkable person. She is a serious individual who cares deeply about the law, and she has the intellectual and personal skills to fulfill her responsibilities to the very highest degree. Although I would hate to see her remain away from the Law School any longer (I miss her), I am compelled in good conscience to recommend her enthusiastically and without qualification for the position of Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel. She would be a treasure.

If I can be of any further assistance in this matter, please feel free to call or write me at any time.

With warm best wishes.

Sincerely yours,



Geoffrey R. Stone

GRS:cm

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
LAW SCHOOL

LAURENCE H. TRIBE
*Ralph S. Tyler, Jr. Professor
of Constitutional Law*



HAUSER HALL 420
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138
(617) 495-4621

May 19, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I've heard reports that Walter Dellinger's former position — head of the Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice — might go to any of several people, and I hope you won't mind my imposing on you with my own views on the matter.

If the rumors I've heard are correct, Elena Kagan is not necessarily at the top of the current list to fill the position. Elena is a professor of constitutional law at the University of Chicago Law School who has taken a leave of absence to serve as an associate White House counsel. I had spoken to the Attorney General at an earlier stage of the process to tell her what I thought of Elena, and I hope the rumors I now hear are wrong. I know quite a lot about all of the people being discussed, and I think Elena is the one who clearly stands out as being genuinely capable of filling Walter Dellinger's shoes.

That's a hard task, because obviously Walter is an extraordinary person and has done a splendid job as head of the Office of Legal Counsel. I think the world of how well he's discharged that important duty.

Having known Elena since she was a student of mine quite some time ago and having watched her meteoric rise to tenure and her current position with Jack Quinn at the White House, I have to say that an enormous admirer of her intellectual and moral qualities. She is one of the most insightful constitutionalists of her generation. I have seen her work at close range, and her writing is always illuminating and imaginative. She has a degree of wisdom well beyond her years and a degree of judgment and maturity that is quite remarkable. Her views are thoughtful, moderate, and balanced, and she has no private agenda.

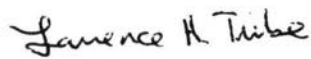
I'm sure that her time in the White House Counsel's office has given her valuable experience in the Administration. I have no doubt that she would discharge the challenging duties of the OLC position with extraordinary distinction and would be a truly knowledgeable source of advice on the sort of issues that Walter has handled so well. In

short, I think that the Attorney General couldn't have a better legal advisor.

At Harvard, we've been trying for some time now to persuade Elena to serve as a visiting Professor of Law. I think something has finally been tentatively arranged for 1997. But I hope that it will be delayed by Elena's tenure at the OLC.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to express my views.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Laurence H. Tribe".

Laurence H. Tribe



HARVARD LAW SCHOOL
CAMBRIDGE · MASSACHUSETTS · 02138

MARTHA L. MINOW
Professor of Law

GRISWOLD 407
(617) 495-4276

May 21, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
FAX: (202) 456-2215

Dear President Clinton:

I understand that the Office of Legal Counsel in the Department of Justice will be needing a new director, and I write to give the strongest recommendation for Elena Kagan, who currently serves on your White House counsel staff. On leave from the University of Chicago Law School, Ms. Kagan is one of the most talented lawyers in her generation. She was a student of mine here at the Harvard Law School, and set such a high standard for accomplishment that colleagues and I talk about talented students using her as the benchmark.

What makes her such a stand-out, I believe, is that she combines the kind of precise analytic rigor we expect from top-flight lawyers with a far more rare quality, good judgment. She has a capacity to see the big picture and to keep it in mind while holding on to all the particular details relevant to a problem. She well understands the multiple arenas in which consequences should be anticipated. She works well with a wide range of people and earns respect quickly. At the University of Chicago, she soared to the top of the students' evaluation of teachers within a short time after her arrival and she similarly impressed her colleagues who promptly placed her in positions of responsibility, such as the hiring committee.

Other qualified candidates surely exist, but it would be difficult to find anyone who combines truly unusual analytic prowess with the quite extraordinary qualities of integrity and good sense exhibited by Elena Kagan. I hope you select her to head OLC.

Sincerely,

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

Martha Minow
Professor of Law

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 5/30

TO: Jeremy Ben Ami

FROM: Staff Secretary

As we discussed... for DPC to
coordinate.

Leon (Benny Toiv) and Political
(Harcov) agree we should do this.

Thanks
Phil

DOYLE ASSOCIATES

MANAGING EDUCATION CHANGE

110 SUMMERFIELD ROAD - CHEVY CHASE MD 20815 - 301-986-9350 - FAX 301-907-4959

May 1, 1996

Ms Laura Tyson, Assistant to the President
Office of the President
The White House
Washington DC 20050

Dear Ms. Tyson:

I am writing to invite President Clinton to submit his views on education as an article for publication in the October, 1996 issue of the *Phi Delta Kappan*. As you will see from the enclosure, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Bush prepared such articles for the October, 1992 issue.

This will be the fourth time the *Kappan* has run paired articles by the Democratic and Republican nominees for the presidency and the fourth time I have been privileged to act as intermediary in the process.

You will be interested to know that the *Kappan* is the magazine of Phi Delta Kappa, a non-profit, non-partisan association of education leaders. As the profession's magazine of record, nearly 150,000 copies per month are mailed directly to the leaders of American elementary and secondary education across the country as well as every college library. Because of its special utility to researchers, journalists, teachers and students, the "pass-on" readership is estimated to be in the hundreds of thousands.

There are no format requirements, but you will want to look at the last article for general guidance. It will be essential for us to have a finished MS in hand by no later than July 30, 1996.

I look forward to your affirmative response and a lively and thought-provoking article.

Best wishes,

Denis P. Doyle

c Bruce Reed
Paul Dimond

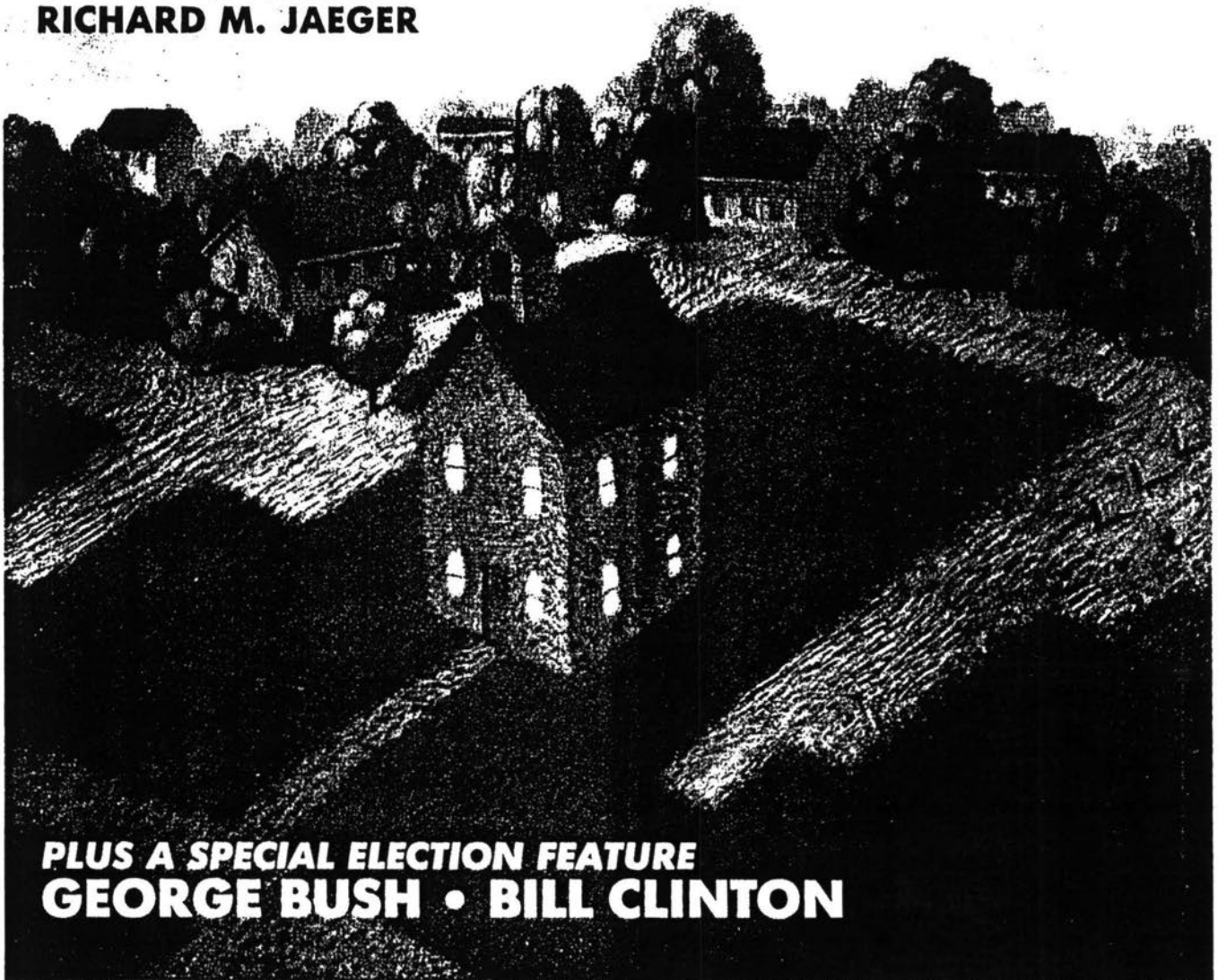
PHI DELTA

OCTOBER 1992

KAPPAN

THE CONDITION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

**GERALD W. BRACEY
RICHARD M. JAEGER**



**PLUS A SPECIAL ELECTION FEATURE
GEORGE BUSH • BILL CLINTON**

The White House and The School House

For the third time in 12 years, Mr. Doyle has enabled the Kappan to publish the education programs of the Presidential candidates. He shares with readers his views on that assignment.

.....
BY DENIS P. DOYLE

IT WAS 12 years ago last spring that the *Kappan* asked me to undertake an assignment that was — and still is — a political scientist's delight. My mission, which I eagerly accepted, was to get each candidate for President to write a short article about education. The request I make to the candidates is open-ended: What do you think the national issues in education are, and how would you address them as President?

The audience for these articles is the most important group of educators in the country — the men and women who make our schools what they are. And I don't mean just the 150,000 who receive the *Kappan* each month, but also the countless "pass along" readers. This is an opportunity no serious candidate can afford to pass up, and it is also relatively effortless, because any serious candidate has — by the spring before an election — formulated a set of plans for education. Frequently, these views are available in a campaign position paper. The only real task the candidate faces is putting these views into English.

I leave judgments about this year's ar-

ticles to *Kappan* readers, but two things stand out as I look back over the past trio of four-year cycles. The first is that, in policy terms, it would have been tricky to identify the author of any of the pieces if they had not been signed. Until this year, not much separated the candidates — at least in terms of broad policy issues. Today, of course, there is one striking difference: Mr. Bush supports public funding for private school choice; Mr. Clinton does not.

Beyond this important distinction, however, the differences are modest. This reflects, I think, two broad dimensions of national life. First, where education is concerned, most Americans are genuinely committed to the broad political center. Public education, though the subject of animated criticism from time to time, still enjoys popular support that is both broad and deep. Indeed, I am convinced that most of the criticism is genuinely motivated by good intentions, a commentary on how much we truly value public schools. The criticism is meant to inform and reform; it is not meant to be destructive. The truth is that all Americans, products of public and private schools alike, know that we owe our public schools a deep debt.

The second thing that stands out as I look back over these 12 years is more prosaic than the first: most of us ac-

knowledge, at least implicitly, the limits of federal activity in education. And that is at least part of the reason that most Presidents — and most candidates — sound so very much alike. They sound that way because they are that way.

While there is much that we might like Uncle Sam to do, the habits of local control are deep and abiding — for good reason. Local control of schools is not just a happy historical accident; it speaks to a deeply felt sense of what schooling is all about. It is personal, even intimate; its real power is found in individual classrooms, where real teachers deal with real students. In America, at least, practice is policy.

Is your vote for President a matter of indifference, then, when it comes to education? Not at all. Your vote matters a great deal. But its significance will not be revealed in policy statements about education so much as in a broader set of policies about the role and place of government. I am not suggesting that the candidates are being disingenuous. To the contrary, they represent a real choice. Painted with a broad brush, that choice is straightforward: Mr. Clinton believes that government can solve problems, as indeed it has over time; Mr. Bush believes in the power of the private sector, a point of view with a powerful track record as well.

The choice between the two may be difficult, but it is nonetheless real and important. And it is your choice. For my part, this quadrennial exercise is a source of personal and professional satisfaction, both in dealing with senior campaign staff members and in knowing that these articles will inform our national process of decision making. □

DENIS P. DOYLE, a senior fellow with the Hudson Institute, Indianapolis, writes about education and human capital formation from his office in Washington, D.C.



A Revolution to Achieve Excellence In Education

By GEORGE BUSH

E DUCATION IS our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become. Excellence in education is crucial to maintaining a strong democracy with a well-informed electorate, to building a competitive economy, and to

solving the problems plaguing the poor in our nation's inner cities. Since education can help advance solutions to each of these issues and problems, I have made edu-

GEORGE BUSH is the 41st President of the United States and the 1992 Republican candidate for President.

cation reform a top priority of my Presidency. If we want to change the country, we have got to change the schools.

Over the last four years, I have had the privilege of visiting schools all across the country and of participating in more than a hundred meetings with parents, students, teachers, educators, and business and community leaders to discuss education. I have learned much in these visits and meetings. There is no substitute for seeing and hearing things firsthand.

These experiences have reinforced several of my convictions. The first is that we have many dedicated teachers who care deeply about their students and want them to learn and excel. Many of these teachers are also frustrated by having to deal with rules, regulations, requirements, and reports that divert them from their central task. But they love teaching and are not walking away from the challenge.

Second, we have many superb students who recognize the importance of education in their lives and are prepared to work hard to master what is expected of them. Almost all of the students I have talked with are prepared to reach even higher and to lengthen their stride. They want a system that challenges them and that demands excellence.

Third, we have many concerned parents who care deeply about their children, about their safety at school and in going to and from school, and about whether their children are learning the skills and acquiring the knowledge and values that will prepare them for good jobs and productive, happy lives. Virtually all parents, in one way or another, have expressed the desire that their children get an education that will enable the next generation to be better off than the preceding one.

Finally, I come away from these discussions and meetings convinced that we can and must do better, that our education system is far from what it can and must be, and that changing it will require a special effort from us all. We cannot afford merely to tinker, but we must revolutionize our schools. The federal government can and will do its part, but this revolution also will require commitment and effort in every state and school and every home.

Those with whom I have spoken share
(Continued on page 132)



The Clinton Plan For Excellence in Education

BY BILL CLINTON

AS A GOVERNOR, as a co-chair of the nation's 1989 education summit in Charlottesville, and as a parent of a child in the public schools of Little Rock, I have devoted more of my time and my energy to education than to any other issue. I've spent more than 11 years now on the front lines of the battle to revolutionize, revitalize, and reform education.

We know two things about education in our country today. It's more important to our economic well-being than ever be-

fore, and we still don't have the educational quality or opportunities that our people need. The key to our economic strength in America today is growth in productivity — more products and services from each one of us.

In the Nineties and beyond, the universal spread of computers and high-speed communications means that what we earn depends on what we can learn and on how we can apply what we learn to the workplaces of America.

That's why a college graduate this year will earn 70% more than a high school graduate in the first year of work. That's why, during the last 10 years alone, the earnings of younger workers who dropped out of high school or who finished but

received no further education or training dropped by more than 20%.

We know that too many students drop out of school and too many who do finish simply don't have the basic skills they need to get and keep good jobs. We know too that all children can learn but that it's tougher to teach them when so many bring society's problems with them through the schoolhouse door.

We know that we have real gaps in American education — opportunity gaps and responsibility gaps — which are more important to our national security today than the missile gaps that played such an important role in the Presidential election of 1960. The educational op-

(Continued on page 134)

BILL CLINTON is governor of Arkansas and the 1992 Democratic candidate for President.

A Revolution

(Continued from page 130)

my conviction that preserving the diversity and local control of our schools is important. Nationalizing our elementary and secondary school system is not the answer. Seeking to direct what happens in our schools from Washington, D.C., is not what is needed. The federal government can help and assist in many ways, but energy, dynamism, and commitment to change are needed in all 110,000 of our schools.

The change I am talking about is not bringing our worst schools, those where the least learning is taking place, up to the level of performance of our average schools. It is literally lifting the performance of all our schools.

Fortunately, we are already convinced as a nation that education is important. This conviction is reflected in what we are willing to commit to education in the way of resources.

In 1990 the number of students enrolled in our elementary and secondary schools was almost identical to the number enrolled in 1980 — just over 46 million students. During those 10 years, adjusting for inflation, we increased federal, state, and local spending on our public and private elementary and secondary schools by \$79 billion. That is, even after adjusting for inflation, we increased spending by 33%. That represents a major commitment of resources. No one has suggested to me that this was a misguided commitment, that we were spending too much on our schools, or that education is not important.

At the same time, many are legitimately concerned with what that additional expenditure has produced. Like me, they are concerned about results. The most important measure is what our students are learning, not how much we are spending. This additional investment of resources alone is not enough. I am convinced more than ever before of a fundamental reality: more of the same will simply not get us where we need to go. We must change the system.

Revolutionizing our schools requires a cooperative, collaborative effort. Soon after coming into office, I convened a two-day summit conference in Charlottesville, Virginia, with all the nation's governors. At that meeting we unanimously agreed

on four things.

First, we agreed that we should work together to establish a set of national education goals. Second, that we needed to establish appropriate ways to measure our progress toward achieving those goals. Third, that we needed to provide greater flexibility in the use by states and localities of federal funds for education. Fourth, that each state would restructure its education system.

Following the summit, the governors from both parties and I worked with concerned citizens from across America to develop six challenging national education goals. We agreed that by the year 2000: 1) all children will start school ready to learn; 2) the high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90%; 3) all students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; 4) U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement; 5) every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; and 6) all schools will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a safe, disciplined environment conducive to learning.

When these goals were announced in my State of the Union Address in January 1990, they were welcomed by parents, students, educators, and community leaders all across the country. The only question in some people's minds was whether the goals were too ambitious. All agreed that they pointed us in the right direction. The goals are ambitious, but education is so important that it deserves our maximum effort.

The governors and I have continued to work together. To help achieve these ambitious goals, I proposed a comprehensive, long-term strategy — America 2000. It consists of four revolutionary ideas to help communities change education: 1) break-the-mold New American Schools — the New American Schools Development Corporation has just selected 11 design team proposals, out of almost 700 submitted; 2) world class academic standards and voluntary national exams — higher standards so our children can live, work, and compete with children everywhere in the world and a vol-

untary national examination system so we can tell how our kids and schools are doing; 3) flexibility for teachers and principals — getting government off the teachers' backs, decentralizing, because teachers don't need a federal recipe book; and 4) educational choice for families — giving families more choices of all schools, trusting parents to make decisions for their children, getting parents involved in changing the schools and educating their children, and — especially — giving middle- and low-income families more of the same choices of schools that people with money already have.

Virtually all of the 50 states have signed on to the America 2000 strategy to transform American education. In addition, more than 1,500 communities all across America are in various stages of becoming America 2000 Communities.

We are now engaged in the hard work of implementing this strategy. We have established the National Education Goals Panel to measure our progress toward these goals. This September that panel will issue its second report card to the nation.

WORLD CLASS STANDARDS AND VOLUNTARY NATIONAL EXAMS

Students, teachers, and parents need to know what is expected and how well our students are doing. We are now well on the way — working with educators and citizens all across the country — to establishing national standards for what students should know and be able to do in mathematics, science, English, history, and geography. The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics has already devised a set of world-class standards for mathematics.

Our students must take tough, challenging courses, and we must have a system of voluntary national tests that will allow us to assess the progress our students are making in meeting these world class standards. These tests will help parents know not only how their own children are doing but also how well each school is doing in preparing its students for the world of tomorrow. Parents will then be able to make better-informed choices among schools.

I am pleased with the progress we are making and the recognition that we can establish national standards and voluntary

national tests without imposing a national curriculum or diminishing state and local control of our schools.

BREAK-THE-MOLD NEW AMERICAN SCHOOLS

In addition to improving today's schools and making them more accountable for the results they achieve, we must create a new generation of schools for the 21st century. Such schools will break the mold and offer new and different choices to American families. These are not model schools — but rather schools that parents, teachers, principals, and communities create from scratch to address their community's individual needs.

In designing these schools, communities will have the help of research and suggestions offered by design teams funded privately by the New American Schools Development Corporation, which was organized at my request to involve businesses in the effort to spur revolutionary reform in education. I have asked Congress to appropriate \$1 million in seed money for each of the first 535 New American Schools all across the country. We anticipate that these would be the first of tens of thousands of New American Schools.

GREATER FLEXIBILITY

Teachers are prepared to accept greater accountability for results, but they want and need greater flexibility to achieve those results. Many teachers find themselves constantly confronted with rules, restrictions, regulations, and bureaucratic impediments. The same is true for schools and school districts.

We have sought legislation that would greatly enhance flexibility in the use of federal funds, while accompanying that greater flexibility with accountability for results.

EDUCATIONAL CHOICE

We need greater competition and more choice in our education system if we are to lift the performance of all our schools. I have asked Congress to create a half million \$1,000 annual scholarships that will give middle- and low-income families more of the same choices of schools for their children that wealthier families

have long had.

This proposal, which we call "State and Local GI Bills for Children," will mean \$500 million new federal dollars in fiscal year 1993 alone, to help states do for elementary and high school students what the federal government did for veterans with the GI Bill — and what the federal government does today with Pell grants to help students pay for college costs. These scholarships would put new federal money into schools that serve the children who need the most help and would unleash powerful competitive forces to help make all schools better.

I have also proposed making it easier for well-qualified individuals to go into teaching without having to obtain another degree and teaching certificate from a school of education. Some communities have experienced shortages of teachers in math and science, and yet we have many well-qualified people leaving the armed services with the end of the Cold War. Many of these people would make excellent teachers and have training which could be helpful in teaching science and mathematics. They also have an interest in teaching — but not if they have to spend several more years in college.

For four years I have asked Congress to provide \$25 million for one-time grants to states to help them develop alternative methods of certifying teachers and principals. For example, a state might decide to use apprenticeships with experienced teachers for soldiers (or scientists) with experience in the subject that they want to teach. States might also require a college degree with a concentration in that subject as a requirement to teach.

The method would be determined by each state, which is the correct place for such decisions to be made. The objective is to encourage states to be more flexible in order to take advantage of the enormous pool of talent that is willing and able to go into teaching. This July, I was pleased to finally sign legislation that would authorize such a program for teachers.

My commitment to improving our education system is reflected in the priority I have attached to it. Since I became President, spending by the federal government on education has increased by approximately one-third, even after adjusting for inflation. In addition, federal spending for education has been going up

faster than state and local spending.

Because I put such a high priority on education, the budget that I submitted to Congress in January puts more new discretionary dollars into education than into any other department or activity. The U.S. Department of Education budget contains only some of the many federal efforts to improve, fund, and reform education in America. The Education Department's budget has increased from \$23 billion in 1989, when I took office, to my proposed budget of \$32.3 billion for 1993 — a 40% increase. This includes, for example, the largest increase for Pell grants for disadvantaged college students in the program's history and my request that Congress increase the maximum Pell grant award for needy college students from \$2,400 to \$3,700.

In addition to programs in the U.S. Department of Education's budget, I have requested increases in appropriations in other federal agencies' programs that affect education. For example, I have proposed the largest increases for the Head Start program for disadvantaged youngsters in the program's history — more than doubling its budget from \$1.2 billion in 1989 to my requested \$2.8 billion for 1993. My 1993 budget alone proposes a \$600 million increase for this important program. Under my plan, every parent of an eligible child will have the opportunity for his or her child to have the Head Start experience before starting school. I have also proposed record increases for mathematics and science education in my budget — for a total of almost \$2.1 billion in funding for several math and science programs.

We have made and will continue to make a strong commitment to education. It is critical to our success as a nation. Revolutionizing our schools will require a major, concerted effort. We have adopted ambitious but appropriate goals. We have developed a comprehensive, long-term strategy for achieving those goals. We have the commitment and determination to see that strategy through to success.

It will mean greater accountability, more innovation, greater flexibility, and more competition. It will also require the commitment of all Americans to ensure that education in our nation is the finest in the world. It is a cause and a crusade that is worthy of our great nation. ☐

The Clinton Plan for Excellence

(Continued from page 131)

portunity gaps between ourselves and the rest of the world and among our own people are immense. We have a shorter school year than all our major economic competitors. We do less well than most of them on comparative tests in math and science. And, while we send more of our high school graduates on to college than any other nation, we do far too little for the forgotten half — those who do not go on to college or don't even finish high school. This is a group that other nations take care to train and retrain throughout their lifetimes.

Within our country there are wide gaps in children's levels of readiness to start school. Many lack the basic building blocks of knowledge and thinking without which learning simply cannot occur. There are huge gaps in how much we spend on different students and in what kinds of courses and other opportunities they have. The distinguished American writer Jonathan Kozol has called these gaps "savage inequalities."

Most important, there are massive performance gaps among our schools that cross economic and social lines. There are excellent schools in this country — I have seen them with my own eyes. Some of them are even located in difficult inner-city neighborhoods. The Beasley Academic Center in Chicago, for example, located in the neighborhood with the highest murder rate in Illinois, consistently ranks among the top 10% of schools on all tests. Thomas Jefferson Junior High School, a school with a 98% minority population located a mile from our nation's capitol in Washington, sent a team to the final four in the national junior high school mathematics competition three out of four years in the mid-1980s.

I could give you example after example, from Maine to California, proving beyond question that all children can learn. But that fact leaves us all the more frustrated when these results are not achieved everywhere.

Just as there are opportunity gaps in education, there are responsibility gaps as well: places where our system fails because people don't do their part — politicians who posture instead of act; schools where turf battles get more attention than gang battles; bureaucracies that are better

suited to shuffling papers than to changing lives; teachers who have burned out, have given up, and are just going through the motions; citizens who couldn't care less about education as long as they keep their local taxes down; and students who sometimes act more like the kids in "Beverly Hills, 90210" than like the kids in *Stand and Deliver*.

Just look at the student loan program, for example. Since 1980 the cost of defaults in the federal Guaranteed Student Loan Program has increased 14 times over, from \$239 million in 1980 to \$3.4 billion this year.

In Washington, D.C., five doctors who got the government to finance their medical education in return for promising to practice in chronically underserved rural or urban areas are now being sued for breaking that promise. People like these deadbeat doctors cost more than money — they deny medical education to others who would have kept their word, and they deny urgently needed medical care to blighted urban areas and forgotten pockets of rural poverty.

LET'S LOOK AT the President's record on education. At the education summit in 1989, I was part of a small bipartisan governors' delegation to the White House. We worked late into the night to hammer out six education goals for our nation in the year 2000.

Let me just repeat them here. By the year 2000, all students should be mentally and physically ready to learn. By the year 2000, we should raise the on-time high school graduation rate to 90%, the international standard. By the year 2000, we should have national standards for what our children should know at the fourth, eighth, and 12th grades in math and science, language, geography, history, and other subjects, and we should have a *meaningful* set of national exams to measure whether they know what they're supposed to know.

By the year 2000, we should be second to none in achievement in mathematics and science. By the year 2000, our schools should be safe, disciplined, and free of drugs. By the year 2000, we should have a lifetime system of learning that guarantees all adults the chance to learn to read, the chance to pass the

General Education Development exam if they don't have a high school diploma, and the chance to get training throughout a lifetime. Those were the goals.

Now, we knew that state and local governments would have to provide most of the funding for public education, as they do now. But we also knew that, during the Eighties, the percentage of the federal budget going to education had declined by about 50%. And the percentage of local school budgets coming from federal funds had declined dramatically as well.

So, in the agreement, we asked the White House to make some commitments. And the White House promised to fully fund the Head Start program, among other things. Yet now, in the fourth year of the Bush Administration, according to one study, only 36% of the eligible children of this country are being served by Head Start.

The President promised to support bilingual education. It has been cut by 47% in the 1980s while we have faced an explosion of immigrant populations from around the world.

The President now promises to improve worker training, but federal employment and training outlays went down 26% in the 1980s, and the President's current budget calls for removing 224,000 trainees from the Job Training and Partnership Act, an act his own vice president helped to write into the law. President Bush himself has pledged to help end adult illiteracy by the year 2000, yet his proposed budget eliminates four needed literacy programs — including one that helps teach literacy to inmates in prisons, even though we know that ignorance is one of the main causes of crime in this country.

But one promise President Bush has kept. He said, and I quote, "I don't believe it is the federal role to say the federal government will pay for every kid to be educated in college." Now that's a commitment he has kept. He has taken bold, decisive action to keep that promise. He has proposed eliminating Pell grants for any family that earns more than \$10,000 a year. If your income is over \$10,000 a year, you're too rich to get any college aid. But if you make \$300,000 a year, you're still poor enough to need a capital gains tax cut. It isn't right.

Those who do receive Pell grants know that they are worth only about half as

much as they were worth a decade ago. The 1993 federal budget reduces student aid by \$79 million. The President even vetoed a bill that would have allowed Americans to deduct the interest on their student loans from their tax returns and use Individual Retirement Account savings for college costs.

Why did he veto that bill? Because the bill paid for this assistance to the middle class with a modest tax increase for the richest Americans. And he was opposed to increasing the taxes of people whose incomes went up in the 1980s while their tax burdens went down. Now that the election is upon us, he has reversed 12 years of Administration policy by advocating greater access to student loans — eight or nine months after I called for universal access to student loans for all Americans.

It took this President more than a year after our education summit to send an education plan to Congress. And while there are some impressive statements in the President's America 2000 proposal, the heart of the Bush education plan is to tinker around the edges, to build 535 new public schools, one for every representative and senator. That's how the number was chosen.

Instead of providing real incentives to improve and restructure all our schools, his plan would raise up a few and leave the rest behind. The President's education plan amounts to a form of "trickle-down education" that won't help Americans any more than trickle-down economics helped us in the 1980s.

We must close the gaps in our society between what people are capable of achieving and what we ask of them, between what we promise our people and what we deliver. Regardless of who is to blame — and there's always enough blame to go around — what we really need is to forget about blame, roll up our sleeves, and get to work.

LET'S BE CLEAR: this situation is not all bad. There are great schools, great teachers, great principals in America — great places in America where learning is occurring against all the odds. There are huge numbers of Americans who understand the importance of education to their future and who are filling the classrooms

of our community colleges. There are public officials — from school board members to governors, from state legislators to members of Congress and, yes, to people in this Administration in Washington — who really do care about education. But the fact is, we are not doing enough.

America needs an Education President who shows up for class every day, not just once every four years. In the first 100 days of my Administration, I'll give Congress and the American people a real education reform package. I'll work day and night to get it passed — unlike our current President, who often proposes and then leaves it to others to dispose.

America needs an
Education President
who shows up for
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every four years.

First, we must implement that portion of the national education goals that calls for the establishment of world class standards in math and science and other subjects. Today we have an education system that too often moves people up the ladder whether they study or not, graduates people whether they know anything or not, and dumps people into the work force whether they have the skills it takes to succeed or not. And that is wrong.

We must develop a meaningful national examination system, not more of those so-called norm-referenced tests that are given every two or three years and show every student scoring above the national average. The only people who benefit from those tests are the people who sell them. We need to determine whether our students are meeting the standards we set, and we shouldn't use the national standards and the national test simply to

measure performance. They should be used to increase expectations and to give schools incentives and structures to improve student performance.

It is just not true that only our most gifted students can do demanding work. Our competitors all around the world know that effort, not ability, makes the biggest difference in educational achievement. That is the real lesson of the outstanding results achieved in inner-city and rural schools by remarkable teachers. It is the lesson of the wonderful movie *Stand and Deliver*, in which Edward James Olmos played Jaime Escalante, whose advanced math students at Garfield High School in Los Angeles passed the Advanced Placement calculus test in numbers that astounded many of his colleagues.

My wife and daughter and I have watched that movie together a lot of times. Every few months my daughter asks me to rent it again. I asked many members of my administration in Arkansas to go see the movie when it came out. And when they came out of the movie, I would say, "What was the lesson of the movie?" And they would say, "That guy is an amazing teacher." I'd say, "No, the real lesson is that all children can learn."

Throughout this country, when parents and teachers and administrators challenge students to do their best, the students come through with world class performances. It is not a question of I.Q.; it is a question of vision, will, organization, and effort. We will never close the achievement gap or the opportunity gap without high standards and real measurement.

The second thing we need to do is to make sure that all our children start out on a level playing field, because national standards can't be fair unless they do. We have to work hard to see that every American school has a rich, challenging curriculum and that every teacher has the opportunity to develop the skills that he or she needs to teach well.

The poor and the minorities and the immigrants have too often been victims of the system, which has held them to lower standards than others and provided fewer opportunities to them than to other children. Too often, less is expected and less is provided. We must have both high standards and a level playing field so that all can reach those standards.

One of the things that a level playing field implies is preschool for every child who needs it. Surely a country that can find up to \$500 billion to bail out the savings-and-loan industry can find \$5 billion to fund the Head Start program. Surely we can carry out the recommendations of the National School Readiness Task Force, which I chair, so that states and localities can offer prenatal care, day care, and family support services that can prevent learning problems and equip children to make the most of school.

Surely we can provide more funds for the Chapter 1 program so that we can have smaller classes in the early grades for poor and disadvantaged children. There is now a clear study, conducted in Tennessee, that demonstrates conclusively that if you get class sizes for poor children down to 15 students in the early grades, those children exhibit measurable and lasting learning gains that increase the chances of their staying in school, succeeding, and going on to post-secondary education. We ought to pursue those reforms.

Finally, we ought to make every school the safest place in our society again, not a place where students do bullet drills instead of fire drills. Earlier this year I visited Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn, where, one month later, two of the students to whom I had spoken were shot to death while walking in the hall.

Three years ago I visited a sixth-grade class in a school in south central Los Angeles, and I asked the children what they were most worried about. They were bright, articulate, intelligent children, and they were most worried about being shot going to and from school. They were also worried about being forced to join gangs when they got into the eighth grade. Those students are now in the ninth grade. In the days after the recent riots, I often wondered how many of them wound up in gangs, whether they looted, and whether they're all still alive. They're all our children.

A national government ought to provide security equipment and help cities put more police officers on the streets — on the beat — in the neighborhoods around schools. It ought to pass the Brady Bill to require a waiting period so that people with criminal records or histories of mental problems or those who are too

young cannot get guns so easily.

These are all our children. And there can be no level playing field where people are not safe in their schools. I also

One of the things
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believe that we need to give some people a level playing field by giving them more leverage in the schools they attend. I support magnet schools in big cities. I support public school choice. I think children ought to be able to go to public schools other than the ones their residence dictates.

But the present Administration wants to use public funds to subsidize parents to send their children to private schools. Now, while I support public school choice, and our state was the second state to adopt it, I am unalterably opposed to a voucher system to give people public money to take to private schools.

We already spend a lower proportion of our gross domestic product than many of our competitors on K-12 education. Now, when budgets are being slashed by states all across America, is not the time to further diminish the financial resources of the public schools. When the federal government has restricted its commitment to education, now is not the time to adopt a plan that supports private schools.

THE THIRD thing I think we ought to do is to launch an all-out effort to increase our high school graduation rate to 90% by the year 2000. Nearly a quarter of our high school students fail to graduate on

time. In some cities the dropout rate is 50%. Dropouts are doomed to a series of low-skilled, low-wage jobs or to a life on the margins of society, which often leads to prison.

It's no wonder we have the highest incarceration rate in the world and spend more money to keep people in prison than to send them to college. We need to make something of the lives we're wasting.

In my state, we do something that might not work in a big city, but it works in a rural state. You drop out of school for no good reason, and you lose your driver's license. More than 1,750 young people have lost their driver's licenses since we passed the law, but our state now has the highest graduation rate in our region. The other state that's about tied with us is West Virginia, another poor state, which was the first state to adopt the driver's license law.

When I become President, we will help schools prevent dropouts and reach out to the young people who do drop out to bring them up to the same world class standards that we expect of everyone else. We need to give students incentives to stay in high school.

We need programs like the "I Have a Dream" program in New York, in which Eugene Lang, a businessman, promised a group of students that, if they would stay in school, he would send them to college. Or a program like Contact in Orlando, Florida, in which a young friend of mine, Charles White, organizes businesspeople to work one-on-one with at-risk students to keep them in school, give them summer jobs, and ensure that there's a future for them after they get out of high school.

We need a program like the Academic Challenge Grant that we adopted in my state. That program made available to students in the lower income brackets (more than two-thirds of our young people) \$1,000-a-year scholarships for four years if they made a C+ average in the recommended college courses, stayed off drugs, and behaved themselves. As a matter of right, they got the scholarship. We need to give people incentives to stay in school.

But we need to help those who drop out anyway. We need youth opportunity centers, which have been proposed in New York. Opportunity centers would give each youngster regular contact with

an adult who cares about him or her in an alternative learning environment. Such centers would give students who don't succeed in traditional school settings a second chance to make it.

I'd like us to consider forming a youth opportunity corps that would recruit young high school dropouts for a year or two, pay them entry-level wages, and help them develop self-discipline, learning skills, and specific job skills. As we reduce our military forces in the wake of the Cold War, we could make the most of the training facilities and the expert personnel of our military — the best training ground on earth — by using them to teach in the youth opportunity corps and giving them the chance to continue to serve their country instead of just putting them on the street.

A youth opportunity corps would give dropouts the chance and the discipline to obtain their high school diplomas according to the same standards as everyone else. It would give them a second chance to earn a decent living.

The fourth thing we should do is to challenge American business to live up to its responsibility to help Americans develop skills in the workplace. Something is wrong with a country that strips the dignity from blue-collar work by permitting younger workers with high school diplomas to watch their earnings drop 20% over a decade.

In our Administration, we'll establish a national apprenticeship program, like those in Europe, that will encourage non-college-bound students to stay in school, take challenging courses, move into the work force, and then get two years of further training on the job in cooperation with institutions like community colleges. That's what we need to do for those young people.

Last year in Arkansas we passed a statewide apprenticeship bill. Last spring a woman in the northwestern part of the state told our program director there how proud she was that her daughter would now be earning a higher wage as a result of the apprenticeship program than she herself makes in her regular job.

For that mother and that daughter, the American dream is coming true. Knowing your child can have an opportunity for a better life is an important part of restoring hope in this country. We also need to establish a national system to

teach every adult in the work force to read and to give every working adult the chance to earn a high school diploma within the next five years. It doesn't cost that much money — you could do a lot of it in the workplace.

In my state, a very small state of 2.4 million people, we spend more money on adult education now than do our next-door neighbors in Texas, a state five times our size. But it is the best money we have ever spent. We have increased by more than four times in the last eight years the number of adults in our job training program, and it is working to lift their income. We ought to teach every-

In Arkansas,
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body who has a job to read, give everybody who has a job the chance to earn a high school diploma. Then they can continue learning throughout their lifetimes.

Instead of treating job training as a poor stepchild, a Clinton Administration will require all employers to invest 1% to 1.5% of their payrolls in the retraining of their own work force. This is what our competitors do. And we will require them to spend it on workers all down the line.

In America 70% of the job training paid for by private companies goes to the top 10% of the employees. But in Europe and Japan, job training goes to people up and down the line, because smart folks know that the front-line workers make the money for you, and you'd better retrain them every year if you want your productivity to continue to rise.

At the same time, we need to force our

government to straighten out and streamline the unbelievable bureaucratic maze of the countless publicly funded training programs — each with its own application forms, eligibility criteria, rules, and procedures.

FINALLY, we need to make sure that every American who wants to go to college has the chance. For 12 years, the last two Presidents have worked hard to make it harder for millions of Americans to get help to go to college. Here's what I would like to do. I think we ought to scrap the existing student loan program. We waste over \$3 billion on defaults and \$1 billion on bank subsidies every year. I'd like to replace this program with what I call a domestic G.I. Bill.

This program would be a national service trust that would give every American, regardless of income, the right to borrow the money to finance a college education. All of you could show up and borrow the money. You wouldn't *have* to be poor — although, to be sure, you *could* be poor and get the money. You could be middle class and get it. You could be upper middle class and get it. But you have to be willing to pay the money back.

And it would be your choice. You would have one of two options. You could sign a contract to pay the money back as a small percentage of your income after you go to work. It would be paid at tax time so you couldn't beat the bill. But you would pay not just according to how much you borrowed but also according to how much you earn. So we would never cripple people or discourage them from becoming teachers or public servants or doing other work that might pay less money but be otherwise more rewarding. You would pay according to your ability to pay.

Or you could choose to pay off the loan with public service. If you borrowed the funds for two years of education, you could do one year of work — paid at a reduced salary by the national government — as, say, a teacher or a law enforcement officer. Or you could work in a drug program, work with troubled children, work to help students stay out of gangs and in schools, or work to solve the problems of your community. We

could get a whole generation of Americans to do that.

In the end, politicians can't and won't solve this problem for you. If we are going to compete and win again, we are all going to have to work harder and work smarter and become lifelong learners. I know this can happen because I have seen it happen before.

In 1978 a distinguished education consultant named Kern Alexander came to my state and said that a child would have less chance of getting a good education in Arkansas than in virtually any other state in the country. We didn't point fingers or place blame — we just went to work. In the early Eighties, when I became governor for a second time, my wife and I and a committee of respected Arkansans that she chaired traveled our state and talked to parents and teachers and ordinary citizens.

We began what has been a 10-year struggle to raise standards and improve opportunity in our state. We have raised taxes twice — in 1983 and 1991 — and put all the money into education.

We have done some things no other state has done. We became the first state in the country to require practicing teach-

We can change the future and the opportunities for all the people in America if we work together.

ers to pass a test for recertification. You can imagine how popular that was. But after two years most of them passed — and those who didn't shouldn't have been recertified (and they weren't). We also raised pay and — in the end — morale.

Arkansas became the first state to require students at the eighth-grade level to pass an exam in order to be promoted to high school. Critics said, "Oh, you can't

do that, you'll increase the dropout rate." But you know what? The dropout rate went down, and the graduation rate went up because there were no more bored students in high school who couldn't read.

We went for smaller classes in the early grades and for elementary counselors for the children. We had the lowest rate of college-bound high school students in the country in 1980, but now we are up to the national average.

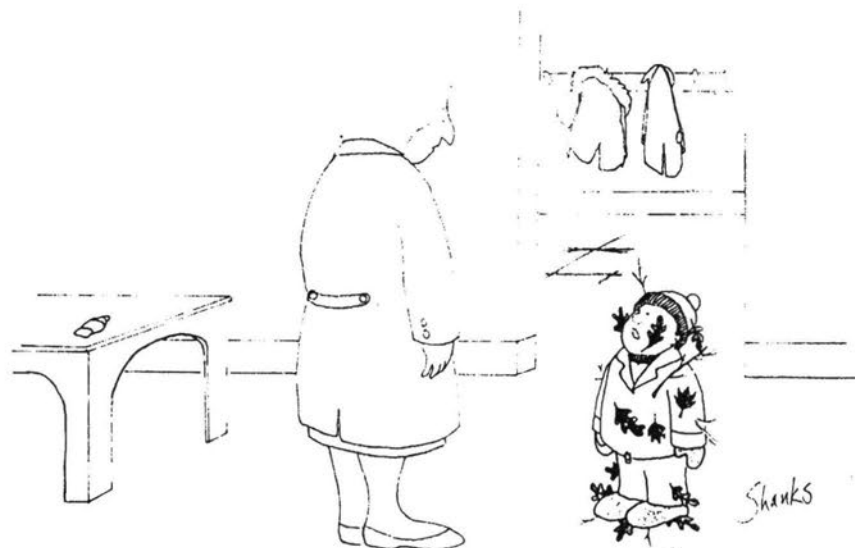
These things can happen. We can change the future and the opportunities for all the people in America if we work together, if we have high standards, if we close the opportunity gap, if we close the responsibility gap.

You know, I was born at the end of World War II in a state where the per-capita income was just a little above half the national average. Most of us lived, in other words, below what is now called the poverty line. We didn't know much about that or anything else having to do with federal statistics. But we did know that if we worked hard and played by the rules, we could get ahead.

What bothers me so much about America today is that there are so many people who are being deprived of that opportunity. I got a chance to get a world class education, starting in my public school. I had the opportunity to work my way through college and through law school. I held six jobs along the way, but it didn't kill me. I also had a scholarship and a loan, which made it economically possible. I had the kinds of opportunities that too many people don't have today.

I know that if it hadn't been for my education — made possible by the help I got in scholarships and loans as well as the chance I had to work my way through school — I wouldn't be running for President today. And I got into this race because I could no longer tolerate seeing millions of Americans miss out on the opportunities that ought to be theirs because we do not have a good economic policy to create more jobs in this country and because such great educational gaps exist in performance, achievement, and standards.

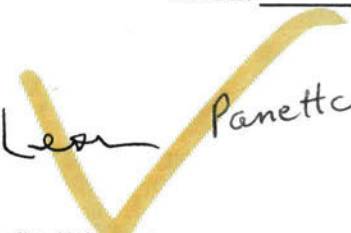
I tell you, one of the major issues that ought to be on the front burner in this Presidential election is the matter of who can be the *real* Education President and how America can once again become the country that puts education first. 



"Sorry, I don't have all my art supplies, Ms. Carmichael. I dropped my bottle of glue on the way to school."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: May 30

TO:  Leon Panetta

FROM: Staff Secretary

fyi. These are four
very impressive letters
from nationally known
constitutional scholars
endorsing Elena Kagan
for OLC job.

Todd

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May 20, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have heard that Elena Kagan, a professor at this law school now on leave at the White House, is a candidate for head of the Office of Legal Counsel. I write because I know Elena well and because I think she would be a wonderful choice.

Having worked at OLC in the early 1980s, I have a sense of the Office's functions and needs, and I think that Elena is unusually well-suited to the job. As a lawyer, she is both brilliant and entirely level-headed -- in academia at least, a fairly unusual combination of skills. When she approaches legal issues, she shows a lot of creativity and imagination, but she's also got outstanding judgment, real maturity, and a fine sense of proportion. It's perhaps unnecessary to say that despite her relative youth, she has a wide understanding of many areas of the law. Her work on the first amendment is a nice example; it takes a big step back from the law, organizes it wonderfully, and makes sense of a range of areas not normally grouped together. In fact she has a terrific head start on the questions with which OLC deals, and she's an amazingly fast learner.

Elena also deals wonderfully with people. She's one of the fairest and most decent people I know, and she is exceptionally well-liked and admired by a wide range of people at the law school -- moderates, conservatives, liberals, and everyone else. As a lawyer she's not at all "political," but she is very well-attuned to people and audiences, and she has a terrific sense what to say and when to say it. In fact she's established herself very quickly as the very best teacher at the law

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school (I say this with some chagrin). I've also seen her in a range of administrative capacities, and she's an excellent leader. In fact she is widely regarded as a strong candidate to become the next Dean of this law school. From what I've seen, I imagine that she would deal very well with the Congress and with other potentially adversarial bodies. It helps that she has a terrific sense of humor and is extremely reluctant to treat other people as adversaries.

I'm sure that there are a number of excellent choices to head OLC, but as someone who knows Elena and the Office well, I hope you won't mind if I suggest that this would be a terrific match. Very best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Cass R. Sunstein', written in a cursive, flowing style.

Cass R. Sunstein

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May 20, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear President Clinton:

I recently learned from a colleague that Elena Kagan may be under consideration for appointment as Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel. In the hope that this is true, I am writing to put in my two cents in support of her appointment.

I first met Elena some six years ago when I was Dean of the University of Chicago Law School and she was a young lawyer at Williams & Connolly. I had heard wonderful things about her from a variety of sources, including Ab Mikva, a graduate of Chicago, for whom Elena had clerked. I set about trying to recruit her to join the faculty. In our very first meeting, I saw in Elena all the qualities that Ab and others already had described -- she was a tough, independent, smart lawyer with a clear academic bent. After a year of cultivation, she joined the faculty in the fall of 1991. She has been a great success as a teacher, scholar and colleague.

Elena has focused most of her teaching in the fields of constitutional law, labor law and civil procedure. She is a rigorous, engaging and lively teacher. She demands the best from her students, and they delight in meeting her expectations. She probes, challenges and tests her students' assumptions, and she encourages them to challenge hers. From her very first course, she was regarded by the students as a simply brilliant teacher. Indeed, in only her third year on the faculty she received the Law School's annual award for Excellence in Teaching -- the first and only untenured member of the faculty ever to receive that honor.

President William J. Clinton
May 20, 1996
Page two

Elena has also flourished as a scholar. Most of her research arises out of her interest in freedom of expression. Because this is also my field of study, I am intimately familiar with her work. In her short time on the faculty, she has completed two major articles, as well as several lesser pieces. In her first major work, published in *The Supreme Court Review*, Elena offered a careful, innovative and powerful analysis of the Court's decision in *R.A.V.* (the cross-burning case). In this article, Elena dissected the opinions of the Court and put forth an original and already influential reinterpretation of the central issue presented in the case.

In her second major work, soon to be published in *The University of Chicago Law Review*, Elena sets forth an ambitious and novel understanding of the Court's overall First Amendment jurisprudence. In this article, Elena surveys the entire corpus of First Amendment doctrine and demonstrates that most, if not all, of this doctrine can be explained by the Court's concern with improper governmental motivation -- that is, with its concern that laws regulating speech may consciously or unconsciously be the result of governmental favoritism for or hostility to particular ideas and viewpoints. This is an innovative and provocative thesis which persuasively challenges most of the accepted understandings of existing First Amendment jurisprudence. This article will inform and, indeed, shape academic and legal discourse about freedom of speech for years to come. On the basis of these articles, Elena was promoted last year to the rank of full Professor, with tenure.

It is important to understand that Elena is not one of those all-too-common legal scholars whose primary interest is in abstract theory, divorced from legal doctrine. To the contrary, Elena is a lawyer's scholar. She takes courts, precedents and doctrine seriously. She believes that law matters. She writes in the best tradition of Paul Freund, Harry Kalven and Thomas Emerson. I am confident that, when she returns to the Law School and again turns her energy and curiosity to scholarly research, she will emerge as one of the leading constitutional voices of her generation.

Finally, I should note that Elena is a valued colleague. In only a few short years she has come to be regarded as a central figure in the Law School's decision making structure. As Dean, I sought her advice regularly on a broad range of issues, including faculty appointments, student concerns and institutional policies. She is strikingly forthright, honest and direct. She has wisdom beyond her years, and always offers thoughtful and sensible advice. She listens. She is a person of integrity, independence and commitment to principle. I trust her completely, and I know that every one of my colleagues

President William J. Clinton

May 20, 1996

Page three

-- regardless of seniority or ideology -- shares that trust. It is thus no surprise that, when we speculate about the future, Elena is invariably mentioned as a possible future Dean of the Law School.

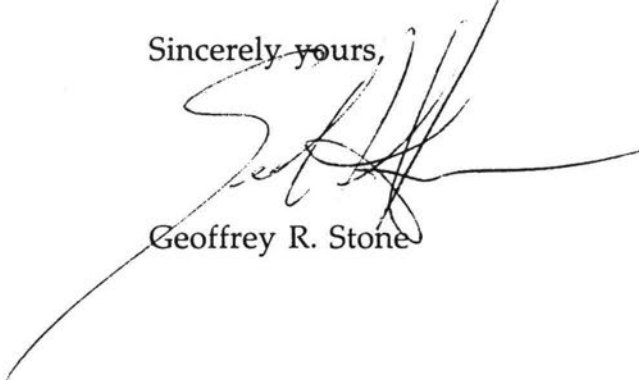
Last year, Ab Mikva -- borrowing back what he first "gave" us -- persuaded Elena to take a leave of absence from the faculty to join him in the office of Counsel to the President. I trust that Elena has performed well in that role, and that her colleagues in that office, as well as others who have worked with her in the past year, will confirm all I have said above.

Although Elena may be on the young side for the position under consideration, she is a truly remarkable person. She is a serious individual who cares deeply about the law, and she has the intellectual and personal skills to fulfill her responsibilities to the very highest degree. Although I would hate to see her remain away from the Law School any longer (I miss her), I am compelled in good conscience to recommend her enthusiastically and without qualification for the position of Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel. She would be a treasure.

If I can be of any further assistance in this matter, please feel free to call or write me at any time.

With warm best wishes.

Sincerely yours,



Geoffrey R. Stone

GRS:cm

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*Ralph S. Tyler, Jr. Professor
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May 19, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I've heard reports that Walter Dellinger's former position — head of the Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice — might go to any of several people, and I hope you won't mind my imposing on you with my own views on the matter.

If the rumors I've heard are correct, Elena Kagan is not necessarily at the top of the current list to fill the position. Elena is a professor of constitutional law at the University of Chicago Law School who has taken a leave of absence to serve as an associate White House counsel. I had spoken to the Attorney General at an earlier stage of the process to tell her what I thought of Elena, and I hope the rumors I now hear are wrong. I know quite a lot about all of the people being discussed, and I think Elena is the one who clearly stands out as being genuinely capable of filling Walter Dellinger's shoes.

That's a hard task, because obviously Walter is an extraordinary person and has done a splendid job as head of the Office of Legal Counsel. I think the world of how well he's discharged that important duty.

Having known Elena since she was a student of mine quite some time ago and having watched her meteoric rise to tenure and her current position with Jack Quinn at the White House, I have to say that an enormous admirer of her intellectual and moral qualities. She is one of the most insightful constitutionalists of her generation. I have seen her work at close range, and her writing is always illuminating and imaginative. She has a degree of wisdom well beyond her years and a degree of judgment and maturity that is quite remarkable. Her views are thoughtful, moderate, and balanced, and she has no private agenda.

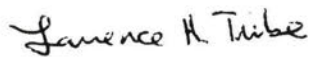
I'm sure that her time in the White House Counsel's office has given her valuable experience in the Administration. I have no doubt that she would discharge the challenging duties of the OLC position with extraordinary distinction and would be a truly knowledgeable source of advice on the sort of issues that Walter has handled so well. In

short, I think that the Attorney General couldn't have a better legal advisor.

At Harvard, we've been trying for some time now to persuade Elena to serve as a visiting Professor of Law. I think something has finally been tentatively arranged for 1997. But I hope that it will be delayed by Elena's tenure at the OLC.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to express my views.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Laurence H. Tribe".

Laurence H. Tribe



HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

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MARTHA L. MINOW
Professor of Law

GRISWOLD 407
(617) 495-4276

May 21, 1996

President Bill Clinton
The White House
FAX: (202) 456-2215

Dear President Clinton:

I understand that the Office of Legal Counsel in the Department of Justice will be needing a new director, and I write to give the strongest recommendation for Elena Kagan, who currently serves on your White House counsel staff. On leave from the University of Chicago Law School, Ms. Kagan is one of the most talented lawyers in her generation. She was a student of mine here at the Harvard Law School, and set such a high standard for accomplishment that colleagues and I talk about talented students using her as the benchmark.

What makes her such a stand-out, I believe, is that she combines the kind of precise analytic rigor we expect from top-flight lawyers with a far more rare quality, good judgment. She has a capacity to see the big picture and to keep it in mind while holding on to all the particular details relevant to a problem. She well understands the multiple arenas in which consequences should be anticipated. She works well with a wide range of people and earns respect quickly. At the University of Chicago, she soared to the top of the students' evaluation of teachers within a short time after her arrival and she similarly impressed her colleagues who promptly placed her in positions of responsibility, such as the hiring committee.

Other qualified candidates surely exist, but it would be difficult to find anyone who combines truly unusual analytic prowess with the quite extraordinary qualities of integrity and good sense exhibited by Elena Kagan. I hope you select her to head OLC.

Sincerely,

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

Martha Minow
Professor of Law

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 5/30

TO:

Kitty Higgins

FROM: Staff Secretary

I think it is probably unlikely
we would do this event, but could you
advise before I send this to
correspondence for a reply.

Thanks,

Phil



Help Hospitalized Veterans

2055 Kurtz Street, San Diego, California 92110-2092
96 MAY 28 All (619) 291-5846 / FAX • 291-3842

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The President
The White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

May we invite you to present our Help Hospitalized Veteran's 15 millionth arts and crafts kit to a paralyzed WWII combat veteran during this our 25th Anniversary Year. This kit will symbolize the generosity and devotion of the millions of caring, patriotic Americans whose donations have enabled us to distribute over \$100 million worth of craft kits to some 300 VA and military hospitals and state veterans homes.

You might also like to know that Bob Hope presented our one millionth kit in 1974 and our 500,000th G.I. Gift Pac in Vietnam. We also sent 880,000 Gift Pacs to our troops in the Persian Gulf.

As one VA recreation director put it, "the kits are not to kill time, but to make time live". And as important, they let our hospitalized veterans know that they are not forgotten.

An amazing number of our many donors have contributed in excess of 100 different times to our craft kit program. If you are agreeable to the 15 millionth kit presentation, we would also like to ask you to present, in our behalf, a special plaque to honor the donor of this kit.

My thanks for the Memorial Day Breakfast invite and we'll hope to look forward to visiting again soon for the 15 millionth.

Gratefully,

Roger

Roger Chapin
Founder and President



Bob Hope presents an HHV Craft Kit to hospitalized Vietnam veteran Eugene Gardner.

Help Hospitalized Veterans is a non-profit, tax exempt corporation.
"Serving American Veterans & the Military Community for over 25 years."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 30, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR SENIOR STAFF

FROM: EVELYN S. LIEBERMAN
TODD STERN *TS*

SUBJECT: Clearance Process

This is intended to reiterate the importance of providing documents to the Staff Secretary's Office with adequate time for them to be circulated to relevant White House policy and communications staff for comment, editing, etc.

Documents are circulated in the first place to ensure that they are accurate in terms of substance, message and form. On several recent occasions, lengthy documents -- e.g., EOP agency reports introduced by a Presidential message -- were delivered to the Staff Secretary's office far too late for relevant staff to provide anything more than a cursory review. That can create problems. Failure to allow proper review of Presidential documents can result in the release of inaccurate or unclear information.

Substantive documents must be submitted to the Staff Secretary's Office to allow a minimum of five days of clearance time.

Thank you for your cooperation.