

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 21, 1997



MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: JOHN PODESTA
SYLVIA MATHEWS
TODD STERN
NANCY HERNREICH
STEPHANIE STREETT

SUBJECT: Presidential events and briefings

In an effort to make the time before presidential events more organized and effective for the President, the following policies will be in effect immediately:

- **Manifests** - pre-briefings prior to events with the President are to be manifested. The Staff Contact will be responsible for listing on the event memo WH staff from his/her office, or other offices, who are to be present for the pre-briefing. In order to make this often short time go smoothly for the President, the list should include only policy and logistical staff **absolutely necessary**. Staff related to breaking news events of the day will be included in the briefing as determined by the Chief of Staff's office, Nancy Hernreich's office or the Press Office.

The Staff Contact will also be responsible for working with those manifested to organize the pre-briefing time in a concise, logical way most beneficial to the President.

The manifest should be listed under the "Participant" section of the briefing memo as submitted to the Staff Secretary's office (see attached sample).

Two important reminders:

- 1) The Staff Contact is responsible for all aspects of a presidential event. This includes: coordinating with the Scheduling or the Social Office on all matters related to the event; coordinating with Communications to make sure the substance and message aspects of the event match; vetting lists of guests and clearing people into the complex; preparing briefing memos; and making sure all follow-up is completed including thank-you notes and WH photo distribution.
- 2) Briefing papers (plus four copies) are due to the Staff Secretary by 4:00 PM the day before an event. The Staff Secretary's office will edit the document and return comments, if any, shortly thereafter, so that final submission can be made by 6:00 PM.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE (centered)

NAME OF EVENT (centered)

DATE:
LOCATION:
TIME:
FROM: (Staff contact)

I. PURPOSE

Should state purpose of meeting or event including, if appropriate, what meeting or event is intended to accomplish. Paper should be written as if you are talking to the President (e.g., "you will meet with xyz to discuss...")

II. BACKGROUND

Should state relevant context of event, issues of special concern, previous participation, etc.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Pre-brief participants:

(Limited number of WH staff, Cabinet Secretaries or Deputy Secretaries to be present for the oral briefing.)

Event participants:

(Speakers and other event participants, special guests, Cabinet members, Members of Congress, WH staff, friends of the President, audience members of note. Also include audience size.)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Must be coordinated with Press Office and should specify press coverage (e.g., "closed", "WH photo only", "press pool", "open press")

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Must be coordinated with Scheduling or Social Office and include outline of event...should be written using bullet-point format (e.g., Briefing in holding room; Offstage announcement; Governor X speaks and introduces you; you make remarks, work ropeline and depart.)

VI. REMARKS

("To be provided by Speechwriters", "talking points attached", "none required". Talking points should always be provided on a separate piece of paper.)

VII. ATTACHMENTS (if any)

(Very limited background material, relevant newsclips, etc.)

IMPORTANT NOTE: Briefing memos must be delivered to the Staff Secretary's office by 4:00 PM the day before the event (memos are required for events appearing on the schedule as "optional"). The Staff Secretary's office will return comments, if any, to the staff contact shortly thereafter so that final submission can be made to the Staff Secretary's office by 6:00 PM.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 18, 1997

Phil,

This request asks for the President to lend the use of his name for a four-year fundraising drive. Counsel's Office has indicated that the President should not accept this patronage request because of the four-year commitment. However, Counsel's Office has also indicated that they have no objection to the President lending his name to one specific event connected to the 750 Campaign.

In light of Counsel's recommendation, and since the College's 750th Anniversary is not until 1999, I suggest that the President regret Professor Albery's request to serve as the Patron for the entire campaign. We should, however, let Professor Albery know that we will consider a request for the President to lend his name to one specific event in 1999.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Matt".

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Room 457

Today's Date: February 20, 1997

Date of Request: 9/18/96
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Chairman
Requestor Name: Mr. James Exum

Organization: African American Foreign Relations
Council
Suite 38C
6033 North Sheridan Road
Chicago, Illinois 60660

Contact Tel. #: (312) 784-7357

Event Date: 7/18/97

Event Description: A Birthday Party for Nelson Mandela

Notes: The group has asked the President and Vice President to serve as Chairmen of a fundraiser held in Chicago on Nelson Mandela's birthday. Shawn McCormick, NSC, is not familiar with either the group or the event, and he recommends that the President regret.

The President should REGRET.

Recommendation:

TS *Paul for Todd*
(Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer will automatically generate a message).

Comments:

2/21/97

Caplan for Stern

*originals to MATT
Milliken*

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Room 457

Today's Date: February 20, 1997

Date of Request: 11/13/97

Request for: POTUS

Type of Request: Honorary Chairman

Requestor Name: Mr. Henry Kaufman
Mr. George G. Daly

Organization: Stern School of Business
at New York University
Management Education Center
44 West Fourth Street II-160
New York, New York 10012-1126

Contact Tel. #: 212/998-0900

Event Date: 5/8/97

Event Description: Hasking Partners Dinner

Notes: This event will honor Chairman of the Federal Reserve Alan Greenspan. Federal Reserve member William McDonough and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger will also serve as Honorary Chairmen. The Department of the Treasury and Gene Sperling see no problem with the President accepting this request. Kathi Whalen, Counsel's Office, sees no conflict if the President accepts this request.

Because the organization has already secured other persons to serve as honorary chairs, the President should REGRET but send a MESSAGE.

Recommendation:

TS PM for Todd
(Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer
will automatically generate a message).

Comments:

2/21/97
APLAW for Stern

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Room 457

Today's Date: February 14, 1997

Date of Request: 1/6/97
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Patron
Requestor Name: Professor John Albery
Title: Master
Organization: University College
Oxford, OX1 4BH,
Contact Tel. #: 01865-2-76600

Event Description: University College's 750 Campaign

Notes: University College, the oldest college at Oxford or Cambridge, will celebrate its 750th year in 1999. Beginning this year, the College will launch a four-year fundraising drive. The College is asking the President to serve as a patron of this campaign with the Duke of Edinburgh, who has already accepted. Mary Ann Peters, NSC, sees no foreign policy problem with the President accepting this request. Counsel's Office recommends against the President accepting this request because it requires a four-year commitment.

The President should REGRET.

Recommendation:

TS Paul for Todd
(Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer will automatically generate a message).

Comments:

2/21/97
CAPLAN for Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ERSKINE BOWLES

SUBJECT: Regulatory Reform

*agreed
reg.
1/2*

Please note the attached update from John Hilley and Sally Katzen on Regulatory Reform developments.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1997 FEB 12 PM 6:06

FEB 12 1997

MEMORANDUM TO ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: John Hilley^{1H} and Sally Katzen^{S Katzen}

SUBJECT: Regulatory Reform Developments

*Seen to
The President
per
Erskine*

Subsequent to your conversation with Senator Levin, you asked for a status report on regulatory reform legislation. This very divisive, contentious issue from last year is upon us again. There are different views as to substance and strategy.

BACKGROUND

104th Congress

As you recall, regulatory reform was an important component of the Republican agenda in the 104th Congress, with the House quickly passing comprehensive and extremely burdensome legislation as part of the Contract With America. There were more moderate versions of comprehensive reg reform legislation introduced in the Senate, with Democratic support, but action ultimately gravitated to an "extreme" Dole-sponsored bill that we were able to stop three times on cloture votes. By overreaching on this issue, the Republicans were tagged as anti-environment (anti-clean air and water) and anti-safety (dirty meat) by the mainstream media and the electorate. Both the Administration and Congressional Democrats benefited politically from their stand against extreme Republican reg reform initiatives.

Comprehensive vs. Statute-By-Statute Reform

Many Members, including a number of Democrats, believe that there should be legislation that imposes more discipline on agencies (particularly environmental, health, and safety agencies). We achieved notable bipartisan successes by proceeding statute-by-statute, program-by-program -- for example, the Food Quality Protection Act and the Safe Drinking Water Act at the end of the last Congress -- although Superfund and Clean Water Act reforms never got off the ground. The advantage of proceeding statute-by-statute is that the authorizing committee generally has a fuller understanding and appreciation of the complexities and nuances of the particular programs, and they can craft more tailored provisions. The other approach is so-called "comprehensive" legislation, which contains requirements applicable to all regulatory actions (or to all health, safety, and environmental regulatory activity). These proposals necessarily use a "one-size-fits-all" approach. Two such bills were enacted in the 104th Congress with Presidential support -- the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act and the Small

Business Regulatory Enforcement Fairness Act (SBREFA), which includes the Congressional review provisions.

The leading Democratic proponent of comprehensive legislation is Senator Levin, who has sponsored or supported a variety of regulatory reform bills since the early 1980s. Shortly after the 1996 election, he made clear his continuing interest in enacting comprehensive legislation to codify E.O. 12866, including specifically the requirement for cost-benefit analysis.

Recent Developments

Sen. Levin has drafted a bill that he believes is good government. His staff have shared language with the staff of Governmental Affairs Committee Chairman Thompson, and Thompson has indicated that the bill is "in the ballpark." Thompson has stated through a press release (among other means) that regulatory reform will be at the top of his committee's agenda and that he intends to hold hearings within the month. If Thompson were to sign on to the Levin bill (Sen. Glenn is also likely to be a co-sponsor), the legislation would almost certainly pass the Senate overwhelmingly. In addition, the House Republican leadership has signaled that they will wait for the Senate on comprehensive legislation and will accept whatever reg reform bill comes out of the Senate.

ADMINISTRATION POSITION

Very shortly, we will be asked for a public statement of where we stand as an Administration on this issue. No matter what we say, someone will be unhappy. Environmental, consumer, and labor groups believe that we won the reg reform battle last Congress and should just say "no." That may be an over simplification of our current predicament because taking such a stand would essentially lock us out of the negotiations on the Hill. If we are presented with a "fait accompli" it will likely contain some provisions that we would oppose, but, because of the dynamics of the bipartisan negotiations, we would be unable to muster the necessary votes to defeat or turn it back. On the other hand, the business community and those who have heard the President's statements in support of sensible reforms believe this is a litmus test for his credibility on good government. These groups have moderated their demands from last year. Some fear that if we accept the current proposal too quickly, the business community may push for more than the Levin bill. These views, and many points in between, are reflected among the members of the Cabinet.

SUBSTANCE

In the past, the substantive disagreements were exceedingly complex, often bordering on the arcane. Sen. Levin's bill endorses cost-benefit analysis and risk assessment with peer review, requires agency reconsideration of some existing rules, and generally codifies regulatory review under Executive Order 12866. He has sought to avoid the veto bait in earlier bills. We have attached a one-page "cheat-sheet" providing brief descriptions of the major substantive issues.

For present purposes, you may assume that the current Levin draft seeks to address our previously articulated concerns.

STRATEGY

The differences in views on the proper strategy are equally as great as the disagreements over substance. Many believe we must be part of the negotiations if a bipartisan bill moves, otherwise we will be irrelevant to the process. Others are concerned about the adverse reaction we will generate from our constituents if we give any support to the process, especially before we know for certain that Sen. Thompson is on board and that the Levin bill will be the vehicle. Either way, a regulatory reform measure will move in the Senate as it is a very high priority on the Republicans' agenda. Our challenge is to devise a strategy that strikes the balance between our acting early enough so that we are at the table if legislation moves, but not so soon that we cause a bill to move that would not have done so otherwise.

RECOMMENDATION

The regulatory agencies generally want us to say that the Levin effort is "premature and ill-advised." We believe we should adhere to our previous position that we do not think comprehensive regulatory reform is necessary, that the best way to proceed is statute-by-statute, program-by-program, and that there have been several new legislative initiatives (including Unfunded Mandates and SBREFA) that should be given a chance to shake out before we enact yet another statute. At the same time, we should say that we would be willing to work with anyone on sensible, bipartisan regulatory reform, and acknowledge our special respect for Sen. Levin. Furthermore, we must be sure that statements of Administration position are well coordinated with the relevant agencies and that Sen. Levin understands the basis for our position. If, however, the Senator goes off on his own, as is likely, we must have maintained close and positive relations so we can affect the outcome of the bill.

→ agree with

De

**COMPREHENSIVE REG REFORM
MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES/CONCERNS**

ISSUE/CONCERN -- DOLE BILL	LEVIN BILL
<i>Decisional Criteria:</i> Agency precluded from promulgating any rule <u>unless</u> the agency satisfies a cost-benefit test (e.g., benefits justify costs; most cost-effective alternative, etc.)	Requires that agencies conduct cost-benefit analyses on all major rules and state <u>whether</u> the benefits justify the costs; requirements <u>not</u> a prerequisite to promulgating the rule
<i>Supermandate:</i> Amends <u>all</u> statutes to require that costs not only be considered, but be prerequisite (see decisional criteria above)	No such provision
<i>Judicial Review:</i> Courts involved in reviewing each step of a cost-benefit analysis and may remand a rule to the agency for any procedural defect	Recodifies existing ad law standard of review -- any analysis by the agency is part of the entire rulemaking record; court reviews final agency action against record as a whole
<i>Petition Process/Review of Existing Rules:</i> Burdensome petition processes to review existing rules would tie agencies in knots and waste scarce resources	Agencies to establish advisory committees to determine which of their rules they should reexamine
<i>Risk Assessment & Peer Review:</i> Very prescriptive and detailed requirements for risk assessments; conflict of interest concerns with regard to peer review	More general and less prescriptive requirements; protections against conflict of interest for peer review; still have several specific language problems
<i>Effective Date:</i> Effective date at or soon after enactment is <u>de facto</u> moratorium on all agency rulemaking	Bill does not take effect for 180 days after enactment and will <u>not</u> apply to any rulemaking for which a notice has been issued on or before that date
<i>Nunn-Coverdale Definition of "Major" Rule:</i> Expands the number of rules subject to the bill's cost-benefit and risk assessment requirements to include up to 150 agency actions that would adversely affect small business	No such provision. Instead, OMB director may designate annually up to 25 additional rules as "major" if they adversely affect the economy, State and local governments, public health or safety, etc.
<i>Changes to Delaney Clause/Toxic Release Inventory (TRI):</i> These are significant substantive, rather than process, issues	No such provisions

<i>Affirmative Defenses:</i> Bars penalties where a party “reasonably” relies on a rule inconsistent with the rule being enforced or on the party’s “good faith” interpretation of the rule	No such provision. We will follow a separate bill in the House that addresses this issue
<i>Regulatory Accounting:</i> Burdensome and costly “make-work” requirement to calculate annually the costs and benefits of <u>all</u> major rules for 5-year period	No such provision. A less burdensome accounting requirement (imposed on OMB) passed as part of the Treasury-Postal appropriations bill

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 20, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

You are scheduled to discuss the attached Emanuel/Hilley/Smith memo in a 1:30 meeting tomorrow. It is styled as a decision memo, but you should have the meeting before making any decisions as there are divergent opinions on some of the issues raised in it.

The memo addresses three areas where we could invigorate our campaign finance reform effort:

OK
Gertie
Karlson

1) **Citizens Committee** - memo recommends appointing Walter Mondale and former Rep. Vin Weber co-chairs of a committee to push McCain-Feingold; the committee would be similar to the Bill Daley/Bill Frenzel effort on NAFTA.

2) **FEC Reforms** - the memo makes several recommendations on how to strengthen the FEC: establish new standards for our appointments of FEC commissioners; select two new commissioners; petition the FEC to review its soft money ruling; seek additional funds for the FEC. Ann Lewis thinks that we could also come up with technology-based initiatives such as mandatory on-line filing, i.e., updating the FEC just as we must update existing campaign finance laws.

3) **Soft Money** - an option to consider, as suggested by a former George Mitchell staffer close to Common Cause, is to ask corporations to voluntarily forswear soft money contributions. Apparently some Fortune 500 corporations have done so (we are doing research to determine if this is true). Ann Lewis is wary of such a move without a sense of the impact on the party.

Phil Caplan

PC

Copied to
Bowles

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'97 FEB 19 PM4:20

February 19, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: RAHM EMANUEL
JOHN HILLEY
WENDY SMITH
RE: OPTIONS LIST FOR CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

We are facing real questions on our sincerity in regards to campaign finance reform. The press corps continues to challenge the credibility of our intention to seek reform (see USA Today editorial, 2.18.97). They believe we are lip synching our resolve for change rather than leading the effort for political reform. If we intend to turn this prevailing attitude around, we must step up our efforts with real actions coupled with real rhetoric.

The following is a list of reforms which we should promote over the next two months. The objective is to make real progress on the Citizen's Committee to push McCain-Feingold. In addition to the legislation, we must begin a campaign to strengthen and reform the FEC.

Citizen's Committee

We need a committee with leadership ability similar to that of Bill Daley and the former Minnesota Congressman Bill Frenzel who worked on NAFTA. The announcements should come in two steps: first the Co-Chairs and then a full Citizen's Committee. The Co-Chairs who would be best suited for this job are Walter Mondale and Vin Weber.

Walter Mondale, former Vice President and Presidential candidate, has served as the President's ambassador to Japan and continues to have a solid relationship with this administration. He is highly respected and brings stature to any endeavor. He is very experienced with campaign finance reform and would be a strong leader. His stature and experience would make him an ideal candidate.

Vin Weber is a Republican who also has a long time association with the issue of campaign finance reform. He has a good working relationship with Walter Mondale. We need to clear him with the political groups and Senators McCain and Feingold and Congressmen Shays and Meehan.

The announcement of our two Co-Chairs to head our Citizen's Committee would help rectify the present situation. We would need to follow up with an announcement of a full committee in the

coming weeks. Both of these announcements need to be made at events with participation by you and the Vice President preferably in the Oval Office.

Option 1: To name Walter Mondale as a Co-Chair to the Citizen's Committee.

Option 2: To name Vin Weber as a Co-Chair to the Citizen's Committee.

Option 1: ✓

Option 2: ✓

FEC

We must utilize the FEC as a vehicle for our campaign finance reform agenda. The FEC must be strengthened and reformed, and we must claim the new stronger FEC as our own. A real FEC is our best bet to avoid blame if McCain-Feingold fails. Reform groups and the media will regard proposed changes to the FEC as the reiteration of your commitment to and understanding of substantive campaign finance reform.

- First, we must establish and announce new standards for future FEC appointments.
- After we have established our new set of standards, we must select proper board members when the two new spots open in April. (Note: As you may know, the renomination of Commissioner McGarry was submitted last month. We may choose to withdraw his nomination and nominate a new person for his slot, thereby giving us the two open slots in April and sending another significant signal that you are serious.)
- We must petition the FEC to review its soft money ruling.
- We must finally seek additional funds for the FEC to keep it formidable.

Without bold action on the FEC front, we will be left with the Thompson hearings and McCain-Feingold dictating the Administration's image on the issue. as our only chances to project a reformist agenda. We would be leaving ourselves open to attack. If we complete these steps we would assure our critics of our sincerity for speedy and bold reform.

Option 3: To establish and announce new FEC standards

Option 4: To select two new board members

Option 5: To petition the FEC to review its soft money ruling

Option 6: To seek additional funds for the FEC

Option 3: ✓

Option 4: ✓

Option 5: ✓

Option 6: ✓

*Definitely
on what
they are*

*What are
the consequences
of drawing
the bag*

Soft Money

Another option which has been suggested to us by Bobby Rozen (a former Senator Mitchell legislative aide who specialized on this issue and is now on contract with Common Cause) is to ask and encourage corporations to forswear soft money contributions. Apparently many Fortune 500 corporations have already agreed not to donate soft money (we are doing research to find out which ones those are and at whose prompting it was decided). A suggested forum for such an announcement is the Business Roundtable. Such a group would be a salient vehicle through which to send a message considering the fact that Haley Barbour threatened the BRT with their Republican access if they continued giving to both parties.

Option 7: To ask and encourage corporations to forswear soft money contributions.

Option 7:

*This needs clarification
Are / going to give speech to them*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/21/97

Embassy of the United States of America



2/21/97

2/19/97 ✓
 2. The Pres.

Mr. President -

Tony Lake is a good man, and deserves the strong support of you and everyone in your administration.

It's terrible the way people "pander" to Jesse Helms. He has been going after me for 3 years and nobody has said a word to defend me. Don't let that happen to Lake. Go all the way with him, and make sure when things get tough - you stay tough.

Best wishes - Your friend -

Ray Flynn
 U.S. Ambassador
 to the Vatican

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
 the reply.

say hello to everyone in Boston
 for me!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 2/21

TO: Trey Schweder

FROM: Staff Secretary

After that inspired "Law
Talk" yesterday, I thought you
might be able to give me some
advice on this. Please call.

Thanks, Phil

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 12, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MIKE McCURRY *MMc*

SUBJECT: *AUGUSTA CHRONICLE*

Attached are three copies of the *Augusta Chronicle* front page following your visit to Georgia last week. The newspaper would like to make posters of the front page and distribute them to classrooms in their readership area as part of their Newspaper In Education program. They've requested that you sign these three front pages to ensure that your signature is part of the poster distributed in local classrooms. The posters will NOT be sold or used for any commercial purpose. They will be distributed free to several thousand classrooms in the Augusta metro area. Your trip had such a positive influence on the community, that the newspaper hopes the creation of these posters will continue to reinforce your message about the importance of education to young people. To help in the newspaper's effort, could you please sign:

- * Each of the three front pages attached, and

- * A blank piece of stationery.

The newspaper will use whichever signature is better for reproduction. In addition to the creation of the posters, the newspapers will be framed and hung for public display in the newspaper's main lobby. I will return the signed papers and your signature to the newspaper's managing editor and will receive poster samples once the project is completed. I think this is a worthwhile educational project and one that the entire community could benefit from. Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Augusta Chronicle

The South's Oldest Newspaper - Est. 1785

P.O. Box 1928 • Augusta, GA 30903-1928

(706) 724-0851

JOHN FISH
Managing Editor

February 10, 1997

Julie Greene
White House Press Office
OEOB Room 170
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Julie:

Thank you so much for taking the time Friday to speak to me. We really enjoyed President Clinton's visit last week and hope he had a good time as well.

Let me explain what I am hoping to do and see if we can make it work.

As part of our Newspaper In Education program, we circulate newspapers to the majority of schools in our metropolitan area of 455,000. As part of that program, I would like to make a poster of *The Augusta Chronicle* front page I have included with this letter, and as part of the page, include President Clinton's autograph.

The Augusta Chronicle would distribute these posters to every classroom in our area, free of charge, in the hope that teachers would post them in their rooms, emphasizing the importance of education and highlighting the President's plan. At no time would any of these posters be sold.

If the President could take the time to sign the papers I have included and also sign a blank piece of stationary, I think we will cover all options on how best to technically make it work. If the newspaper will reproduce with his signature, or note, then we will use the page he signs. If not, we will scan his signature from the blank page onto the digital copy of the page we have in our computer and use that for the poster.

I want to thank you again for taking the time to hear my idea and help make it a reality. I know the teachers and children in our area would greatly appreciate the posters and use them as a special reminder about President Clinton's emphasis on education.

If you have any questions or I can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,



John Fish

/ss

PRESIDENT CLINTON COMES TO AUGUSTA
Commemorative Special Edition



Thursday,
February 6, 1997

The Augusta Chronicle

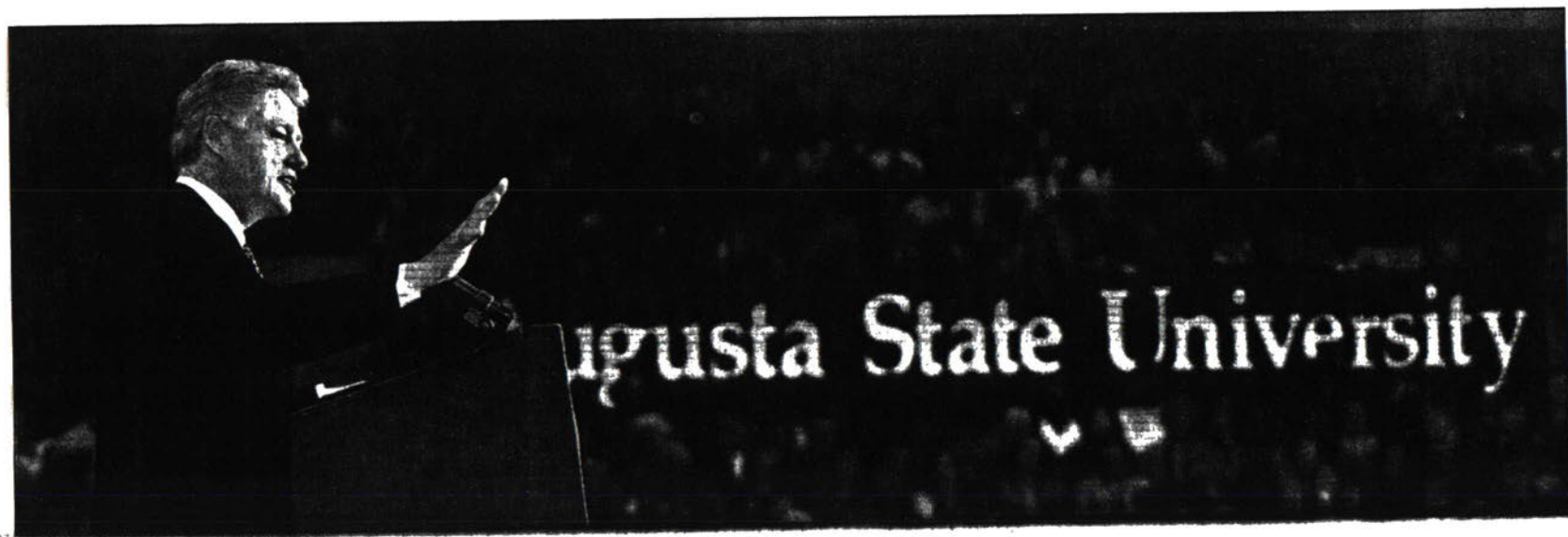
THE SOUTH'S OLDEST NEWSPAPER-ESTABLISHED 1785

50c

★★

"We can educate America ..."

A new lesson plan



2-21-97

Please Enclose
State of the Union

cc: w/ Jan 31st incoming:
Scheduling

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 21, 1997

The Honorable Charlotte Schexnayder
Post Office Box 220
Dumas, Arkansas 71639

Dear Charlotte:

Thanks for your recent letters. Hillary and I were so happy you and Melvin came up for the Inaugural -- it meant a great deal to us to have you both here.

Though I know I'd enjoy meeting with the National Newspaper Association again, I'll be out of the country that week. But I have made my schedulers aware of your request for me to address the Legislature before so many of our friends leave office.

Hillary sends her best, as always.

Sincerely,

Bill



STATE OF THE UNION

Address to the 105th Congress
First Session

President William J. Clinton

*February 4, 1997
Washington, D.C.*



Representative

CHARLOTTE SCHEXNAYDER

Assistant Speaker Pro Tem

P. O. Box 220

DUMAS, AR 71639-0220

501-382-4925 Business

501-382-5255 Residence

501-382-6421 FAX

STATE OF ARKANSAS

House of Representatives

COMMITTEES

MEMBER

Revenue and Taxation

State Agencies and

Governmental Affairs

Rules

Joint Budget

DISTRICT 74

Part of Desha County

Part of Jefferson County

Part of Lincoln County

January 31, 1997

President Bill Clinton
and First Lady Hillary Clinton
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I never thought an Arkansas would be president until I met you. And I never believed that I would live long enough to see you inaugurated for a second time. It is just overwhelming, and it makes me so proud to be an Arkansan.

I do hope you will consider addressing the Arkansas Legislature before some of your staunchest supporters leave because of term limits. There are 50 of us who will be leaving the House after this term.

In addition, there is another invitation that I hope you will consider — for a very special reason. The National Newspaper Association has again asked for a White House reception during the annual Government Affairs Conference Friday, March 21. These members have been far more supportive of you than has the metropolitan press. Also, this year's president, Roy Eaton of Decatur, Tex., is a bonafide Democrat who has supported you fully.

Melvin and I are still savoring the inaugural spirit. He joins me in very best wishes to you and the first lady,

Sincerely,

Charlotte T. Schexnayder

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

ci: Ann - She sang for me in '92
- need to get her letter-
subconsciously let's sing
for something her signature
this good 

Allison Jones is an energetic and talented singer, actress, artist and student. Among her recent performances, Allison starred in the Disney movie, "Nightjohn," with Beau Bridges, Lorraine Toussaint and Carl Lumbly. She also co-starred in the Walt Disney World's 25th Anniversary Special, "Witching You Were Here." This spring, Allison can be seen in the CBS movie, "Ellen Foster." Additionally, she sang the National Anthem for President Clinton and performed for his inaugural dinner in Washington, D.C. While her first love is piano, she also enjoys writing music, poetry and skating. Allison has taken top honors for her scholastic achievements. She attends John S. Davidson Fine Arts Magnet School

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

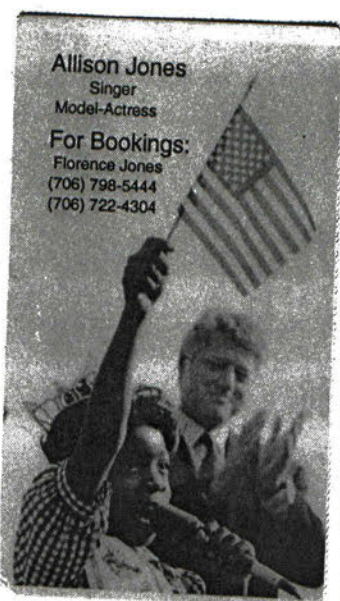
Dear President Clinton,

2-21-97

I wanna thank you again for giving
my career a jumpstart. I have sang in and
out of the United States since I sang for you
I wrote you several times to let you know
how my career was going. I could see that
yours was going well. I started in my first
Disney movie with Beau Bridges. I sent
you a copy I hope you received it. If you didn't
call me at 706 798-5444. I will always tell you
for helping a kid who no one else would. All that
I am I owe to @ God @ My mom @ you @

P.S. I would like to be your personal singer!
You can invite anywhere and any time you want!
Just call me.

P.P.S. I send you a copy of my demo tape. - And tell
Mr. Clinton and Miss Clinton I said Hello.
and Thanks for having me on your show!



Copies Sent to
E. Bowles
Ann Stark
Chon

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-21-91



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

2-20-96

Dear Tom

Believe it or not, I only
received your letter a few
days ago — Martha and
I have been going in
different directions since
the election —

I miss you and wish you'd
bring your family to see
us — The kids should
have pictures in the Oval
Office before I leave!

Best,
Bill

CL RC - NH

Should
invite him +
wife + kids to
Radio
show —
RC

Copy sent to
Scheduling

Memo from the desk of

Thomas F. Williamson, Jr.

10/29/94

Marsha,

Please let me
know if there is someone
else whom I should
address the "c/o" for
getting messages to Bill.
Otherwise, thank you
again.

Yours,
Tom

1745 Poplar
Lane, NW

DC 20012

October 29, 1996

Dear Bill,

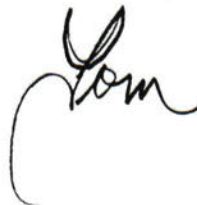
This is an embarrassingly belated birthday greeting and thank you note. However, I have been carrying around the enclosed birthday card for so long that I thought the best way to relieve my burden would be to actually give you the card. I also want to thank you for the "presidential" cuff links that you sent for my birthday, and your book which you were kind enough to send with a personal note.

The campaign seems to be going well, and I suspect that, by the time you receive this note, you will be the first Democrat since before we were born to win an elected second term. Congrats - big-time!!! As I've gone on business trips around the country in recent months, I've been dismayed that you seem to be such a polarizing figure in the eyes of the opposition. Perhaps I have known you too long to be able to fathom why your opponents would not recognize that, more than anything else, you are driven by compassion and goodwill toward your friends as well as your foes. Fortunately, it looks like the majority "gets it" and wants a leader dedicated to bringing all our people together.

I'm still decompressing from my three years in public service, but making the adjustment to life back in the private sector. Shelley and the kids are doing fine; the boys are solidly and vocally on your side in the campaign (Taylor knows you're her man in her heart, but, at 10 months, she can't quite articulate her presidential preference).

Warmest regards to Hillary.

Yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Tom". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial "T" and a cursive "om".

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-21-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

Harry O'Brien is her
good friend. During the
last two years he has
sent you various notes.
This is the intro to
his new book on health
care. You had told him
to stay in touch. He
wanted you to see this.

John

Christine
As review
talking of
any ideas on
pursuing
BZ

FOOLS AND THEIR MONEY, With Prolegomena For Any Future
Health Reform Qualifying As Intelligent.
by Lawrence J. O'Brien
Key Biscayne, Florida 1996

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is broad agreement across the land that the medical care system in the United States is in a state of crisis which, if left to fester much longer, will threaten the economic and social stability of the nation.

The causes of this clear and present crisis are manifold and, in some instances, difficult to grasp. This stubborn reality has resulted in solutions being proposed, and being undertaken, which have covered the spectrum from the ridiculous to the sublime.

The obscurity, complexity, and variety of the underlying causes of today's crisis in medical care have led planners and legislators to wander in a Wonderland in which accustomed ways of analysing a situation are out of kilter, and in which logical thinking about the issues has been undermined.

For example, consider all of the talk among Members of Congress about resolving the crisis by getting the government out of the way, and allowing market forces to operate free of regulatory interference. The majority leader of the 104th Congress has been quoted as stating that: "the market is rational, the government is dumb". The bedrock element of a free market, however, is a reliance on the certitude that the supply of goods or services will be determined by the level of demand for those outputs. In an unrestrained marketplace, it is an immutable postulate that demand regulates supply.

Consider next the contrasting and irreducible fact that the suppliers of medical services, physicians, determine the demand for their own services. Patients are not usually in a position to decide what medical care, nor how much medical care, they will consume. They must rely upon the supplier of medical care - the physician - for these determinations. The medical profession has made certain that no other actor in the US healthcare system than a licensed physician has

the power to make a medical decision. The result is that, in the contemporary American medical marketplace, supply is quite clearly regulating demand. This indisputable fact renders the medical market irrational.

The consequent hard reality that must be faced up to is that, in the fee-for-service setting, there is currently no effective limit on the level to which the "demand" for physician services may rise.

These inverted and perverted "market forces", left unchecked in a fee-based and increasingly commercialized medical care system, can only lead to national bankruptcy.

As one illustrative example, even in such specialties as diagnostic radiology, where the *referring physician* would seemingly be the regulator of demand for these services, the *suppliers* (radiologists reading the films), through their notations and reports, have major impact on the level of demand. Current data show variations from one major metropolitan area to another as great as four times in the per capita volume and cost of diagnostic x-rays, for populations with the same demographics. These radical variations are explained only by the relative quantity of radiologists in practice within a specific marketplace, and their degree of dominance in that marketplace. A radiologist's notation: "Normal, but recommend retake within thirty days to be safe" constitutes a perfect example of supply regulating demand, and presents a clear illustration of how physician income may easily be doubled by means which are virtually undetectable outside of the medical profession.

This example also explains why a price-control strategy in medical care would be doomed to failure. In American medicine, when the unit price of a service declines in value, the units of service simply go up, so that physician income will either remain constant, or increase. There is overwhelming evidence of this phenomenon occurring continuously over the past three decades.

"I know what you're thinking about" said Tweedledum; "but it isn't so, nohow".

"Contrariwise", continued Tweedledee, "if it was so, it might be; and if it were so, it would be; but as it isn't, it ain't. That's logic".

Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, under the pseudonym Lewis Carroll, published those words in 1865, in "Alice In Wonderland". Dodgson was a profound and insightful metaphysician whose stories of Alice's dreams warned 19th Century England about the shaky foundations of its many certitudes. At the end of the 20th Century in America, despite the fact that we have assigned his work to the children's section of our libraries, Dodgson's insights concerning topsy-turvy logic are entirely pertinent and applicable to an analysis and understanding of the crisis in American medical care.

The population of the United States today constitutes less than 5% of all of the people on earth. Yet, the United States produces nearly 50% of the world's goods, and 85% of the world's energy supply. At present, the nation is spending 14% of its gross domestic product on medical and health care, the highest rate of expenditure by far among the nations of the industrialized world.

In his book entitled "Head To Head", Professor Lester Thurow of MIT wrote:

"...the United States starts the twenty-first century with more real assets that can be deployed in the twenty-first century's economic competition than anyone else. Technologically, it is seldom far behind and often still far ahead. Its per capita income and average productivity are second to none. Its college-educated work force is the best in the world; its domestic market is far larger than that of Japan and far more homogeneous than that of Europe".

How is it possible that a people of such evident productive capacity and genius could have tripped so badly when it comes to the structure and functioning of such a huge and pivotal ingredient of its economic system as the provision of medical, hospital and healthcare services?

How is it possible that the annual per capita outlay for medical care in the United States has skyrocketed by two thousand percent (2000%) over the past 30 years, from \$204 per capita in 1965 to \$4,100 per capita in 1995?

How is it possible that, while expenditures for medical care have increased so dramatically, so many of the statistics on the health status of the population have declined so significantly?

These things have been possible because the intellectual base on which medical inquiry, medical education and the practice of medicine have been founded in the United States has been and remains fundamentally and severely flawed.

These things have been possible because, during the past eight decades, the physicians of America have spawned a medical Guild designed to assure them absolute control over every aspect of their professional activities, including the nature and level of financial rewards which flow from those activities.

These things have been possible because medical technology is being confused with true medical science, and is in fact being marketed to the public by the medical profession as if advances in technology define state-of-the-art medical science.

A single, recent example of what true medical science has accomplished will illustrate the point. The discovery by Barry Marshall, M.D. and his colleagues that a bacterium, *helicobacter pylori* was the cause of stomach ulcers has eliminated all ulcer surgery; all vagotomies; all psychiatric and psychological interventions for a disease which physicians believed to be psychosomatic; in fact all treatments other than a 10 to 12 day course of antibiotics costing about \$20. This is true medical science. It took the poor man ten years to convince his profession that bacteria could, and did, live in the stomach lining, and he ended up swallowing a bunch of the bacteria and infecting himself as part of the proof. He started in 1983, and the basic facts - the same facts - were finally accepted in 1993. During that decade, he was hooted off of a number of "scientific" platforms by the leading experts in gastrointestinal medicine. As information about Marshall's discovery has been spread internationally by epidemiologists, it has become clear that the *H. pylori* hiding out in the lining of human stomachs is the most widespread bacterial infection on the face of the earth.

The technology breakthroughs currently being sold to the American public as the highest medical science in fact invariably involve the diseases which medicine does not know how to either prevent or cure. "High-tech" in medicine today is all about limiting pain and suffering, and prolonging life for patients whose diseases medicine cannot cure, and this aspect of medical care consumes the major portion of the available resources - manpower, machinery and finances. Of course, the physicians who supply these "high-

tech" modalities of diagnosis and treatment are also the regulators of the demand for these usually high-ticket services.

Whenever physicians are confronted with the disconcerting reality of supply regulating demand in the marketplace of medical practice, and with the widespread and irrefutable patterns of unnecessary and inappropriate testing and treatment which are the consequence of a perverted supply/demand relationship, they always refer to the altruistic traditions of medicine, and to the famous Hippocratic Oath, which all physicians must profess upon graduation from medical school as an element of gaining the license to practice medicine.

The Greek physician Hippocrates published the first known codification of guidelines intended to govern the behavior of medical doctors. Hippocrates lived from 460 BC until 370 BC. He came close to living as long as Socrates and his famous pupil Plato combined, during one of the greatest periods in Greek intellectual history. In his "Epidemics", Hippocrates wrote:

"As to diseases, make a habit of two things: to help, or at least do no harm".

In "Dislocations", he wrote:

"What you should put first in all the practice of our art is how to make the patient well; and if he can be made well in many ways, one should choose the least troublesome".

The Hippocratic Oath - which may or may not have been written by Hippocrates - says in part:

"The regimen I adopt shall be for the benefit of my patients according to my ability and judgment, and not for their hurt or for any wrong".

Since the publication of the Oath of Hippocrates, it is remarkable to note that there has been no other comprehensive statement produced by the medical profession, during a period of twenty-four centuries, to modify or supersede these ancient Greek guidelines.

In an essay published in 1973, entitled "The Hippocrates Myth", Martin Cherasky, M.D. delivered the following

judgments on how his own profession has been doing lately in terms of its compliance with the Oath of Hippocrates:

"The myth that doctors are somehow different from other men continues to flourish ...but we must take cognizance of the fact that money, status, and power are the forces which strongly motivate people, doctors included, in this country today....where indemnity insurance provides coverage for specified procedures, we often find the doctor's interest in his pocketbook overriding what is truly to his patient's benefit. In some localities where there is third-party payment, you can't find a tonsil left in town. Since there is no evidence that those areas have suffered widespread epidemics of rare tonsil disease, we are quite right in believing that most of these tonsillectomies should more rightly be called "remunerectomies". In the United States the surgical rate for tonsillectomies is 637 per 100,000 males. In England, where there is no financial incentive for surgery, the rate is 322.7, or just about half that number. Unnecessary surgical utilization is a tragic manifestation of poor quality care, yet study after study shows that, for all too many doctors, the temptation to equate cash with care is too strong to resist".

It is nearly a quarter-century since Doctor Cherasky published those words, and things have only gotten worse since then. The silent assent of the so-called medical establishment to the virtual abandonment of 40 million Americans, who today lack routine access to a physician because they do not have health insurance, is all the evidence needed to support the conclusion that, in the United States today, economic self-interest motivates physicians at least as strongly as it does other people.

Following are three outstanding features which dominate contemporary medical practice in the United States:

* Supply shall regulate demand. No one other than a licensed physician is permitted to prescribe a treatment; order a service or device; or perform an examination or a procedure on a patient, except in rare cases where things may be done by other practitioners under the supervision of a physician. The result is that physicians drive ALL expenditures for medical care.

* Physicians shall always be in oversupply. There are at least 225,000 more physicians practicing in the United States today than would be optimal for the nation. In its recent report, the Pew Commission on Health Professions states that there are over 600,000 active physicians, for a ratio of 240 per 100,000 people. The Commission states that the consensus of experts is that the optimal ratio would be 150 physicians per 100,000 people, or a total of 375,000 active physicians. Since US medical schools continue to graduate 16,000 physicians each year; and since, each year, 7,000 foreign-trained physicians obtain licenses to practice in the United States, the Pew Commission projects a ratio of 290 physicians per 100,000 people within seven years, nearly twice the level the Commission identifies as optimal.

* The dominant mode of payment for medical care shall be a fee for each service or procedure. Under this reimbursement system, there is no practical way for a physician to realize a profit from the prevention of illness or accident. With the sole exception of immunizations, which are usually inexpensive, the only sources of profit in medicine are disease and trauma. Stated otherwise, in fee-based medicine, there is no means by which a physician can benefit financially from health in their patients.

These three features of contemporary American medicine are sufficient to account for the radical inflation in the cost of medical care which the nation must either effectively come to grips with, or else face inevitable bankruptcy:

1. Physicians define the level of demand, and therefore the level of expenditure;
2. There are at least 225,000 more active doctors than are needed, and this oversupply is accelerating;
3. Payment for physician services is mainly fee-based.

If annual gross expenditures for medical care in the United States are close to \$1 trillion; and if there are at least 600,000 active physicians; then physician's are causing an average expenditure for medical and hospital services equivalent to \$1.7 million per year per physician..

An average outlay of \$1.7 million per year per active physician, times the 225,000 active physicians exceeding the

optimal ratio of physicians to population, would add up to unnecessary and unjustifiable medical costs of nearly \$380 billion dollars each year.

It is startling to recognize excessive costs on this scale. The fact that the annual national outlay for medical care is now close to the trillion dollar level means that the cost of these unnecessary physicians, and of the excess expenditures they generate, is on the order of thirty-eight percent of total annual outlays. Given the projected increase in the ratio of physicians to people, this figure is headed no where except up.

In the event that ways could be found to reduce the national outlay for medical and health care by \$380 billion annually, the 10-year reduction in expenditures which are otherwise projected to occur would exceed \$6 trillion, assuming annual inflation of 9.5 percent. If the annual outlay could be reduced by half that amount - \$190 billion - then the 10-year savings would add up to \$3 trillion. If by one-third that amount, the reduction over 10 years would be \$2 trillion.

The excess of physicians in the United States today is a tangible, irreducible and deplorable fact. The consequent expenditure estimates, counting the cost of services and treatments which would not occur in the absence of this excess, are derived from long division and multiplication, the results of which cannot be denied. The country will continue to ignore these stubborn realities only at its financial and social peril.

While unnecessary expenditures are being driven primarily by the need to assure the incomes of an oversupply of physicians, it must be recognized that a significant incidental result of a physician excess on the present scale is to provide revenue for the hospitals and pharmacies with which these physicians are affiliated - revenue which is medically unjustified.

The American Medical Association recently reported that average physician net income had fallen to \$150,000 per year, expressing concern that this is too low. If the reported average is indeed accurate, and if the physician's overhead is held to 50 percent of net income, it would mean that doctors receive, on average, about 20 cents of each dollar of expenditure which they generate on medical and health care. The other eighty cents, which would be nearly \$800 billion in 1996, is spent on inpatient and outpatient

hospital services, prescription drugs, durable medical equipment, long-term care and other specialized services.

Another way to look at the finding of the prestigious Pew Commission that there ought to be only 375,000 active physicians in the United States at the present population level, instead of the more than 600,000 presently working, is that the excess of active physicians existing today constitutes a surplus of sixty percent (60%) above the optimal figure identified by the Pew Commission. This surplus is projected to continuously grow larger.

Given the foregoing unsettling realities, the truly shattering fact to be faced is that there is no possible way to predict how high the increase in expenditures on medical care might go in this nation. It should be as clear as crystal, however, that the potential is present for unnecessary, inappropriate and unjustifiable medical expenditures to rise by multiples of the foregoing estimated annual excess of \$380 billion.

If per capita medical expenditures are permitted to continue increasing at the same rate for the next 30 years as during the past 30 years, the current average annual outlay of \$4,100 per capita will increase to an unimaginable \$82,000 annual cost per capita by 2025. If, on the other hand, we can figure out how to stop the increase in the physician-to-population ratio; roll back the present oversupply of physicians; and accomplish a reconstruction in financial incentives so that profit in the field of medical and health care will be primarily derived from the promotion and protection of health; then the per capita expenditure thirty years from now could be held to a small fraction of \$82,000.

It should be evident from these observations that the crisis in Medicare, for example, which got so much attention in the political arena during 1996, is the direct result of an oversupply of physicians, deriving their income from fee-based arrangements in a structure within which the supplier of services determines the level of demand for those services. For any change in the Medicare program to have a realistic chance of ameliorating the current crisis, it must effectively come to grips with the forces that are driving medical expenditures, and driving the radical inflation of costs, chief among them an extreme oversupply of physicians who are the regulators of demand for their own services.

There is no reasonable alternative to a thoroughgoing analysis and top-to-bottom reconstruction of the medical

system in the United States. Unless this is progressively and successfully undertaken in the proximate future, it is not too much to state that the medical care system, which is intended to save our lives, will end up causing the economic and social demise of the unique American experiment.

A thousand books, or more, have been published during the past two decades citing the crisis in medicine, and proposing a variety of prescriptions for change. In terms of the impact that these works have had on the behavior of medical doctors, or on the performance of the medical care "system" in general, it seems accurate to assert that each of those books has "fallen stillborn from the press". No one has paid enough attention to any of them to have made any difference. It is the contention here that the crisis in American medicine will only be grappled with effectively when the leaders of contemporary medicine, and all those who influence or control the flow of dollars purchasing medical and health services, comprehend and accept the fact that the intellectual base upon which medical inquiry, medical education and the practice of medicine rest in the United States today is flawed so fundamentally that the complete bankruptcy of the "system" is inevitable, and is not far off.

This book looks at the genesis and essence of the notion that the human body is a machine, a notion which continues to be the central element of the "scheme of ideas" which dominates the intellectual base of 20th century American medicine.

Coping with the challenges posed by the current medical crisis is going to require nothing less than a reconstruction in the cosmology and in the epistemology on which "modern" American medicine presently rest.

This book is aimed at exposing the fundamental flaws which lie at medicine's intellectual base by examining their historical source; by suggesting an alternative "world view" from which this essential part of American culture, and of American economic life, can draw new insight and new motivation; and by suggesting incremental steps to be taken which could provide ways and means of re-orienting and re-organizing medical education and medical practice in the United States.

Two pivotal questions must be answered:

1. What historical factors can explain or account for the critical situation in which the American medical care system finds itself in the final years of the 20th century? and,

2. On the basis of an appreciation of these historical factors, what can and should be done to ameliorate the current crisis?

The initial question requires a retrospective analysis of the complex of assumptions, presuppositions and illogicalities evident in Western intellectual history which can explain the course which the art and science of medicine has followed in the West generally, and in America in particular.

Absent a retrospective critique of this kind, it is not likely that reasonable ways and means of reconstructing the *Weltanschauung* of the American medical care system could be found - a reconstruction which must cover the complete spectrum - from the criteria for selecting medical students and producing new doctors; to the setting of priorities for medical research; to the thoroughgoing re-organization of medical information; to the honest solicitation of patient preference for elective procedures; to the systematic measurement and reporting of the outcomes of medical interventions across the entire range of prevention and treatment possibilities.

This book concludes with prolegomena to any future reform of the American medical and health care system which could be deemed to be intelligent.

November 13, 1996

NOTES FOR LEE WILLIAMS:

What should we do to stabilize Medicare - short term?

Background:

The FY96 outlay is \$200 billion, round numbers.

Here's the trendline @CBO's 9.5% annual rate of increase:
(in billions)

1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	TOTAL
\$200	\$219	\$240	\$263	\$288	\$315	\$345	\$1870

Take 10% off year-one only, and apply the 9.5% annual rate:

\$180	\$197	\$216	\$236	\$259	\$283	\$310	<u>\$1681</u>
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REDUCTION: \$189

If the annual rate of increase can be shaved 10%, to 8.55%, the savings on the same assumptions increase from \$189 billion to \$400 billion by 2002, round numbers.

However, the one-time 10% reduction would yield a sufficient short-term fix.

How is it possible to accomplish this?

3%, or \$6 billion in year-one, comes from improved fraud prevention. 3,000 scam artists collecting \$2 million a year each, equals \$6 billion. In Dade County, the pattern is to establish a P.O.Box, and get a Medicare provider number for it. Then pick up a supply of legitimate Medicare numbers - from homeless persons, or nursing home residents, or otherwise, and send in bogus claims, with forged M.D. signatures, or signed by crooked docs. When receipts reach \$2 million, shut down and move to another town.

It ought to be possible to get the AMA, the hospitals and other suppliers of services to agree to a new regulation:

Unless you have been a provider in good standing with HCFA for at least two consecutive years, a \$1 million performance bond must be posted as a condition of securing provider status to serve Medicare beneficiaries.

The bonding companies will do all of the checking, and take the first million in risk. If HCFA can speed up its detection process, it should be possible to substantially reduce fraud at little or no cost to the federal government.

How can first-year Medicare expenditures be reduced by another 7%?

In my California plan, we had one of the Medicare "demonstration" contracts, followed by a standard prepayment contract. The consistent experience was that 65% of all of the revenue from HCFA, Part A and Part B, went for surgeries in five different categories, and the related anesthesia. The categories, from highest expenditure on down, were:

- Anesthesia - consistently #1
- Ophthalmology - consistently #2
- Cardiovascular surgery - usually #3 or #4
- Orthopaedic surgery - usually #3 or #4
- Gyn surgery - usually #5 or #6
- Urological surgery - usually #5 or #6

Reimbursement rates for each of these categories of surgery, and for anesthesia, should be reduced by 15% from what Medicare is now paying, to reduce the base these folks have been working off.

Ophthalmology is an interesting example, in that most of the Medicare outlays went for cataract surgery. Prior to their having the new electron microscopes and implants, it took the surgeon a long time to lift a cataract. Now, it takes less than ten minutes. They never decreased the base cost, however, figuring that their skill, not their time, was the commodity being purchased. The excellent ophthalmologist who worked on my Medicare members enjoyed a seven figure income, and that was ten years ago.

In short, these folks can afford a 15% hit, and I believe few of their medical colleagues would object.

Let's say that only 40% of total Medicare dollars are currently spent on these six categories of service: that would be \$80 billion in year one. Fifteen percent of that

would be \$12 billion, or an additional 6%. We only need another \$2 billion, or 1%, to achieve the 10% target. The pathology and radiology services directly related to the surgeries could be hit for 15% - they, too, can afford it.

There are a number of reasons for concentrating the 15% hit on a small number of surgical specialties and their supporting anesthesiologists, pathologists and radiologists:

- It uses the KISS method.
- It will be easier to screen billing forms for a targeted, limited number of procedures, and insure that the 15% reduction is actually achieved. Guidelines may have to be applied on a random basis to insure against "catch-up" charges by these providers.
- It will limit the quantity of grippers.
- It will affect physicians who are at the top of the income ladder, and who will experience no lifestyle changes as a result of this adjustment.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO TO "FIX" MEDICARE FOR THE LONG TERM?

We should reform the health care system.

My own strongly-held convictions on this subject require some historical background as a condition of appreciation, and it is difficult to provide that succinctly.

A top-ten "problem list" might be helpful:

1. The "scheme of ideas" which dominates the thinking of American physicians today is wrongheaded. Its key notion is mechanical/industrial: parts out, new parts in represents the highest art. This "scheme" is unacknowledged, so that it cannot be subjected to regular analysis and criticism, which could lead to its improvement. Intellectually, American medicine is milling about in a box canyon, and truly scientific progress is thereby severely restricted. Biology and chemistry are the avenues to breakthrough, but they pursue organic and processive dimensions; they study cells and metabolism, which do not fit easily into a mechanistic "scheme of ideas". It would boggle the minds of most practicing physicians to tell them that the sick person is sick in their cells. In almost every case, they would have no idea what to do about that.

2. Technology is being confused with, and is being marketed as, state-of-the-art science. In fact, the continuous technology breakthroughs invariably involve the diseases which medicine cannot cure. "High-tech" in medicine today is all about limiting pain and suffering, and prolonging life. It is not about preventing or curing disease, and yet it consumes the major portion of the resources available - including manpower, equipment and finances. In contrast, here are three brief examples of what *real medical science* has done:

a. Barry Marshall's discovery that a bacterium, *helicobacter pylori*, was the cause of stomach ulcers has eliminated all ulcer surgery; all vagotomies; all psychiatric and psychological interventions for a disease which physicians believed to be psychosomatic; in fact all treatments other than a 10 to 12 day course of antibiotics costing about \$20. This is true medical science. It took the poor guy ten years to convince his profession that bacteria could, and did, live in the stomach lining, and he ended up swallowing a bunch of the bacteria and infecting himself as part of the proof. He started in 1983, and the basic facts were finally accepted in 1993. During that decade, he was hooted off of a number of platforms by the leading experts in gastrointestinal medicine. His revenge is had by putting a bunch of dedicated ulcer surgeons entirely out of business. As Marshall's discovery has spread internationally, it has become clear that the *H. pylori* hiding out in the lining of human stomachs is the most widespread bacterial infection on the face of the earth.

b. The incidence of endarterectomy - specifically, carotid artery surgery - has gone down 40% in the space of about 18 months, because a new set of guidelines was adopted by HCFA to govern whether or not Medicare would reimburse for a specific surgery performed on a beneficiary. Lots of these surgeons are now forced to look for other opportunities to cut.

c. Salk and Sabin figured out how to prevent poliomyelitis with a vaccine which costs pennies per person. You remember Sister Kenny, and the growth of polio treatment centers around the country, with no calculable limit to the apparatus, therapists and other medical personnel; no end to treatment modalities or applied technology - all of which was suddenly shut down by true medical science, as soon as Albert Sabin's vaccine was accepted and adopted. If not for

this vaccine, annual health care expenditures today would probably be \$20 or \$30 billion higher, not to mention increased human pain and suffering.

It is remarkable to note that real breakthroughs in medical science, which can prevent or cure disease, end up by being inexpensive and easy to provide to the population. This dimension of contemporary American medicine consumes a very minor part of total expenditures.

3. "Modern" medicine cannot cure or prevent most cancers, cardiovascular disease, arthritis, stroke, diabetes, osteoporosis, asthma or obesity, to name a few of the more common diseases afflicting Americans. The application of "high-tech" procedures to alleviate pain and suffering, enhance function and prolong life for people with these diseases consumes the bulk of the trillion dollars in annual expenditure on health care. Whatever else may be said about this palliative aspect of American medicine, it is not *real science*, yet it is widely believed to be such, and it is actively sold as such by the medical profession, and by the ignoramuses of the 4th estate.

4. There is an overproduction and oversupply of physicians, especially "specialist" physicians, and most particularly surgical specialists. The Pew Commission on Health Professions recently reported a ratio of 240 physicians per 100,000 people in active practice today; and based on present patterns, Pew projects a ratio of 290 per 100,000 by the year 2000. They recommend as optimal a ratio of 150 per 100,000. The Kaiser plans have a ratio of 100 per 100,000. Simply put, unless this reality is drastically changed, eventual national bankruptcy will be inevitable. If the excess of 90 physicians per 100,000 were eliminated from the field, (i.e., the difference between 240 and 150 per 100,000, along with their production cost and the average expenditures each of them cause), the gross annual outlay of \$1 trillion would decrease by 38%, to about \$620 billion a year. The ten-year cumulative reduction, adjusted for inflation, would exceed \$6 trillion. Suppose we could only achieve half of that, or one-third? By itself, this would provide a tangible way to solve the problem of the uninsured. In any event, this problem has to be tackled.

5. There is no systematic evaluative clinical science going on in American medicine. As a result, variation in patterns of treatment is a predominant and unconscionable fact. There is no valid information by which treatment

outcomes can be measured. Within the same community, the C-section rate is 35% in one hospital, and 5% in another, for patients with identical demographic characteristics. The obstetricians in the 35% hospital have authorized the anesthesia group to market epidurals (spinal blocks) in the delivery room, as a revenue booster.

6. The system is still largely fee-for-service, with the physician/supplier the only regulator of demand. Given this irreducible reality, there is no predictable limit to where expenditures for medical care might go. The top is quite literally off in most of American medicine.

7. There is no way for a doctor to profit from health in a patient, and it is therefore difficult to identify even an ounce of prevention in American medicine, except for inoculations. With this single, and inexpensive, exception, all profit in medical care requires a sick or injured patient. This is Wonderland.

8. The generalist has been pushed out of the university, and out to the remote edges of the medical cosmos. Specialists are in control, with surgeons as medicine's "top guns". The surgical suites, with all of the preliminary tests and other ancillary services which surgical patients require, bring in the major dollars for the hospital, which is what it takes to win top billing these days. One problem for "modern" medicine is that generalization is essential to doing science, and specialists whose learning and focus occur in a narrow, albeit deep, channel are not in a position to provide the broad-gauged generalization, based upon the connectedness across different fields of medical inquiry, which is essential in science in order to achieve an integration of all special knowledge.

9. In the recent dispute over revision of the values assigned to the 60-plus different medical specialties under the RBRVS system, the term "cognitive physician" was adopted by physicians as a means of differentiating between proceduralists (usually highly compensated) and physicians whose main work involves diagnosis (usually at the low end in compensation). If some physicians are classified as "cognitive", are all others, then, non-cognitive? There is a parallel question about "managed care". What is the alternative to "managed" care? Is the medical profession not providing signals through these terms of its own

understanding as to the real source of the crisis in American medical care?

10. Signals or not, the real source of the crisis is the erroneous "scheme of ideas" which currently dominates the American medical mind, and the consequently erroneous theory of knowledge flowing out from their "scheme". Reconstruct the cosmology and the epistemology, and salvation will be possible. Otherwise, national bankruptcy is a tangible prospect, because there is no limit to how high expenditure can go. In 1965, annual per capita expenditure for medical and health care was \$204. Thirty years later, in 1995, it was \$4,100 per capita - an increase of 2000%. If these costs increase at the same rate during the next thirty years, the annual per capita figure will be \$82,000. That will be the end of medicine as we know it.

One other point: At \$200 billion in 1996, Medicare represents 20% of total national expenditures on medical/health care. Add the federal share of Medicaid, plus FEHBP, CHAMPUS, V.A., Indian Health Service, Public Health Service and other federal outlays and it gets to 40% of total national expenditures.

It is my judgment that the government could adopt a "buy right" policy for all of these programs, coordinated and enforced through the White House, and structured in such a way that true reform and reconstruction of the medical care system - including reconstruction of its prevailing "scheme of ideas" and of medical education - could be brought about, without legislation, and with the support of "cognitive" physicians. This would be a truly historic revolution, and I believe it could be accomplished without firing a single legislative shot.

HIRAM EASTLAND
EASTLAND LAW OFFICES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-21-97

(601) 355-7961 (O)

(601) 355-0530 (FAX)

101 NORTH STATE STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201

*Thanks for
you speech
received at
today*

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

*all Ball
2/4*

DATE:

2/4/97

TO:

Ms. Nancy Hermreich

COMPANY:

White House

FACSIMILE #:

(202) 456-2883

FROM:

Hiram Eastland

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET:

6

ADDITIONAL MESSAGE:

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Don Ball

*There is the gem
of something
really good
maybe a separate
speech - Ball*

HIRAM EASTLAND
EASTLAND LAW OFFICES

101 NORTH STATE STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201

(601) 355-7961

(601) 355-0530

February 4, 1997

VIA FACSIMILE: (202) 456-2883

Ms. Nancy Hernreich
Personal Secretary to the President
The White House

Re: Potential Quotes for State of the Union Address

Dear Ms. Hernreich:

I spoke with the President on election night about the possibility of his visiting Ole Miss for a major reconciliation address in commemoration of Robert Kennedy's landmark address at Ole Miss in 1966. I sincerely appreciate the President's continued consideration for such a visit at his convenience.

I have worked closely with the President over the last ten years on such projects as the Delta Commission and the Democratic Leadership Council.

I am writing this letter to simply provide a few quotes that you may wish to pass along to the President for his State of the Union Address this Tuesday evening. The quotes are self-explanatory and could be tied into the President's address from any number of angles.

For example, in assuming his rightful position as the fatherly leader of our country and admonishing those who would breach the faith and trust with the family of America and continue to be involved in church burnings, I am confident the President could deliver the following quote by Alexis De Tocqueville very effectively and movingly:

"I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her commodious harbors and her ample rivers - and it was not there. . . in her fertile fields and boundless forests - and it was not there. . . in her rich mines and her vast world commerce - and it was not there. . . in her democratic Congress and her matchless Constitution - and it was not there. Not until I went into the churches of America and heard her pulpits flame with righteousness did I understand the secret of her genius and power. America is great because she is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great."

Honorable Ms. Nancy Hennreich

Page 2

February 4, 1997

The President might add that the challenges of the twenty-first century will be met because America is a "Good Society." (Nice subtle contrast and compliment to the 60's theme of "Great Society", and De Tocqueville's theme of America's greatness because of America's goodness). (Theme of a "Good Society" is also a nice compliment to the President's First Inaugural Address in which he stated that there is nothing wrong with America that can't be successfully addressed by concentrating upon what is right about America.)

In a general bi-partisan "spirit", the De Tocqueville quote would also tie very well into the spirit in which Speaker Gingrich accepted his reelection as Speaker, by speaking in more open spiritual terms, and by speaking of the importance and goodness of reaching out to include all Americans in America's journey, including the citizens of the District of Columbia.

Additional themes about the goodness of America and the importance of bi-partisanship and themes of triangulation to bring out the best of America's ideas and ideals and values could be bolstered by the following quote by Robert F. Kennedy, sadly enough just three weeks before his assassination: [Source: San Francisco Economic Club address].

"What we do need . . . is a better liberalism and a better conservatism. We need a liberalism in its wish to do good, that yet recognizes the limits to rhetoric and American power abroad; that knows the answer to all problems is not spending money . . . We need a conservatism, in its wish to preserve the enduring values of the American society, that yet recognizes the urgent need to bring opportunity to all citizens, that is willing to take action to meet the needs of the future. What the new politics is, in the last analysis, is a reaffirmation of the best within the great political traditions of our nation: compassion for those who suffer, determination to right the wrongs within our nation, and a willingness to think and act anew, free from old concepts and false illusions. That is the kind of politics - that is the kind of leadership - the American people want."

And that is the kind of leadership - bringing out the best of America's ideas and ideals and values - that will build a sound, wide and secure bridge to the twenty-first century. (The quote could also compliment the fact that the President's new cabinet officer, Andrew Cuomo, is Robert F. Kennedy's son-in-law).

Honorable Ms. Nancy Hernreich

Page 3

February 4, 1997

The author Camus once said that "A man does not show his greatness by being at one extremity, but rather by touching both at once."

I say to you tonight [President Clinton states] that a country, like a man or woman, does not show its greatness by being at one extremity, but rather by touching both at once. To bring about the kind of transformation needed to secure America's future in the twenty-first century, we as America's elected leaders, and all of us as America's citizens as a whole, must be willing to draw upon a combination (a synthesis) of the best of America's ideas and ideals and spiritual values. There is nothing wrong with America, no challenge that we as the family of America cannot successfully address by focusing on what is right about America - her basic goodness carved out of a great tradition of American ideas and ideals, American ingenuity and work ethic, a deep sense of spiritual values. I see an America, and I believe you do to, in which the American people, you the Congress, Speaker Gingrich, Majority Leader Lott, and all of us are going to strive to bring out the best of America's traditions and values, to bring out the best of this truly "Good Society." And yes, I see an America in which we the family of America are going to in the words of that grand old American anthem - "crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea."

In a similar vein, and in speaking on the concept of transformation and mastering change, Robert Kennedy also provided the following prophetic insights, for example, in his 1966 address at Ole Miss:

"Change is crowding our people into cities scarred by slums - encircled by suburbs which sprawl recklessly across the countryside; where movement is difficult, beauty rare, life itself more impersonal, and security imperiled by the lawless.

And beyond this, modern change is assaulting the deepest values of our civilization - those worlds within a world where each can find meaning and importance and worth: family and neighborhood, community and the dignity of work.

Family ties grow weaker as the span between the generations widen. The community, a haven where each could once find warmth and significance; begins to dissolve as the streets of the cities rush in upon each other . . .

And if our nation is changing, the world around us is moving even faster . . .

Honorable Ms. Nancy Hennreich

Page 4

February 4, 1997

In such a challenging world - such a fantastic and dangerous world - we will not find answers in old dogmas, by repeating outworn slogans, or fighting ancient battlegrounds against fading enemies long after the real struggle has moved on.

We ourselves must change in order to master change. We must rethink our old ideas and beliefs before they capture and before they destroy us . . .

. . . the answers we seek must be found in the light of reason - by fact and logic and careful thought, and unsustained by violent prejudices or by myths [we must base our reason on the best of America's ideas and ideals and values].

. . . . [And just as importantly] it is not enough to understand, or to see clearly. The future will be shaped in the arena of human activity, by those willing to commit their minds and their bodies to the tasks.

. . . . Oliver Wendell Holmes once said, as life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should have the passion and action of his time, as peril of being judged not to have lived.

It is simple to follow the easy and familiar path of personal ambition and private gain. It is more comfortable to sit content in the easy approval of friends and of neighbors than to risk the friction and the controversy that comes with public affairs. It is easier to fall in step with the slogans of others than to march to the beat of the internal drummer - to make and stand on the judgments of your own. And it is far easier to accept and stand on the past, than to fight for the answers of the future.

. . . . [But] . . . each of us will ultimately be judged - and will ultimately judge himself - on the extent to which he [or she] personally contributed to the life of this nation and to world society of the kind we are trying to build."

Honorable Ms. Nancy Hernreich

Page 5

February 4, 1997

I hope some of these quotes and thoughts from the heartland will provide food for thought in synthesis with the President's themes and goals for Tuesday's address - and maybe even some of the rhythm and poetry.

Sincerest and Best Regards,

HIRAM EASTLAND

HE/rcd

PS. As a loyal friend of the President's, the themes and use of the quotes and well intended lines I have provided are provided for the President, are his as far as I'm concerned, and I hope he will find some use for them as he continues to shoulder the burden of leading this country into the twenty-first century.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

4/20/97

Dear Hiram

Thank you for your fine
moving letter - It came too
late for the State of the Union
but I may want to use your
ideas in a separate speech on
the Good Society which, after
all, is what we are trying to
establish.

Sincerely,
Bill Clinton



STATE OF THE UNION

Address to the 105th Congress

First Session

To Honor Eschew

with thanks

Bill Clinton

President William J. Clinton

February 4, 1997

Washington, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-21-97

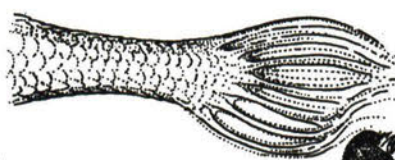
Do K. McCarty
Rift-jawed fish

11 TSC

Science Tim

The New York Times

Amazon's Depths Yield Strange New World Of Unknown Fish



A Picky Predator

One of two newly discovered species of predatory electric fish that thrive in the murky channels of the Amazon, *Magosternachus ducis*, eats chiefly the tails of other electric fishes, which then regenerate. It was first collected on a recent expedition, one of the few to peer below the river's surface.

By CAROL KAESUK YOON

SINCE the middle of the last century, the Amazon River and its tributaries have provided passage to many an intrepid adventurer heading into South America's interior rain forests. But despite the fact that scientifically minded explorers have been floating down these waterways for more than 100 years, life in the river itself has remained largely unknown.

A handful of scientists have now begun the difficult work of plumbing the Amazon's depths, casting down their nets to unveil the deep-water world below. With each haul, long-hidden inhabitants of the Amazon, the largest tropical river system on earth, are coming to light, including oddities like transparent catfish and electric fish that subsist solely on the tails of other electric fish.

"We've now gone close to 2,500 miles over the Amazon and its tributaries," said Dr. John G. Lundberg, an ichthyologist, or fish specialist, at

At last count researchers had netted 240 new species of Amazon fish.

the University of Arizona in Tucson. "You come up with drastically different kinds of fish."

Dr. Richard Robins, the Maytag professor emeritus of Ichthyology at University of Miami, said, "Lundberg's work has been pioneering." Dr. Robins helped make the case to persuade the National Science Foundation to finance Dr. Lundberg's team when it first proposed fishing the deep rivers. He argued that even though the team would probably lose every net it had trying to catch fish from the ragged bottom of these rushing rivers, if it got just one successful haul, the effort would be worthwhile.

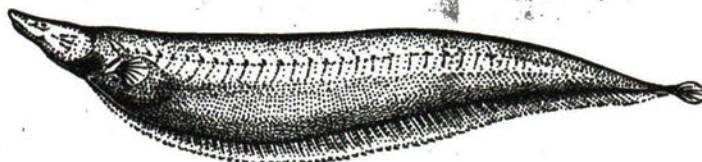
"No one knew what was going on down there," Dr. Robins said. "It's a big breakthrough."

Like the Amazon rain forest, the Amazon River is home to creatures of extreme diversity, helping to make South America the continent with more fish species than any other in the world. So far, the Amazon and its tributaries are estimated to harbor at least 2,000 freshwater fish species, twice the number in the United States, Canada and Mexico.

"It's just an overwhelming diversity," said Dr. William L. Fink, an ichthyologist at the University of Arizona.

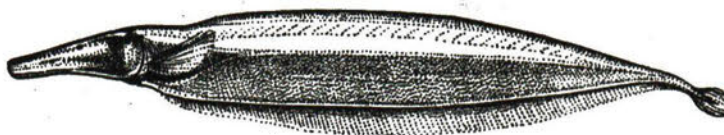
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Magosternachus raptor



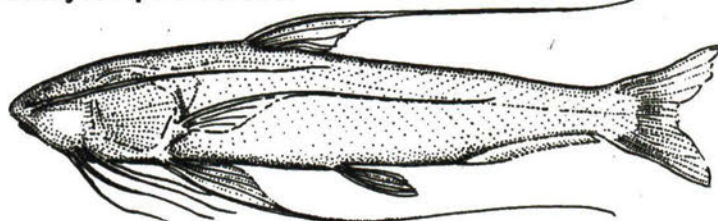
Another previously unknown species of predatory electric fish. These fish are able to hunt and navigate without vision in the muddy, nearly lightless depths by generating sensitive electric fields around their bodies.

Orthosternachus tamandua



A nearly blind electric fish with very small eyes from deep in the Amazon, formerly known from only two specimens preserved in museums. The Amazon system turns out to have an extremely diverse population of freshwater fish, harboring at least 2,000 species.

Bathycetopsis oliveirai



A miniature, blind and pigmentless catfish from the Amazon's main course. It grows no longer than about two inches; its closest relatives are three to four times that size. These catfish are not only electroreceptive, they have taste buds all over their bodies.

Amazon's Depths Yield Strange New World of Unknown Fish

Continued From Page C1

ty of Michigan's Museum of Zoology, "and how all this came to be is a real interesting question. The deep-water faunas are especially odd and the most challenging to get to. You get into strange and interesting new worlds."

So far, Dr. Lundberg and his collaborators, including Dr. Cristina Cox Fernandes of Brazil's National Institute of Research of Amazonia and Dr. Naércio Menezes of Brazil's Zoology Museum in São Paulo, have amassed 125,000 fish, and their ever-rising species count is at 240. What they have uncovered at the greatest depths is a murky, nearly lightless world inhabited by a proliferation of two kinds of creatures: electric fish and catfish.

"The Amazon water is muddy," Dr. Fink said. "It's hard to see just a few feet down, and 20 feet down, it's really black." Researchers say that may explain why two sorts of fish ready-made for life without light lurk at the bottom.

Electric fish are able to hunt and navigate without vision, using electric organs to generate electric fields around their bodies to sense where things are. Catfish are also electroreceptive, and they also have taste buds all over their bodies, allowing other senses to dominate over sight.

The most peculiar among the electric fish found by Dr. Lundberg and his colleagues are two species of tail-eaters. When researchers examined the fish, their stomachs were filled entirely with the tails of other electric fish. Dr. Lundberg said that while the researchers know the fish eat the tails of other species, they may eat the tails of members their own species as well. The electric fish can rapidly regenerate lost parts, which makes the meal of choice of these species both plentiful and naturally renewable.

Among the electric fish, the scientists also discovered two species that are so similar the researchers were not sure that the fish were distinct species until they saw their electric organs discharge. John P. Sullivan, a graduate student at Duke University, discovered that these fish, which appeared to be mottled and solid-colored variants of a single species, were in fact two distinct species, each with its own unique blips of electrical discharges.

Dr. Lundberg and his colleagues



The New York Times

The motor vessel *Almirante Guimaraes*, top right, on the Amazon River during a recent expedition; previously unknown creatures like the unnamed electric fish, near right, and banjo catfish, far right, were netted in profusion.

also found many eyeless or nearly eyeless catfish and electric fish. Among the blind fish, researchers netted a tiny transparent catfish that was bearing eggs when it was just one-third of an inch long — close to the world record for the smallest fish at sexual maturity. Though tiny, blind and transparent, this species may not be quite so vulnerable as it sounds. The fish have greatly thickened bones and armor plates on their sides.

The researchers have found some novel features on some fish that they cannot explain. An electric fish found in only one small area of the Rio Negro, a tributary of the Amazon, has a unique tongue-like projection just above its chin.

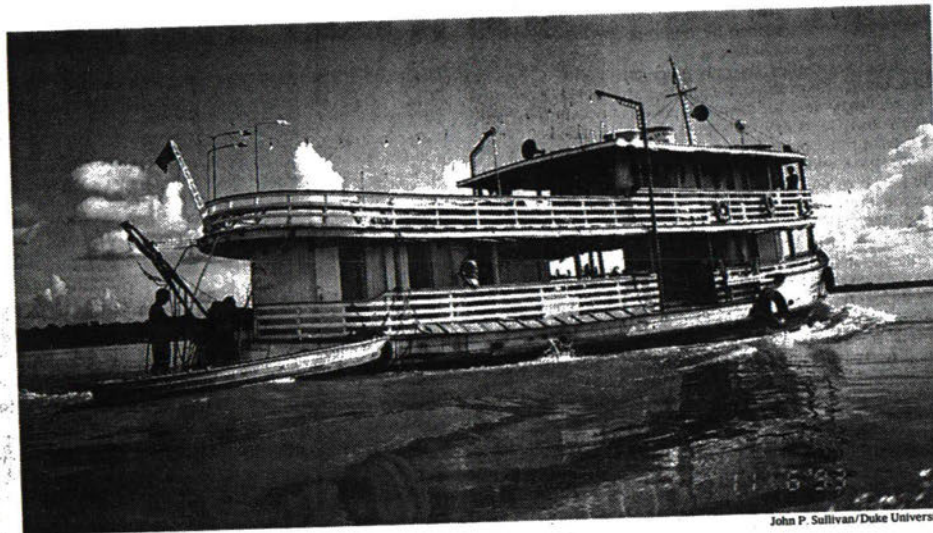
"It's not a tooth — it's a soft organ," Dr. Lundberg said, adding that nothing like it had been seen on any electric fish before.

As predicted, the team has lost a lot of equipment. Motoring along the Amazon, researchers drop a weighted trawl net that has a wide mouth and a mesh fine enough to capture the tiniest fish.

These nets sink out of sight into water that is racing by at speeds of six feet or more per second. After towing the net, researchers must carefully retrieve it from depths of 30 to 150 feet below the surface. But



John P. Sullivan/Duke University



John P. Sullivan/Duke University

they must avoid tearing the nets on the debris-covered bottom, spiked with dead trees, or on the water-logged branches that can be racing by at any depth in the river.

Should any equipment come loose, it is gone, as the current sweeps everything quickly away. And there

is no way to jump into these waters to work.

"That far from shore, you'd get swept away downstream," Dr. Lundberg said. "There's no way a person could withstand that."

But it is not just rushing waters that have kept the fish in the Amazon

search zoologist at the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution, explains, scientist-explorers are not always welcome. "In Peru and Ecuador, and Colombia in particular," he said, "people think this must be some sort of cover for spying on the drug traffic. They find it very difficult to believe that you're really out there in these remote areas just to collect small fish."

As a result, even many intriguing and easily caught species remain poorly known. For example, there is a small group of fish that lives along the banks of the Amazon that actually eats driftwood. Dr. Scott Schaefer, associate curator of fishes at the American Museum of Natural History in Manhattan, said those fish are the only vertebrates known to live by eating dead wood, yet "we know nothing about their biology."

The best-known species are those with commercial value: the large fish for market and the small, colorful fish living in the river's margins that are important in the aquarium trade. Yet even for such commercially valuable species, the most basic information is often lacking.

Dr. Lundberg and his colleagues found that the young forms of many commercially important catfish were not living in shallow habitats, as some had thought, but were swimming in the main water column of the river. It is just this sort of information that is crucial for managing the species are threatened with overfishing.

As the researchers work on, their findings are available on the Internet. Dr. Lundberg maintains an Internet site on the collecting expedition: <http://eebweb.arizona.edu/fish/calhamaz.html>. Dr. Fink is in charge of a World Wide Web site sponsored by the National Science Foundation with data from around the world on collections of fish from Central and South America: <http://www.keil.ukans.edu/neodat/>.

There is one point in the Amazon — a huge, gaping hole near the mouth of the Rio Negro — where the river bottom drops more than 300 feet. Dr. Lundberg's response to the suggestion that this might hold the most interesting of fish?

"I'm not going to put a net down in that thing," he said. That abyss is out of even his depth, leaving the Amazon, for the moment, to keep at least one last mystery to itself.



Lúcia Rapp-Py-Daniel/University of Arizona

and its tributaries mysterious.

One problem is the sheer size of the Amazon basin, which stretches over some 2.5 million square miles of equatorial South America. Moreover, some stretches of river are very remote.

And as Dr. Richard Vari, a re-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-21-97

Report: Too few traffic controllers in NY

NEW YORK — Federal aviation officials have not honored their commitment to increase the number of air traffic controllers in the New York region, *The New York Times* reported Friday.

Almost two years ago, the FAA agreed to increase the number of controllers authorized for the New York Center to 314. At the time, 299 of the 303 authorized positions were filled.

The number of controllers, however, actually decreased to 281, after recruiters had trouble finding qualified workers to apprentice at the Ronkonkoma center, which handles high-altitude flights over New York, the *Times* said.

Controllers at the New York center complain that low staffing levels have put so much pressure on the remaining employees that many are close to burning out.

On orders from Congress, FAA officials authorized an increase this week in the number of fully trained controllers and trainers above the old target of 314, saying 335 are now needed. But with 51 trainees and 230 controllers, FAA officials say they will not reach their target until the end of 1998. (AP)

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-21-91

Guns

This is interesting
would it work?
check the other 11 hits. Advise

Bo

DR. JON ZIEME
167 EAST 61ST ST.
NY, NY 10021

JON ZIZMOR

Give this consideration

main problem MEDICARE - Great Idea!
No one has ever thought of it.

To make medicare solvent and quickly they should make ^{the} medicare deductible $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ of your adjusted Gross income. This is easy because IRS says medical deductions begin after $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ of adjusted gross income. Poor and middle class people would not complain. Their deductible would stay the same or go down. But for the people that do complain (upscale people) that say "I have a big deductible" that deductible would be used as a tax Credit or deduction for those peoples estate taxes in the future.

Old upper class people that would scream "we are raising your deductible" - - - - - but we are cutting your estate taxes. It helps medicare right away because it pays out less right away - against paying back in the future with deduction on estate taxes.

~~the inter~~ But most of all, it helps the intergenerational conflict, because you are saying to older people we are raising your deductible, but you are helping your country and your own children, by cutting their estate taxes.

JON ZIZMOR

Peace At Last

Republicans would love this because you are cutting TAXES and numbers could be juggled so no poor person is hurt - or they might even be helped for a change.

Dollar medicare saves now would be worth far less in the future when credit is given for estate taxes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached Ruff/Nash memo recommends that you: 1) not conduct a general review of U.S. Attorneys, and instead permit them to continue in office after their 4-year terms expire absent special circumstances; and 2) hold over rather than renominate as many U.S. Attorneys as possible.

Background. U.S. Attorneys serve at the pleasure of the President, and once nominated by him and confirmed by the Senate, serve for a 4-year term. However, a confirmed U.S. Attorney may "hold over" for an unlimited period of time until a successor is nominated and confirmed. For example, President Reagan held over 17 U.S. Attorneys throughout his second term. Hold over U.S. Attorneys possess the same legal authority as those who are reappointed.

There are 93 U.S. Attorney Districts, and during your first term, the Senate confirmed 88 U.S. Attorneys. In 3 districts your nominations were not confirmed, and in 2 Districts you did not make nominations due to political and vetting considerations. In addition to these 5 vacancies, 5 additional vacancies have been created by death, resignation, or elevation to the bench, so you now have 10 vacancies to fill.

Rationale for recommendation. The decision whether to hold over or renominate a U.S. Attorney with an expired term turns largely on political considerations. Ruff and Nash argue that the Senate Judiciary Committee budgets a certain amount of time to DOJ nominees, and that every U.S. Attorney "renominee" we add to their docket will reduce the amount of time available for judges, and may provide a pretext for not moving your judicial nominations forward. In addition, some of your U.S. Attorneys may not be confirmable in this Senate for political reasons.

Erskine concurs with the recommendation, and Podesta agrees that we should permit U.S. Attorneys to hold over, but thinks we should be prepared to nominate new U.S. Attorneys where there is weak performance.

☒ Agree

☐ Disagree

☐ Discuss

Phil Caplan *PC*
Helen Howell *HH*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

97 FEB 14 AM 11:28

February 10, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/21/97

From: Charles F.C. Ruff
Counsel to the President
Bob J. Nash
Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Personnel

Re: Policy Decisions Regarding United States Attorney Nominations

Background

There are 93 Districts for which the President nominates, and the Senate confirms, a United States Attorney. During your first term, nominations were made and confirmed for 88 Districts. In three Districts -- Northern Mississippi, Western Texas, and the Virgin Islands -- a nomination was made but not confirmed. The 104th Congress only confirmed four of the seven nominations made by you; and in 1996 no nominations for United States Attorney were confirmed by the Senate. We anticipate recommending to you the renomination of these three candidates to the 105th Congress. During the first term no nominations were ever made for two districts -- Puerto Rico and Guam -- for political and vetting reasons.

In addition to the foregoing five Districts where there were no confirmed nominations, vacancies have been created by death, resignation, or elevation to the bench in the following five Districts:

Northern District of Alabama
Southern District of Florida
Middle District of Georgia
District of Kansas
Southern District of Ohio

We are currently reviewing candidates for nomination to three of these Districts, and are awaiting recommendations for the other two Districts. Over the course of the next four years based upon our experience in your first term, we anticipate that an additional 10 Districts will be the subject of U. S. Attorney nominations.

U. S. Attorneys serve at the pleasure of the President but are appointed for a four-year term. The four-year terms of U. S. Attorneys nominated by you and confirmed in your first term

will begin expiring July 26, 1997. During 1997, the terms of 51 U. S. Attorneys will expire, with another 18 expiring in the first quarter of 1998.

At the conclusion of the term, a confirmed U. S. Attorney may "hold over" for an unlimited period of time until a successor is nominated and confirmed. Such a holdover U.S. Attorney possesses all of the powers and authority of a renominated and reconfirmed appointee. The decision whether to hold over or to renominate a U.S. Attorney with an expired term turns therefore largely on political considerations (including the wishes of the sponsoring Senators) and not at all on considerations of legal authority.

President Reagan in his second term retained almost half of the U. S. Attorneys he nominated, 41, and of that number renominated 24. The remaining 17 U. S. Attorneys simply held over throughout President Reagan's second term, and some continued to hold over through President Bush's term.

Issues

1. Should we undertake a review of the performance of each U.S. Attorney as his or her term expires, and reach an individual judgment as to his or her continuance in office? Or should we presume that U.S. Attorneys who wish to remain in office as their terms expire may do so absent special circumstances?

2. Should we renominate United States Attorneys who are to continue in office, or should we hold over incumbents and direct our resources to vacancies which are currently pending and which will occur during the next four years?

Discussion

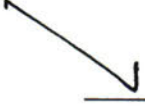
1. Our consultations with the Justice Department have led us to conclude that it would not be worthwhile to conduct a general review of all U.S. Attorneys wishing to continue in office as their terms expire. Because in many cases our political maneuvering room will be severely limited, it would not be a productive use of Administration resources and might raise unrealistic expectations about the amount of turnover there will be. Of course, where there are individual appointees whose tenure should be evaluated because of their performance, Justice, working together with the White House, can deal individually with those situations.

2. Some sponsoring Senators will want their U.S. Attorneys renominated because of local or other political considerations, but there is no reason to make this the norm. Holdover U.S. Attorneys possess exactly the same legal authority as those who are reappointed. Renominating all U.S. Attorneys who are to continue in office would cost us dearly with respect to judicial and other nominees who must be approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. The Judiciary Committee has budgeted a certain amount of time for hearings with respect to Justice Department nominees, including U.S. Attorneys, and judicial nominees. Every U.S. Attorney "renominee" we add to their docket will inevitably reduce the amount of time available for judges and may provide a pretext not to move a number of your judicial nominations forward.

Given the number of Justice Department nominations forthcoming in the next few months and the number of judicial vacancies, a decision to renominate all U. S. Attorneys who wish to remain in office would substantially reduce the time available to the Judiciary Committee to focus on nominations for judges. In addition, there may very well be individual appointees who are already confirmed, but who might not now be confirmable in this Senate for political reasons.

Recommendations

The Department of Justice, the Counsel to the President, and the Director of Presidential Personnel believe that given our resources and the limited time that the Senate Judiciary Committee will allocate to nominations, (1) we should not undertake a general review of U.S. Attorneys who wish to remain in office, but should instead presume that such appointees will be permitted to continue in office absent special circumstances, and (2) we should hold over rather than renominate as many of such U.S. Attorneys as possible.

 ☒ Agree

☐ Disagree

☐ Discuss With Me



ATTACHMENT 1

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-21-97

NATIONAL PERFORMANCE REVIEW'S 31 REINVENTION IMPACT CENTERS

Agriculture

1. Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service
2. Food Safety and Inspection Service
3. Food and Consumer Service
4. Forest Service

Commerce

5. Bureau of the Census
6. U.S. & Foreign Commercial Service/ITA
7. Patent and Trademark Office

Defense

8. Acquisition Reform

Education

9. Student Loan

10. Environmental Protection Agency

11. Federal Emergency Management Agency

12. General Services Administration

Health and Human Services

13. Food and Drug Administration
14. Administration for Children and Families
15. Health Care Financing Administration

Interior

16. National Park Service
17. Bureau of Land Management

Justice

18. Immigration and Naturalization Services

Labor

19. Occupational Safety and Health Administration

20. National Aeronautics and Space Administration

21. Office of Personnel Management

22. Small Business Administration

23. Social Security Administration

State

24. State Department's Management
25. Bureau of Consular Affairs

Transportation

26. Federal Aviation Administration

Treasury

27. Customs Service
28. Internal Revenue Service
29. Office of Domestic Finance/Financial Management Service

Veterans Affairs

30. Veterans Health Administration
31. Veterans Benefits Administration

end of this - all will have
4y. nego plans - ~~that~~
~~at least~~ VP wants to do
public work

THE PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED

2-21-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: w. m. m. m. g.
Bob Nash

Very impressive
showed a lot of
power

February 20, 1997

Cynthia Sikes Yorkin
250 North Delfern Drive
Los Angeles, California 90077

Dear Cynthia:

Thanks for your letter recommending that Bud be appointed to the Board of Trustees for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. As you well know, I'm very grateful for all your support and for your friendship. I've made Bob Nash, Director of Presidential Personnel, aware of your suggestion.

Give my best to Bud, and let us know if you'll be coming for the "King and I" gala.

Sincerely,

Bill

Cynthia Sikes Yorkin

February 12, 1997

President Bill Clinton
c/o Nancy Hernreich
The White House
West Wing, First Floor
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I just got off the phone with Beth Dozoretz whom we had the pleasure to get to know during your inauguration. What an incredible couple they are!

We had lunch together here in Los Angeles last week and Beth mentioned that Ron had just been appointed to the Kennedy Center Board. She also thought it would be great fun if Bud would apply for an appointment as well. I never knew these positions existed and could be available to Bud. But after considering it, I think it's a great idea. So, at Beth's suggestion to not be shy and to let you know it would really mean something to Bud, I thought I'd write and formally throw his hat into the ring.

Bud's credentials are impeccable and widely respected in the entertainment business. As you can see from his biography, he began work in live television - writing, directing and producing such shows as "The Jack Benny Hour" and "Lewis and Martin". I believe he still holds the record for the most Emmy wins (17) for his Fred Astaire specials. Then his partnership with Norman Lear produced many successful shows he directed, co-wrote and co-produced such as "All In the Family", "Maude" and "Sanford & Son". They reinvented TV with their issue oriented stories. Bud is one of the few men in Hollywood to create and run his own company, thereby successful in both aspects of the entertainment business, financial and artistic. Besides being imminently qualified, I know Bud would have a sincere desire to creatively participate and contribute fresh ideas to this board.

Also, it would be wonderful to be able to visit D.C. more often and see you and Hillary and be a part of things.

I totally understand that you may have other considerations and obligations which prevent this from manifesting. Whatever happens, we are totally supportive of you and always offer our friendship and help in any way we can.

We may come to the "King & I" Gala to see the Dozoretz's and of course you and Hillary if you are available. I'll check with you as it approaches.

Until then, all our best wishes.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Cynthia". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial "C" and a long, sweeping underline.

Cynthia

Bud Yorkin

Alan Bud Yorkin was born in Washington, Pennsylvania on February 22nd, 1926. He graduated from Carnegie Mellon University with a Bachelor of Science and did graduate work at Columbia University in English Literature. In 1974 he was presented an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters from Washington and Jefferson College. In 1950, after three year's service in the Naval Air Force, Yorkin begin his career in television at the National Broadcasting Company in New York. He subsequently moved on to become director of the "Colgate Comedy Hour" starring Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis. He then moved to Hollywood and directed "The Dinah Shore Show", "The Tony Martin Show", "The George Gobel Show", "The Tennessee Ernie Martin Show", "An Evening With Fred Astaire" (Emmy's: best writing, best direction, best musical special) "Another Evening With Fred Astaire" and "The Jack Benny Hour" (Emmy: best direction).

In 1959 Yorkin met Norman Lear and they joined forces to form Tandem Productions to produce, write and direct the following television shows:

1960	Special	"An Hour With Danny Kaye" (DGA Award for Best Direction)
1961	Special	"Henry Fonda and the Family"
1961	Special	"We Love You Madly with Duke Ellington"
1961	Special	"Where It's At with Dick Cavett"
1962	Special	"Bobby Darin and Friends"
1962	Special	"The Danny Kaye Special"
1963	Special	"The Many Sides of Don Rickles"
1964	Special	"TV Guide Awards Show"
1965	Special	"An Evening With Carol Channing"
1971	Special	"Robert Young and the Family"
71-79	Series	"All In The Family"
72-77	Series	"Sanford and Son"
72-78	Series	"Maude"
74-79	Series	"Good Times"
75-82	Series	"The Jeffersons"
78-86	Series	"Diffrent Strokes"
76-79	Series	"What's Happening"
77-79	Series	"Carter Country"
80-83	Series	"Archie Bunker's Place"

Yorkin has also directed and/or produced the following feature films:

1963	"Come Blow Your Horn" (director/co-producer)
1965	"Never Too Late" (director)
1967	"Divorce American Style" (director/producer)
1968	"Inspector Clouseau" (director)
1970	"Start The Revolution Without Me" (director/producer)
1970	"The Night They Raided Minsky's" (executive producer)
1970	"Cold Turkey" (executive producer)
1971	"The Thief Who Came To Dinner" (director/producer)
1981	"Blade Runner" (executive producer)
1982	"Deal of the Century" (producer)
1985	"Twice In A Lifetime" (director/producer)
1988	"Arthur On The Rocks" (director)
1990	"Love Hurts" (director/producer)
1994	"Intersection" (producer)

Yorkin has received a total of six Emmys and has won four other coveted awards for direction: a Peabody Award, Sylvania Award, Look Award and Directors Guild Award. He has served as a member of the Board of Governors of both the Directors Guild of America and the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences and on the Board of Trustees of the AFI. In 1973, he was voted "Man of the Year" by the Television Academy, and the following year, he was presented the "Industry Award of the Year" by the Publicists Guild. Yorkin, along with George Carlin, Lily Tomlin and Gary Trudeau, was honored by the American Civil Liberties Union as part of their celebration of "The Politics of Humor" in 1978. In 1979 he received the Harvard Lampoon's first Golden Jester Award for his contributions to American Comedy.

Yorkin is also a member of the Board of Trustees of his alma mater, Carnegie-Mellon University, and in 1981, he endowed the annual Bud Yorkin Awards for directing and playwrighting students in the University's Fine Arts Department of Drama.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-21-97

cc: w/ incoming:
Peter Eichen, Counsel's
office

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 20, 1997

Woody Bassett
Bassett Law Firm
Post Office Box 3618
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72702

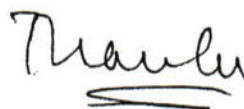
Dear Woody:

Thanks for your letter suggesting that Bill Storey be appointed to the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Arkansas. I was aware of his interest and have let Charles Ruff, my Counsel, know of your personal support for his appointment.

Hillary sends her best.

Sincerely,





BASSETT LAW FIRM

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

P.O. Box 3618

FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS 72702-3618

Murren
cl: Nash

W.W. "BILL" BASSETT
WOODY BASSETT
TOD C. BASSETT
WM. ROBERT STILL, JR.
WALKER DALE GARRETT
CURTIS L. NEBBEN
EARL BUDDY CHADICK
ANGELA M. DOBBS
GARY V. WEEKS
J. DAVID WALL
VINCENT O. CHADICK
JAMES M. GRAVES[†]
SCOTT E. WRAY

221 NORTH COLLEGE AVENUE

TELEPHONE (501) 521-9996

TELECOPIER (501) 521-9800

*ALSO LICENSED

IN OKLAHOMA

*ALSO LICENSED

IN MISSOURI

February 11, 1997

Re: Judge Bill Storey
Federal Judgeship - United
States District Court -
Western District of Arkansas

via facsimile transmission
202-456-6703

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

Dear Mr. President:

I'm writing about something dear to my heart. Our good friend, Bill Storey, has expressed a deep and genuine interest in the appointment to the Federal Bench. As you perhaps know already, Judge Frank Waters will be taking senior status this summer, opening up an appointment to the Bench for the Western District of Arkansas. Judge Waters has served honorably and has done an outstanding job. I sincerely believe Bill Storey would be a worthy successor.

My hunch is that you already know of Bill's interest in this appointment but I wanted to make sure. Judge Storey presently serves as Circuit Judge for Washington and Madison Counties. He has been a splendid Circuit Court Judge. He primarily presides over criminal cases although he also hears civil and chancery cases from time to time. He was a successful lawyer in private law practice for many years so he has the kind of background and wide array of experience which would serve him well on the Federal Bench.

Judge Storey possesses a high intellect and has lots of good old fashioned common sense. He is not afraid to make hard decisions. He is polite but firm, just but compassionate. While I'm sure

President Bill Clinton
February 11, 1997
Page 2

there will be other qualified candidates, I'm confident Judge Storey is the one with the best overall qualifications. He would bring distinction and credit to you if you should decide to appoint him.

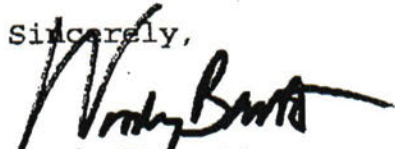
You are aware of Bill Storey's many contributions to the Democratic Party. He has been a loyal supporter of yours over the years, not only during the good times but during the bad ones also.

I anticipate there will be some lawyers and others who will make the argument that you should appoint a lawyer from Fort Smith. While I'll concede that argument is not without some merit, I respectfully submit you should appoint the person you believe will do the best job, regardless of where they live. Under that standard, I believe Judge Storey should be at the top of the list. Let me, however, hasten to add that I've heard the names of several lawyers in Fort Smith and a few others elsewhere who are interested in the appointment, and I like and respect all of them. I'm for Judge Storey, not against anyone else. Since I practice in Federal Court on a regular basis, I think I have some understanding of what it takes for a person to be a good Federal Judge. In my judgment, Judge Storey has the right stuff and all the qualities necessary to make him an excellent Federal Judge.

If you, Hillary or anyone on your staff need more information or would like to discuss this matter with me in detail, please feel free to call. Thank you for your consideration.

I enjoyed being in Washington recently for the Inauguration. It was good to see you and Hillary. I'm proud of you and wish you all the best.

Sincerely,



Woody Bassett

WB:bet

BASSETT LAW FIRM

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

P.O. Box 3618

FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS 72702-3618

W.W. "BILL" BASSETT
WOODY BASSETT
TON C. BASSETT
WM. ROBERT STILL, JR.
WALKER DALE GARNETT
CURTIS L. NEBBEN
EARL DUDDY CHADICK
ANGELA M. DOBBY
GARY V. WEEKS
J. DAVID WALL
VINCENT O. CHADICK
JAMES M. GRAVES
SCOTT E. WRAY

221 NORTH COLLEGE AVENUE

TELEPHONE (501) 521-9996

TELECOPIER (501) 521-9800

ALSO LICENSED
IN OKLAHOMA

ALSO LICENSED
IN MISSOURI

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

DATE:	February 11, 1997	NO. OF PAGES:	3
FROM:	Woody Bassett BASSETT LAW FIRM P. O. Box 3618 Fayetteville, AR 72702	FAX NO.:	(501) 521-9600
		TEL. NO.:	(501) 521-9996
TO:	President Bill Clinton	FAX NO.:	202-456-6703

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-20-97

Diane D. Blair
1011 Tanglebriar
Jayetteville, Arkansas 72701

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-21-97

February 2, 1997

TO B. REED
CC: C. REED
They @ BS (BO)
want to supply
for

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear President Bill:

Because you heard the latest round in my ongoing debate with Hillary on the value/evils of kids television, I wanted you to see the enclosed - the latest evidence that kids who watch PBS are more likely to read books. I've sent her a huge packet of similar studies on the positive connections between quality television and learning readiness, literacy, math and science skills and interest. I am convinced we can make even better use of these programs and materials to meet several of the national education goals, and I want to do whatever I can to facilitate that.

I can't begin to tell you how proud I was to witness your second swearing in, and how firm is my conviction that this will be a highly consequential term for America.

As always, I'm available to help,

Love,
Diane



CORPORATION
FOR PUBLIC
BROADCASTING

NEWS RELEASE

NEWS RELEASE...NEWS RELEASE...NEWS RELEASE

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

Jeannie Bunton: 202-879-9687
jbunton@cpb.org

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

January 15, 1997

**PBS KIDS ARE VIEWERS AND DOERS,
ROPER REPORT SHOWS**

Kids say that learning is an important reason to watch PBS

PASADENA, CA, January 15 -- Kids who watch Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) children's programs are more likely to read books and newspapers, do projects, use a computer, or engage in activities than those who don't watch, according to new findings from the 1996 Roper Youth Report, released today by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB).

In other ways, kids who watch PBS are a lot like other children. They share the same demographics as the rest of the population, and they have similar concerns about violence on TV, drugs, homelessness, and pollution, according to CPB-commissioned research conducted by public opinion polling firm Roper Starch Worldwide, Inc. Roper conducted personal in-home interviews in May and June of 1996 in a nationwide sample, with six to 12 year-olds who watch PBS as part of its annual youth study.

According to the Roper findings, kids confirmed that after watching PBS programs, they engaged in activities to further their learning, such as reading a book, making something, researching a subject further, or doing an experiment. *Reading Rainbow*, *Lamb Chop's Play-Along*, *Bill Nye, the Science Guy*, *Wishbone*, and *Where in the World is Carmen Sandiego?* are designed to encourage children to learn more about the program content.

Even though kids watch a lot of television, more than 29 hours per week the report states, they also are reading. PBS programs promote reading. In this survey, the youngsters who watched PBS were more likely to have read a non-school book. Also, they were more likely to read a magazine.

Kids watch PBS programs both for learning and for fun, the report shows. More than one-half of the kids who watch *Bill Nye, the Science Guy* cited "learning" as a reason to watch. Kids also said that learning was an important reason to watch programs such as *Reading Rainbow*, *Wishbone*, and *Where in the World is Carmen Sandiego?*

The study shows that there is no significant difference in income or educational level between parents whose kids watch PBS and those who don't. However, in households where kids watch PBS, parents appear to take a more active role in family viewing. PBS kids were more likely to report that their parents had rules about what and how much they could watch on television.

- more -

In fact, watching television is more frequently a family activity in households where kids watch PBS. The youngest PBS viewers in the survey, ages 6-7, were 80 percent more likely than non-PBS viewers to watch television often with other members of the family.

The report also shows:

- Kids who watch PBS are more likely to have used a personal computer, but are less likely to have one at home. They use computers more at school.
- Kids who watched PBS were more likely to say they looked forward to going to school.

CPB, a private nonprofit corporation created by Congress in 1967, oversees the development of public radio, television, and online services for the American people. The Corporation is the industry's largest single source of funds for national public radio and television program development and production. CPB, a grantmaking organization, funds more than 1,000 public stations.



Brandeis University

Office of the President

The Irving Enclave
Waltham, Massachusetts
02254-0110

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

Seaside

*My
might want to do
with Barbara Hill,
Frumer can't come
this early, unless
Be*

2-21-91
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN



Brandeis University

Jehuda Reinharz
President

February 11, 1997

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is my pleasure and great privilege to extend to you, on behalf of the Board of Trustees of Brandeis University, an invitation to accept an honorary doctor of laws degree and to deliver the keynote address at the University's fiftieth anniversary convocation to be held on Sunday, October 18, 1998.

Brandeis University is the youngest private research university in the United States and the only nonsectarian university in the nation sponsored by the American Jewish community. Founded in 1948, our fiftieth anniversary celebration coincides with the anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel. The University, which was home to a number of distinguished Jewish scholars who had fled the European catastrophe, is, like the State of Israel, a reflection of the rebirth of a people and an expression of the American Jewish community's reverence for learning. The University proudly bears the name of the distinguished associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, the late Louis Dembitz Brandeis, who stood for the rights of individuals.

Brandeis University was founded to embody the highest ethical and cultural values of the Jewish community and to express its gratitude to the United States through the traditional Jewish commitment to education. By being a nonsectarian university that welcomes students and faculty of every nationality, religion, and political orientation, Brandeis renews the American heritage of cultural diversity, equal access to opportunity, and freedom of expression.

In its relatively brief history, Brandeis University has been privileged to welcome and to honor some of this nation's and the world's most distinguished leaders, among them John F. Kennedy, Harry S. Truman, David Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir, Eleanor Roosevelt, who, for a number of years, served as a member of the University's Board of Trustees, and Pierre Mendes-France, among others. You would honor us with your presence on the occasion of Brandeis University's fiftieth anniversary, and I most sincerely hope that it will be possible for you to join us for this important celebration.

The Irving Enclave

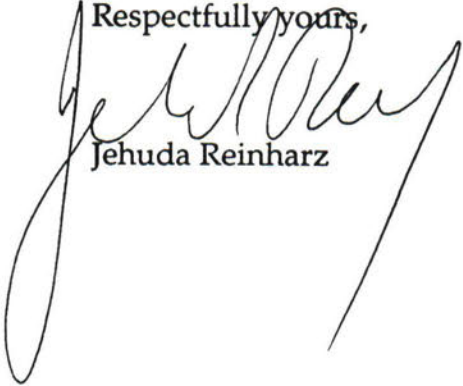
Mail Stop 100
Waltham, Massachusetts
02254-9110

617-736-3001
617-736-8699 Fax
617-736-3009 TTY/TDD

The convocation will begin at 10:30 a.m. on Sunday, October 18, 1998 and is expected to conclude at approximately 12:30 p.m.. I shall defer providing additional details until you have had an opportunity to consider this invitation. Mr. President, you may be assured of a very warm and cordial welcome from the members of our academic community, and I look forward to the singular privilege of bestowing upon you Brandeis University's highest honor.

With kindest regards,

Respectfully yours,


Jehuda Reinharz

JR:dbm

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-21-97



Allison Jones
Singer
Model-actress
For Bookings:
Florence Jones
(706) 798-5444
(706) 722-4304

*cl. Ann - She sang for me in '92
- need to do more work -
she's coming out singing
for something new sometime
this year*

Allison Jones is an energetic and talented singer, actress, artist and student. Among her recent performances, Allison starred in the Disney movie, "Nightjohn," with Beau Bridges, Lorraine Toussaint and Carl Lumbly. She also co-starred in the Walt Disney World's 25th Anniversary Special, "Witching You Were Here." This spring, Allison can be seen in the CBS movie, "Ellen Foster." Additionally, she sang the National Anthem for President Clinton and performed for his inaugural dinner in Washington, D.C. While her first love is piano, she also enjoys writing music, poetry and skating. Allison has taken top honors for her scholastic achievements. She attends John S. Davidson Fine Arts Magnet School

Dear President Clinton,

JIM DORSKIND:
Please coord.
the reply.

*I hope to
see you at the
White House!*

*I wanna thank you again for giving
my career a jumpstart. I have sang in and
out of the United States ~~there~~ I sang for you
I wrote you several times to let you know
how my career was going. I could see that
yours was going well. I started in my first
Disney movie with Beau Bridges. I sent
you a copy I hope you received it. If you didn't
call me at 706 798-5444. I will always love you
for helping a kid when no one else would. All that
I am I owe to ① God ② my mom ③ you ④*

*P.S. I would like to be your personal singer!
You can invite anytime and any time you want!
Just call me.*

*P.P.S. I send you a copy of my demo tape. - and tell
Mr. Clinton and Miss. Clinton I said Hello.
and thanks for having G.A. on your*



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 2/21

TO: Don  Kenrick

FROM: Staff Secretary

OMB says NSC concurs
in his recommended Executive Order.

If so, please let me know and
we'll have this taken care of.

Thanks, Phil Caplan



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

THE DIRECTOR

February 20, 1997

97 FEB 21 8:52

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Franklin D. Raines 
Director

SUBJECT: Proposed Order Entitled "Designation under
Executive Order 12958"

SUMMARY: This memorandum forwards for your consideration a proposed order that was prepared by the Information Security Oversight Office. The proposed order would designate the Chairman of the President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection as an official who could classify information originally as "Top Secret."

BACKGROUND: Section 5.3(b) of Executive Order 12958 provides that the Director of the Information and Security Oversight Office ("Director") shall review requests for original classification authority from officials not granted original classification authority and, if deemed appropriate, recommend Presidential approval through the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

In this matter, the Director is recommending that the Chairman of the President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection ("Chairman") be given the authority to classify information originally as "Top Secret." The Director is making this recommendation because the Chairman and the Commission need to prepare and review highly sensitive national security and foreign relations-related documents in connection with a report on critical infrastructure protection that the Commission is preparing for the President on July 15, 1997.

The National Security Council concurs in the recommendation.

None of the affected agencies objects to the proposed order.

RECOMMENDATION: I recommend that you sign the proposed order.

- - - - -

DESIGNATION UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER 12958

Pursuant to the provisions of section 1.4 of Executive Order 12958 of April 17, 1995, entitled "Classified National Security Information," I hereby designate the following additional official to classify information originally as "Top Secret":

The Chairman, President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection.

The Chairman of the President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection established under Executive Order 13010 of July 15, 1996, shall exercise the authority to classify information originally as "Top Secret" during the existence of the Commission and for such time afterwards as may be necessary to complete the Commission's administrative affairs.

Any delegation of this authority shall be in accordance with section 1.4(c) of Executive Order 12958.

This order shall be published in the Federal Register.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 10, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-18-97

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

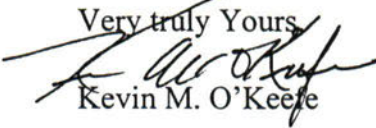
It has been my distinct honor and pleasure to serve you and this administration over the past four years. It is therefore with regret that I tender to you my resignation. I wish to thank you for your confidence, trust, and friendship. I shall treasure the memories of this time, and cannot thank you enough for having done me this honor.

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

cc: Executive Clerk

Very truly Yours


Kevin M. O'Keefe

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-18-97

*2-18-97
Kevin O'Keefe's resignation
has been sent to the
agency on 2-18-97
JES*

The President
The White House
Washington, DC

Great ~~THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN~~ JOB 2-20-97

Keep it up

History will report
it.

Helena Ark

Don D. Thomas

Sum in U.I.
also supply
for wire (letter) (make
Sum in suit material for him)
TRC

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

Todd,

I will send to Jim once
you have seen.

S.

Must get
photos from
photo office

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10 - PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
2-21-97

February 20, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT & ANNE HAWLEY
SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS
CC: JOHN PODESTA & SYLVIA MATHEWS

ACCEPT

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

2/24/97

Photo / Presentation with the First Lady, of the "Report to the President on the State of Arts and Culture in America", by the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities

2/24/97

Meeting With Presidents From Historically Black Colleges

This meeting is an opportunity for you to share your vision on education with the leaders of the 117 historically black colleges and universities. Also, it is a good time to do this event since Feb. is Black History Month.

2/25/97

Meeting With the House Ranking Democrats

2/26/97 - 2/27/97

Brief Meeting / Photo Op With the CEO Members of the Board of Directors of the Ron Brown Award For Corporate Leadership

This award honors achievements in human resources and community relations.

3/6/97	Meeting With the Ranking Members of the House and Senate Budget Committees
3/10/97	Interview With Tracey Brown For Her Book on Her Father
3/12/97	Town Meeting With Children Moderated by Peter Jennings
	This discussion would be part of ABC's "March Against Drugs," a month dedicated to encouraging parents to talk to their children about drugs.
3/31/97	White House Easter Egg Roll
March / April tbd	Reception With the 1997 White House Fellows Class
4/15/97	Participate in a Ceremony to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of Jackie Robinson's Debut in Professional Baseball at NY Shea Stadium
	This ceremony will take place during a game between the New York Mets and the LA Dodgers. Since you will be attending this game, do you feel strongly about throwing out the first pitch on Opening Day, April 1? Your staff does not feel that it is necessary, but we can set up if you want to attend.
May tbd	Speech to the US Conference of Mayors Drug Conference, White House

PENDING

Date of Event:

2/27/97

Description of Event:

Speech to the Business Council

We are currently trying to work out your participation in this event.

2/27/97 - 2/28/97

4:30-11:30 am (on Feb 27)
CVC's birthday
CVC's birthday
CVC's birthday

2/24/97 - 2/28/97

3/3/97

3/6/97 - 3/7/97

Ref. 48124
V.P. 1010
on Jan

3/11/97

1010

Announcement of New Teen Smoking Regulations

You have asked us to hold Feb. 27 and 28 for CVC's birthday. You may be speaking to the Business Council the morning of Feb. 27 but the rest of the day is free. *Do you want to consider making this announcement on either the 27th or 28th?*

Departure Photo with Laura Hartigan
(5 min. She is going to CA March 1)

Meeting With Senator Moynihan and the Commissioners of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy

Speech to a Bipartisan Group of State Legislative Leaders Attending the 1997 National Conference of State Legislatures Leader-to-Leader Meeting, Washington, DC

The Vice President is addressing this group on March 7. *Do you feel strongly about addressing this group yourself? If so, we could arrange this for March 6 or 7.*

Speech to the National League of Cities Congressional City Conference

The Vice President is considering doing this event. *Is this a priority for you? You did not address this group last year. Marcia thinks it is important for you to do.*

3/11/97

Speech to the Free TV For Straight Talk's
Coalition Conference on Free Air Time and
Political Control

*I assign
the mission
to you*

If you choose to do this event, it will be difficult
for you to address to to the National League of
Cities Congressional City Conference which is
also March 11.

NOTE: You have two fundraisers this evening,
one for Senator Dorgan and another for DNC
major donors. With this in mind, March 11
might not be the best day to participate in
"Free TV" event.

March tbd

Foreign Policy Retreat With the Hill

March tbd

Meeting With the Black Leadership Forum (BLF)

This is an opportunity for you to meet with the
leaders of some of the most influential African
American national organizations. BLF members
are the leaders of the oldest and most influential
civil rights and service organizations which
address the needs of the African American
community.

4/9/97

Speech to the American Society of Newspaper
Editors, Washington, DC

4/22/97

Air Force 50th Anniversary Program, Las Vegas,
NV.

*Up speech
to the summit*

The NSC recommends that you decline this
event. They are concerned because this event is
scheduled for the Las Vegas Hilton -- the hotel
where "Tailhook" occurred in 1991. There is
obviously a near-certainty that news coverage of
your remarks at this event would focus far more
on "Tailhook" than on the content of your
speech. In addition, the NGA summer meeting
is scheduled to take place in Las Vegas in July
and it is probable that you will attend this event
at which time you could do the Lake Tahoe
Summit for Sen. Reid and possibly visit Nellis

Air Force Base. Erskine does not think that you should go to Nevada twice in such a short time.

5/17/97

*Sub on the 5/17/97
only no going to
Commencement -*

Commencement Address at Univ. Of Arkansas, School of Law. If you have no interest in this event I would like to regret this now, so they can select another speaker.

REGRET

Date of Event:

2/18/97 - 2/28/97

Description of Event:

Attend the National Domestic Violence Hotline Anniversary, Austin, TX

We have forwarded this request to the VP, Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Gore for their consideration.

2/27/97

Speech to a Joint Session Between the Association of Police Chiefs and the National Sheriff's Association

Rahm does not feel that your participation is critical. He is going to get Attorney General Reno to address this group if this is okay with you. This event falls on CVC's birthday.

2/28/97 - 3/4/97

Speech to the National Association of Counties

The Vice President will be addressing this group on March 3. Marcia and the Senior Staff are fine with this scenario, if you agree. You have full days on March 3 & 4.

3/4/97

*fly out on the
TV training*

Speech to the National Association of Private Industry Councils (NAPIC)

You have a Press Conference on this day. Bruce Reed & Kitty Higgins are working on an appropriate surrogate for this event.

3/19/97 - 3/21/97

Drop by a White House Briefing For Attorney
Generals During the 1997 Spring Meeting of the
National Association of Attorneys General

**You will be in Helsinki, Finland and in
Copenhagen, Denmark during this time.**

3/6/97

Celebrate Life Luncheon With the National
Alliance of Breast Cancer Organizations, New York
City

**We have forwarded this request to the VP, Mrs.
Clinton and Mrs. Gore for their consideration.**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 2/21

✓ Ann Lewis
✓ Maria Echaveste
TO: Tracey Tharion
Ben Johnson
FROM: Staff Secretary

FYI

✓ Phil Caplan

cc: ✓ Kitty Higgins

Date: 02/21/97 Time: 09:43

TCDC chief: Government may be near an apology for Tuskegee

ATLANTA (AP) The government may be close to a formal apology for the infamous Tuskegee experiment in which black men were withheld treatment for syphilis so researchers could study how the disease spread and killed.

President Clinton's apology in 1995 to the victims of secret Cold War-era radiation experiments may have set the pattern, Dr. David Satcher, head of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, said Thursday.

"That's the kind of thing we would anticipate, but we don't know at this point what would happen," Satcher said.

He wouldn't say whether anyone in Washington had encouraged him to believe an apology may be coming. The Department of Health and Human Services referred calls back to the CDC.

The experiment was conducted in Tuskegee, Ala., between 1932 and 1972. The government withheld treatment from 399 men with syphilis to study the disease's course. The men weren't told they had the disease. Nor were they given penicillin after it became the standard treatment in 1947.

The study became public in 1972 with a story by The Associated Press. It spawned a distrust among the black community for public health officials and forced government agencies to take a closer look at their research practices.

Since 1973, the government has paid \$10 million to a total of 6,000 victims of the Tuskegee experiment and their heirs in an out-of-court settlement of a class-action lawsuit.

"It's unfortunate that the government has waited over 20 years after the litigation and over 60 years since it started to apologize," said Fred Gray, the Tuskegee attorney who brought the lawsuit. "If one does come, I hope they would make it in a proper fashion."

"Miss Evers' Boys," an HBO fictional movie that premieres on Saturday, deals with the study. Satcher, whose agency took control of the Tuskegee study in 1957 from the U.S. Public Health Service, said the movie will bring pressure on the government to apologize.

"These people were human beings and they were treated like rats. What are we going to do to ease that?" said Ray Glover, 20, a black Atlanta resident who watched a showing of the movie this week.

Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, former U.S. health secretary and now president of Morehouse School of Medicine in Atlanta, said it would take a monumental effort for the government to regain the trust of black people.

"This is not going to be easy and it's not going to happen overnight," Sullivan said. "Twenty years later, we are still wrestling with the damage that's been done. Science needs to be open."

APNP-02-21-97 0951EST

copied to
Chief of Staff

UK
Remember him?
not a bad idea
PZ

cc: W. I. M. M. M.
Rebecca Cameron
- Golf File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1997

Floyd Sagely
Post Office Box 3404
Fort Smith, Arkansas 72913-3404

Dear Floyd:

Thanks for your letter. It was good to hear from you although I'm sorry about the Inaugural invitation arriving so late. I would have liked for you and Jimmie Lou to have been here.

Thanks, too, for the invitation to play golf with you and Pat Summerall. It sounds like great fun -- I hope I'll be able to take you up on your offer.

Sincerely,

Bill

FLOYD E. SAGELY OIL AND GAS CO.

OIL AND GAS PROPERTIES
AC 501/452-5187 • FAX 501/452-8426
3017 SOUTH 70th, HERITAGE PLACE, SUITE "B"
P.O. BOX 3404
FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS 72913-3404

January 27, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-21-97

The President
William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I just returned from California this morning, and the invitation to the Inauguration did not arrive at my office until Wednesday the 22nd. Had we known, Jimmie Lou and I would have loved to have been there.

It has been a long time since we have visited with each other. I highly respect the job you have been doing. It's definitely the toughest "coaching" job in the world. I truly believe your second term will be somewhat smoother; as, hopefully, you will get more cooperation from Congress than in the past.

Pat Summerall and I would enjoy being able to play a round of golf with you, if it could be arranged. We know your schedule is a tough one.

Our very best wishes from Jimmie and I to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Floyd Sagely
Floyd Sagely

FES/sn

CC: Pat Summerall

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: w/ incoming
Scheduling
Stephanie Street
Anne Hawley
cc: Ralston
What ~~is~~ ~~isn't~~ ~~isn't~~
wrong place -

copied
Chief of Staff

February 21, 1997

Lisa Belzberg
Public Education Needs Civic
Involvement in Learning
New York, New York 10055

Dear Lisa:

Thanks for inviting me to participate in the 1997 Principal for a Day program and in the subsequent Town Meeting. It sounds like a terrific program that you've helped to put together. Though I'm not sure if I'll be able to join you, I've forwarded your request to my schedulers and have asked them to follow up with you.

My best to Matthew and the children.

Sincerely,

Barack

pencil

principal for a day

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-21-97

February 13, 1997

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We invite you to join Secretary Richard Riley, Governor George Pataki, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Chancellor Rudolph Crew for the 1997 Principal for a Day program, which will be held April 10. It is our great hope that you will spend a few hours visiting a New York City public school, interacting with the students, teachers, parents, and principal and displaying your solidarity with the over 1,000 prominent civic, business and local political leaders who participate in this annual event.

We would also like to invite you to address the Town Meeting that afternoon, a debriefing session which will be moderated by Ms. Jane Pauley. The Town Meeting brings the individuals who just visited a school together with principals, political leaders, and education advocates to share experiences and insights and begin galvanizing initiatives resulting from Principal for a Day.

PENCIL shares a belief that you have espoused strongly throughout your years of public service: that effective involvement of the private sector in public education is critical to building the American community for the next century. For private sector leaders across the nation, however, the challenges facing our public schools can sometimes seem overwhelming, and many believe they can do little to bring about change.

The Principal for a Day program creates a crucial bridge, bringing New York City leaders into public schools to experience firsthand the challenges -- and miracles -- that are the real story of the nation's largest urban public school system. Invariably, what these leaders see and experience results in a new or renewed commitment to public education and a strong determination to make a difference on behalf of students.

In the three years since its inception, Principal for a Day has been a catalyst for countless partnerships and initiatives that display the power of private industry to enhance public education.

For example, executives from the publishing and music industries, after participating in Principal for a Day, instituted annual programs which put one million new books and one million musical instruments into public schools. Also, many who have visited a school have entered into an alliance with an individual school, donating computer and office equipment, establishing internships, mentoring programs, summer jobs, libraries and support networks.

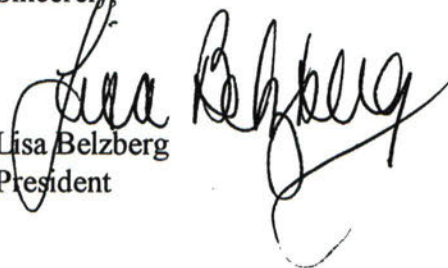
New York City has strived to be in the forefront in addressing goals you have outlined for enhancing public education, with a pointed focus on literacy and the issuance of systemwide standards, budget reports, and school report cards. The recent coming together of the political, educational, and private sector establishments in support of governance reform is a testament to a renewed commitment to excellence that was once the hallmark of the nation's finest public school system.

With your help, on April 10, we will send a clear message of the power the community can bring when we work together on behalf of the over 1,000,000 students served by New York City's public schools.

In closing, Matthew and I would be honored to host a reception at our home for you that evening.

Sincerely,

Lisa Belzberg
President

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Lisa Belzberg", written over the printed name and title.

Select List Of Confirmed Principals For A Day -- 1997

The Hon. Catherine Abate, State Senator, NYS Legislature
The Hon. Gary Ackerman, U.S. Congressman
The Hon. Salvatore Albanese, New York City Council Member
Mr. Jonathan Alter, Senior Editor, Newsweek
Herman Badillo, Esq., Fischbein, Badillo, Wagner, & Harding
Mr. William Baldwin, Actor
Mr. Neil Braun, President, NBC Television Network
Mr. Edgar Bronfman, Jr., President and CEO, Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.
The Hon. Denis Butler, Assemblyman, NYS Legislature
The Hon. Schuyler Chapin, Commissioner, New York City Department of Cultural Affairs
Mr. David Checketts, President and CEO, Madison Square Garden
Ms. Beverly Chell, Vice-Chairman, K-III Communications
The Hon. Elizabeth Connelly, Assemblywoman, NYS Legislature
The Hon. Alphonse D'Amato, U.S. Senator
The Hon. Noach Dear, New York City Council Member
Ms. Barbaralee Diamonstein-Spielvogel, Director, NY Landmark Preservation Committee
The Hon. Hector Diaz, Assemblyman, NYS Legislature
The Hon. Robert DiCarlo, State Senator, NYS Legislature
Mr. Phil Donahue, Television Commentator
Mr. Michael Douglas, Actor
The Hon. Thomas Duane, New York City Council Member
The Hon. Eliot Engel, U.S. Congressman
The Hon. Andrew Eristoff, New York City Council Member
Mr. John Eyler, Chairman and CEO, FAO Schwarz
The Hon. Daniel Feldman, Assemblyman, NYS Legislature
The Hon. Fernando Ferrer, Bronx Borough President
The Hon. Mark Green, Public Advocate
Mr. James Harmon, Chairman, Schroder, Wertheim, & Co.
Mr. Skitch Henderson, Founder and Musical Director, The New York Pops
The Hon. Alan Hevesi, New York City Controller
Mr. Stanley Hill, Executive Director, Dist. Council 37
Mr. John F. Kennedy, Jr., Publisher, George
Mr. Robert Kiley, President and CEO, NYC Partnership and Chamber of Commerce
Victor Kovner, Esq., Lankenau, Kovner, & Kirtz
Mr. Steve Kroft, 60 Minutes
Mr. Leonard Lauder, Chairman and CEO, Estee Lauder, Inc.
Mr. Bruce Llewellyn, President, Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Co.
Ms. Shahara Llewellyn, Vice Chair, Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Co.

Mr. Glenn Lowry, Director, Museum of Modern Art
The Hon. Carolyn Maloney, U.S. Congresswoman
The Hon. H. Carl McCall, New York State Comptroller
The Hon. Ruth Messinger, Manhattan Borough President
The Hon. Jerrold Nadler, U.S. Congressman
The Hon. Catherine Nolan, Assemblywoman, NYS Legislature
The Hon. Felix Ortiz, Assemblyman, NYS Legislature
Mr. Alan Patricof, Chairman, Patricof & Co. Ventures Inc.
Ms. Jane Pauley, Anchor, Dateline NBC
The Hon. Adam Clayton Powell, New York City Council Member
Mr. Steven Rattner, Managing Director, Lazard Freres and Company
Mr. Leonard Riggio, Chairman and CEO, Barnes & Noble, Inc.
Mr. Stephen Robert, Chairman, Oppenheimer & Co.
Mr. Felix Rohatyn, Senior Partner, Lazard Freres and Company
Mr. David Ross, Director, Whitney Museum of American Art
Mr. Lewis Rudin, Co-Chairman, Rudin Management Co., Inc.
The Hon. Charles Schumer, U.S. Congressman
Mr. Ivan Seidenberg, President, The NYNEX Corporation
Mr. Arthur O. Sulzberger Jr., Publisher, New York Times
Mr. John Sykes, President, VH1
Mr. William C. Thompson Jr., President, NYC Board of Education
Mr. Preston Robert Tisch, Co-Chairman and Co-CEO, Loews Corporation
Mr. Donald Trump, The Trump Organization
The Hon. Peter Vallone, Speaker and Majority Leader, New York City Council
Mr. Jann Wenner, Editor and Publisher, Wenner Media
Ms. Deborah Wright, President and CEO, Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone
Development Corp.
Mr. Strauss Zelnick, President, BMG Entertainment, Inc.
Mr. Mortimer Zuckerman, Publisher, New York Daily News

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Bowles

1-21

W. Picman
W. Picman
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W. Picman
(Picman's
(Picman's
has been very helpful
to Admin. per month
also requested by
P. Picman)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 21, 1997

Mr. Walter Rieman
Apartment 16-0
140 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10024

Dear Walter:

Hillary and I were so sorry to hear about Tom's death. We know this is a difficult time for you, but we hope you can find comfort in the knowledge that Tom contributed so much to our world during his life.

As a lawyer, educator, and advocate for gay rights, Tom made lasting contributions to social justice in America. From the landmark bill he crafted to protect New York's gay community from discrimination in housing and employment to his determined efforts to raise AIDS awareness, Tom remained deeply committed to equal opportunity, to human rights, and to the public good. Fighting for what he believed in even in the midst of his own battle with AIDS, Tom was a true hero.

Please know that we are keeping you in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill

I really liked and admired
Tom - I'm sorry not to have been
introduced earlier but I just learned
of his passing - He made a real difference
- and a real impact on me.

Thomas Stoddard, 48, Dies; An Advocate of Gay Rights

By DAVID W. DUNLAP

Thomas B. Stoddard, a lawyer whose persuasiveness and erudition advanced the cause of equal rights for gay men, lesbians and people with AIDS, died Wednesday at his home in Manhattan. He was 48.

The cause was AIDS, said his companion, Walter Rieman.

Mr. Stoddard was executive director of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund in New York from 1985 to 1992, fighting discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing, health care, insurance, family law and military service. During his tenure, Lambda's staff grew from 6 to 25 people and it became a nationally influential organization.

As an adjunct professor at the New York University School of Law, beginning in 1981, Mr. Stoddard taught one of the first courses on constitutional law, case law and statutes that affect the lives of lesbians and gay men. There are now dozens of such courses around the nation.

Mr. Stoddard was an author of the 1986 bill passed by the New York City Council that protects homosexuals against bias in housing, employment and public accommodations.

"The legislation was drafted by Tom Stoddard and it was perfect," said former Mayor Edward I. Koch, who signed the bill into law. "He was an extraordinary lawyer. Even though he never retreated, he would find a way to explain, to placate and convince opponents that his approach was reasonable, rational and one they could accept. That's a gift."

Quotable and telegenic with an earnest demeanor, Mr. Stoddard became a spokesman and lobbyist for civil liberties generally and gay civil rights in particular, using his understated mien to disarm critics and win allies. But his conciliatory approach alienated some of the more outspoken gay-rights advocates. And Mr. Stoddard's last major public role, as director of the Campaign for Military Service, ended in bitter defeat.

In April 1993, he and other leaders of homosexual groups met with President Clinton, the first such delegation to be welcomed to the Oval Office. Participants said Mr. Clinton assured them he would keep his promise to end the policy of banning homosexuals from military service on the basis of sexual orientation.



Thomas B. Stoddard

Three months later, Mr. Clinton endorsed a policy that retained the ban, though it nominally limited the scope of official investigations. The White House characterized this as a compromise, but Mr. Stoddard was unpersuaded. "You can't simply split the difference on matters of principle," he said.

Despite this setback and his deteriorating health, Mr. Stoddard appeared indefatigable. Last June, he was a grand marshal in the Gay and Lesbian Pride March in New York. When the day broke dark and drizzly, he sensed that news accounts might impute some significance to the weather. Before joining the march, he met a small battery of reporters and declared pre-emptively: "The rain is not a metaphor. The future of the movement is full of sun."

With that, he took off down Fifth Avenue in a baby-blue convertible, with his day's supply of antiviral drugs in an insulated bag at his side.

Mr. Stoddard was born in Seattle and spent much of his adolescence in Glenview, Ill., a Chicago suburb. He graduated from Georgetown University and the New York University School of Law, where he was a fellow in the Arthur Garfield Hays Civil Liberties Program.

On graduating in 1977, Mr. Stoddard joined the firm of Norwick, Raggio, Jaffe & Kayser. He served in Albany as counsel to Barbara Shack,

the legislative director for the New York Civil Liberties Union, then succeeded to that post in 1982, when the death penalty and abortion rights were at the top of the agenda.

Having aspired to be a journalist, he was adept at distilling complex ideas into words. When the Supreme Court upheld Georgia's sodomy law in 1986, Mr. Stoddard called it "our Dred Scott case," referring to the 1857 ruling that a slave could not attain citizenship under the Constitution.

In his view, litigation was "just partly about winning the case and establishing a favorable legal precedent," wrote Robert Murphy, a lawyer who is working on a biography of Mr. Stoddard. "As importantly, and perhaps more so, it is a vehicle for public education."

Mr. Stoddard presaged by a decade the national debate over same-

York City law passed in 1986 that protects homosexuals against bias.

sex marriage. "The general public seems to feel that being gay is an individual existence that precludes family life," he said in 1985, on being appointed to head Lambda. "In fact, it often involves being part of a family in every possible sense: as spouse, as parent, as child. Society needs to foster greater stability in gay relationships."

Mr. Stoddard and Mr. Rieman, a partner in the law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, held a wedding ceremony in 1993. The two men exchanged gold bands and the vow, "I commit to you my life and my love for the rest of our days."

AIDS cases, which were one-fifth of the Lambda docket when Mr. Stoddard took over, grew to nearly 50 percent of the caseload in 1988. The next year, Mr. Stoddard learned that he himself had Kaposi's sarcoma, an AIDS-related cancer. "I became the client as well as the lawyer," he said. "The 'they' became 'we.'"

At first, Mr. Stoddard kept the news of his illness quiet. But several years ago, he began to integrate the disease into his public identity. He joined the board of the American Foundation for AIDS Research and, though increasingly frail, he attended the first White House conference on AIDS in December 1995 and flew to Vancouver, British Columbia, for the 11th International AIDS conference in July 1996.

Besides Mr. Rieman, Mr. Stoddard is survived by his mother, Meta, of Conroe, Tex.; a brother, John, of Seattle, and a sister, Linda Leonard, of Henderson Harbor, N.Y.

In October 1995, the Tom Stoddard Fellowship was established at New York University, under which a third-year law student is to work with public-interest organizations on gay civil rights cases. To benefit the new program, several hundred of Mr. Stoddard's friends and colleagues gathered at the New York City Bar Association building in mid-Manhattan.

After introductions and a video tribute, Mr. Stoddard rose to speak. "Day to day life is rather difficult for me these days," he said, "yet I have a good time at it."

Closing with a paraphrase of Emerson — "I am defeated every day yet to victory I'm born" — he stepped away from the lectern to a standing ovation.

DEATHS

Saturday, February 15 1997; Page D04
The Washington Post

THOMAS STODDARD

Gay Rights Activist

Thomas Stoddard, 48, a civil rights lawyer who helped lead the fight for homosexuals to serve openly in the military, died Feb. 12 at his home in New York. He had AIDS.

As executive director of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund from 1986 to 1992, Mr. Stoddard fought for equal rights for gay men, lesbians and people with AIDS.

He maintained his public role after leaving the organization and after becoming ill, most recently leading the unsuccessful lobbying to end the ban against gays serving openly in the military. He helped write a 1986 New York City law that protects gays against discrimination in housing, employment and public accommodation.

MARJORIE REYNOLDS

Actress

Marjorie Reynolds, 79, an actress who starred opposite Bing Crosby and Fred Astaire in "Holiday Inn" and later played the wife on television's "The Life of Riley," died Feb. 1 in Manhattan Beach, Calif.

She went on to star in the drama "Ministry of Fear" opposite Ray Milland, hammed it up in the comedy "Up in Mabel's Room" and danced in the musical "Bring On the Girls."

As Peg Riley in "The Life of Riley," Ms. Reynolds became a familiar face in American television sets, playing opposite William Bendix as Chester A. Riley from 1953 to 1958.

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[Back to the top](#)

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plus
Kia in
good for
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DDP
Hanging with
(Cliff & long
Wildman
+ Rahm E.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1997

Dr. David A. Hamburg
President
Carnegie Corporation of New York
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear David:

Thank you for your letter of January 6. I appreciate your insightful comments on how our campaign finance system can be most effectively reformed, and I have shared your letter with my staff.

The American people have made it clear that it is time for reform, and I stand ready to work with Congress to bring about meaningful reform. Through consistent, disciplined, and honest effort, we can pass effective legislation and restore the trust of citizens in their government and in the political process.

As you well know, the enterprise of raising and spending money threatens to overwhelm our electoral system. Senators McCain and Feingold have proposed legislation that, among other things, curbs the power of special interests by restricting political action committees and dramatically reducing the amount they can give to candidates. Experience shows us that delay is the enemy of reform, and I am urging Congress to pass this bipartisan solution to a bipartisan problem by July 4. The bill is strong, balanced, and credible, and it should become the law of the land.

Thanks again for writing. I value your comments and your involvement.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-4-97

DB UB/Kaum/Bmo/Waldman

1/10/97

Carnegie Corporation of New York

437 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 371-3200 • Telex: 6506377182 • Fax: (212) 223-8831

*I think we should involve
him - good man, good contacts
good credibility for*

David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President

January 6, 1997

Need reply

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20020

Dear President Clinton:

The current level of interest in the country in campaign finance reform is unprecedented. I am aware of your thoughtful concern over many years about this problem. By the same token, Carnegie Corporation of New York has made a variety of grants during my presidency to explore substantial improvements on the present system. It seems to me that the time is ripe for presidential leadership on this issue, approaching it on a bi-partisan or non-partisan basis for the long term. This would exemplify the bully pulpit function of the presidency with vision and courage in the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt. Some of his valuable agenda items only came to pass years later; his impact on the country was powerful and enduring.

One potentially useful approach would be to convene a set of independent experts who have worked the problem in depth. This would give you a full array of serious proposals. You could then go beyond current political constraints or partisan advantage, simply asking what would be good for the country in the long term. Even if the legislative process restricts short-term action, it is singularly appropriate for the President of the United States to stimulate the American people to consider fundamental improvements for the long term.

To assist you in considering this possibility, I enclose two items:

- 1) A memo to me from our staff member who has taken the lead in working this problem, Geraldine Mannion.
- 2) The names and addresses of independent experts considered by our staff to be valuable resources on the topic.

Page Two
The Honorable William J. Clinton
January 6, 1997

If you were to convene a group of independent experts, it might be useful to add some wise generalists of impeccable integrity such as John Gardner, Doris Kearns Goodwin, Newton Minow, and Elliot Richardson as well.

In any event, dynamic, far-sighted presidential leadership on the deeply troublesome issue of money and politics could be of great service to our country.

With every good wish for the coming year,

As always,

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

enclosure

Special Projects

Campaign Finance Reform

Within its concern for strengthening American democracy, the Corporation has addressed the decline in rates of voter participation and the increase in public cynicism and distrust of government. These issues sharply intersect in campaign finance. An exit poll commissioned by the A.F.L.-C.I.O a month before the 1996 election revealed that voters who had made up their minds favored Democratic candidates for the House of Representatives by 51 to 47 percent. In the final weeks of the campaign, the front-page stories on fund-raising on behalf of President Clinton affected voters who had not yet decided: voters who made up their minds in the last three days favored the Republicans 55 to 41 percent.

While such exit polls are not definitive, the media's reports of the campaign financing excesses in 1996 have been cited by numerous analysts and commentators as a major factor in contributing to the lowest voter turnout in the United States since 1924—48.5 percent of eligible voters. The Center for Responsive Politics—which provides objective data and analyses to journalists, educators, activists, and the public about the role of money in federal politics—estimates conservatively that \$1.8 billion was spent in the 1996 elections. It finds that the public is growing increasingly cynical about the amount of time candidates spend in raising money and what they perceive it buys—to wit, increased access to elected officials by contributors with special interests.

On the positive side, an August 1996 survey of 800 people by the Mellman Group for the Center for Responsive Politics found the highest levels of support for the public financing of election campaigns since Watergate. More than 70 percent of those surveyed expressed a desire to change the way political campaigns are financed. Among reform options, nearly 70 percent favored eliminating private campaign contributions, setting spending limits, and providing to candidates who meet a minimum threshold of public support a fixed, equal amount of public funds. The proposal used in the poll was modeled after the Maine ballot initiative for public financing of candidates for state office, which was approved by 56 percent of Maine voters in November. The poll's 40-point margin for support for public financing was bipartisan and demographically diverse. Of particular note, respondents believed that special interest contributions affect the voting behavior of not only Congress in general (87 percent), but also their own representative (81 percent), a marked departure from past surveys. Other research corroborates these findings.

The Problem

Despite increased public interest in campaign finance reform at the state and local levels—and expectations that some kind of campaign finance reform will be introduced at the federal level in 1997—real reform will take time. There is no quick fix for fundamentally altering the long-standing relationship between private wealth and politics. It is therefore important to focus on

the principles upon which real reform should be based, the problems that must be addressed, and the kinds of proposals that might solve these problems.

The Center for Responsive Politics believes that reform must be based on two principles: **political equality**—wealth, or lack of it, should not determine a person's opportunity or influence within the political process; and **political accountability**—government must be responsible to the people, represent their concerns, and act in their interests; the public interest takes precedence over narrow private interests. Among the problems that have to be addressed are the **absence of political equality** and the **absence of political accountability**. Some data may be of interest:

- Studies of the U.S. adult population, voters and nonvoters, show that 94 to 96 percent did not make any political contributions of \$200 or more in federal, state, or local elections in 1980, 1984, and 1992
- Fewer than 900,000 people gave direct individual contributions of \$200 or more to congressional candidates in 1991-92, yet such contributions comprised well over half of the total campaign contributions by individuals in those two years
- The residents of one Zip-code area—10021—on New York City's Upper East Side contributed more money to congressional campaigns during the 1994 elections than did all the residents of each of twenty-four states
- In the United States, people with family incomes over \$75,000 are 100 times more likely to contribute to local, state, or federal candidates than those with family incomes below \$15,000.

Former U.S. Representative Mel Levine (D-CA) explains public accountability this way: "On the tax side, the appropriations side, the subsidy side, and the expenditures side, decisions are clearly weighted and influenced...by who has contributed to candidates."

- The richest 5 percent of American families paid \$91 billion less in federal taxes in 1992 than they did in 1977; the other 95 percent of American families paid \$15 billion more
- U.S. corporations' overall share of all federal taxes combined dropped from 39 percent during the 1950s to 17 percent during the 1980s
- The size of the U.S. military budget, six years after the end of the Cold War, overshadowed federal spending on education by more than 7 to 1, housing by more than 9 to 1, and environmental protection by more than 40 to 1

- Of the 1,179 political action committees that gave \$20,000 or more to members of Congress during the 1993-94 election cycle, none represented the millions of Americans who are poor, or who are parents of public school children, or who are victimized by toxic dumping or agri-chemical contamination, or who are unemployed or under-employed, etc.

The sources of campaign funds for candidates are virtually the same at the federal and state levels: individuals contributing \$200 or more (34 percent); political action committees (24 percent); individuals who give less than \$200 (20 percent); candidates (14 percent); and other (8 percent). This does not include the \$87.3 million in "soft money" that the two major parties raised in 1994, which came mostly from political action committees and wealthy individuals. In some states, individuals, political action committees, and parties can give unlimited amounts to state candidates, and some states allow direct contributions from corporations and labor unions. In both state and federal contests, candidates can contribute as much as they wish to their own campaigns. Nor are there any limits on "independent expenditures" by individuals and groups acting independently of candidates.

Buckley v. Valeo

When considering campaign finance reform, one has to take into account the U.S. Supreme Court's 1976 decision in *Buckley v. Valeo*. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of limits on individual and political action committee contributions to candidates, but it declared that mandatory limits on candidates' spending of their own money, limits on independent expenditures, and limits on total campaign spending constitute violations of the First Amendment right of free speech and are thus prohibited. The Court did, however, find that campaign spending limits could be imposed on candidates as a condition of their accepting public financing or other benefits. The Court did not address the question of "soft money," political money raised by and for national and state parties, which is not regulated by federal campaign finance law and was not then a major source of election funds.

Proposals for Reforming Campaign Financing

Numerous reform proposals are being advanced or are already in place. These include measures to require electronic filing and full disclosure—most states do not yet require full disclosure even on paper, and only a few require electronic filing; the federal government requires full disclosure but not electronic filing. Other proposals would limit campaign contributions; prohibit campaign fund-raising during the period when the state legislature is in session; seek voluntary spending limits by candidates; limit the amount of money that can be loaned to a campaign by a candidate; ban political action committee contributions; ban the "bundling" of individual contributions from employees of the same corporation, trade group, etc.; ban "war chests," excess campaign money that politicians carry from one election cycle to another; ban or restrict out-of-state or out-of-district contributions; ban "soft money;" provide free or reduced-rate broadcast time and postage and tie these benefits to candidates' acceptance of voluntary spending limits; and promote partial or full public financing.

The Center for Responsive Politics reminds those who would advocate for reform that America's campaign finance system has a long history of reform. From the federal Tillman Act of 1907 through the post-Watergate Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) and its various amendments, there have been a host of well-intentioned attempts to reduce the influence of big money. Yet virtually all these efforts, and their counterparts at the state level, have failed. The rules may have changed significantly, but the dominance of major campaign contributors over elections and public policymaking remains unchanged. Campaign finance disclosure laws do allow the public, however, to know where most of the money is coming from and who is receiving it. The center believes that for real reform to be achieved, the public must think boldly and comprehensively. This, in turn, requires taking the long view for systemic reform always takes time.

The Corporation's Program in Campaign Finance Reform

The Corporation supported research on the influence of money in politics in the 1960s by scholar Herbert Alexander. It returned to the subject in 1992. The Corporation is currently supporting research and analyses of campaign finance data at the federal, state, and local levels; education of the media and the public on the financing of election campaigns; efforts to provide policymakers, the media, and the public with a range of possible campaign finance reforms; and legal strategies to lay the groundwork for a reconsideration of the Supreme Court's decision in *Buckley v. Valeo*.

Public Education Since 1992, the Corporation has supported the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Responsive Politics. Under the direction of Ellen S. Miller, the nation's foremost expert on the role of money in politics, the center has become the primary source of nonpartisan, reliable information on federal campaign finance issues. It responds to numerous requests from journalists, activists, and educators and publishes a compendium of studies on the connection between special interests' contributions and legislative action. The center also provides technical assistance to the money-in-politics projects, modeled on the center's federal work, undertaken by three regional organizations that are following state and local campaign financing. These three organizations—the Western States Center in Portland, Oregon; the Northeast Citizen Action Resource Center in Hartford, Connecticut; and Democracy South in Durham, North Carolina—are, in turn, providing technical assistance to state money-in-politics projects in their regions. The Maine initiative for public financing of candidates for state offices was a direct result of an effort by the Maine Voters for Clean Elections, a coalition of citizens' organizations that is one of many nurtured by the Northeast Citizen Action Resource Center. All three regional centers are supported by the Corporation, and renewed support is being recommended at the January board meeting.

Renewed support is also being recommended to the Los Angeles, California-based Center for Governmental Studies and the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Public Integrity. The Center for Governmental Studies' National Resource Center for State and Local Campaign Finance Reform provides expert testimony and assistance to state and local elected officials, government agencies, independent groups, the media, and the public; drafts model laws and ordinances to implement a wide range of campaign finance reforms; produces in-depth research

and constitutional analyses regarding critical campaign finance reform issues; and comments on draft proposals, model campaign laws, and draft legislation language. The center has also studied judicial campaign financing in Los Angeles and has recommended changes to judicial campaign financing practices in state and local elections. Renewed support to the Center for Public Integrity will allow the center to undertake a number of projects that examine how money influences policy and legislation at federal, state, and local levels. One project, for example, will examine the sources of campaign funds for members of the Congress in relation to their voting records.

Legal Strategies Finally, additional support is being recommended to the William J. Brennan, Jr., Center for Justice, toward a public education campaign on *Buckley v. Valeo*'s role in obstructing campaign finance reform. Many scholars believe that the decision, the major deterrent to real campaign finance reform, is flawed. The Brennan Center for Justice, in partnership with New York University Law School, is mounting a major project to undertake legal and educational strategies to prepare the Supreme Court to revisit the *Buckley* decision. A discretionary grant in August 1996 to the National Voting Rights Institute toward its campaign finance reform litigation and public education activities is supporting a unique effort to place the money-in-politics issue in the context of the United States' voting rights history. The institute's director, John Bonifaz, and American University law professor Jamin Raskin, have developed the constitutional basis for the institute's current suit, which argues that, similar to the white primary of the past, the wealth primary discriminates against nonwealthy candidates.

Future Possible Projects for Support in this Area

The Western States Center and the Northeast Citizen Action Resource Center are organizing a National Data Center for State Campaign Finance, modeled on the national Center for Responsive Politics. It will collect, standardize, and make public the contribution records for candidates for state office. No such archive of contributions to state campaigns now exists, making it impossible for journalists, academics, or reformers to analyze and report on the impact of special interest money in state politics. Democracy South has recently joined the project.

In early January, Ellen Miller will leave the Center for Responsive Politics to launch a new national money-in-politics center, Public Campaign. Its objective will be to promote sweeping reform measures, including full public financing. Following Miller as director of the Center for Responsive Politics is Kent Cooper, who has served as the Federal Election Commission's assistant staff director for disclosure for twenty-one years. In 1996, Cooper received the Council on Government Ethics Laws' award for his work in encouraging state campaign finance, ethics, and lobby commissions to computerize and disclose more to their electorates.

Other Funders

According to the *Funders' Handbook on Money and Politics*, foundations in 1996 granted an estimated \$4 million toward campaign finance reform. The Corporation, with its modest investments, is one of the largest funders. The John and Florence Schumann Foundation has been the largest supporter, funding both national and state-based projects. It is now concentrating on funding several major efforts, and in the future, it does not expect to support as many state or local activities. The Joyce Foundation, which confines its grant making primarily to the Midwest, has in the past two years been increasing its support for campaign finance reform. It has recently announced its commitment to spend \$6 million in this area over the next three years. Among the projects it will support are for reconsideration of *Buckley v. Valeo*, and it joins the Corporation in support of the Brennan Center for Justice. The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Ford Foundation in the past year have also begun supporting efforts in this area. On the horizon, the Open Society Institute (George Soros' foundation) and several other funders have indicated an interest in this area. Small foundations, such as the Stern Family Fund and the Arca, Bauman, and Ottinger Foundations, have consistently seeded many of the national and state projects that are now attracting attention from the larger funders. The funders in this area work together closely to ensure that limited resources are strategically applied.

In sum, the Corporation's support of campaign finance reform has borne fruit. Its grantees represent the foremost projects in the nation. With heightened interest in campaign finance reform at all levels among policymakers, the public, and other funders, the Corporation hopes to maximize the returns on its investments.

Geri Mannion
December 31, 1996

**Past and Current Carnegie Corporation Grantees
Related to Campaign Finance Reform**

Curtis G. Gans

Committee for the Study of the American Electorate
421 New Jersey Avenue, SE
Washington, DC 20003

202-546-3221

Fax: 546-3571

Bob Hall

Democracy South
604 Hatch Road
Chapel Hill, NC 27516

919-967-9942

Fax: 968-9184

Nick Nyhart

Northeast Citizen Action Resource Center, Inc.
621 Farmington Avenue
Hartford, CT 06105

860-231-2410

Fax: 231-2419

Samantha Sanchez

Western States Center, Inc.
25 South Ewing, Suite 507
Helena, MT 59601

406-449-8878

Fax: 449-8844

Burt Neuborne

William J. Brennan, Jr., Center for Justice
161 Avenue of the Americas, 5th Flr
New York, NY 10013

212-998-6730

Fax: 995-4550

Robert Stern

Center for Governmental Studies
10951 West Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, CA 90064

310-470-6590

Fax: 475-3572

E. Joshua Rosenkranz

William J. Brennan Jr., Center for Justice
161 Avenue of the Americas, 5th Flr
New York, NY 10013

212-998-6730

Fax: 995-4550

Donna F. Edwards

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410 Seventh Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

202-543-0773

Fax: 543-2591

Tracy Westen

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10951 West Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, CA 90064

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Fax: 475-3572

Charles Lewis

Center for Public Integrity
1634 I Street, NW, Suite 902
Washington, DC 20006

202-783-3900

Fax: 783-3906

Ellen S. Miller

Center for Responsive Politics
1320 Nineteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036

202-857-0044

Fax: 857-7809

Scheduling
DSC
Bowles
Copied

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1997

Mr. Steven Grossman
National Chair
Democratic National Committee
430 South Capitol Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Steve:

Thank you so much for writing to me. I appreciate your thoughtful recommendations, and I have shared your letter with my staff in the Domestic Policy Council and the Office of Presidential Personnel.

As you and I both know, citizen service is an American ideal that all Americans should embrace. I strongly agree with the observation by President Wilson that you quoted in your letter. We cannot expect government to solve all the problems we face. The best solution lies in the hearts and hands of the American people, working in voluntary service to others.

Sincerely,

Bill

1-30-97

Democratic National Committee

Steve Grossman, *National Chair* * Governor Roy Romer, *General Chair*

MEMORANDUM

TPS
'97 JAN 29 PM7:03

VIA TELECOPIER

TO: President Bill Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-21-97

FROM: Steven Grossman *SG*

RE: Volunteerism

DATE: January 29, 1997

Many of us who have devoted a significant part of our lives to community service were inspired by your announcement last week of bold initiatives to promote volunteerism as well as the forthcoming summit to be held in Philadelphia in late April.

To help further your objectives, I offer two suggestions:

- (1) Perhaps the best quotation I have ever read concerning volunteerism was contained in Woodrow Wilson's charge to Princeton's Class of 1909:

Set out to fulfill obligations, to do what you must and exact of others what they owe you, and all your days alike will end in weariness of spirit. The road of life will be long and very dreary There is no pleasure to be had from the fulfillment of obligations, from doing what you know you ought to do. Nothing but what you volunteer has the essence of life, the springs of pleasure in it. These are the things you do because you want to do them, the things your spirit has chosen for its satisfaction.

As you know, Woodrow Wilson coined the phrase "Princeton in the Nation's Service" and it seems entirely appropriate that the words of a Democratic President also elected to two consecutive terms in this century would add some nobility to this initiative.

2-21-97

Page Two
Steven Grossman
January 29, 1997

- (2) One of my closest friends in Boston has been a role model to tens of thousands throughout this country in terms of his unwavering commitment to community service. His name is Leonard Zakim, Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation League. His work has taken him well beyond the ADL, as one of the co-founders of the Team Harmony event held annually in Boston which recently attracted over ten thousand students to a day-long event at the FleetCenter at which students stood up and said no to racism, bigotry and ethnic stereotyping. Further, he has been the architect of the World of Difference program which is one of ADL's signature efforts in promoting diversity in our schools throughout the country.

He is currently recovering from a bone marrow transplant and has been an extraordinary resource to patients recovering from cancer who need a helping hand from those who have gone through this searing experience.

I hope that those who will run this conference will include Lenny in its planning and I would be delighted to help make the connection.

SG/dao

Should do letter to
him

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 10, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: RAHM EMANUEL

Attached is a memo that I asked Sheldon Hackney to prepare regarding different topics for a Presidential lecture series. These topics are selected in no particular order, rather at random by what Sheldon Hackney thought was interesting. Mr. Hackney has recommended lecture IV to lead off the series.

The other speakers he has recommended can also serve as some of the attendees. As you remember, one reason we are arranging these meetings is as a way of courting the historians who currently write on your Presidency. But the invites would go beyond those historians and academics to other influential individuals. We would extend the audience to the press, business CEO's from around the country, and members of different think-tanks.

Yes - I favor ①, 4, 5, 3, 6, 2
in that order so we won't
get hit if we go to 2 -
(see note on 2) -

1 like this - proceed
Boz



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20306

THE CHAIRMAN

February 7, 1997

TO: President Bill Clinton
THROUGH: Rahm Emanuel, Senior Advisor to the President
FROM: Sheldon Hackney, Chairman of NEH *Sheldon Hackney*
SUBJECT: Exploring Ideas in the White House

The prospect of having in the White House a series of discussions of consequential ideas from the frontiers of knowledge is enormously exciting. We have an embarrassment of riches to choose from. I am offering herein six options. I hope we can eventually get around to doing them all, and there are many more possibilities that are just as interesting as these.

Several criteria have guided the selection of these recommendations: the ideas presented should be accessible and stimulating for a lay audience; the presenters should be scholars who have made significant original contributions to their fields; the presenters should be unusually good as speakers and capable of engaging a general audience about the significance of the ideas they are exploring; the subjects must not be in the realm of public policy but neither should they be arcane matters of interest mainly to specialists; the non-specialist participants should at the end of the evening be aware that they will henceforth think about the subject in a different and more meaningful way; ideally, while the subjects will not be the common fodder of journalism, they should have implications for the ways in which we understand the contemporary world, they should be the sort of strategic ideas that help to shape policy choices.

My hope also is to make these occasions exemplars of civil but lively discussion. The White House should be viewed as an intellectually exciting place where people of substance confront serious ideas, and do so with great enjoyment.

Option I:

✓ THE MILLENNIUM

Hillel Schwartz -- Independent scholar and cultural critic in Los Angeles; perhaps the leading authority on millennium observances (of which there has only been one); the author of Century's End: Fin De Siecle from the 990s to the 1990s; and the author most recently of The Culture of the Copy, an exploration of our imitative culture (fleeing our loneliness through self replication) which analyzes books, pictures, objects and individual behavior; I have never heard him speak, but he will be addressing the NEH staff and invited guests on February 27.

AND/OR

Joan DeJean -- Professor of Romance Languages, University of Pennsylvania; she is a captivating teacher (from Louisiana, as I recall) and has recently been working on the "fin de siecle" phenomenon (why do people behave so strangely at the turn of centuries?); she is terrific at bringing history and literature together to bear upon the subject at hand.

Option II

THE PRESIDENCY

Alan Brinkley -- Professor of History at Columbia University; emerging as the leading scholar of his generation on American politics in the 20th century; his special interest is the New Deal period, but he is broadly knowledgeable and is excellent at the Big Picture; we should negotiate the topic with him, but it could well be about what makes for great presidential leadership, or some such broadly comparative subject.

With Brinkley presenting, we should invite at least a handful of other specialists who can enliven the discussion: John Milton Cooper from the University of Wisconsin who is a biographer of T.R.; Tom Sugrue, a younger scholar at Penn; John Morton Blum, emeritus but still vigorous at Yale, has written on both T.R. and Wilson, as well as on the home front in WWII and the period 1961-74; Bill Leuchtenburg, emeritus at Chapel Hill, has written most significantly on FDR, but also on those "in the shadow of FDR"; James T. Patterson, of Brown, who has just published Grand Expectations, a monumental history of the U.S. from 1945-1974; Michael P. Riccards, President of Fitchburg State College, and author of The Ferocious Engine of Democracy, a two-volume history of the United States; Stephen Ambrose, biographer of Eisenhower and Nixon, as well as the author currently of Undaunted Courage about the Lewis and Clark expedition; David McCullough, biographer of Truman and now at work on a book about Jefferson and Adams; Doris Kearns Goodwin, who has written about LBJ, the Kennedy family, and the Roosevelts, man and wife.

Option III

✓ CIVIL SOCIETY

Robert Putnam, Professor of Political Science at Harvard is the man most responsible for stimulating the "great debate" about civil society; his research on Italy provided solid evidence for the connection between civil society and a vibrant democracy; then, his article, "Bowling Alone" started a fuss about whether civil society is in decline in the U.S.; he thinks so and he blames television.

With Putnam as the presenter, we should invite several others who have various positions on the question at hand: Jean Bethke Elshtain, of the University of Chicago, largely supports Putnam, and is the author of Democracy on Trial, which argues against identity politics and for civility and "democratic dispositions"; Benjamin Barber of Rutgers, author of Jihad vs. McWorld about how unrestrained capitalism undermines civil society world wide and thus inhibits the spread of democracy; James Davison Hunter of the University of Virginia, has written about the culture wars, is now directing the "Post-Modernity Project" that has done some interesting polling on the state of our political culture; Amitai Etzioni, of GWU, leading spokesman for communitarianism, author most recently of The New Golden Rule; Nicholas Lemann, journalist who thinks Putnam is wrong; Robert J. Samuelson, journalist who also thinks Putnam is wrong (and also thinks the President and all Democrats are wrong on just about everything); Richard Stengel of Time, who is also a doubter.

Option IV

✓ PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY

Michael Sandel of Harvard is the logical presenter; his recent book, Democracy's Discontents, is a careful critique of procedural liberalism (the state should be neutral as to values so that individuals may choose their own values and their own identities) and also of the republican tradition (the government should work to produce good citizens, which means making choices about which values the government will promote); he doesn't offer a clear alternative to either of these two traditions.

With Sandel presenting, we could get a healthy discussion going by inviting Ronald Dworkin, of NYU and Oxford, who would defend the progressive liberal tradition; Richard Rorty of the University of Virginia, who would argue that we should keep values and religion out of politics as much as possible and staunchly defend individual rights; Amy Gutmann of Princeton and Dennis Thompson of Harvard, co-authors of Democracy and Disagreement, which tries to establish criteria for deciding which things can and cannot be settled politically in a democracy; Richard Sennett of NYU; Michael Waltzer of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, author of Spheres of

Justice; perhaps John Rawls of Harvard, the philosopher who set the terms of the discussion over the last generation on the theory of "justice;" Sheldon Wolin, retired from Princeton and living in the California mountains, but one of the leading political theorists of the post-war period

Option V.

NEW WORLD ORDER

A risky but undoubtedly lively evening would have Samuel P. Huntington, Professor of International Relations at Harvard, present the outline of his argument in his current book, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the world Order; the main argument of the book is presented also in a major article in Foreign Affairs, the book is a powerful reading of cultural separatism into the international order (he thinks the core values of the contending "civilizations" are irreconcilable, so we should work out spheres of influence based on the dominant civilizations, i.e. Asian; Islamic, and European); he is very conservative, very gloomy, very much outside the universalist assumptions of U.S. foreign policy and very formidable intellectually; the subject may be too close to real policy debates, but "everyone" is talking about it. We would need to have a strong voice for an alternative point of view present as well.

With Huntington presenting, we would should invite William H. McNeil, emeritus at the University of Chicago; John Gaddis, author of Strategies of Containment; Stephen Ambrose, author also of Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938; Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, authors of The Wise Men, are among the journalists who would be interested, Peter Grose, independent scholar who recently published Gentleman Spy on Allen Dulles, as well as Steve Rosenfeld, Tony Lewis and a host of others.

Option VI.

CONSTITUTION

Gordon Wood, Professor of History at Brown, author of The Radicalism of the American Revolution (1992), would be the best presenter for this session. He is broadly respected across the ideological spectrum, and he has done first rate work on the era of the Constitution and the making of the Constitution. He might well get the group talking about the nation as having been created in a sense by the Constitution ("We the People") and the implications of the fact that America is very much an idea, and that idea is about "self rule." By "constitution" here, I mean constitution with a small "c", the ways in which the society is constituted and not just the legal framework and legal history of the Constitution.

With Wood as the presenter, we should be sure to invite Robert Wiebe, of Northwestern University, author most recently of Self Rule, which is an interpretation of the entire sweep of U.S. history; Jeff Tullis of the University of Texas, author of The Rhetorical Presidency; William F. Harris of the U. of Penn, author of The Interpretable Constitution; Michael Kammen, of Cornell, author of Mystic Chords of Memory; and Bernard Bailyn, emeritus of Harvard, who did the ground-breaking intellectual history on the 18th century background of the ideas in the Constitution, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (1967); Daniel Elazar, Director of the Center for Federalism at Temple University who spends half the year at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, powerful constitutional thinker and scholar of covenant theology, former editor of Publius magazine.

If none of these possibilities is fully satisfactory, I have many other ideas. I can also elaborate on any of the above options that appear promising.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 21, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: JOHN PODESTA *JP*
SYLVIA MATHEWS *SM*
TODD STERN *TS*
NANCY HERNREICH *NH*
STEPHANIE STREETT *SS*

SUBJECT: Presidential events and briefings

In an effort to make the time before presidential events more organized and effective for the President, the following policies will be in effect immediately:

- **Manifests** - pre-briefings prior to events with the President are to be manifested. The Staff Contact will be responsible for listing on the event memo WH staff from his/her office, or other offices, who are to be present for the pre-briefing. In order to make this often short time go smoothly for the President, the list should include only policy and logistical staff **absolutely necessary**. Staff related to breaking news events of the day will be included in the briefing as determined by the Chief of Staff's office, Nancy Hernreich's office or the Press Office.

The Staff Contact will also be responsible for working with those manifested to organize the pre-briefing time in a concise, logical way most beneficial to the President.

The manifest should be listed under the "Participant" section of the briefing memo as submitted to the Staff Secretary's office (see attached sample).

Two important reminders:

- 1) The Staff Contact is responsible for all aspects of a presidential event. This includes: coordinating with the Scheduling or the Social Office on all matters related to the event; coordinating with Communications to make sure the substance and message aspects of the event match; vetting lists of guests and clearing people into the complex; preparing briefing memos; and making sure all follow-up is completed including thank-you notes and WH photo distribution.
- 2) Briefing papers (plus four copies) are due to the Staff Secretary by 4:00 PM the day before an event. The Staff Secretary's office will edit the document and return comments, if any, shortly thereafter, so that final submission can be made by 6:00 PM.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE (centered)

NAME OF EVENT (centered)

DATE:
LOCATION:
TIME:
FROM: (Staff contact)

I. PURPOSE

Should state purpose of meeting or event including, if appropriate, what meeting or event is intended to accomplish. Paper should be written as if you are talking to the President (e.g., "you will meet with xyz to discuss...")

II. BACKGROUND

Should state relevant context of event, issues of special concern, previous participation, etc.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Pre-brief participants:

(Limited number of WH staff, Cabinet Secretaries or Deputy Secretaries to be present for the oral briefing.)

Event participants:

(Speakers and other event participants, special guests, Cabinet members, Members of Congress, WH staff, friends of the President, audience members of note. Also include audience size.)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Must be coordinated with Press Office and should specify press coverage (e.g., "closed", "WH photo only", "press pool", "open press")

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Must be coordinated with Scheduling or Social Office and include outline of event...should be written using bullet-point format (e.g., Briefing in holding room; Offstage announcement; Governor X speaks and introduces you; you make remarks, work ropeline and depart.)

VI. REMARKS

("To be provided by Speechwriters", "talking points attached", "none required". Talking points should always be provided on a separate piece of paper.)

VII. ATTACHMENTS (if any)

(Very limited background material, relevant newsclips, etc.)

IMPORTANT NOTE: Briefing memos must be delivered to the Staff Secretary's office by 4:00 PM the day before the event (memos are required for events appearing on the schedule as "optional"). The Staff Secretary's office will return comments, if any, to the staff contact shortly thereafter so that final submission can be made to the Staff Secretary's office by 6:00 PM.