

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1996

Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Weaver
Box 489, Route 2
Port Lavaca, Texas 77979

Dear Rosemarie and Kenneth:

Thank you so much for your warm letter, which I received while filming my part in "A Child's Wish."

I strongly believe that the Family and Medical Leave Act was, and is, the right thing to do for America's families. Your family's story has had such an incredible impact on me and all who have heard it. I'll never forget meeting you and Missy at the White House, and I was so pleased to learn that the Act allowed you to spend time with Missy when she was ill.

I appreciate your continued support and hope you will keep in touch. Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely,

Barack



April 23, 1996

Dear President Clinton,

Kenny and I are visiting the movie set of "A Child's Wish" in Vancouver, B.C.; and it has been an extraordinarily rewarding experience! It has been a ~~little~~ little more than a year ago when the first glimmer of an idea for this movie emerged, and now it is a reality. Larry Harowitz, the cast, and the production crew are doing a fantastic job. Each scene I observed was well planned, researched, and presented with integrity.

The main character represents a universal picture of many young patients and the problems that challenge them. The situation of the entire family facing a life threatening situation is poignantly presented and the need for the Family Medical Leave Act is evident. It is my hope that the sincere intent of this movie is not misconstrued.



Real people, not actors, face medical emergencies that deserve compassion not reprisal in the workplace. You gave our family that chance and me, along with thousands more, are very grateful for that chance.

President Clinton, this movie is an honest credit to your effort and dedication to do what is right for America. Thank you for participating! ~~Our~~ Our family looks forward to visiting with you again in the near future.

With deepest regards,

Rosmarie J. Weaver
Ralph J. Weaver

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE:

6/26/96

TO:

David Fein

FROM: Staff Secretary

Per our conversation,
here is the directive
with edits incorporated.

Helen

6-2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Renewing our Commitment to Crime Victims

We have made tremendous progress over the last 3 years in reducing crime and making America safer. Nonetheless, crime continues to affect the lives of millions of Americans, greatly diminishing their sense of safety and security.

For too long, the rights and needs of crime victims and witnesses have been overlooked in the criminal justice system. Through the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, we have begun to address this problem. But those important measures are not enough.

As important as the protections those laws provide are, they do not -- and cannot -- give victims equal status with the accused. That's the next step we need to take.

I strongly believe that victims should be central participants in the criminal justice system, and that it will take a constitutional amendment to give the rights of victims the same status as the rights of the accused. In the interim, I want my Administration to do everything possible to ensure that victims' rights are respected and that victims' participation in all stages of the criminal justice process is encouraged and facilitated. Our Federal investigators and prosecutors should not simply comply with the letter of the law, they should also fulfill the spirit of the law.

That is why I am directing you to take a number of important steps that will improve the treatment of victims in the Federal, State, military, and juvenile criminal justice systems.

First, I am directing you to undertake a system-wide review and to take all necessary steps to provide for maximum victim participation in all Federal criminal proceedings. In particular, I want you to adopt a nationwide automated victim information and notification system so that we can better inform and protect crime victims.

Second, I would like you to work with other Federal agencies whose missions involve them with crime victims in order to ensure that a common and comprehensive baseline of participation for victims can be achieved.

Third, I want you to review existing Federal statutes to see what further changes ought to be made. For example, I would like you to consider legislation that would prohibit employers from dismissing or disciplining employees who are victims of crime and whose participation in criminal proceedings requires them to take time away from their employment.

Finally, I want you to work with State officials -- governors, attorneys general, legislators, district attorneys, and judges -- to identify the needs, challenges, best practices, and resources necessary to help achieve a uniform national baseline of protections for victims. In addition, the Department of Justice should provide technical assistance to State and local law enforcement, as well as other Federal agencies, and serve as a national clearinghouse for information about the most effective approaches to realizing fully the rights of victims of violent crime.

To achieve these objectives, I expect you to identify funding needs where and as appropriate. Please report to me in writing as soon as possible on the specific steps you will take to achieve these goals.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/26/94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/24/94

ORANGE CRUSH

By Sean Wilentz

Princeton held its two hundred and forty-ninth commencement last Tuesday, and it featured a speech by President Clinton. For weeks beforehand, campus VIPs had been, understandably, in a tizzy, but they needn't have worried. The sun blasted through an early morning haze and dappled the throngs of graduates assembled beneath the maples in front of Nassau Hall. The faculty, normally eager to leave town or return to the library at first opportunity, turned out in what looked like record numbers. The crowd laughed and applauded on cue during the salutatorian's Latin address. The president spoke well, and at decent length, on an issue of national importance. And the locusts didn't sing.

As Bob Dylan's fans know well, Princeton has a locust problem, or more precisely a cicada problem. Every seventeen years, swarms of the orange-and-black insects (*Magicicada septendecim*) reappear, having fattened up below ground on juice sucked from plant and tree roots. Unlike genuine locusts, they don't harm local crops (not a big worry in Princeton anyway); but the whirring din of the amassed males of the species has been known to drive even the most single-minded of scholars to distraction. And even in the off years the cicadas cause quite a racket. When Dylan received his honorary Princeton Mus. D. degree in 1970 (mordantly described in his song "Day of the Locusts"), a "high winding trill" cut through the academic formalities and sent the raspy-voiced one racing back to the Black Hills of Dakota.

Tradition dictates that Princeton invite the sitting president to campus every half-century, to help commemorate the university's founding in 1746. Grover Cleveland spoke in 1896; Harry Truman spoke in 1947; and now it was Clinton's turn. (As the president noted, Democrats seem to have a lock on the Princeton gig.) But what if now, on the occasion of the university's bicenquingenary, the cicadas ruined everything? No problem, as it happened. A few days before the event, I ran into a university officer who had just departed from a commencement planning session. ("Clintonizing," he called it—strange verb, so full of possible meanings!) He confirmed that the *Magicicadas* are due this year, but assured me that this spring's uncommonly cool weather had faked out the pests, and that they would be showing up too late for the festivities. Sure enough, on June 4, they stayed home. Some



universities—and some politicians—have all the luck.

A handful of grumblers had hoped that, cicadas or no, Clinton would stay home. Many more, especially faculty members of a certain age, had hoped he would make some reference to Dylan's song, or perhaps to the album on which it appeared. Clinton is, after all, in the words of the official university citation that accompanied his degree, "our first baby-boom president"; and in the past he has not been shy about acknowledging his roots in '60s pop culture. But quoting the lyrics on "New Morning" would have been awkward. Identifying with the album's great spiritual conundrum—"If dogs run free/why not me?"—could have been dangerous for a candidate accused by Bob Dole of lacking the maturity to babysit. Not to mention Dylan's line, "Once I had a sweetheart, she was fine and good lookin'." Clinton wisely stuck to quoting from Woodrow Wilson.

Looking out from the stage, past the university gates to the corner bank and the jeweler's and the streets beyond, it was striking, and a bit heartening, to see some Princetonians calmly going about their business, as if nothing were transpiring on campus. Some of them, perhaps, did so defiantly. ("See here, I'm a

Republican, and I'm damned well going to deposit my dividend check!") Most, though, seemed simply to be making their usual rounds, unmoved by all the pomp and circumstance and political majesty. The ceremony, Latin and all, was a deeply American one; but so was their indifference to it.

An early line of Whitman's came to mind: "The President is up there in the White House for you. . . it is not you who are here for him."

Still, most of the people in the street stopped to listen; and Clinton, on this day, was worth listening to. He came to Princeton with a policy jock's plan, for tax credits to help guarantee Americans the financial resources necessary to acquire two years of higher education. Most Princetonians (and their overclass relatives) wouldn't really need the money. And as we later learned, most of us would wind up helping to fund the plan, in part by paying higher airline departure taxes on flights abroad. But in delivering his pitch—riffing flawlessly, his well-toned jaw muscles flexing large—Clinton made the point that so few liberal politicians seem capable of enunciating anymore, namely that the betterment of the lives of ordinary Americans is in the best interests of the fortunate few. And when, taking a leaf from E.J. Dionne, he explained to the graduating seniors that they were on the cusp of "a new progressive era," he sounded as if he had retrieved a long-lost theme for his presidency. Maybe he bragged a little too much about his administration's accomplishments: Princetonians know campaign boilerplate when they hear it. Overall, though, he was impressive.

Or so people were saying at the rapturous private reception for university trustees, administrators, faculty and alumni held directly after the exercises. It was a supremely well-connected, politically savvy, mostly liberal group. (The choicest bit of gossip making the

rounds had to do with the young Trent Lott's allegedly perfidious role during the desegregation of Ole Miss back in the '60s.) Many of those present had told me, over the years, of their immense frustration with Clinton's flip-floppery. But after the speech, when Clinton actually mixed and mingled, those frustrations seemed to evaporate (as they always seem to in the presence of our great national charmer). There was a titter of genuine affection as Princeton's president, the blessedly restrained Harold Shapiro, beamed and presented Clinton with enough Princeton gear to outfit his entire family.

And, when Clinton finished his remarks and started to work the tent, I saw some of the most formidable egos of the Western world melt in his presence. Even Steve Forbes, Class of 1970, seemed to glow just a little when he joined the reception line and had his handshake and brief chat with the man whose job he tried to take. By that time, the president was sipping mineral water from a plastic bottle, looking a little weary but relaxed, every bit the reigning political heavyweight.

Haute Princeton, at least, had been Clintonized. And the only whirring and trilling to be heard was the sound of a campaign about to go into full swing. •

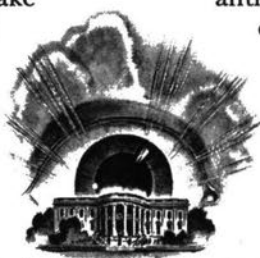
WHITE HOUSE WATCH

BUBBA 'N' BIBI

By Matthew Cooper

November 4 was a sunny day in Washington and Bill Clinton took to the putting green that he had installed a few yards from the Oval Office. The finely manicured patch of turf is terra firma for Clinton, his getaway. Not surprisingly, then, the president was by himself when Anthony Lake came dashing toward him with Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes just a few paces behind. Lake told Clinton the news: Yitzhak Rabin was dead, assassinated at a peace rally. This was not the first time that the mild-mannered Lake had brought bad news to Clinton. Conveying the deaths of American soldiers, whether in Somalia or on training missions, regularly fell to Lake. But never before had the national security adviser or even Ickes—Clinton's friend for more than a generation—seen the Arkansan so upset. Instead of becoming misty eyed or biting his lip, the usual expressions of his empathy, Clinton sobbed inconsolably.

Clinton's attachment to Israel is visceral, instinctual. Part of it is clearly born of Clinton's political needs. Why



not be the most pro-Israel president in American history? What upside was there for Ike battling Ben-Gurion over Suez or Bush and Baker trying to nickel and dime Israel over loan guarantees? If the budget deficit made him pinched at home, unable to fill his LBJ-sized belief in the efficacy of government, then Israel was a place where a few billion could still make a difference. Modest support plus diplomatic muscle might equal history's greatest concord. But Clinton's attachment to Israel is not motivated solely by a need for applause at AIPAC fund-raisers or a longing to enshrine his legacy. Clinton had long been counseled by his pastors at Little Rock's Immanuel Baptist, first W.O. Vaught and then Rex Horne, about the importance of the Holy Land and its chosen people.

Clinton's attachment to Rabin was particularly intense. It lacked the jocular intimacy of his meetings with the beefy Helmut Kohl. The faux intimacy of Renaissance Weekend was not part of the general's lexicon. Still, there were parallels to which Clinton clung. "Both of them were challengers who moved their parties away from the soft left," says a Clinton ally. To this day, only a few framed photos occupy the credenza outside the Oval Office near the desk of the president's secretary, Betty Currie. All of them are of Mideast peace signings.

Clinton and his allies had been in denial about the possibility of a Likud victory. "We were not thinking about it with great energy," confesses a senior administration official. No kidding. The Clintonites couldn't—wouldn't—see it: Peres was Israel's Dole, unable to win the big one. Almost willfully, Clinton officials put Bibi Netanyahu out of their minds even though his youth and vigor had its analog in Clinton's (or Newt's) ~~for~~ Clinton himself stayed up until 1 a.m. in the White House residence watching the returns. Like so many, he had been falsely buoyed by the exit polls. As he caught bits and pieces of the returns on CNN, his mood and that of his aides soured. Dennis Ross, the Bush holdover who has become the State Department's ~~point man~~ *point man* on the region, was, say Clinton officials, particularly frustrated. Seven years of work seemed jeopardized. When the verdict was in, Clinton leapt toward the personal, telling aides that he needed to know Netanyahu better. The two had met briefly in Jerusalem when Clinton attended the anti-terrorism summit earlier this year and had chatted briefly at the Rabin funeral and still another time, for a brief moment, when Netanyahu had paid a courtesy call on Lake. Otherwise they were strangers.

What now for the Clinton administration? Officials are painstakingly trying not to prejudge Netanyahu, hoping that he'll emerge as the centrist he portrayed himself as in the waning days of the campaign. Senior administration officials rest their hopes on the following set of prayers ... er ... assumptions:

Bibi is a pragmatist. Clinton officials are banking on Netanyahu's political savvy. They assume that, unlike the Clinton of 1993, he'll recognize his slim mandate. He won't go settlement happy, they pray, and he won't trash the region's glasnost. "He is a very different prime

BILL CLINTON

cc: w/inc: Ann Lewis
GS

June 25, 1996

Lester S. Hyman
Swidler and Berlin
Suite 300
3000 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Les:

Thanks for your suggestion about my opening remarks in the coming debates -- it's good advice, and I've shared it with Ann Lewis.

Thanks, too, for your tip about avoiding acidic foods. Keep your ideas coming.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

P.O. BOX 19300 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-9300

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June 18, 1996

Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500
ATTN: Ms. Nancy Hernreich

Dear Mr. President:

Having watched and listened carefully to Senator Dole's fascinating "farewell speech" to the Senate, I write to make two brief observations and one specific suggestion regarding your televised debates with him in the Fall.

1. Senator Dole's emotions are much closer to the surface than I had realized and, once triggered, are not easily mastered by him.
2. Although his public political pronouncements often are highly partisan and sarcastic, they well may mask his true nature which seems to crave civility and cooperation.

If both of these perceptions are correct, I would suggest that you use the first few moments of your opening statement in the first debate to pay tribute to Bob Dole for his courage and patriotism, both in World War II (which took place more than fifty years ago ... before you were born) and in his long career in the Congress.

Why?

First, it would be a kind and considerate gesture on your part.

Second, if you will permit me a little psychological speculation, my guess is that such a tribute will throw him off his pace.

Senator Dole's advisors undoubtedly will try to psych him up to be aggressive (without being nasty) and to challenge you on a variety of issues ... and to expect you aggressively to challenge him on his vision (or lack thereof) for America.

Honorable Bill Clinton
June 18, 1996
Page 2

Gracious opening remarks by you may trigger an emotional response on his part, remind him of the civility he so enjoys, and, thus, keep him off balance for the rest of the debate.

In summary, praising Senator Dole's career would be worth doing (a) for its own intrinsic value and (b) for its possible effect in "defanging" him.

Thanks, as always, for your consideration of my views.

Warmest regards.

Always sincerely,

Lester S. Hyman

LSH:lsj:9106.01

P.S. On a personal note, I read that you have a reflux condition. I, too, long have suffered from reflux, making it difficult to sleep at night. While there are drugs that successfully treat the condition, I now have found (on the advice of a doctor who is an expert in dietary therapy) that if I eliminate acidic foods in the evening, I rarely, if ever, have the problem. Simply by cutting out coffee, tea, brandy, coke, etc. at night (all of which have acidic content that triggers a hiatal hernia), the discomfort of reflux practically disappears. Give it a try, and see if it works!

I'd like to see it

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*cc Ann Stock
Peter Knight
Ann Hewes*

June 25, 1996

Paul Glaser
317 Georgina Avenue
Santa Monica, California 90402

Dear Paul:

Congratulations on the completion of your film, "KAZAAM." If we can find an opportunity to screen it, Ann Stock will be in contact with you to make arrangements.

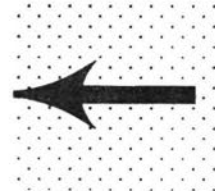
Thanks for your kind acknowledgment of my recent golfing achievement -- one any golfer is exceeding proud to reach. It was quite an exhilarating experience, I can assure you.

Your words of confidence, encouragement and unwavering support mean a great deal to Hillary and me in these challenging days. Thank you for your understanding and, most of all, for your friendship.

I hope you and Jake have a great summer. Take care and God bless.

Sincerely,

Bill



**SIGN
HERE**

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1996

Jake Glaser
317 Georgina Avenue
Santa Monica, California 90402

Dear Jake:

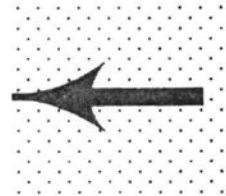
Hillary, Chelsea and I want to congratulate you on your recent graduation. We are very proud of you, just as we know your dad is.

No doubt, you have some exciting plans for the summer and will have extra time to enjoy many activities. Have a terrific vacation.

We think of you often.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



**SIGN
HERE**

Paul Michael Glaser

letter to paul

President and First Lady,
The White House
Washington, DC

June 7, 1996

Dear Bill and Hillary,

It's been a while. I just came up for air, having finished my film, "KAZAAM", a year and four months in the making. The idea came to me a couple of months after Elizabeth's passing, and I grabbed onto it and rode it onto celluloid in a record amount of time. I am very proud of it. It is the story of a cynical genie who come out of a boom-box, and a boy who doesn't believe in wishes, and how each finds his freedom and his self in the other's heart. I think it is a good film that will hopefully resonate for people today who seem to so desperately need to know that they have some power, some way to know themselves and their reason to exist. If, in your busy schedule you want to screen it, just give a holler. I would like to think that emotionally and spiritually it helps the night, the day.

* I have heard Bill, that you broke 80.....congratulations. I still have yet to find my golf swing, or at least introduce my ball to it,...but the word was on the links about your success. How was your next round? Have you read "Golf in the Kingdom", by Michael Murphy? Just an amazingly informative and insightful journey through golf, philosophically, spiritually, practically....

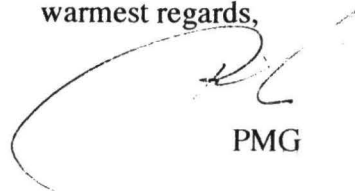
Hillary....I have a girlfriend who is very talented and strong who runs a company, and who is being slandered at present through the press and the inequities of the legal system. It is so difficult to have to put up with such unfairness, and so difficult to find the opportunity within. I know how frustrating and difficult this must be for Bill, not to be able to do anything, and for you, to keep your faith, not feel the victim, to keep your energy positive and whole. Yet, you are doing it, and if I may say, very well. I so respect how you are handling this, and I think it is very important for you to hear and know how many people do respect you, look to you for your humanity and your guidance. I think it is all about fear and our ability to accept and acknowledge that we can only do what is possible....and if we know we are doing that, then we have our integrity, and nobody can take that away.

I know you're heading into the thick of the Race, soon. Jake and I are East for most of the summer. I hope you folks get some time for yourselves. I don't know if there is any way Jake and I can be of help in the coming months, if there were anything we could do, we'd gladly do it.

Jake sends his best, (Graduating 5th Grade, Lower School this year....very proud!).

Hello to Chelsea.

warmest regards,



PMG

June 26, 1996

Nancy Henrieche
Scheduling and Advance
The White House

ATTN: AMY *Amy*

Dear Nancy,

Attached is a draft letter, a copy of a Missouri House of Representatives' resolution which covers most of the major points, state newspaper articles and editorials and a copy of earlier correspondence that I had sent to Mr. Webster. I hope that this is sufficient material for the President's correspondence secretary to work with. If you need more, or any clarification, please contact me. My office phone number is (816) 426-2821, fax (816) 426-3535, or you can reach me at home at (816) 532-1159.

Governor Carnahan and I will be at the events on Monday, July 1 in Kirksville. The celebration activities include The Harry S. Truman Library Exhibit throughout the day, Campus Tours, a Celebration Banquet (when I will read the letter), a one-man play starring Kevin McCarthy, "Give 'Em Hell Harry!", and a ceremonial water tower lighting & ice cream social at sundown.

As I told Amy, I graduated from the University (along with Sam Myers) and served as the Director of Admissions prior to holding elective office. I again request that the President, or a suitable cabinet member alternative, attend the August 6th commencement activities. This will be the first commencement after the formal name change.

This is a big deal for our state. Your help and support are greatly appreciated, and I regret that I didn't "bird-dog" this earlier so that we could have had a video address. If the President wants to phone in....I know that we can make arrangements!

Most sincerely,

Katie Steele
Katie Steele

growth Sec
8/26
Original to Scheduling
6/27
5
Sched
Cabinet
Agenda
Katie Steele is a friend of the Pres.

Missouri House of Representatives



Resolution

Whereas, on July 1, 1996, Northeast Missouri State University of Kirksville, Missouri, will officially become known as Truman State University, an event that will highlight a long, proud tradition of progress for this outstanding institution of learning; and

Whereas, Northeast's new designation as Truman State University holds particular significance in that it honors Missouri's only U.S. President and one of our nation's best, an uncommon leader who, like Northeast, rose from simple beginnings to attain national prominence; and

Whereas, Northeast Missouri State University was founded in 1867 as one of the first colleges west of the Mississippi River, since which time the school has educated more than 45,000 graduates, who can be found in every state and throughout the world pursuing careers in education, science, medicine, public service, business, law, and the arts; and

Whereas, a pioneer and renowned leader in student assessment, Northeast has brought considerable honor to the Show-Me State by earning national recognition for providing an excellent, cost-effective, and accountable education; and

Whereas, in 1986, as the result of the passage of House Bill 196 by the Missouri General Assembly, Northeast officially adopted its statewide mission as Missouri's liberal arts and sciences university, and in recognition of this new mission, the General Assembly passed Senate Bill 340 in 1995 to change the University's name to Truman State University; and

Whereas, those members of the Missouri House of Representatives who have been steadfast in their support for Northeast's change to Truman State University are recognized for their commitment as alumni and/or friends of the University, and include Representative Phil Smith, Representative Don Summers, Speaker Steve Gaw, and Representatives Jim Sears, Phil Tate, Gary Wiggins, Sam Leake, May Scheve, Robert Clayton, Don Kissell, Ted Farnen, Rodger Fitzwater, Dick Franklin, Carson Ross, Connie Cierpiot, and Randall Relford:

Now, therefore, be it resolved that we, the members of the Missouri House of Representatives, Eighty-eighth General Assembly, hereby join unanimously with all the dedicated members of the governing board, administrators, faculty, staff, students, and alumni at Northeast Missouri State University as they anticipate a new era of progress under their new designation as Truman State University; and

Be it further resolved that the Chief Clerk of the Missouri House of Representatives be instructed to prepare a properly inscribed copy of this resolution for presentation to Truman State University.



Offered by _____

Representative Philip G. Smith
District No. 11

Sample letter

July 1, 1996

Truman State University
Board of Governors
McClain Hall 200
Kirksville, MO 63501

Dear Friends of Truman State University:

I would like to join with many others in offering my sincere congratulations as you celebrate your new name, Truman State University. This is a great day in your school's history and I am pleased to share it with you.

In recent years I have come to know of your university's growing reputation. It is a place where teaching and student learning is the central focus, and that is why Missouri leaders wisely designated your institution as the state's liberal arts and sciences university.

Your university has also distinguished itself for its accountable and cost-effective approach to education. As a credit to your state, it comes as no surprise that Missourians have again chosen to honor your university by bestowing the name of one of our nation's most respected leaders, Harry S Truman.

Though President Truman received no formal education beyond high school, he was well known for his appetite for reading. He was a life-long learner, which I believe embodies the spirit of the liberal arts and sciences. Born a common man, Harry Truman displayed uncommon courage and uncommon leadership. It was his love of learning, though, that made him one of our greatest Presidents.

In many respects, your University's history parallels the life of President Truman. From humble beginnings as a normal school, Truman State University has reached uncommon heights as a leader and model for other institutions of higher learning. As you celebrate your new name, I also challenge you to lead on. We need more schools like yours and more leaders like Harry S Truman.

Once again, I congratulate you on reaching this historic milestone, and wish you continued success.

Sincerely,



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the
Regional Director

August 22, 1995

Region VII
Federal Office Building
601 East 12th Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64106

Mr. William M. Webster, IV
Director of Scheduling and Advance
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Webster:

You have received an invitation for the President to participate in ceremonies celebrating the new name for Northeast Missouri State University in Kirksville, Missouri...which will be changed to Truman State University. I was pleased to serve on the Commission to Study the University Name, and was active while in the Missouri General Assembly pursuing this opportunity. Since joining the Clinton Administration, my activities have been curtailed, but I am nonetheless very proud of my alma mater.

I support the efforts of campus **President Jack Magruder**, **Missouri Governor Mel Carnahan**, **Congressman Harold Volkmer**, and **Congressman Dick Gephardt** to encourage you to select one of the proposed dates for a Presidential visit. Those proposed dates are:

Spring Commencement, Saturday, May 11, 1996

Truman State University Celebration Week, June 30-July 7, 1996

Summer Commencement, Tuesday, August 6, 1996

Enclosed is a copy of the Sunday, August 6, 1995 Kansas City Star editorial about the new university name. This editorial outlines just a few of the progressive, positive activities at NMSU. I believe that an event at this location will further amplify the differences between those who are for progressive change, and those who are satisfied with the status quo.

Your serious consideration is greatly appreciated.

Most sincerely,

Katie Steele
Regional Director

P.S. You will be interested to know that I ran the early stages of the Missouri Clinton effort out of Kirksville, and many local supporters helped with grass roots activities when other Missourians were pushing for "uncommitted". We started in August, 1991.

THE KANSAS CITY STAR.

Vol. 115, Sunday, August 6, 1995, No. 323

A Capital Cities/ABC Inc., Newspaper

The new man on campus

What's in a name? If it includes a person's characteristics, and if they can be passed on to those who take his name, then Northeast Missouri State University has put itself into a pretty feisty category. The school's new moniker — Truman State University — won't be official until the start of the 1996-97 school year. But even before then, the image of the school will begin to change.

Not that Northeast has had any problem with its image. The liberal arts and sciences university has gained national recognition for offering top-quality education at a reasonable price. The student-teacher ratio of 16-to-1 is excellent; it allows intensive instruction from some real scholars. Graduates of Northeast enter the world beyond college well equipped for their new professions.

If the school takes on the best qualities of America's 33rd president, its students should acquire certain assets to go along with their learning: an open mind, guts, plain-speaking, lack of pretense, courage in the face of opposition, and a lifelong desire to learn and grow. That's a powerful combination.

It's appropriate for the school to take on a new name for other reasons as well. It marks the official recognition of a change in stature that the university already has achieved. The old name — Northeast — had a regional flavor to it. Nothing wrong with that; a regional appeal can be a plus. But Northeast has outgrown that name. Now, as Truman State University, it will have some real "grow room." If its past record is any indication, that "grow room" will be put to good use.

State university ranked high on value list

Northeast Missouri is third among financial magazine's bargains.

By GENE MEYER
Staff Writer

Northeast Missouri State University in Kirksville tops a list of four Missouri and Kansas colleges that *Money* magazine counts among the nation's top 100 educational bargains.

The university, which will be Truman State University beginning in July, ranked third on *Money's* new list, which was released Wednesday. That is up two places from last year's edition of the annual rankings.

Tuition and fees for the school's 6,050 students currently are \$2,872 for Missouri residents and \$5,152 for others; for room and board, add \$3,624.

Other area schools and their rankings include Ottawa University of Ottawa, Kan., 32nd; Drury College in Springfield, 48th, and William Jewell College in Liberty, 66th.

The magazine also lists Baker University in Baldwin City, Kan., and Washington University in St. Louis among 50 runners-up that provide the best educational bargains after the top 100. Runners-

Top college values

Money magazine's top 20 ranking of the nation's best college values

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. New College of the U. of South Florida | 11. Rutgers U.-New Brunswick (N.J.) |
| 2. Rice University (Texas) | 12. Mary's College of Maryland |
| 3. Northeast Missouri State University | 13. U. of Texas-Austin |
| 4. Trenton State (N.J.) | 14. University of North Carolina |
| 5. California Institute of Technology | 15. Georgia Institute of Technology |
| 6. U. of North Carolina-Chapel Hill | 16. State U. of N.Y. College at Binghamton |
| 7. State U. of N.Y. at Binghamton | 17. University of Florida |
| 8. Spelman College (Ga.) | 18. James Madison University (Va.) |
| 9. U. of Illinois-Urbana/Champaign | 19. Miami University (Ohio) |
| 10. State U. of N.Y. at Albany | 20. Hamilton College (N.Y.) |

Some other area colleges

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 32. Ottawa University (Kan.) | 66. William Jewell College (Mo.) |
| 48. Drury College (Mo.) | |

up weren't ranked.

For a third year running, tiny New College of the University of South Florida ranks as the nation's best college value, according to the magazine's special issue, "Money Guide: Your Best College Buys Now."

Despite heat and humidity, which the glossy financial monthly says has shocked many of its 560-odd students, the Sarasota univer-

sity gets overall high marks.

High academic standards and its attractive bayside campus aside, the liberal arts college is affordable, *Money* says. Tuition increased just \$7 this year for out-of-state freshmen to \$7,950, compared with an average tuition increase of 6.5 percent nationwide.

A member of the University of South Florida system, New College charges Floridians just \$2,066

in annual tuition.

Rice University, the Texas school that boasts the 10th-largest endowment in the nation, ranks as No. 2 for the third straight year.

No. 3 Northeast Missouri is followed by New Jersey's Trenton State College and the California Institute of Technology at No. 5.

Rounding out the top 10 are University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill; State University of New York at Binghamton; Georgia's Spelman College; University of Illinois at Urbana/Champaign; and State University of New York at Albany.

"Seven of *Money's* 10 best college values are public schools, up from six a year ago," the magazine says.

The *Money* list of best buys looks at 16 measures of educational quality — like entrance exam results, faculty deployment and four-year graduation rates — and comparing them with tuition and fees.

The magazine excludes colleges with strong religious requirements.

Some big names appear lower down on *Money's* list. Harvard University ranks 43rd, Yale University is 46th and Columbia University is 97th.

No. 100 is Pomona College in California.

The Associated Press contributed to this article.

Still a bargain

Once again, Northeast Missouri State University in Kirksville finds itself on a prestigious list. Not only that, it keeps moving up.

Money magazine's annual survey of the top 100 bargains in college education, released on Wednesday, ranks the school No. 3 in the nation. Northeast Missouri ranked 16th on the list in 1992. In 1993 it moved up to No. 8 and last year it was No. 5. *Money* uses 16 criteria for its assessments, which means that the schools on the list offer quality education as well as an affordable price.

At this time of year — when students return to their colleges and parents return to their checkbooks to pay for it — a good buy in education, especially one that's relatively close to home, ought to look awfully good.

When the '96-'97 school year begins, Northeast Missouri will officially become Truman State University. But the school has proved itself to be a real bargain, no matter what its name may be.

Carroll

Facsimile Cover Sheet

To: President Bill Clinton
Company: White House
Phone:
Fax: 202/456-6703

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply

From: Gayle Harris Birk
Company:
Phone: 713-726-0831
Fax: 713-726-1841

Date: 06/25/96
Pages including this 1
cover page:

Comments:

President Clinton:

One hundred and ten (110) people are dead because of the failure of the FAA to assure that ValuJet's airplanes were fit to fly.

THE TWO TOP DOGS at the FAA must be fired immediately.

After watching the House of Representatives hearings today on CNN, I am convinced that THE ADMINISTRATOR is nothing more than a good boy who did littel but SUCK UP to the panel.

Politics has killed innocent people and this travesty must stop.

I WONDER EVERY DAY HOW ANYONE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. SLEEPS AT NIGHT!

With hope,

Gayle H. Birk
Ms. Gayle Harris Birk

Mr. President, ^{Great - (her)} ~~See. Mum Long, This!~~

A ghost page June 21st WSJ
Article and a light note Before your
meeting with the President of Uzbekistan.

By the way, Mark, our son, just
returned last week from 10 days in
Uzbekistan. He travelled the Silk Road
and had a great adventure. Med

Cellular Start-Up

Some Good Old Boys Make Lots of Money Phoning Up Tashkent

A Group From Perry, Ga.,
Connects in Uzbekistan
With High-Tech Service

Beating the Bushes in Bukhara

By JANET GUYON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
TASHKENT, Uzbekistan — When this former Soviet republic opened its borders to Western companies in the early 1990s, giants such as Coca-Cola Co., McDonald's Corp. and Philip Morris Cos. didn't bother coming.

But Brian L. Bowen and his buddies did. Mr. Bowen, a certified public accountant from Perry, Ga. (pop. 10,000), put together a cellular-telephone company in a place few Americans even knew existed. And with the backing of five partners from Perry — a dentist, an eye doctor, an insurance man, an engineer and a stockbroker — he is doing a lot better than many of the big multinationals that arrived recently.

How a bunch of Southern entrepreneurs pulled off this coup is one of the most unusual business stories to emerge from the former Soviet Union. They did it with no Western-government financing, no corporate backing and no big-name business consultants — confounding experts who insist all these are essential.

Dumb Luck

"How did they get it?" wonders an incredulous Ronald M. Freeman, first vice president at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which has financed plenty of more expensive — but less fruitful — ventures than the Uzbek cellular deal.

The Americans' secret formula: Ingenuity, persistence — and dumb luck. Indeed, the group's strategic plan — if it can be called that — was almost laughable. Shunning detailed business blueprints filled with minutia, the Perry partners simply went looking for a big city with bad phone service. Moscow, their first choice, fell through. "Then we thought, 'Let's go somewhere where no one else would

year's total. It has 1,000 subscribers, employees and could be worth as much as \$100 million by industry estimates, giving the Americans a return as high as 40 times their original investment. Moreover, big telecom players such as Motorola Inc., TeleNor of Norway and Northern Telecom Ltd. are wooing Mr. Bowen for equipment contracts, communications link-ups and a piece of the company's equity.

Cellular Saviors

The entrepreneurs' success is easy to explain, says Anthony W. Sariti, an official at the U.S. Embassy in Tashkent. He points to his wall phone. "Have you tried to make a phone call here? This thing is useless." Without cellular service, he says, "this country would shut down."

Mr. Bowen and his partners are still stunned at what they have wrought. "It's a



miracle, is what it is," draws the red-haired 37-year-old, whose previous international experience was a few European and Central American holidays. "I never even studied a foreign language."

No one knows how many small entrepreneurs have sought to enter markets in the former Soviet Union. Lacking credibility and a household name, they often bring a bravado and can-do attitude that stems from working without the backing of a big company. "Building a good business in a Third World, developing country — there is no training for that," Mr. Bowen says.

Uzbek Unknowns

Most of these one-man bands stick close to home: Austrians and Germans in Central Europe, Swedes and Norwegians in the Baltics, and Turks and Iranians in Central Asia. "The entrepreneur is very much bound to his know-how and proximity of the region," says Michael Muegge, an analyst at Central Europe Trust, a consulting firm.

Needless to say, few Americans are in Uzbekistan. Mr. Bowen didn't even know where it was back in 1989 when he and his uncle, dentist Anthony DeLoach, gathered in Dr. DeLoach's office with some friends and business associates: Larry McNeal, the insurance man; Dudley Christie, the eye doctor; Richard L. Vega, the engineer, and Eric Jansson, the stockbroker. The talk turned to money-making ideas and how Drs. Christie and DeLoach became millionaires during the 1980s, bidding successfully for cellular licenses in Athens.

Please Turn to Page A6, Column 1

Georgians Phone Up Tashkent

Continued From First Page

and Greenwood, S.C. and then selling out to big phone companies.

None of the group had done business internationally, but Mr. McNeal had just returned from a tour of the Soviet Union. There, a business associate showed him prospective deals ranging from real estate to trading companies. "It was pretty scary, before the Soviet breakup and the Berlin Wall fell," Mr. McNeal says. "But the more time I spent there, the more relaxed I got about the business possibilities."

While in Moscow, Mr. McNeal noticed the lousy phone service. The group figured cellular phones were the answer — and a good investment for them, given the experience of Drs. Christie and DeLoach.

Mr. McNeal got back in touch with his Moscow contact, who arranged a meeting for the group — now grandly incorporated as International Communications Group (ICG) — with the Soviet Ministry of Communications. The Americans arrived in Moscow in 1990 on Halloween.

The meeting was a bust. "We didn't know what we were doing, we didn't know how to deal with Russian people," Mr. Bowen says. "Basically, the minister said, 'Thanks very much, but get the hell out of here.'"

The Russians did hold out a small straw: They suggested calling other Soviet republics. Pouring over maps, Mr. Bowen discovered Tashkent, home to 2.2 million of Uzbekistan's 22 million people, and the fourth largest Soviet city after Moscow, St. Petersburg (then Leningrad) and Kiev.

Presidential Pitch

Like other former Soviet republics, Uzbekistan was chafing under Moscow's control. Being among the first to get cellular phone service would raise Tashkent's profile. The Americans were welcomed.

"They were the first to trust and believe in our future, especially in telecommunications," says Takhir G. Rakhimov, Uzbekistan's minister of communications. The Americans paved the way, hosting a U.S. visit for Mr. Rakhimov's predecessor and introducing him to Northern Telecom officials. They also showed him the Soviet

Caroline cellular system that had developed.

Another plus: Former President Carter, who farms peanuts 40 miles from Mr. Bowen's family, took time to chat with the Uzbeks. "At that time, many companies, many huge companies, did not want to cooperate with us," recalls Minister Rakhimov. (Washington wasn't encouraging investment in Uzbekistan in 1991 because of alleged human-rights violations, though it has since softened its stance.)

By August of that year, ICG formed a joint venture with the Soviet republic of Uzbekistan, with the ownership split 45% for ICG and 55% for the Uzbeks. Dr. Christie was named chairman, while Mr. Bowen became the Americans' man in Uzbekistan. The Americans also agreed to finance construction of the system, which the Uzbeks named, Uzdurobota (meaning "Gateway to the World"). The agreement was signed Aug. 19, 1991. Within days, Uzbekistan declared its independence, leaving the company's legality in doubt. Mr. Bowen's group hastily persuaded the Uzbeks to re-register the venture from Moscow to Tashkent.

Raising Cash

Another problem: Uzdurobota had no working capital, nor had the Americans raised money to buy equipment. Up to this point, ICG had spent \$500,000 on travel, translation and documents. To raise cash, ICG sold more than 50% of its equity to a group of Pakistanis — Mr. Bowen won't say how much but calls the Americans' stake still "substantial." In exchange, the Americans got \$2 million and a stake in a Pakistani pay-phone company.

The Uzbeks also managed to bring in money. In a show of initiative that surprised the Americans, the cellular venture's general director, Yuriy V. Snezhkov, pressed friends at Uzbek Air, the nation's airline, to buy \$160,000 worth of phones. That gave Uzdurobota an office in Tashkent, a desk, a car and a couple of Uzbek staffers.

With more than \$2 million to spend, Uzdurobota began building its system, putting its first transmitter on top of a television tower in autumn of 1991. It became the third Soviet

city to have cellular service, after Moscow and St. Petersburg.

have cellular-phone service.

With some \$10 million in loans and equipment from Northern Telecom, Uzdurobota now has expanded to eight Uzbek cities, with plans to expand throughout the country. The Uzbek government also contributed, allowing the venture to hire a dozen of its best engineers and computer-software designers. And its best government fixers.

But it hasn't all been smooth sailing. Mr. Snezhkov, a boyhood pal of the communications minister, initially clashed with Mr. Bowen. During the first shareholder meeting, each man presented a completely different set of profit figures. "I was ready to have him fired," recalls Mr. Bowen. Then he realized how radically Uzbek accounting differed from accounting in Perry, Ga. "I don't have any experience dealing with the KGB, the mafia, the family connections in the bureaucracy here," Mr. Bowen says. It was Mr. Snezhkov, for example, who persuaded Mr. Bowen to give free phones to Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov and to government ministers. Eventually, everyone in the government wanted one.

Scrambling to Expand

Now, so does everyone else. Inside a nondescript one-story brick building in Tashkent, Natasha Articheva is buying a \$1,100 Nokia phone from Uzdurobota for a friend. She has had her own for two months, running up bills of \$200 to \$300 a month. Though the phones are expensive, her import company couldn't do business without them. "The communications system here is not very good," she says, "so whether I like it or not, I have to call on this phone, even at home."

With such demand in Tashkent, Mr. Bowen is scrambling to expand. On a recent morning, he boarded a Uzbek Air flight to Bukhara to check out a recently opened Uzdurobota office. Four mechanics finished tinkering with a wheel and the plane roared off. "Lord be with us and protect us," Mr. Bowen said. "At least there are seat belts."

In Bukhara, the entire office, the deputy mayor and the local representatives of the communications ministry

turned out to welcome Mr. Bowen. Americans are rare here. "We've seen people in the movies with red hair," an interpreter said, "but we never thought we'd have one here."

Mr. Bowen has precipitated some cultural upheavals — like the time two years ago when he showed up at Uzdurobota's office in Tashkent in shorts. "Of course, it's hot here," says Mr. Snezhkov, the general director. "But we are Eastern people, and even if it's hot, we wear long trousers."

Nonetheless, the Uzbeks praise Mr. Bowen's ability to adapt. He has learned to eat horsemeat, drink vodka toasts and enjoy plov, the national pilaf dish based on rice and mutton.

He is less comfortable making his way to Uzdurobota's fifth-floor headquarters. He quit riding the elevator after it got stuck, then dropped three floors. A technical engineer pried open the door with a coat hanger.

At the moment, however, Mr. Bowen is concerned about converting the local currency to dollars — a necessity to buy equipment from outside Uzbekistan. The government won't allow use of reserves for conversion, only hard currency generated by exports. Luckily, Uzdurobota is one of a dozen companies on a priority list for currency exchanges.

Mr. Bowen is also worried about this year's profits. The Perry entrepreneurs have been plowing everything back into the company, but now they would like dividends. The best way to get them is to let Uzdurobota accumulate hard currency from credit-card receipts and its foreign accounts, using those funds to pay a dividend. But, Mr. Bowen says, "Anything new, I'm concerned it's going to happen."

In the meantime, the government is mulling awarding another cellular license in Uzbekistan to a Malaysian company. That could shake Uzdurobota's contract, but Mr. Bowen figures it might not be wise to fight the government.

Besides, "Uzdurobota is synonymous with cellular phones in Uzbekistan now," he says. "Eventually, I hope we're going to take this baby public. I want to make some money so I can go back to Georgia, have a garden and go to the beach."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

June 20, 1996

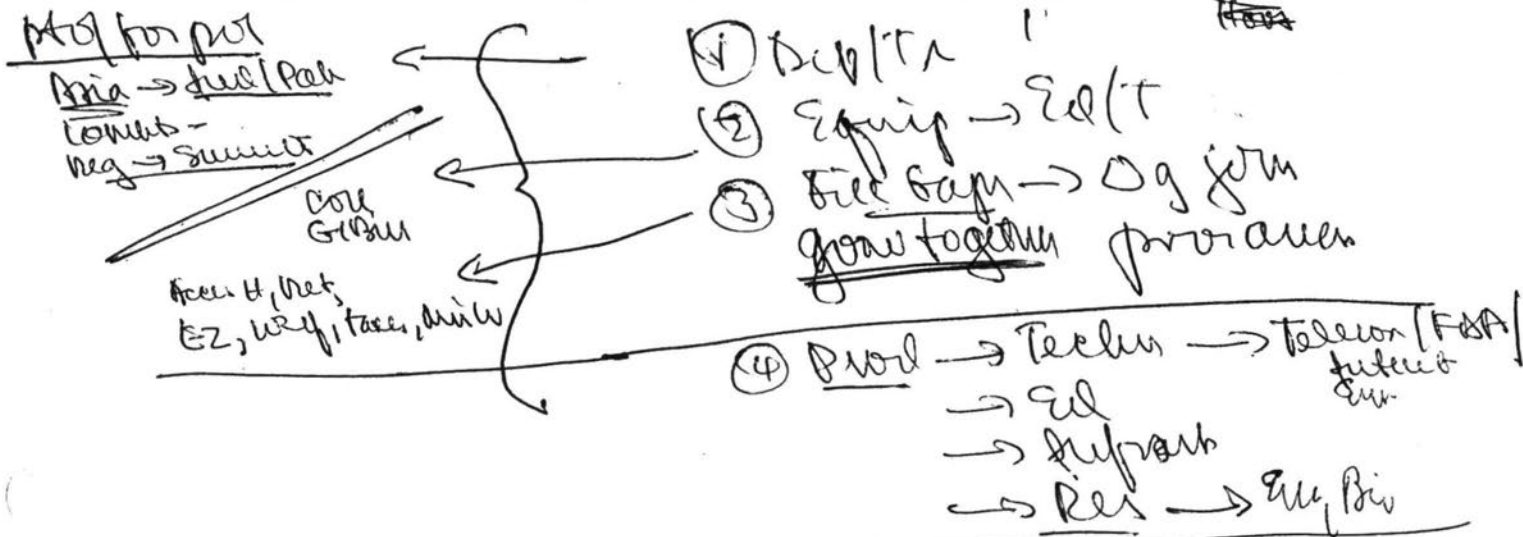
6/26/96

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: GENE SPERLING

SUBJECT: Updated 1-Pagers on the Economy, Taxes, and the Budget

- I. What Clinton Crunch?
- II. The Economy Under President Clinton: The Best Since...
- III. What A Difference 4 Years Makes on the Economy
- IV. What A Difference 4 Years Makes on Jobs
- V. The Facts on Taxes
- VI. The Facts on Cutting The Size of Government and Balancing the Budget
- VII. The Facts on Spending Under President Clinton
- VIII. America's Economy: Back on Top of the World
- IX. Opening Markets to Expand Exports and Create High-Wage Jobs



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

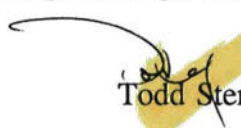
June 21, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a proposed PDD implementing the policy on landmines that you agreed to last month.

The key elements of the PDD are: (i) U.S. will seek an international ban on use, stockpiling, production or transfer of mines; (ii) Korea is a special case where we reserve right to use smart or dumb mines; (iii) U.S. will phase out dumb mines by the end of 1999 except for training and in Korea; (iv) between now and the time an international agreement is negotiated and takes effect, we reserve right to use smart mines in military hostilities; (v) Secretary of Defense will undertake program of research and other measures to eliminate need for these exceptions; (vi) beginning in 1999, Chairman of Joint Chiefs will do annual report on whether there remains a military need for the exceptions; (vii) DOD will undertake a program to develop improved mine detection and clearing technology; (viii) Principals will consider what best venue is to seek world-wide ban.

If you approve, please sign the PDD where indicated.


Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
June 19, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/26/96

96 JUN 19 P4:27

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓

SUBJECT: Proposed PDD on Antipersonnel Landmines (APL) and
Update on Implementing New APL Policy

Purpose

To approve a Presidential Decision Directive on antipersonnel landmines (APL).

Background

On May 16, you announced a new U.S. policy on antipersonnel landmines. The attached proposed PDD codifies this announcement. It also directs the immediate development of options for Principals' consideration on the best venue for negotiations on an APL ban and, once a venue is selected, directs the Secretary of State to develop a diplomatic gameplan for gaining international support for negotiations in this venue.

Since your announcement, we have actively undertaken the following implementation steps:

- International Ban. We are working to develop a plan for a negotiating venue for an APL ban.
- APL Alternatives. Defense reports that by this September it will have prepared a Program Budget Decision to fund research of APL alternatives for inclusion in the FY 98 DoD budget request.
- Demining. Also, by August 1, Defense will develop a proposed gameplan for improving mine detection and clearing technology. State and DoD together will develop options by August 1 for expanding the U.S. humanitarian demining program.
- UN Resolution. Per your instructions, Ambassador Albright has drafted a U.S.-proposed UN resolution urging a global APL ban. State is seeking interagency consensus on this resolution by July 1.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

- 2
- Public Outreach. We have met extensively with interested congressional offices, interested veterans groups and NGOs who follow this policy. While many remain unconvinced about the seriousness of the policy you announced, they remain open to working with us as we implement it. Ambassador Albright has agreed to an op-ed that she will seek to have published at the time we circulate our UN resolution, including the Washington Post editorial you noted. General Trainor (USMC, ret.) has also agreed to write a supportive op-ed.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the proposed PDD at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Proposed PDD

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENTIAL DECISION DIRECTIVE/NSC -

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL
SECURITY AFFAIRS
DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
POLICY
DIRECTOR OF THE ARMS CONTROL
AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
DIRECTOR OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

SUBJECT: Antipersonnel Landmines (APL)

This Presidential Decision Directive establishes and directs the implementation of U.S. policy on antipersonnel landmines (APL).

Background

This policy was developed in response to the growing threat posed by the indiscriminate use of antipersonnel landmines. Thousands of people each year are maimed or killed by these weapons, most of them civilians. Increasingly, APL pose a threat as well to U.S. military forces and nonmilitary personnel where they are engaged in peacekeeping operations. The policy has been established pursuant to a Principals' level review, which included a thorough study of U.S. military requirements conducted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with the involvement of the Services and the Combatant Commands. The policy sets forth a concrete path to a global ban on APL but ensures that as the United States pursues this ban, essential U.S. military requirements and commitments to our allies will be protected.

Elements

- The United States will aggressively pursue an international agreement to ban the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of antipersonnel landmines (APL) with a view to completing the negotiation as soon as possible. The United States should seek to initiate such negotiations as soon as feasible.
- The United States views the security situation on the Korean Peninsula as a unique case and in the negotiation of this agreement will protect our right to use APL there until alternatives become available or the risk of aggression has been removed.
- Effective immediately, the United States will unilaterally undertake not to use and to place in inactive stockpile status with intent to demilitarize by the end of 1999, all non-self-destructing APL not needed for (a) training personnel engaged in demining and countermining operations, and (b) to defend the United States and its allies from armed aggression across the Korean demilitarized zone.
- Between now and the time an international agreement takes effect, the United States will reserve the option to use self-destructing/self-deactivating APL, subject to the restrictions the United States has accepted in the Convention on Conventional Weapons, in military hostilities to safeguard American lives and hasten the end of fighting.
- The Secretary of Defense is directed to undertake a program of research, procurement and other measures needed to eliminate the requirement for these exceptions and to permit both the United States and its allies to end reliance on APL as soon as possible.
- Beginning in 1999, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff will submit an annual report to the Secretary of Defense and the President outlining his assessment of whether there remains a military requirement for the exceptions noted above. In consultation with the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, will include in his report the status of the search for alternatives to APL, as defined immediately above.
- The Department of Defense will undertake a substantial program to develop improved mine detection and clearing technology and to share this improved technology with the broader

international community. The Department will consult with other appropriate agencies in order to include those agencies' relevant research activities in developing this program. The Department of Defense will also significantly expand its humanitarian demining program to train and assist other countries in developing effective demining programs.

- The chairmen of the Arms Control Interagency Working Group and the Landmine Control and Demining Interagency Working Group will, by June 27, 1996, prepare an analysis for review by Principals of options for the best venue for conducting negotiations to achieve a world-wide ban on use, stockpiling, production and transfer of antipersonnel landmines, as set forth in this PDD. Once a venue is selected by Principals, the Secretary of State is directed to develop, for interagency review and approval, and then to execute a diplomatic gameplan for gaining international support for conducting negotiations in this venue.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 21, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

96 JUN 21 P4:32 4/26/96

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
JOHN HILLEY

SUBJECT:

Senator Ford and the U.S. Chemical Weapons
Demilitarization Program

Purpose

To outline the Administration's position on legislative proposals that could seriously impede the U.S. Chemical Weapons Demilitarization Program.

Background

Over the past few weeks, Senator Wendell Ford's staff has been considering a variety of legislative proposals that could have a severe impact on the U.S. Chemical Weapons Demilitarization Program. Kentucky is home to the Lexington Blue Grass Army Depot, one of eight chemical weapons storage sites in the continental United States (a ninth site is located on Johnston Atoll in the Pacific Ocean). It is also home to a small but vocal group of environmentalists who strongly oppose the current demilitarization program, which is using incineration technology to destroy the stockpile.

The current version of the Ford amendment would require the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Energy to use \$60 million from the Chemical Weapons Demilitarization Program to develop and implement a pilot program on alternatives to incineration. It would also require the Army to freeze most chemical weapons demilitarization activities in Kentucky for more than three years, until after the pilot program has been completed. Finally, it would require the U.S. Government to indemnify the contractor participating in the pilot program for any liability over \$50 million, including for activities for which the contractor is solely responsible.

To try and head off these efforts, we recommend having the NSC staff send a letter to the chairman and ranking member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Appropriations

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Subcommittee on Defense that, while not mentioning the Ford amendment specifically, argues against any legislative proposal that would delay the Chemical Weapons Demilitarization Program, increase its cost or increase the risk to the communities where the stockpile is stored (see Tab A).

Senator Ford apparently is willing to consider an amendment that eliminates DOE's role in the pilot program and scales back its cost to \$50 million. However, the amendment would still be unacceptable, as it would prohibit the Army from carrying out the pilot program and would freeze demilitarization activities in Kentucky for more than 5 years.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the above strategy to oppose Ford's effort.

Approve ☒ _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab A Proposed Letter

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I understand that there are several legislative proposals considered by your committee that could have a severe effect on the U.S. Chemical Demilitarization Program. These proposals include funding for unplanned activities, schedule delays and management changes. If passed, these proposals would result in program delays, increased costs and, ultimately, increased risk to local communities from continued storage of the chemical weapons (CW) stockpile. I urge your support in opposing their adoption.

The current Chemical Demilitarization Program was carefully developed by the Army, under Congressional oversight, during more than a decade of work and review. Failure to move forward with implementation of the Program, and with the baseline incineration technology that has been demonstrated by the Army to be safe and effective, would effectively negate the progress made by the Army to date.

The National Research Council (NRC) of the National Academy of Sciences, which was selected by the Congress to provide technical oversight to the Chemical Demilitarization Program, is now conducting an evaluation of alternative technologies for the destruction of CW. Mandating the development of a new CW destruction pilot program in advance of the NRC report, as some have suggested, would not be prudent. Clearly, any decision on whether to pursue alternative technologies beyond those already being investigated must be made with thorough knowledge of the results of the NRC evaluation.

Consideration is also being given to prohibiting most chemical demilitarization activities in specific states until after the proposed pilot program has been completed, thus effectively placing an important element of the Chemical Demilitarization Program on hold for more than three years. The NRC has already concluded that delaying destruction increases the risk to the public and the environment from continued storage of the stockpile. Further delays will also result in increased costs from stockpile maintenance and surveillance, which currently cost about \$75 million a year for the nine stockpile sites.

Other draft language requires the U.S. Government to agree to indemnify the private contractor participating in the pilot program for any liability over \$50,000,000, including activities for which the contractor is solely responsible, to include

activities that may arise under a future contract for which the same contractor is attempting to prove out its own technology. In effect, these provisions would compel the Government to agree up front to indemnify an as yet unknown private entity, who is proposing an unknown technology that is not yet proven to be viable; and for which the costs are unknown, from liability resulting from its own actions, including those due to gross negligence. This would impose an extraordinary financial obligation upon the U.S. Government.

Some also have suggested changing existing law to require the CW destruction program to be completed either by the current Congressionally mandated date of December 2004 or the date established under the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), whichever is earlier. We believe, however, that it is important to maintain the Congressionally mandated deadline of December 2004 until the CWC has been ratified by the United States and has entered into force. To do otherwise will not only result in increased life cycle costs for the Chemical Demilitarization Program but, as the NRC has pointed out, increased risk to the public and the environment from continued storage.

Finally, consideration is being given to assigning a key role in the proposed pilot program to the Department of Energy. As you know, DOD has designated the Chemical Demilitarization Program an "Acquisition Category 1-D" (i.e., Defense) program, subject to oversight and scrutiny by the Defense Acquisition Board process. DOD monitors the Chemical Demilitarization Program very closely. This is not the time to be changing the management of a program of such critical importance.

I urge your support in opposing any legislative proposals which would result in program delays, increased costs or increased risk to the local community at any of the stockpile sites.

Sincerely,

William C. Danvers
Special Assistant to the President
and Senior Director for Legislative Affairs

The Honorable Strom Thurmond
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

6/24

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Mr. President,

6/26/96

Sandy Berger asked that I
pass this to you. It updates
a memorandum on this subject
you may have seen Friday or
Saturday.

Joyce Harman

Sandy

Maule - C

Must stay on top of

Press —

BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-26-96

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: ELISA HARRIS

SUBJECT: Chemical Weapons and the Gulf War

On Friday, the Department of Defense announced that in March 1991, shortly after the end of the Gulf War, U.S. troops unwittingly destroyed chemical weapons in a bunker near an Iraqi ammunition depot known as Kamisiyah. This information has recently come to our attention because of a review of CIA and DOD records begun in the spring of 1995 in response to the President's directive and an UNSCOM inspection last month.

This information is significant for two reasons. First, it contradicts statements made by various government officials, including by then-Deputy Secretary of Defense John Deutch on "60 Minutes" in February 1995, that there were no chemical weapons in the Kuwait Theater of Operations (KTO) at the time of the Gulf War. We now know that United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) inspectors confirmed the presence of chemical weapons at two locations near Kamisiyah in October 1991 and that they were told by Iraqi troops that coalition forces had destroyed a chemical weapons bunker at a third location. An intelligence report on the UNSCOM inspection was distributed within the U.S. Government in November 1991. This report probably received little attention at the time, however, given that it was one of literally thousands of reports being disseminated on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and U.S. government efforts were focused largely on finding undeclared Iraqi weapons sites. The report also predated the emergence of Gulf War illnesses as a health problem.

We also now know that in May 1994, a Defense Department witness told a Congressional committee that Iraqi chemical weapons had been found at one location near Kamisiyah, but we do not know the basis for his statement or why there was no apparent follow-up action. In September 1995, the earlier intelligence report on the 1991 UNSCOM inspection began to receive renewed attention by CIA analysts reviewing Gulf War intelligence records. In early May 1996, a CIA witness told the Presidential Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' illnesses that chemical weapons had been found at Kamisiyah and that efforts were underway to determine

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

whether chemical weapons had also been present in a bunker destroyed by U.S. forces there. Finally, in late May 1996, as part of its ongoing effort to verify Iraq's weapons declarations, UNSCOM inspected Kamisiyah and confirmed that the bunker had contained chemical weapons.

The second reason the information is significant is because it is relevant to the issue of whether U.S. forces in the Gulf may have been "exposed" to Iraqi chemical agents, including to low levels of such agents. Until now, U.S. officials have maintained that there is no evidence for such exposure. We now know that several thousand U.S. troops from the 37th Engineer Battalion and from the 82nd Airborne Division were at or near Kamisiyah at the time the Iraqi chemical weapons bunker was destroyed. However, we also know that chemical detectors were used by U.S. troops both before and during the destruction operation, and no chemical agent release was confirmed.

Efforts are now underway to secure additional information about Kamisiyah, including the possibility that some U.S. troops may have been exposed to low levels of chemical agents there. DOD is interviewing personnel who participated in the destruction operation or would have treated individuals who may have become ill. They are also looking at the records of personnel in the area at the time to determine whether there are any unusual patterns of illness among such individuals today. CIA is modeling the effects of destruction of the chemical weapons bunker.

* As you know, following the DOD announcement on Friday afternoon, we issued a statement from the President (see Tab A). DOD and VA also notified the House and Senate Veterans Affairs Committees and the House National Security and Senate Armed Services Committees. The two agencies also worked together to provide information to key veterans organizations. We expect the incident to receive further attention at a House Government Reform and Oversight Committee hearing on Tuesday and at the next meeting of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses in Chicago on July 8-9.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/26/96

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THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK

*To VP / cc to him
how many we follow
up with him?
BC*

June 24, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to follow up on our previous discussions regarding the situation in Israel. It should be taken seriously as it will affect the outcome of the American election. Close to 60 percent of the Jewish population of Israel supported Netanyahu and similar demographics represent the situation here.

I am not so concerned about New York, but about other states with sizable religious Jewish communities including Illinois, California, Florida, Michigan, New Jersey and Ohio, the perception that the United States tried to pressure Israel, and how this could backfire in these states. I am enclosing an editorial from the Jewish Press, which has a national circulation of 500,000, the largest among the country's Jewish newspapers. It may be more conservative and it supported Prime Minister Netanyahu, but it is an important publication to read to get an idea of what is going on in this community. There were also articles in the Israeli newspapers about the United States putting pressure on Israel and coming down on Netanyahu.

I am concerned that Secretary Christopher is going to Israel since I think myself and others from the community could be helpful here. The religious Jewish communities of Israel and the United States are intertwined as if they are one community, through close family ties and friendships, through the numerous Americans who send their children to Israeli yeshivas, along with many other factors. As a result, the leading Orthodox and Hasidic rabbis in both countries have followings in both countries and their decisions and pronouncements are respected and listened to in both countries.

President Clinton

Page Two

The major problem with the Peres government as far as the religious community was concerned was the refusal to include them in the dialogue on peace, keeping them in the dark as to where the peace process was moving. As a result they felt they couldn't trust Peres and supported Netanyahu. While religious Jews provided a big turnout for Netanyahu, the community in the United States provided large amounts of money for his campaign. It would be a big mistake to underestimate the impact of these communities.

Netanyahu is a very astute politician who knew to go to the smaller parties to build his coalition. These parties would not oppose a peace process that is properly carried out and inclusive of them. Netanyahu is amenable to continuing the peace process but he needs the support of the people who elected him so as not to lose his base. We have to reach out to these people to help strengthen Netanyahu and work with him, and the United States can play a very important role here.

Knowing the issues, the politics and the players there, I want to be involved and I think I can be helpful. Had I been listened to a year ago, I would not have to write this letter now. I hope we can get started soon.

Sincerely,



Noach Dear

President Clinton Was Misled By American Jewish Leadership

What a difference an election makes. Now that Mr. Peres has been defeated and what Mr. Netanyahu says must be reckoned with, there is a growing, albeit grudging, acknowledgment that contrary to the left-wing calumnies of the past three years, he is not the enemy of peace he was made out to be. To be sure, the Arabs, the Arabists and the Labor partisans all continue to insist on the pursuit of the Peresian dream of a culturally and religiously neutral Israel which is dedicated to becoming the economic center of the Middle East. But, from his initial pronouncements, it is becoming increasingly obvious even to his detractors that Mr. Netanyahu is seriously interested in peace with Israel's neighbors. Contrary to Mr. Peres, however, Mr. Netanyahu is emphasizing security and strict PLO compliance. Moreover, he seems to factor in the transcendent Jewish essence of what is, after all, the Jewish State. In short, it appears Mr. Netanyahu is bent on pursuing all the legitimate interests of the Jewish State and its people, as did all of his predecessors in office, save the most recent.

Of course, this is what we have been saying since Oslo was initiated in 1993. Indeed, one has to have a grudging respect for how successfully Labor was able to equate the "peace process" with the pursuit of peace, as if those who opposed Mr. Peres' peace policies were opposed to peace itself. With police state tactics imposed on Oslo critics in Israel and the shameful connivance of most members of the politically correct Presidents' Conference here in America, opposition to Oslo was made to appear as a treasonous departure from the pursuit of the common good.

Providentially, however, Jews in Israel overwhelmingly saw through the deception and rejected Mr. Peres' fanciful millennialism. They voted for the only pursuit of peace that ever had a chance of succeeding — a peace that respects Israel's dignity as a Jewish State and its rights as a member of the international community.

The situation here in America may be more complicated. To an unprecedented extent, President Clinton promoted Mr. Peres' reelection effort and the virtues of his "peace process." Doubtless, Mr. Clinton contributed mightily to the mythologizing of Oslo as the exclusive path to peace in the Middle East. In doing so Mr.

(Continued on page 82)

EDITORIALS

(Continued from page 5)

Clinton relied, among other things, on the fact that Jewish public opinion both here and in Israel supported Mr. Peres' policies.

And then came the elections of May 29th in Israel, which established that Israeli Jews overwhelmingly reject Mr. Peres' policies. More importantly, perhaps, it should now be clear to Mr. Clinton that the input he has received from such umbrella organizations as the Presidents' Conference, that presumes to speak as the surrogate for American Jews, was totally misleading. We and others labored mightily over the past three and a half years to demonstrate that the "PC" crowd did not, in fact, speak for American Jews. But our pleas went unheard. Again, we point out that the "PC" crowd was unable to fill half of Madison Square Garden for its "unity" rally in January, or bring 10,000 Jews to Fifth Avenue for the Israel Day Parade in June, despite the fact that 3 million Jews reside in the New York metropolitan area.

Mr. Clinton must now find his way back to reality. American Jews do not believe for a moment that the PLO is in compliance with Oslo or that the PLO Covenant has been amended, despite what their President tells them. Also, sending Messrs. Indyk and Ross to pressure Mr. Netanyahu immediately after his victory was a major blunder. It again failed to recognize the reality of May 29 both in Israel and in this country. Clearly this is all very significant for Mr. Clinton. As President he is doubtless interested in a resolution between Israel and its Arab neighbors. And as a candidate for reelection he will want to go into the November elections with the same substantial support from the Jewish community he enjoyed in 1992.

All of the foregoing has not been lost on the Republicans and they have already begun to capitalize on Mr. Clinton's missteps, in the hope of garnering a greater proportion of the Jewish vote in November. If Mr. Clinton continues to believe that the "PC" crowd speaks for American Jews, there is no doubt in our minds that there will be a significant shift of the Jewish vote to the Republicans in November. Despite what Mr. Clinton may be hearing from the "PC" crowd, American Jews believe that it is not in the interests of the United States or Israel for Israel to be coerced into making improvident concessions to Arafat or Assad. A peace that compromises or weakens Israel is a peace that cannot endure and weakens the United States and the free world as well.

Mr. Clinton must begin to seek input from sources other than those that have misled him in the past.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-26-96

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Newsweek®

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AMERICA'S BEST HMOs

Rating the Top
Managed Care
Companies

P L U S

How to
Choose Your
Doctors



01134

Does Your HMO Stack Up?



Millions are covered by managed-care groups. Yet there's no easy way to compare one HMO with another. Here's a good start. BY ELLYN SPRAGINS

AT FIRST WE COULD IGNORE THEM. THEN we noticed a neighbor joining one. Finally, a fat, forbidding package from the benefits department landed on our desk. Now we know the truth: HMOs rule. The revolution that has already shunted 53.3 million people from Marcus Welby-style medicine into the Wal-Mart model of health care will convert an additional 50 million by the turn of the century. If you haven't already been asked to leave your cushy indemnity plan, you will be—soon.

Good luck. Chances are you won't be ready. Why? Because the hundreds of HMOs swash-buckling across the country are indistinguishable from one another—yet you're going to have to choose one. Of course, they're not really identical. But even a savvy shopper would have trouble knowing a good HMO from a bad one. There's no central source of information on HMOs and no authori-

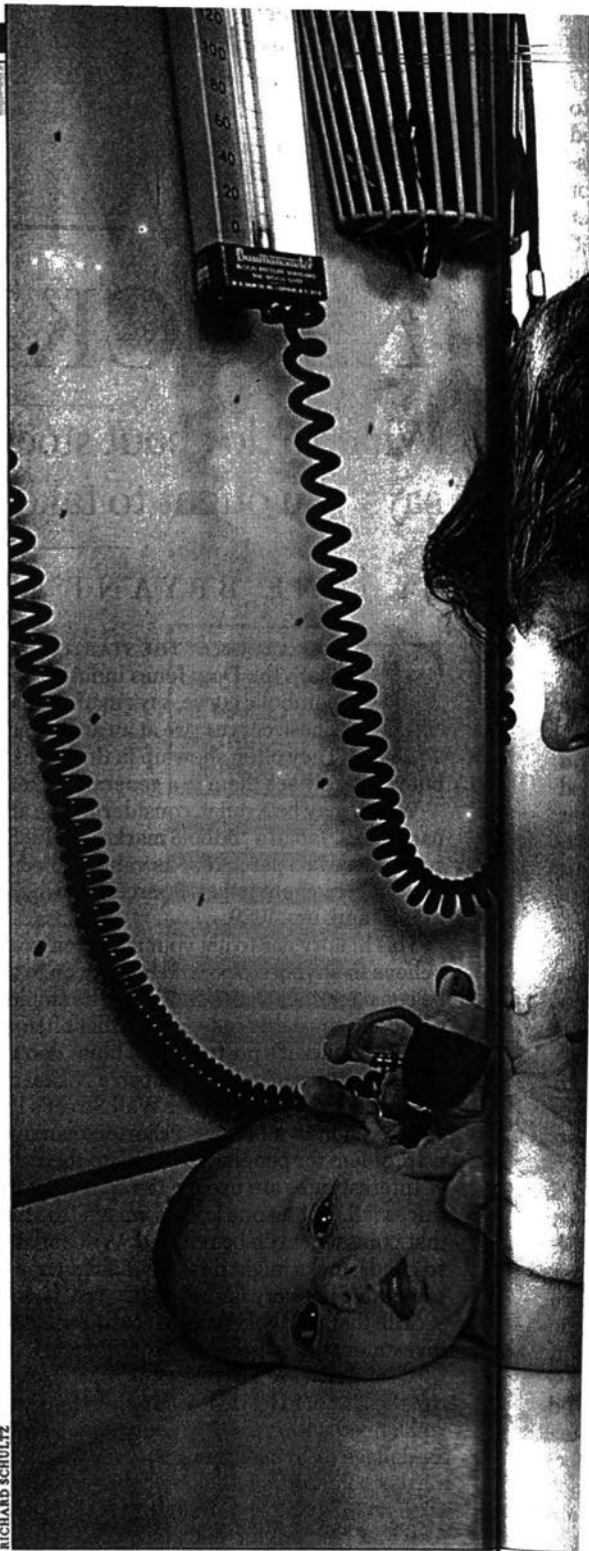
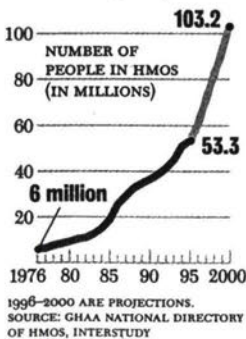
tative rankings. The industry can't even agree on a definition of quality. "People have almost no ability to compare health plans," says David Lawrence, Kaiser Permanente's CEO.

Why the information vacuum? Though the industry is old, most of the country's 593 HMOs are still in their infancy. Measuring planwide quality is still more an art than a science, too. Despite those challenges, NEWSWEEK thought it would be worth investigating HMO quality and singling out the exceptional plans. The result: ratings of more than 40 of the country's largest HMOs.

The first step was to consult David Lansky, president of the Foundation for Accountability, an influential nonprofit group in Portland, Ore., that helps consumers and corporations make health-care decisions. Together we designed a survey to gather information

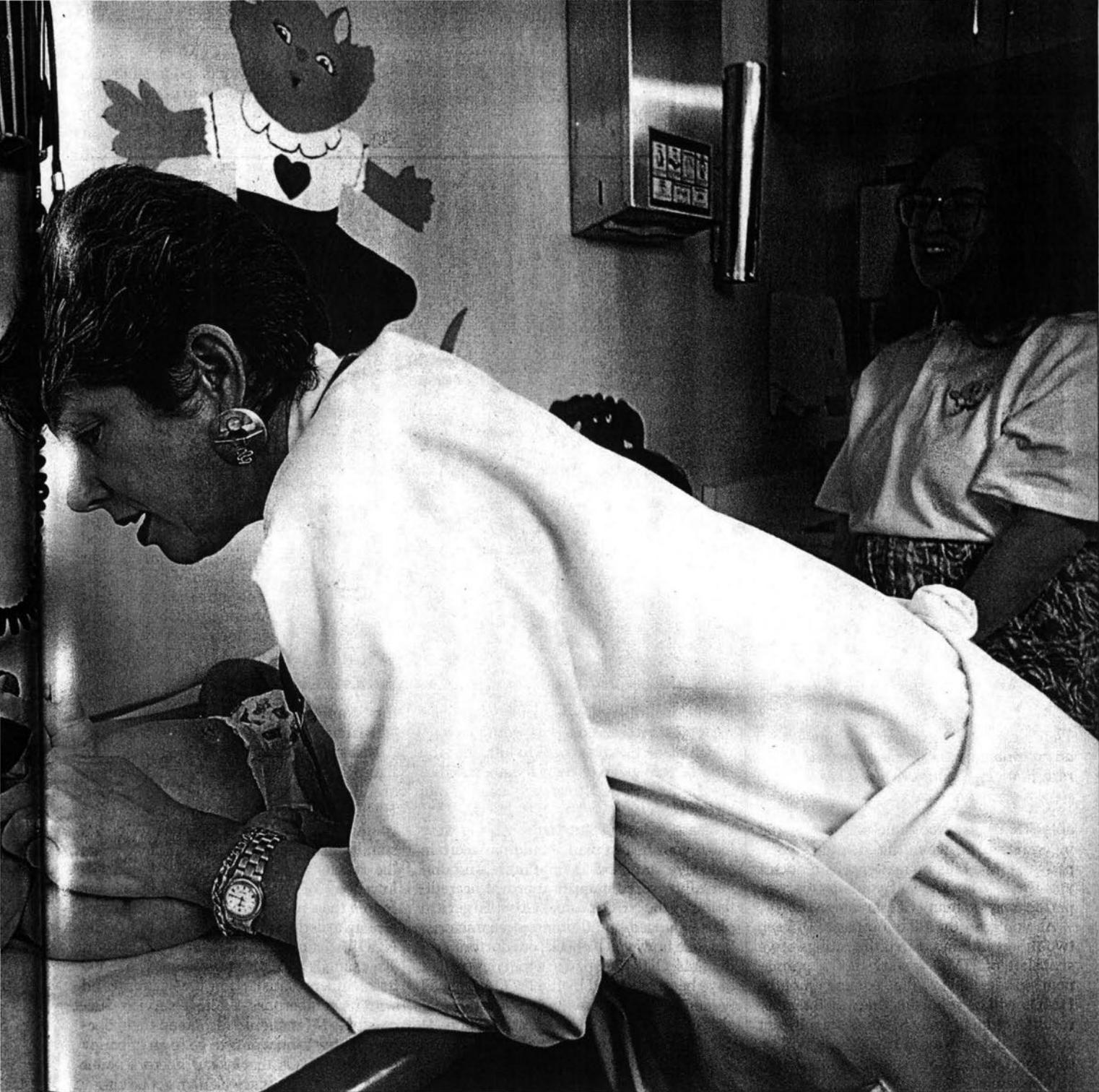
A Medical Revolution

From 1976 to 1995, HMO membership has risen nearly tenfold.



directly from the HMOs. Of the 75 plans surveyed, 43, covering 24 million members, responded. While that's a good response, it shows how uncomfortable comparison-shopping makes HMOs. It also reflects HMOs' low opinion of today's rating tools. That's why United HealthCare, which operates more than 40 plans, with 14 million enrollees, wouldn't participate. "Everyone in the industry is finding problems with these quality measures. They're not appropriate for comparing plans," says Lee New-

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comer, United's chief medical officer. Humana answered only part of the survey because it, too, believes that the measures can be misunderstood.

While evaluating HMOs is still an inexact exercise, these ratings provide a good start. At the very least, they allow consumers to differentiate between an HMO that's great at answering the phone from one that's doing a great job of detecting breast cancer. Even if you don't find your HMO on the list, you—or your employer—

can use these criteria to evaluate your plan.

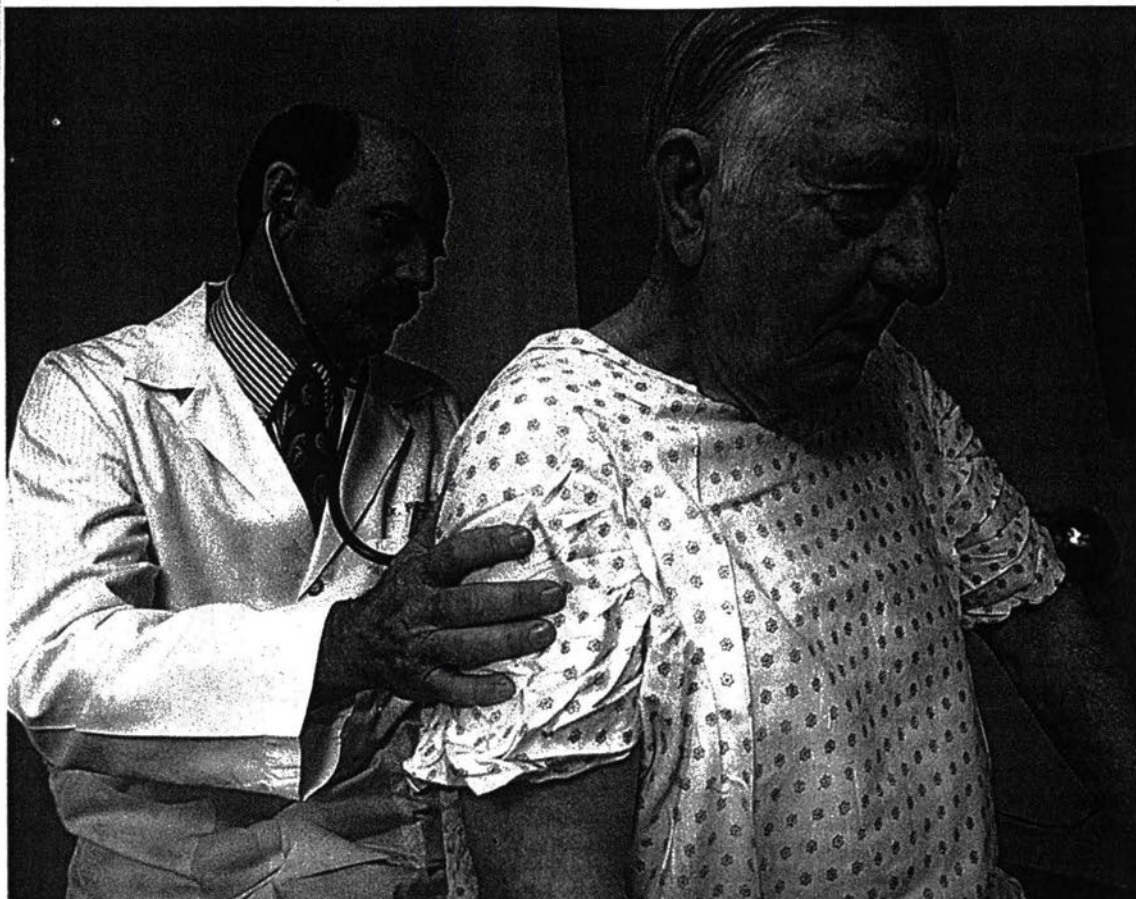
Why don't consumers already know this stuff? Because HMOs sort of snuck up on us. They were invented in the 1930s to give doctors an incentive to keep their members healthy. But we don't know much about judging them because HMOs didn't take off until the 1980s, when employers began relying on them to slash costs. Now HMOs—and their cousins, preferred provider organizations (PPOs) and point-of-service plans (POS)—are scrambling to dominate

Harvard Community Health

The New England HMO scored high in nearly every category, partly because of its close relationships with its doctors

markets so that they can wring more costs out of doctors and hospitals. "What's scary is that there's no system in place to detect harm to people while the shakeout is occurring," says Lansky.

But don't be too alarmed. HMOs, for the most part, are willing to be held account-



ROBBIE MCCLARAN

HMO-Oregon

The Salem-based managed-care plan has an exceptionally low Caesarean-section rate. But it lost points because it has low screening rates and isn't yet accredited.

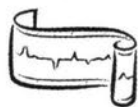
able. That was impossible under your old indemnity plan, when the insurance company paid the bills no matter which doctor you used. Who knew if your doctor was performing too many Caesarean sections?

As you scan the table on page 60, keep two things in mind. First, the ratings are a snapshot of HMO quality, not a permanent grade. Over the coming months HMOs will be reporting their 1995 quality results, which may reflect significant changes. A key way to track those will be through Quality Compass, a database that will be published in August by the National Committee for Quality Assurance, a Washington, D.C., group that accredits HMOs. Also: even low-scoring plans are to be commended for putting their reputation on the line.

NEWSWEEK's highest-scoring HMOs were Harvard Community Health Plan, Fallon Community Health Plan, Kaiser Foundation Health Plan of Colorado and Kaiser Foundation Health Plan—Northern California region. All have close, collaborative relationships with their doctors and a long-established mechanism for keeping

people healthier. Low-scoring plans had more distant relationships with doctors, which made them less able to influence the kind of care given to their members. Here are the six criteria NEWSWEEK used to rate all the HMOs:

Meets Industry Standards: At the very least, your health plan should pass certain objective standards. While there's no universally revered stamp of approval, accreditation by the NCQA comes close. To get it, a plan is judged on 50 different characteristics, like how well it checks out doctors' credentials. Of the 222 plans in the country that have been reviewed by the NCQA, only 37 percent won full accreditation. An additional 39 percent got partial accreditation, 11 percent received provisional accreditation and 12 percent were denied accreditation, including Aetna Health Plan of California and CaliforniaCare. Who wouldn't prefer a fully accredited plan? The higher a plan's accreditation status, the more points it received. Points were also given to HMOs planning to seek accreditation.



The HMO revolution has already forced some 53 million people from Marcus Welby-style medicine into the Wal-Mart model of health care

It was also important to know if a plan published the results of a set of measures called HEDIS, for Health Plan Employer Data and Information Set. HEDIS was developed in 1989 by corporations like Xerox and GE, which wanted to compare plans. Any plan that seriously seeks better quality should be making that information public. Most on our list do.

There were two other measures that were no-brainers: HMOs should be affiliated with hospitals accredited by the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations and employ a high percentage of doctors who have been "board certified." That means they've had extra training and passed a rigorous exam. Kaiser Foundation of the Mid-Atlantic States had the highest percentage of board-certified doctors, at 95 percent, while FHP Health Care, Ariz., had the lowest, at 67. Also, HMOs that tie doc-

tors' compensation to meeting quality and satisfaction targets received extra points.

Measures Satisfaction: Most HMOs try to figure out how contented their members are. But for the results to be believable, an HMO has to hire an independent firm to conduct the satisfaction survey, use a standardized set of questions and release the results to the public. HMOs that followed all of those steps received higher scores than plans that didn't. Points were also awarded to plans that will shift to the NCQA's standardized survey this year. That signals an HMO's willingness to have its members' satisfaction levels compared with its competitors—a huge service. Successful HMOs should also keep their doctors happy. Who wants to go to an unhappy one? So HMOs that asked doctors about their satisfaction with the plan got credit.

Tracks Members' Health: Would it surprise you that most HMOs couldn't tell you exactly how healthy or unhealthy their members are? Or how many enrollees smoke, abuse alcohol or engage in unsafe

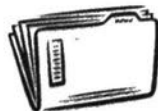
sex? Only one plan merited a four-star rating in this category, which was weighted twice as heavily as the previous two: HMO Blue of Massachusetts. It hasn't been known for delivering exceptional quality. But it turns out our ratings have pinpointed an important development: the HMO is dramatically overhauling its quality programs. "It's one of the best turnarounds I've seen," says consultant Sue Sheffler.

The best plans use hard-nosed measures called "outcomes." Outcomes show the ugly side of health care: how many diabetics had to undergo an amputation; how many women died of breast cancer. HMOs haven't been eager to embrace these measures, largely because an HMO with a high number of diabetic enrollees is bound to look bad next to a plan with very few.

Still, most folks would prefer to belong to an HMO that's sharp enough to be measuring such bottom-line results. That's why points were awarded to HMOs that could reveal their death rate from coronary artery-bypass graft surgeries. This mortality rate is the single best-studied outcome yardstick—one you'd undoubtedly want to ask about if your family had a history of heart disease. But only seven

CIGNA HealthCare of Arizona

CIGNA is great at tracking the results of its asthma, breast-cancer and cardiac care, but doesn't ask its salaried doctors if they're satisfied with the HMO's operations



HMOs, for the most part, are willing to be held accountable for the results of their health care. That was simply impossible under the old system.

of the 43 plans could report the crude 30-day rate.

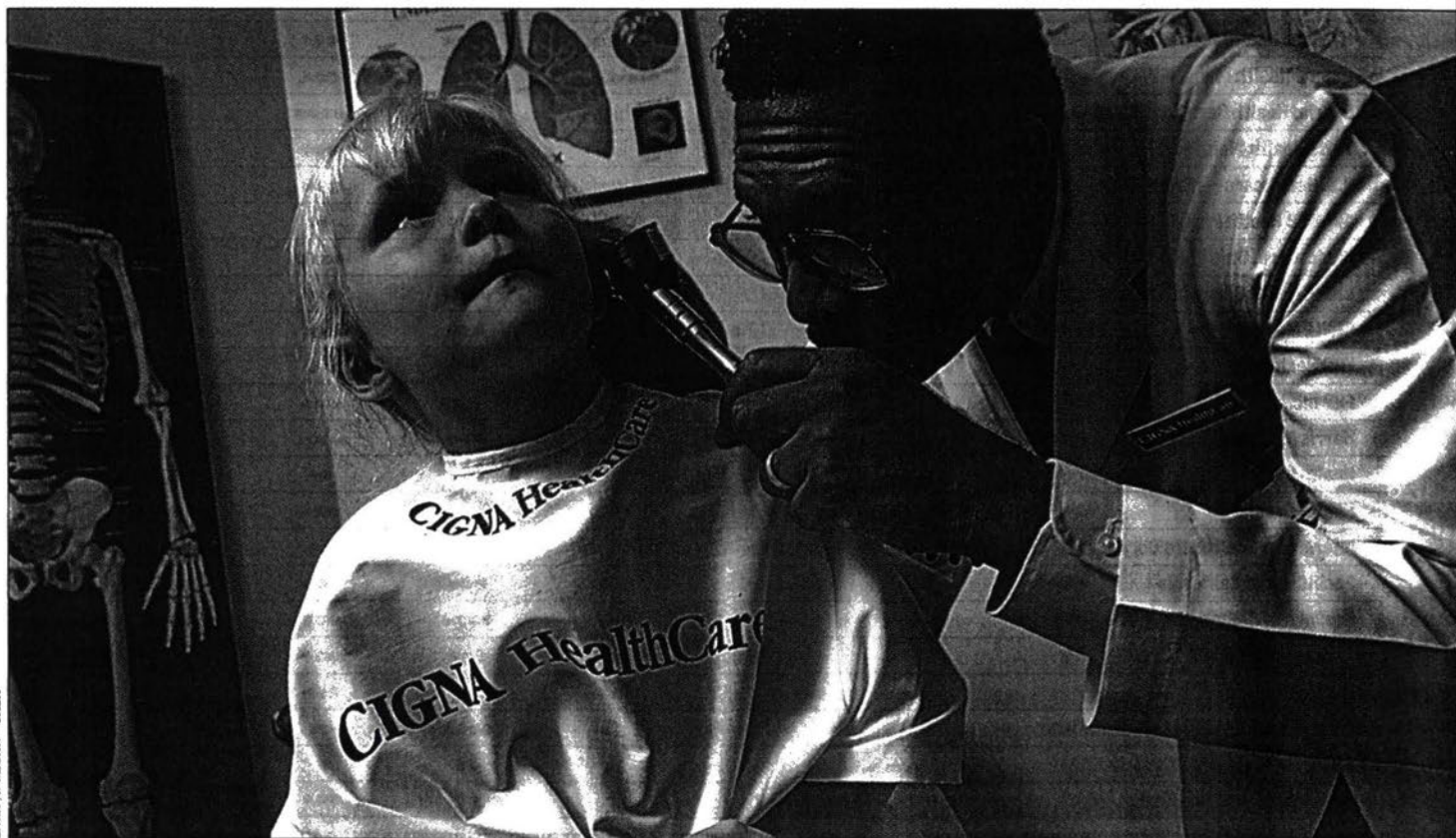
Prevention and Screening: One of the easiest ways to keep people healthy is to avoid sickness or detect it early. This principle is so well established that any plan that scored poorly here is probably in the early stages of upgrading its care. Plans were judged on their rates of vaccination, mammography, cervical-cancer screening and diabetic retinal exams because they're such effective tools and because so many HMOs can report on them.

Maternity Care: Here three measurements counted. The first tells you how many women received prenatal care during the first trimester of their pregnancy. Top scorers such as Harris Methodist Health Plan have healthier babies and less risky deliveries as a result. The second: the percentage of pregnancies that result in Caesarean sections. The best HMOs are working to lower their C-section rate because so many of the surgeries are unnecessary and expose women to extra danger. The national rate today is 22 per-

cent, but it was just 11 percent in 1971. Only four plans, including HMO—Oregon, could boast rates under 14 percent. The last measurement: the percentage of women who had a normal delivery after a previous C-section. Plans that could simply report it were given points. Why? It wasn't long ago that the medical profession believed that women who had one C-section couldn't have a normal delivery later. Plans that pay attention to this so-called VBAC rate are more likely to go to extra lengths to reduce risk in childbirth.

Satisfied Customers: Satisfaction is slippery to interpret. So instead of relying on each plan's survey results, as originally planned, we used the data collected by three independent sources: CareData, a New York information company; the Center for the Study of Services, which publishes a Guide to Health Insurance Plans for Federal Employees, and a Fortune 500 company that has been a leader in evaluating HMOs on behalf of its employees. One caveat here: a high satisfaction

(Continued on page 63)



LARA JO BEGAN—SARA

SURVEY

Rating 43 of America's Largest HMOs

NAME OF HMO	NUMBER OF MEMBERS (IN THOUSANDS)	COMPLAINT RATIO	MEETS INDUSTRY STANDARDS	MEASURES SATISFACTION	TRACKS MEMBERS' HEALTH	OVERALL QUALITY MONITORING	PRE-SCREENING
Fallon Community Health Plan, Mass.	180	low	●●●●	●●●●	●●	●●●	●
Harvard Community Health Plan, Mass.	591	high	●●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●●	●
Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, Inc.—Northern Calif. Region	2,218	n/a	●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	●
Kaiser Foundation Health Plan of Colorado	308	low	●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	●
CIGNA HealthCare of Arizona, Inc.	150	high	●●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	●
Community Health Plan, N.Y.	302	low	●●●●	●●●●	●●	●●●	●
FHP of Colorado, Inc.	349	high	●●●	●●●●	●●	●●●	●
Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound, Wash.	634	low	●●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	●
HealthAmerica Pennsylvania, Inc., Central Pa.	204	average	●●●	●●●●	●	●●	●
HealthAmerica Pennsylvania, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa.	270	high	●●●	●●●●	●●	●●●	●
Health Net, Calif.	1,351	n/a	●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	●
HMO Blue, Mass.	850	low	●●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●●	●
HMO Pennsylvania—U.S. Healthcare	807	high	●●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	●
Independent Health, N.Y.	414	low	●	●●●	●●●	●●	●
Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, Inc., Hawaii	187	n/a	●●●	●●●	●●	●●●	●
Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, Inc., Southern Calif. Region	2,200	n/a	●●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	●
Kaiser Foundation Health Plan of Georgia, Inc.	201	low	●●●●	●	●●	●●	●
Kaiser Foundation Health Plan of Ohio	188	high	●●●●	●●●	●●	●●●	●
Kaiser Foundation Health Plan of the Mid-Atlantic States, Md.	369	low	●●●●	●●●	●	●●	●
Kaiser Foundation Health Plan of the Northwest, Ore.	391	low	●●●	●●●	●●	●●	●
MVP Health Plan, N.Y.	525	low	●●●	●●●●	●	●●●	●
NYLCare Health Plans of the Mid-Atlantic States, Md.	364	average	●●●●	●●●	●	●●	●
Oxford Health Plans, N.Y.	1,002	low	●●●	●●●	●●	●●	●
Pilgrim Health Care, Inc., Mass.	380	high	●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	●
Tufts Health Plan, Mass.	448	low	●●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	●
U.S. Healthcare—HMO N.J.	743	low	●●●●	●●●	●●	●●●	●
AV-MED Health Plan, Fla.	319	average	●●●	●●	●	●●	●
ChoiceCare, Ohio	203	low	●●●●	●●●●	●	●●	●
CIGNA HealthCare of Florida	180	low	●●●●	●●●	●●	●●●	●
CIGNA Medical Group Healthplan, Calif.	170	n/a	●●●	●●●	●	●●	●
FHP Health Care, Ariz.	174	high	●●	●●	●	●●	●
FHP Inc., Calif.	941	n/a	●●	●●●	●	●●	●
Harris Methodist Health Plan, Texas	229	low	●●●	●●	●	●●	●
Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York	853	high	●●●	●●	●	●●	●
HMO—Oregon	810	average	●●	●●●	●	●●	●
Intergroup Healthcare Corp., Ariz.	268	average	●●●	●●	●	●●	●
PacificCare of California	1,901	n/a	●●●	●●●	●●	●●	●
PruCare of California	615	n/a	●●●●	●●●	●	●●	●
Rush Prudential HMO Inc., Ill.	354	low	●●●	●●●	●	●●	●
U.S. Healthcare, N.Y.	581	low	●●●●	●●●	●●	●●●	●
Aetna Health Plans of California, Inc.	326	n/a	●●●●	●●	●	●●	●
CareAmerica Health Plans, Calif.	218	n/a	●●	●	●	●●	●
NYLCare Health Plan, Texas	361	high	●●	●●●	●	●●	●

SOURCES: 1996 NEWSWEEK/FOUNDATION FOR ACCOUNTABILITY SURVEY; DAVID LANSKY, FACCT PRESIDENT; STATES' DEPARTMENTS OF INSURANCE OR CORPORATIONS. *SOURCE: CAREDATA, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF SERVICES, FORTUNE 500 COS. THE 43 HMOs LISTED ABOVE RESPONDED TO THE SURVEY. THE FOLLOWING 32 DID NOT: CALIFORNIA CARE FOUNDATION HEALTH, CALIF.; KEYSTONE HEALTH PLAN EAST, PENNSYLVANIA; ALLINA HEALTH PLAN, MINN.; BLUE CHOICE, N.Y.; HEALTH PARTNERS, MINN.; HEALTH ALLIANCE PLAN OF MICHIGAN, M.D.; INDIVIDUAL PRACTICE ASSOCIATION, MD.; UNITED HEALTHCARE OF OHIO; HEALTH OPTIONS, INC. FLA.; HMO ILLINOIS; TENNESSEE PRIMARY CARE; CHICAGO HMO, LTD.; UNITED HEALTHCARE, ALA.; PCA FAMILY HEALTH PLAN, FLA.; HUMANA MEDICAL PLAN, FLA.; HUMANA HEALTH PLAN INC., FLA.

BLUE SI
UNITED
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These ratings are the result of a survey designed by NEWSWEEK and the Foundation for Accountability, a nonprofit group based in Portland, Ore., to assess the quality of care offered by HMOs. The first group of categories, graded in the "Overall Quality

Monitoring" column, tells you how willing an HMO is to measure and report its own effectiveness. The second, scored under "Overall Quality Results," tells you whether the HMO is keeping people healthy.

●●●● = EXCELLENT ●●● = VERY GOOD ●● = GOOD ● = SATISFACTORY

PREVENTION AND SCREENING	MATERNITY CARE	SATISFIED CUSTOMERS*	OVERALL QUALITY RESULTS	OVERALL SCORE	COMMENTS
●●●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●●	●●●●	Top prenatal and prevention scores; very complete disease monitoring.
●●●●	●●●●	●●	●●●●	●●●●	Among the most sophisticated trackers of health and disease.
●●●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●●	●●●●	Accreditation planned; excellent health, disease tracking.
●●●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●●	●●●●	Terrific prenatal care; holds itself accountable for members' health.
●●●●	●●	●●	●●●	●●●	Among the best at measuring disease and treatment results.
●●	●●●●	●●	●●●	●●●	Very good prenatal record and C-section rate; too few vaccinations.
●●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	Works hard at assessing member and doctor satisfaction.
●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	One of the best at monitoring health, risk behaviors and disease outcomes.
●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	Good at prenatal care and C-sections, but not at assessing health risks.
●●	●●	●●	●●	●●●	Can report death rate for heart surgery; too few mammographies.
●●●	●	●●●	●●	●●●	Excellent asthma, breast-cancer, diabetes tracking; weak on prenatal care.
●●●●	●	●●	●●	●●●	Not accredited yet, but good at monitoring health and disease.
●●●	●	●●●	●●●	●●●	Strong breast-cancer and heart-failure-management programs.
●●●	●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	Accreditation denied but reapplying; good measurement of health levels.
●●●	●●●●	●●●●	●●●●	●●●	Some of the happiest members; excellent vaccination and C-section rates.
●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	Can report key heart-surgery rate; great at tracking members' health.
●●●	●●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	Excellent maternity care; doesn't check on doctors' satisfaction.
●●●●	●	●●●	●●●	●●●	Great prevention effort, lots of certified docs; too many C-sections.
●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	●●●	Second highest percentage of certified docs; doesn't track outcomes.
●●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	Very satisfied members; solid maternity care; fair health tracking.
●●●	●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	Loyal members; no risk-behavior tracking and too few diabetic eye exams.
●●●	●●	●●	●●●	●●●	Can report key maternity numbers; disease tracking starts this year.
●●	●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	Too many C-sections; very satisfied customers and doctors.
●●●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	Very satisfied members; has monitored mental health of members.
●●●●	●●	●●●●	●●●	●●●	Very good asthma and heart-disease tracking; too few certified doctors.
●●	●	●●●	●●	●●●	Good health monitoring; unusually loyal members.
●	●	●●●	●●	●●	Couldn't report Pap-smear rate, too many C-sections; members satisfied.
●●	●	●●●●	●●	●●	Couldn't report on prenatal care rate; too few vaccinations.
●●	●●	●●●	●●	●●	Tied with Fallon for best prenatal score; too many C-sections.
●●	●●	●●	●●	●●	Good start in tracking members' health but doesn't share results.
●●●	●●●	●●	●●●	●●	Tops in prenatal care and C-section rates; not enough certified doctors.
●●●	●●	●	●●	●●	Members report weak satisfaction; excellent C-section rating.
●	●●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●	Very good prenatal care; too few vaccinations and mammographies.
●	●●	●	●	●●	Weak prevention results; members report low satisfaction.
●●	●●●	●●	●●	●●	Exceptional C-section rate; accreditation planned.
●●●	●●●	●●	●●●	●●	Doesn't track risk behaviors or regularly check if docs are satisfied.
●●	●●	●●	●●	●●	Weak vaccination rate; tracks key maternity figures.
●●●	●●	●	●●	●●	Meets all industry standards, but members give it low satisfaction scores.
●●	●●●●	●	●●	●●	Not paying enough attention to members' overall health.
●●	●	●●	●●	●●	Weak in maternity care and disease-prevention activities.
●	●	●	●	●	Meets industry standards but doesn't track health or disease levels.
●	●	●	●	●	Didn't report on prevention, maternity care; doesn't check doc satisfaction.
●	●●	●	●	●	Accreditation planned; too few vaccinations and mammographies.

FOR THE AN EAST, HEALTH PLAN INC., SHIELD OF CALIFORNIA HMO; HMO HEALTH OHIO; COMMUNITY BLUE, THE HMO OF BC AND BS OF WESTERN N.Y., INC.; HUMANA HEALTH PLAN, INC., ILL.; HERITAGE NATIONAL HEALTHPLAN, INC., ILL.; CAC-UNITED HEALTHCARE PLANS OF FLA., INC.; PRIMECARE HEALTH PLAN, WIS.; KEYSTONE HEALTH PLAN WEST, INC., PA.; UNITED HEALTHCARE OF OHIO, R.I.; BLUE CARE NETWORK OF SOUTHEAST MICHIGAN; PHYSI-ANS HEALTH PLAN, MICH.; UNITED HEALTH PLANS OF NEW ENGLAND, INC., R.I.; HIP HEALTH PLAN OF NEW JERSEY; CAPITAL DISTRICT PHYSICIANS' HEALTH PLAN, N.Y.; COMMUNITY PHYSICIAN NETWORK, CALIF.

(Continued from page 59)

rate doesn't necessarily mean the plan offers topnotch care. It may simply be a sign of excellent customer service. In a recent study of 17 HMOs by the Massachusetts Healthcare Purchaser Group, the plans ranked highest for quality were not the ones that won the highest satisfaction scores.

Complaints: Every state cautioned against using complaints as a barometer of HMO quality. They cited a variety of rea-

sons: grievances against self-insured plans aren't included; complaints may be coming from doctors and hospitals instead of consumers; and despite its gigantic HMO population, California hasn't yet published the data. So complaints aren't factored into our ratings, although they are broken out. We first calculated the number of complaints per 10,000 members, to adjust for different HMO sizes. Then we compared that complaint ratio with the average for all HMOs in the state. Only 10 of our

group had higher than average complaints.

There's little reason to expect that evaluating HMOs will be a snap any time soon. As more consumer-advocate groups and corporations wrestle with the issue, disagreement about the definition will get louder. But it's important to keep trying. The best HMOs will want to provide even more data, because it helps their cause. Others will follow suit to stay competitive. And for consumers, picking an HMO will no longer be like throwing darts. ■

How to Choose a Doctor at Your HMO

Why you should ignore friends and dig for data

WHEN YOU THINK about it, it's ridiculous. "We demand every conceivable statistic on baseball players, but when it's time to get our chest opened up for heart surgery, we don't know the first thing about a doctor's track record," says Dwight McNeill, vice president of AccessHealth in Rancho Cordova, Calif. HMOs only intensify this frustrating situation. Joining one often means picking a new primary-care doctor the way you'd pick a dry cleaner—by finding the one closest to your home. Even though it's tough to find what you'd really like to know—such as which doctors have been disciplined by hospitals—you can do better than that. Here's how:

■ **Dig for Data.** First, turn to some key sources of public information. In a few states, information on whether a doctor has been sued or had his license suspended is available from the state's medical-licensing boards. Public Citizen's Health Research Group publishes a book called "13,012 Questionable Doctors," which names physicians who continue to practice medicine despite records of proven incompetence or other



Harris Methodist Health System

Most HMOs like Harris Methodist allow you to choose your own doctors. But you have to dig for information on their track records.

serious problems. Compare doctors' credentials by looking in The American Medical Directory or The Directory of Medical Specialists, which are available in many libraries. Academies of medicine, which are in most large cities, should be able to tell you which local watchdog groups are rating doctors or collecting data on their credentials.

■ **Knock on the HMO's Door.** Any health plan accredited by the National Committee for Quality Assurance should be able to tell you which of its doctors admit pa-

tients to teaching or community hospitals. A doctor with admitting privileges to both is best. Another mark of distinction to look for: doctors who completed a residency program that was affiliated with a major university. Your HMO should also disclose whether a doctor is board certified, which means he has had two to six years of post-medical-school training and passed a difficult exam.

■ **Ask the Quality Cops.** Most big HMOs have quality-assurance departments, designed to monitor customer service, and many compile

"patient satisfaction surveys" on doctors. Your plan probably won't let you see the surveys in their entirety, but it may be willing to pull out data on a limited number of doctors if you ask.

■ **Survey the Ivory Towers.** Doctors who teach as well as practice medicine have usually earned the respect of colleagues and are familiar with the latest developments in the field. But a professorship is significant only if it relates somehow to the doc's area of clinical expertise. For example, teaching a class in the latest diagnostic techniques in internal medicine helps a general practitioner keep current.

■ **Bug the Boss.** While HMOs might give short shrift to an individual member requesting information, they'd find it difficult to ignore an employer who's channeling hundreds of thousands of health-care dollars into their coffers each year. One of the best reasons to ask your boss to run interference for you: if an HMO physician refuses to take you as a patient because of a pre-existing condition that could require frequent office visits. (Some fee structures make it economically undesirable for doctors to see patients too often.) Some employers, like GTE and Xerox, have already begun to compile large health-plan databases that include information about participant satisfaction, surgical procedures and physician quality. Someday all you may have to do to pick a great doctor is stroll over to the benefits department.

ELLYN SPRAGINS, JEREMY KAHN
and ANNETTA MILLER

Study based on
EASE SIGNING
sample based on
may be higher in
for excess wear.

Jack Quinn

Mr. President

Clinger accepted
this deal this
afternoon —

Jack

Great work
BS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/26/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1996

The Honorable William Clinger
Chairman
Committee on Government Reform
and Oversight
2157 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The President appreciates your recent letter to Congresswoman Collins and your willingness to work with us to avoid an unnecessary constitutional confrontation between the legislative and executive branches. Our discussions over the last months have been critical to our finding the middle course that would accommodate both the Congress's legitimate need for information essential to its legislative purposes and the President's constitutionally protected interest in the confidentiality of communications with him or among his advisors.

You have emphasized that you need the documents in question in order to confirm that public officials or others associated with the Administration have not engaged in wrongdoing. More recently, you and others have said that the documents should be turned over so that you can know if they shed light on the FBI files matter that recently came to light -- which in fact they do not.

The President shares these concerns. As you know, the documents in question were already reviewed by the Attorney General and a number of her senior assistants. It is now particularly important that we assure the American people that we are doing all we can to get to the bottom of the FBI files matter and to take all appropriate corrective and disciplinary action.

We are therefore prepared to proceed on the basis of the proposal you laid out to Mrs. Collins and to do so in a way that accommodates both the legislative and the executive interests that are at issue.

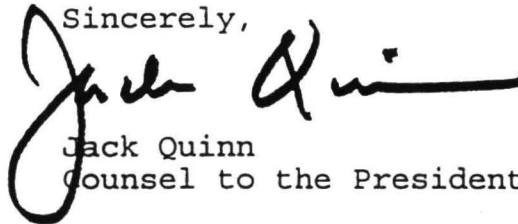
Specifically, we are prepared to provide access to all of the documents in which your letter expressed a continuing interest. We will make all of these documents available for inspection and review -- by Members of the Committee and by the

Committee's staff. We will begin this process this week and make the documents available at a specific time and place of your convenience and that of Mrs. Collins.

We will protect the President's interest in confidentiality by providing access only to Committee members and staff. However, we will make available to the Committee and to the public copies of any document that relates to the FBI files matter. Further, if you have good reason to believe that any document reveals wrongdoing, related to the travel office or otherwise, I am prepared to discuss it with you and Mrs. Collins, with a view toward our determining whether making the document publicly available is warranted.

Mr. Chairman, I believe this responds fully and in good faith to the concerns you have stated publicly and in our private conversations.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jack Quinn". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "J" and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Jack Quinn
Counsel to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 JUN 25 09:04

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/26/96

FROM: NICOLE ELKON
DATE: ~~JUNE~~ 24, 1996
RE: OLYMPIC ACTIVITIES
CC: MACK MCLARTY
ANNE HAWLEY
STEPHANIE STREETT
DON BAER

The goal of this memorandum is to confirm with you your participation in future Olympic activities. The proposed agenda has been put together in conjunction with Mack McClarty, Don Baer and the team in Atlanta.

OPENING DAY:

The following is an outline of the schedule for Friday, July 19.

11:30 am -	LUNCH WITH INTERNATIONAL ATHLETES
12:30 pm	CAFETERIA/ OLYMPIC VILLAGE
12:45 pm -	REMARKS TO U.S. OLYMPIC TEAM
1:45 pm	AUDITORIUM/OLYMPIC VILLAGE
tbd	BILATERAL MEETINGS
tbd	DOWN TIME
7:00 pm -	PRESENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC
7:45 pm	COMMITTEE
	OLYMPIC STADIUM
7:45 pm -	HEAD OF STATE RECEPTION
8:20 pm	OLYMPIC STADIUM
9:00 pm -	OPENING CEREMONIES
12:00 pm	OLYMPIC STADIUM
RON	WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON COMPETITION:

The U.S. soccer team is playing at RFK stadium on Wednesday, July 24 at 7:30 pm. (This is an option and not part of the communication plan for your Olympic participation.)

Are you interested in attending the soccer game?

SECOND VISIT TO ATLANTA:

You indicated on an earlier memo that you were interested in the women's gymnastics competition on Thursday, July 25. The following are the other competitions taking place that day.

GYMNASTICS - ARTISTIC (women)

Individual all-around 4:15 pm - 7:10 pm Georgia Dome

BASKETBALL (women)

Zaire vs. US (preliminary) 10:00 am - 1:30 pm Georgia Dome

Carla McGhee, the Olympic athlete who ran the torch off the White House grounds will be playing on the U.S. team. Attending this game would allow you to follow her Olympic career.

AQUATIC - SWIMMING (men and women)

Preliminaries 10:05 am - 1:45 am Georgia Tech Aquatic Center

Finals 7:30 pm - 9:35 pm Georgia Tech Aquatic Center

BASEBALL (men)

Japan vs. US 8:00 pm - 11:00 pm Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium

VOLLEYBALL

team unknown 10:00 am - 2:30 pm Omni Coliseum

Can the scheduling office confirm your return to the Olympics on July 25 to watch the gymnastics competition?

YES _____ NO _____

What other, if any, competitions do you want to attend?

WHITE HOUSE EVENT:

You will host the entire U.S. Olympic team (about 750 athletes) on the South Lawn of the White House on August 7.

PARALYMPICS:

The current proposal is for you to launch the Paralympic Torch Relay from the White House on August 6.

The Torch will be run through Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, before arriving in Atlanta on August 15. The flame will be lit from the eternal flame at the tomb of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Atlanta on August 5 and flown to Washington. The torch bearers will be chosen by Nations Bank, the major corporate sponsor, and the Atlanta Paralympic Organizing Committee.

The Vice President is planning on attending the Paralympics opening ceremonies in Atlanta on August 15.

*Let's discuss
all interesting*

*OK
OK
OK*



Please send
photo to Carolyn
Hudson for filing.

mea

President Clinton's great-grandmother
Frances Ellen Hines pictured in the uniform of a girls' finishing school. This picture was made 1873.
The finishing school was located at Paducah, Tenn. She married Henry Patton Foote Blythe,
Oct. 29, 1874.

'996'

Taken by Mary Lee Simpson
at a school reunion -

Been to J Quinn

BS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-25-96

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

June 6, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/24/96

~~Dear Mr. President:~~

Here is another analysis I received on Senator Kyl's proposed Constitutional amendment on victims' rights. This memo is from Paul Gewirtz. He, too, raised serious concerns about the Kyl approach.

My best wishes,

Sincerely,



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

To J Query
I do think we should propose
Uniform Civil Liberties Act as
Paul says along w/ const. A
PC



Yale Law School

PAUL GEWIRTZ
Patterson Stewart Professor
of Constitutional Law

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

TO: Senator Christopher Dodd

FROM: Paul Gewirtz *PG*

RE: Proposed Victims' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution

DATE: June 5, 1996

As you requested yesterday, here in brief are my thoughts on the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution to protect the rights of crime victims.

Although I am highly sympathetic to the victims' right movement, I think the proposed constitutional amendment is ill-advised. Opposing this amendment is in no sense opposition to the victims' rights movement, which generally deserves praise. Objection to this proposal rests solely on the fact that it is a constitutional amendment and that it is substantively flawed. If you conclude that the amendment should not be supported, it would clearly be advisable to enlist prosecutors to endorse that position, as I am confident many will do. Also, it might be advisable to propose new legislation that would bring together in a single statute the various victims' rights provisions now scattered through the U.S. Code; make some revisions as appropriate (e.g., add a provision prohibiting employers from dismissing or disciplining people who participate in proceedings because of the rights given them here, as provided in the Uniform Crime Victims Act, § 207); and perhaps generate some additional funds for victims' support programs and victims' compensation funds. This would allow opponents of the constitutional amendment to do something much more practical for victims' rights than a sketchy constitutional provision that will require endless interpretation and litigation.

It is also worth emphasizing that in a basic sense this constitutional amendment is too narrow, and may distract attention from the more basic issues of crime victimization that are now central in the political debate. The best way to protect all victims, present as well as future, is to combat crime as effectively as possible. The focus must remain on promoting people's security, safety, and expectations of commercial fairness--more police, swift sanctions, focussed prevention efforts, and so forth. In this broader political debate, the Democratic Party is in an uncharacteristically strong position and might therefore intimate that a constitutional amendment like this at this time is both unnecessary and a distraction

from more important victim-protection efforts that some of the amendment's proponents have opposed. I also think that there is a fairly broad sense among the American people that we shouldn't lightly tinker with the Federal Constitution if there are other ways to address a problem--as here there surely are.

My basic reasons for opposing the proposed constitutional amendment are these:

1. Constitutional Amendments Should Be Disfavored: There should be a strong presumption against amending the Federal Constitution--particularly in areas where the political process is already taking steps to address a problem through other avenues.
2. The Proposed Amendment is Unnecessary: In fact, political processes at all levels of government are currently addressing the matter of victims' rights and roles in the criminal process, and are generally doing so in a sensible way--indeed, in a more nuanced way than this proposed amendment, which constitutionalizes particular rights in a problematically absolutist way (see ¶ 5 below). For example, Congress has already passed at least three major pieces of legislation to assure greater protection of victims' interests, the Victim and Witness Protection Act of 1982 [hereafter "VWPA"], the Victims of Crime Act of 1984 [hereafter "VCA"], and the Victims' Rights and Restitution Act of 1990 [hereafter "VRRRA"]. A high percentage of state and local governments have enacted similar provisions. And the American Bar Association, reflecting this growing interest in victims' rights protections, in 1992 adopted a Uniform Victims of Crime Act [hereafter "UVCA"] detailing a set of model provisions concerning victims' rights. Many of these initiatives are quite new, and may need fine-tuning as experience shows how they work out in actual practice. A federal constitutional amendment is not simply unnecessary; by imposing a rigid and uniform federal constitutional mandate, it would interfere with the variety of useful approaches being taken by federal and state lawmakers.
3. The Proposed Amendment Invites Disruptive Federal Court Enforcement: The proposed amendment could produce an enforcement nightmare as federal courts are called upon to impose the amendment's provisions on federal, state and local governments. Section 2 says that Congress and the states "shall have the power to implement further" the Section 1 rights, but Section 1 itself creates rights that victims could enforce without any new legislation. This means that there is likely to be a vast amount of new litigation in federal courts to enforce these new "federal rights." By contrast, other federal and state provisions concerning victims' rights often disclaim that any cause of action is created by the victims' rights provisions, thus avoiding the disruptive consequences of private enforcement litigation and federal court activism. See, e.g., VRRRA, 42 U.S.C. § 10606 (c), 42 U.S.C. § 10607(d); VWPA, Pub. L. 97-291, § (6) (b) [check cite]. The enforcement problems that would be created by the proposed amendment are compounded by the fact that who counts as a "victim" is utterly undefined---and could include a whole host of people indirectly harmed by the crime, injured co-participants in the crime, etc. Other victims' rights provisions typically define "victim", and do so narrowly.

June 4-96

Dear Mr. President,

Pursuant to the
discussion regarding the
proposed Constitutional
Amendment on Victims'
rights the enclosed
responses to me worth
reading. You'll notice that
Larry Tribe has changed his
name from the first Constitution
Beck Cohen

CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT

727 East 26th Street
Austin, Texas 78705
(512) 471-7188
(512) 471-5151

Telecopier: (512) 477-8149

TO: SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

CITY: Washington, D.C.

DATE: May 29, 1996

TELECOPIER NUMBER: 1 - 202 - 224 - 1083

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER): 1

Dear Chris,

Your letter, asking my view of Senator Kyl's proposed constitutional amendment concerning the rights of victims of crimes, arrived just as I was about to go out of town. Fortunately the amendment is short. I think the idea is a very bad one. I think that this emphasis on the victim encourages the attitude of retribution as a dominant theme in the criminal process. Of course retribution plays a part, but I think it should be the government, acting on behalf of all of us, that exacts retribution. I certainly think that the victim should be informed of the release or escape of the criminal and that there should be reasonable measures to protect the victim from violence or intimidation, but these are matters for the federal government and the states to deal with by statutes, not by constitutional amendments.

Charlie

*If you do not receive all of the pages, please call
Miss Bartsch or Mrs. Kieke at the numbers listed above.*

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
LAW SCHOOL

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



HAUSER HALL 420
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138
(617) 495-4627

Privileged and Confidential

May 30, 1996

The Honorable Christopher J. Dodd
United States Senate
SR-444 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

By Fax and Federal Express

Dear Chris:

As you requested yesterday, I've taken a fairly close look at Senator Jon Kyl's proposed amendment to the Constitution concerning the rights of victims of crime, S.J. Res. 52. I began, as I indicated to you when we spoke this past Sunday, with considerable sympathy for the objectives of such an amendment.

As I mentioned in that conversation, the first Supreme Court case that I ever argued was one in which I relied in part, and successfully, on the theory that the victims of crime have rights under the *existing* Constitution — in that case, a right to attend the trial of the accused even when the accused, the prosecution, and the trial court prefer to conduct the proceedings out of public view. The case was *Richmond Newspapers v. Virginia*, 448 U.S. 555 (1980), where the Supreme Court held for the first time, and partly on the basis of an argument about the rights of victims, that the First and Fourteenth Amendments, supplemented by the Ninth Amendment (which the plurality expressly invoked), create a presumptive right to be present at a criminal trial. The First Amendment alone might not have sufficed to support such a right, which helps explain both why I found it necessary to focus on the rights of victims and why the Court's plurality opinion relied in part on the assumption of the Framers that such rights existed and actually invoked the Ninth Amendment, a provision almost never relied upon in a majority or plurality opinion to support a Supreme Court holding (the only other exceptions being the 1965 birth control decision and the 1992 reaffirmance of *Roe v. Wade*).

Richmond Newspapers, of course, illustrates that the rights of victims and their relatives to be present at critical proceedings involving the accused are not altogether without protection even under the Constitution as it stands at present. Moreover, there is no question that the Tenth

Amendment already "reserve[s] to the States" ample power to enact legislation applicable to any state criminal proceeding, adult or juvenile, to protect every one of the rights of victims that the proposed constitutional amendment, S.J. Res. 52, would embed in the Constitution — including all of the opportunities to be present and to be heard, to be informed of release or escape, to receive restitution from the convicted offender, to assure a speedy trial with a final conclusion free from unreasonable delay, and to reasonable protection from violence or intimidation by the accused or convicted offender. Similarly, there is no doubt that the Constitution already delegates to Congress — through a combination of the Criminal Trial Clause of Article III, §2, Cl.3; the Necessary and Proper Clause of Article I, §8, Cl.18; and whatever substantive provision empowered Congress to criminalize the underlying conduct in the first place (typically, a provision in Article I or in the Enforcement Clauses of one of the Civil War Amendments) — ample authority to protect the same set of rights of victims and their families in connection with any federal criminal proceeding, civilian or military. In a sense, therefore, Section 2 of the proposed constitutional amendment overlaps existing constitutional provisions pursuant to which the several States and Congress, with respect to proceedings in their respective forums, may even now legislate to protect victims' rights beyond those recognized in such decisions as *Richmond Newspapers*.

To be sure, state or federal legislation enacted today, under the existing sources of constitutional authority I have described above, would have to be harmonized, in any given case, both with the Constitution's protections for state sovereignty and with the Constitution's protections for the rights of the accused. Thus, for example, a congressional enactment compelling state prison officials to notify concerned persons when they release a convict into the community — like the statute recently enacted by Congress and signed by the President — remains subject to judicial review if challenged either by state authorities claiming an invasion of their rights under the Tenth Amendment, or by a released convict claiming either a violation of due process or a violation of the ban on ex post facto laws. And a federal or state law purporting to assure a "final conclusion free from unreasonable delay" by cutting off all (or almost all) access to habeas corpus, to suggest another example that bears at least some resemblance to recently enacted legislation, remains subject to constitutional challenge under the Habeas Corpus Clause of Art. I, §9, Cl.2.

Some might argue that the need for a constitutional amendment in this area follows precisely from the uncertainty as to how such challenges would be resolved, and from the desirability of giving to the rights of victims a weightier and more secure place in whatever constitutional calculus is employed. The difficulty with any such argument, however, is that even the proposed constitutional amendment, unless accompanied with a (quite radical and indeed unthinkable) proviso to the effect that the new amendment is meant to override any and all otherwise relevant constitutional constraints on government, would likewise have to be harmonized with exactly the same constitutional provisions that legislation enacted to protect victims must contend with today. In short, the proposed amendment would not add certainty, avoid confusion, or get around the need for potentially protracted litigation to decide just how far various "victims' rights" claims may be pressed when they come into conflict with the constitutional rights of the accused, or of the several States.

I assume, for example, that the language authorizing the States and Congress to take "reasonable measures to protect the victim from violence or intimidation by the accused or convicted offender" would not justify automatic castration as a punishment for any sexual assault by a male, or a "Scarlet Letter" law requiring any violent offender permanently to wear a visible tattoo, and that the language creating a right to "full restitution from the convicted offender" would not justify automatic confiscation of all houses or other property belonging to any member of a convict's family in the many cases where the offender is personally insolvent. Presumably, constitutional litigation would be required in order to ascertain just how far government would be permitted, and indeed in some instances required, to go in fulfilling the duties to victims created by the proposed amendment.

My reference above to how far government would be affirmatively required, and not merely permitted, to go in protecting victims' rights, suggests an area of concern that is perhaps unique to this proposed amendment. Unlike the other questions I have raised — questions that show how the proposed amendment would leave us with essentially the same constitutional puzzles that plague us in the amendment's absence — the question of affirmative government obligations is one that the status quo leaves in the hands of lawmakers, but one that the amendment would put into the hands of state and federal judges.

Supreme Court decisions regularly stress the fact that, given the delicate and discretionary balance government must strike in deciding how much to intervene in family life or other special settings, individuals who claim that government should have expended more resources, or assigned more personnel, or provided more vigilant protection, in order to secure their safety from various offenses are relegated to the political forum and have no basis for a direct federal constitutional attack on the government's alleged inaction. Short of proof that the government has selectively withheld police or other legal protection from individuals or groups singled out for such inattention on some impermissible basis, one who complains that government, and ultimately taxpayers, should have done more to protect him or her is unable, as the law now stands, to "make a federal case out of it."

All of that would change radically if the proposed amendment were to become law. And the change would affect not only claims by whatever individual the amendment has in mind when it speaks of "the victim . . . of a crime of violence" but also claims by the potential multitude of individuals who might, pursuant to Section 2, be defined as victims of "other crimes" such as, say, cases of securities fraud (whose victims number in the millions) or of public corruption (whose victims may reasonably be thought to include us all). This fact alone means that the proposed amendment would be likely to spawn entirely plausible litigation — that is, litigation that could not readily be dismissed at an early stage as frivolous — surrounding such judicially intractable questions as just how much various levels of government should be compelled to spend on protecting the public from criminal offenses of every imaginable description, and on assuring participation in the prosecution and sentencing of the offenders, sometimes in direct conflict with other rights of victims secured by the amendment, such as the right to "a speedy trial" and "a final conclusion free from unreasonable delay." Indeed, there would have to be litigation to resolve even that question — the question of how to "trade off" the rights of victims to speed and efficiency with

their rights to participation and their rights to adequate protection within whatever budgetary constraints the constitutional amendment is thought to permit government to take into account.

A final difficulty seemingly unique to the proposed amendment is that state legislation enacted pursuant to Section 2 — unlike virtually any other category of state legislation I can imagine — would, in cases of conflict with any federal statute (except perhaps a federal statute also enacted pursuant to Section 2), presumably be entitled to some sort of constitutional priority over that federal statute notwithstanding the normal operation of the Supremacy Clause of Article VI, Cl.2. For instance, in any state criminal proceeding, a state law requiring certain forms of cooperation by the FBI — in order to assure speed or otherwise protect the victim's rights proclaimed by Section 1 — would presumably prevail over an Act of Congress purporting to protect the FBI from such state interference, unless that congressional enactment was itself promulgated pursuant to Section 2. This perhaps unintended but plainly unavoidable consequence of Section 2 would create a mind-boggling mess that I suppose would be a litigator's or a law professor's dream but a nightmare from the perspective of a country that many already see as choking on too many laws, too many lawsuits, and too much work for high-priced lawyers.

In sum, it seems to me that the proposed amendment would create a real hornet's nest of problems for law enforcement at all levels, bog the courts down in enormously complex legal conflicts, shift power over resource allocation decisions from legislators and executives to judges, leave unanswered many of the questions in current law that appear to motivate the measure, and achieve no meaningful protection for victims beyond that already attainable without any constitutional change at all.

The fact that the amendment's subject is no doubt a suitable one for constitutional concern, and that the victims of private wrongs ought to be protected by our legal system no less than the victims of government overreaching are protected, makes this a sympathetic effort, one that I think has great moral as well as political appeal. A knee-jerk aversion to amending the Constitution under any circumstances, as though it were a sacred text that is simply too perfect to warrant any change, would be unwise. But one need not embrace any such unthinking opposition to constitutional change in order to conclude, as I have concluded, that the problems this amendment would create outweigh any improvements it would bring about in the responsiveness of our system to the very real plight of the victims of crime.

Please feel free to share these thoughts with your colleagues in the Senate, or with the President and his staff should The White House have any interest in this analysis. I would be glad to discuss the issues with you, or with the President, whenever convenient.

Sincerely yours,



NCC

Given to Pres 6/24

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6.15.82

An Urgent Appeal to the World Conscience
INDIA'S FARAKKA BARRAGE IS A DISASTER FOR BANGLADESH
Save Humanity - Save Bangladesh

FARAKKA BARRAGE:

A Disaster for Bangladesh

The name Bangladesh has become synonymous with Natural disasters which are beyond the control of human beings. But, in recent years, a man-made disaster known as the Farakka Barrage has seriously affected Bangladesh's agriculture, navigation, fisheries, forestry, salinity and various components of the ecosystem.

In 1975 India completed the Farakka Barrage about 11 miles from the borders of Bangladesh to divert 40,000 cfs of the Ganges water into the Bhagirathi - Hoogly River with the ostensible purpose of flushing the accumulated silts from the bed of the river and thereby improving the navigability at the Calcutta Port. The unilateral withdrawal of the Ganges water during the low flow months has caused both long-term and short-term adverse effects in Bangladesh.

Long-Term Impacts on Bangladesh:

- a) One fourth of the fertile agricultural land will become wasteland, due to a shortage of water.
- b) Thirty million lives are affected through environmental and economical ruin.
- c) An annual economic loss of over half a billion dollars in agriculture, fisheries, navigation, and industries is calculated by the government of Bangladesh.
- d) Frequent flooding due to environmental imbalance and changes in natural flow of the Ganges.

Immediate Affect on Bangladesh:

- a) Reduction in agricultural products due to insufficient water for irrigation.
- b) Reduction in aquatic population.
- c) Transportation problems; Boats rendered useless; Tributaries are dry during dry season.
- d) Increased salinity threatening crops, animal life drinking water, and industrial activities in southwest Bangladesh.

Steps taken to resolve the problem:

- a) Since 1951 negotiations between then Govt. of Pakistan and India did not bear any results.
- b) After Independence the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission met over 90 times without any results.
- c) In April 1975, Bangladesh agreed to a trial operation of the Farakka Barrage for a period of April 21 - May 31 to divert 11,000-16,000 cfs. India, however, continued to divert to the full capacity of 40,000 cfs after May 31.
- d) On November 26, 1976 the U.N. General Assembly adopted a consensus statement directing the parties to arrive at a fair and expeditious settlement.
- e) On November 5, 1977 the Ganges Waters Agreement was signed, assuring 34,500 cfs for Bangladesh

Current Status:

The five-year treaty expired in 1982, and after several shorter extensions, lapsed entirely in 1989. India is now diverting 40,000 cfs with complete disregard of Bangladesh's fair share.

What you can do to help Bangladesh:

More than 200 river basins are shared by two or more countries. The sharing of river basins between countries is the rule rather than the exception. Bangladesh values its friendship with all nations and sincerely urges all nations and humanitarian agencies to utilize their offices to resolve this life threatening situation.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-25-86

Telephone call
to Teresa
Clark
Do letter

June 6, 1996

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Teresa Clark, spouse of Mayor Steve Clark
Home: 305-856-6136
305-856-2075

JIM DORSKIND:
Please coordinate
the reply.
cc: Stacy Forster

DATE: As soon as possible

RECOMMENDED BY: Doug Sosnik and David Wofford

PURPOSE: To make a call expressing sympathy to Teresa and her children for the loss of her husband, Mayor Steve Clark. Steve was the Mayor of Miami.

BACKGROUND: Mayor Clark (D), 72, died Tuesday after a battle with stomach cancer. Friends of the Mayor said even on his deathbed, Steve was more concerned with the city than his declining health. He was the longest standing mayor in Dade County history, serving from 1970 to 1993. Steve was responsible for guiding Miami through cocaine wars, race riots, boycotts, and immigration crises. He successfully led the county's bid to host five Super Bowls and last year's Summit of Americas.

Services for Mayor Clark took place on Thursday.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: Express to Teresa your sympathy on the loss of her husband.

CONTACT PERSON: David Wofford, 6-5227 or through Signal

ACTION:

Miami Mayor Stephen Patrick Clark Jr. Laid To Rest
d420racmihfrfep

MIAMI (AP) About 1,500 people packed into the Little Havana church that Miami Mayor Stephen Patrick Clark Jr. and his family attended to say goodbye to the late mayor.

Wearing formal dress uniforms, police officers lined the walkway to Sts. Peter & Paul Catholic Church for the Thursday morning Requiem Mass, two days after Clark succumbed to cancer at the age of 72.

The mayor's casket, draped with the city of Miami flag, was taken to Woodlawn Park Cemetery on a fire engine. Seven police helicopters flew over his final resting place, where bagpipes played a mournful Amazing Grace.

About 1,500 people attended the hourlong Mass at the church, which has a capacity of 700.

Clark's family filled the six rows on one side, one or two of his 13 grandchildren tumbling into the aisle at times.

Though Miami's leading politicians were on hand, none gave speeches. Miami Archbishop John Clement Favalora gave the eulogy and said the Lord's Prayer at the cemetery.

"Never mind his savvy and his homespun manner, he was, first of all, a faithful follower of the Lord," Favalora said. "Therein was the source of his strength, charm, wit, kind manner and political astuteness."

In a quiet, family-only ceremony at the mausoleum, prayers were said, and the city flag that had draped the mayor's casket was folded neatly and given to his wife, Teresa Zorrilla Clark. A Metro-Dade flag was also presented.

Across the county, American flags on government buildings flew at half-staff and workers wore black ribbons.

A banner flapped along Interstate 95 north of downtown with a message to the mayor: "We'll Miss You."

chron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 6/25/96

our original
"copy"
given to
NSC

TO: Andy Sens

FROM: Staff Secretary

Per our discussion. Also,
you may want to wait
for the original.

Stellen



96 JUN 25 P12 : 01

June 25, 1996

Gerald Greenwald
Chairman and Chief
Executive Officer

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing concerning the U.S.-Japan aviation discussions that reconvene on Thursday in Washington. You share, I believe, our recognition that the core issue in these talks is U.S. access to Asia, the fastest growing transportation market in the world. In this regard, your commitment to seeing that current U.S. carrier rights under the U.S.-Japan agreement are fully honored so that the process of expanding opportunities can begin is greatly appreciated by all of us at United.

There is no doubt that the three-phased approach to the negotiations that your Administration has developed is one likely to produce significant pro-competitive results. I spent a good part of last week in Japan explaining the merits of that negotiating concept to the Japanese and foreign press. I was encouraged by the reception my remarks received, but harbor no illusions about the difficulties our negotiators face in persuading their Japanese counterparts to accept that framework.

A progressive agreement with Japan is, however, achievable only so long as we do not deviate from our goal. We cannot abandon our strategy simply because there may at times be bumps in the road. I want to assure you that your Administration can continue to count on United's full support for your negotiating efforts.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Greenwald".
Gerald Greenwald

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



6/27/96

Phil --

Here is the proposed message for the Fourth of July. Jim has edited it, and I've attached copies of the '94 and '95 messages as well as the two speeches on which we drew heavily for the language/ideas.

This is one that will ultimately be released through the Press Office (Lana Dickey will route it through you after it is in final form.)

M

Maureen Hudson

*Very Good
OK to AP
let's release 4/28
6/27/96
THW*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1996

I am pleased to join my fellow Americans across the nation and around the world in celebrating Independence Day.

On this day each year, we gather with family and friends to commemorate the anniversary of the signing of our Declaration of Independence. With vision and courage, our Founders stated unequivocally to the world: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." These were literally revolutionary concepts, and they fundamentally changed the course of human history.

Today we are living through another period of profound and historic change -- change in the way we work, the way we live, the way we relate to one another and to the rest of the world. But the truths set down in our Declaration of Independence are immutable, and they continue to light our path into the challenges and possibilities of the future. Equality, individual rights, life, freedom, opportunity -- we still cherish these values, and we must continue to reaffirm them daily.

America is a work in progress, and we have strived through decades of challenge and change to become what our Founders envisioned on our first Independence Day. As we continue that endeavor, let us work together to create an America that remains the world's strongest force for peace, justice, and freedom. Let us work for an America that is not driven apart by differences but instead is united around shared values and respect for our diversity. Let us work for an America in which every one of us, without regard to race or religious belief or gender or station in life, can achieve our dreams. In this way we will best pay tribute to those who, 220 years ago, pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to guarantee our freedom.

Best wishes for a memorable Fourth of July.

96 JUN 27 P12 : 05

Patricof & Co

Jeon H. Lee
Gap

To Jim Doriskind
to coordinate
W/NEC

June 5, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Patricof & Co.
Ventures, Inc.
445 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10022
Tel 212-753-6300
Fax 212-319-6155

Dear Mr. President:

It was a pleasure meeting with you for breakfast on Monday morning, June 3. I was very pleased at your receptivity to the suggestion that the White House domestic policy staff include a person knowledgeable in policies related to entrepreneurial business.

You asked that I send material on the Kauffman Foundation in Kansas City. The Foundation was formed in 1993 with approximately \$1.2 billion in trust, representing a portion of the proceeds of Ewing Kauffman's sale of Marion Labs to Merrill Dow. Mr. Kauffman, now deceased, wanted his philanthropy directed to creating "self-sufficient people in healthy communities" through successful entrepreneurship. I have enclosed selected materials on the Foundation and on the Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership, Inc., its major programmatic effort.

Again, many thanks for receiving us so kindly. If I can be of further assistance in any of the above, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,



Patricia M. Cloherty
President



Bracelets
\$15
\$10
\$40
Meg's and Kim's Bracelets

CENTER FOR ENTREPRENEURIAL LEADERSHIP INC.



ERLING MARION
KAUFFMAN FOUNDATION

B GAYLE HARRIS BIRK
10622 BRAEWICK DR.
HOUSTON, TX 77096

through
Erin Sney

Facsimile Cover Sheet

98 JUN 27 12:05

6-26 original sent

To: President Bill Clinton
Company: White House
Phone:
Fax: 202/456-6703

Stacy Forster
~~_____~~
Please coordinate
the reply.

From: Gayle Harris Birk
Company:
Phone: 713-726-0831
Fax: 713-726-1841

Date: 06/26/96

Pages including this
cover page: 1

Comments:

Mr. President:

**YOU WERE THE ONE WHO SAID THAT PACs AND SPECIAL INTERESTS
MUST STOP FUNDING POLITICAL ELECTIONS.**

**YOU WERE THE ONE WHO SAID THAT BIG BUSINESS MUST PAY THEIR
FAIR SHARE AND NOT GET SPECIAL FAVORS.**

**WHEN ANYONE PAYS \$10 THOUSAND TO HAVE DINNER WITH YOU I AM
CONVINCED THAT THEY WILL GET SOMETHING THAT THE AVERAGE
AMERICAN WILL NOT GET.**

**I WILL VOTE FOR YOU IN NOVEMBER—I HAVE NO CHOICE. BUT THIS TIME
I AM VOTING MORE AGAINST BOB DOLE RATHER THAN FOR YOU. I AM
SAD ABOUT THIS BECAUSE I THOUGHT YOU REALLY MEANT ALL YOUR
PROMISES IN 1992. AM I WRONG?**

WITH FLAGGING OPTIMISM,

Gayle H. Birk

there may be more
than 1 (one)
box from this
person.

Deb Bird