

NLWJC - Kagan

DPC - Box 031 - Folder 012

Ideas - Other

File: Ideas - other

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Elena -

A few bad ideas, FYI.
None likely to happen.

-BR

February 7, 1997

TO: President Bill Clinton
THROUGH: Rahm Emanuel, Senior Advisor to the President
FROM: Sheldon Hackney, Chairman of NEH
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.

December 18, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

I had decided that my Christmas present to you this year would be to be the one person in the country to refrain from writing to you with advice for your second term. My mind was changed, however, by reading Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s article in the New York Times Magazine last Sunday reporting the results of his survey of historians rating American presidents, including you. I am compelled to write.

It is not that I disagree with Arthur's poll or his interpretation of it, except as regards you. It is that I think he did not push his analysis quite far enough, nor did he draw out all the lessons that are lurking in the responses of the panel of historians. I'll be as brief as possible.

I am sure that my general notions about how you should approach your second term are well within the consensus of your advisors. Options are limited, given the commitment to balancing the budget and in view of the fact that the Republicans control Congress.

Domestically, I imagine that most people are saying, you must craft a centrist legislative agenda featuring issues that have broad public appeal and bipartisan support. Education, technology, and the environment are likely targets. I am especially fond of education as an emphasis because the needs are great, the public is supportive, you have solid credentials on the issue, and there are things that can be done to accelerate school reform.

You have far more latitude in foreign affairs, and you have an opportunity through a combination of words and actions to redefine America's role in a multipolar world that is increasingly integrated by a global marketplace and by the unhindered flow of information across political boundaries.

It is clear, also, that the ultimate judgment of your presidency is going to depend more upon rhetorical skill than upon legislative achievements. In that regard, your reported admiration for Theodore Roosevelt is good news, as long as you avoid the darker sides of his personality, including his xenophobia and egomania.

So far, so easy: centrist domestic agenda; more activity and more visibility in foreign affairs; and attention to the rhetoric of word and deed. I agree with all of that.

Now, let me push the Schlesinger analysis a little farther than he did in his advice to you, which he thinly disguised as a magazine article. There are two major points to be made. The great and near great presidents did one or both of two things: (1) taught Americans to think of themselves or their government in a new way; and/or (2) identified correctly the central problem of their era, defined a strategy for attacking the problem, and mobilized public support for that strategy. James K. Polk is a clear example of this second route to near-greatness.

TR did both. (I hope, incidentally, that you have had a chance to watch the NEH-funded documentary on TR that I sent over.) He is an interesting model for you because he is a "near great" president who did not have the benefit of a crisis, except the ones he manufactured himself. Yet, he recognized the fundamental challenge to democracy posed by the rise of large concentrations of economic power, or Trusts as they were loosely known at the turn-of-the-century. As the economy changed from an aggregation of local economies to an integrated national economy, there were no local or state authorities capable of curbing the worst abuses of concentrated power. This made necessary some regulatory authority strong enough to protect the public interest, and to protect democracy or self-rule. TR's was a great performance. I am sure you see the analogy with the present day, when national economies are being eclipsed by the emergence of a global economy, with myriad unimagined implications. TR also began to make Americans think of themselves as a great power and to behave accordingly. It took dramatic actions and effective words, but it was essentially a teaching task: to transform the way Americans think of their government and of their country.

One can trot through the list of great and near-great presidents and see that, despite the different circumstances and modes of leadership, the thing that makes them great or near great is their success in transforming the way Americans think about themselves and their government.

Washington exemplified republican virtue. Everything he did as the first president under the new constitution set a precedent

and established a pattern. He knew exactly what he was doing and had in his mind a clear image of the country he wanted the United States to be. Words were not his great strength, but "The Farewell Address" is a great and very influential state paper.

Lincoln not only saved the union and ended slavery, he gave a new purpose to the nation: to be the exemplar of democracy in the world ("the last best hope on earth"). This completed the transformation of the notion of American exceptionalism from its religious origins (the new world was to be the New Jerusalem, a society that lived by God's law) into a secular idea that America's mission is to provide a model of democracy for the world to copy.

Woodrow Wilson failed in his greatest and most important undertaking, but his rhetorical transformation of a gruesome and senseless war into a crusade "to make the world safe for democracy" not only mobilized the United States but defined the major outlines of American foreign policy for the rest of the twentieth century, despite George Kenan's disdain for idealism as a guideline for policy.

Franklin Roosevelt did not get us out of the Great Depression, but he used government in a new way to provide for human welfare, thus changing the way we think of government entirely.

Harry Truman shaped our conception of ourselves as the leader of the free world in a bipolar Cold War. Jefferson and Jackson would take a little more explaining, but they fit the same categories.

Your opportunities for leading America into an appropriate and new conception of itself hinge upon finding a way to talk about democracy or self rule in a world torn between globalism and tribalism ("Jihad vs. McWorld" as Ben Barber might say). America's interests reside in fostering a world with as little tribalism as possible, and in which most people are participating in a modern economy. That implies that we should be guided by principles of action that make it more likely that the world's peoples will govern themselves through some form of democracy.

At home, our interests also lie in a society with as little tribalism as possible, and that depends upon the maximum amount of inclusion. Democracy is thus the operative word domestically as well as internationally, and our own democracy needs revitalizing. Fortunately, there is a growing civic renewal movement that is operating just under the radar beam of the national media. You can encourage it, and you can use it to quicken interest in the common good. I realize that you can't use the academic language of "civil society", but you can use a rhetoric of citizenship to bring people back into the "public square" to talk with their neighbors about common problems and about what kind of society they wish to live in.

As good as your campaign mantra was - opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and stronger communities - it will need to be spelled out in compelling language and connected graphically to the recognized threats to the society of our dreams. I think it is a dangerous misconception to think that the American Dream is only about economic opportunity. It is also, and perhaps more importantly, about belonging (we are a nation of outsiders, after all) and about participating in the pursuit of the highest human ideals, such as "liberty and justice for all." Spelling out the meaning of that dream in today's world is your challenge.

It is true that levels of cynicism about the government and about all institutions of American life are very high, but I just saw the results of a WJS/NBC poll that showed 74% of a national sample in favor of increasing programs for the poor and the elderly. That is encouraging. Centrist "values" issues are good vehicles for talking about the responsibilities of citizenship, and thus about community. The opportunity is enormous, but it is not going to be easy.

This has gone on too long, so I'll quit without having defined precisely the transition that our society needs to negotiate successfully, nor the particular rhetoric that you might use to lead it through that transition. These are all ideas that I am deeply interested in and am working with, so I would be glad to furnish more food for your thought. In fact, I have such a compulsive interest in these ideas about American culture and history that you may want to save me from myself and fire me before I write again! I would also be glad to pull together a small group of wise heads to think more carefully about these crucial matters, if that would be helpful.

Sincerely,

Sheldon Hackney
Chairman

Conversations in the Blue Room

The first of these evenings must be successful if the series is to have a chance. Several criteria must therefore be fulfilled. Of course, it must be an interesting subject presented in a stimulating way for an intelligent lay audience. The right question to ask of the topic and the scholar is: how will your discussion change the way the participants think of life, the world, the subject. My preference would be for topics that have some relevance to, or some implication for, the contemporary world, even if they are historical. Most important, the first presenter must pass an apolitical litmus test. He or she should not have any dramatic political coloration, unless it is non-Clintonian. This should not be seen as a Democratic pep rally.

Millennium

Joan DeJean - Professor of Romance Languages at U. Penn; is excellent at bringing history and literature together to explore an interesting subject; lately she has been speaking and writing about the fin de siecle phenomenon (why the end of centuries cause people to think and act in strange ways); she is a terrific lecturer; her new book is Ancients Against Moderns: Culture Wars and the Making of a Fin de Siecle (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

Hillel Schwartz - independent scholar from Los Angeles; the leading authority on the Millennium; author of The Culture of the Copy and Century's End: Fin De Siecle from the 990s to the 1990s. He should be present but should not be the presenter.

THE PRESIDENCY

Alan Brinkley - Professor of History at Columbia U. - specialist in the New Deal period; probably the best twentieth century political historian in the ascendant generation. He could talk about presidential leadership as a concept, and he has written in The American Prospect as a defender of the brand of liberalism that has at its core an idea of an activist government and a national community (as opposed to classical liberalism that is based either upon isolated and unregulated individuals or local communities).

Stephen Ambrose -- Professor of History at the U. of New Orleans; biographer of Eisenhower and Nixon; author most recently of Undaunted Courage about the Lewis and Clark expedition; he tells a terrific story; as his subjects suggest, he is conservative and even a bit curmudgeonly; I am not sure he thinks theoretically at all; he would not be seen by academic historians as a significant scholar, but he is a good historian and a great storyteller. If you wanted interesting views about Ike in the big

picture, I think you would still go to Fred Greenstein at Princeton.

David McCullough - independent scholar and biographer of Truman; working at present on a book about Jefferson and John Adams together; he is a wonderful writer and a terrific speaker. His political coloration is also more compatible than Ambrose's.

Doris Kearns Goodwin -- was once a Professor of Political Science at Harvard but worked her way out of that job with her popular biographies of LBJ; the Kennedy family; and Franklin and Eleanor. She is an excellent speaker. She appears frequently as a commentator on PBS and elsewhere.

John Milton Cooper - Professor of History at U Wisconsin; the biographer of Theodore Roosevelt.

Thomas Sugrue - young historian at U of Pennsylvania is an up and coming scholar of twentieth century politics in the U.S. (of which there are not many really good ones);

David Grubin - a first rate documentary film maker who specializes in Presidents of the U.S. He has done excellent films on LBJ, FDR, and TR. He is currently at work on Harry Truman.

HISTORY

Robert Darnton -- Professor of History at Princeton University; the leading American historian of eighteenth century France who has done imaginative work on the penny press and popular culture and the concept of "mentalite."

Gerald Early -- Professor of History at Washington University in St. Louis; a rising star in African American history and a thorough centrist ideologically.

Lynn Hunt - Historian of France and of Europe, at U of Penn, is especially good on the history of ideas; has written recently on the philosophy of History in light of post-modernism and post-structuralism. She explains it very well, and she has an academic centrist position herself (i.e. we have learned a lot from post-structuralism but it can easily be carried too far into radical relativism and even nihilism).

Gabrielle Spiegel - Professor of History at Johns Hopkins; Medieval specialist; has done interesting work related to holocausts; first rate lecturer;

Drew Faust - Professor of History at the U of Penn, is probably the leading historian of the 19th century South (not counting Civil War historians, the leader among whom would be

James M. McPherson of Princeton University). She has written about an elite S.C. family and also about women in the antebellum and war eras, and also about the ever-presentness of death for 19th century people in a way that we have a hard time understanding.

Edward Ayres - Professor of History at the University of Virginia; another candidate for leading historian of the American South in the 19th century; he is a practitioner of the new social history, presents history through the eyes of many different participants who have different points of view; he has also spent a great deal of time and effort in exploiting the new computer technology to make History more available to students and a broad audience in new formats; for instance, he has an interesting cd-rom and website (Valley of the Shadow: (<http://Jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vshadow2>) that contains data and material about a large area of Va., West Va. and Pa. across the Civil War; everyone his own historian.

Michael P. Riccards, President of Fitchburg State College and author of The Ferocious Engine of Democracy.

Stephen Toulmin - spent most of his career as a Professor of the Philosophy of Science at the University of Chicago and Northwestern but is now at USC. His most recent and most accessible book is Cosmopolis, which is about "modernism" (meaning the assumptions about rationality, science and progress that start in the late 16th and 17th century; he promotes a more humanistic version than most historians, who usually trace the evils and benefits of scientific arrogance/certainty to Descartes); this is the "modernism" to which the term post-modernism refers. (Does truth exist in some transcendent form, outside of history, so that we human beings simply "discover" it; or is it a fiction that we create for ourselves that happens to work pretty well for a while in explaining the world that we experience?)

Joyce Appleby - Professor of History at UCLA, specialist in the Revolution and early national period of U.S., is very good at the history of ideas. She can speak engrossingly about the Enlightenment ideas that informed the Declaration and the Constitution, for instance.

Patricia Limerick - Professor of History at the U of Colorado; the leading practitioner of the new multi-focal history of the American West; her work can not be caricatured as anti-white and pro-Indian (i.e. insufferably politically correct), but it is full of moral ambiguity and it is not the heroic cowboys and indians tale of "How The West Was Won." She is an engaging presenter who generally wins over her audience with charm as well as with reasonableness.

Michael Katz - Professor of History at U of Penn; his most recent book is a history of "welfare"; if one wanted to present the intellectual history of a concept that is in play in the public policy arena, Katz would be a good candidate to present the history of the various meanings of "welfare" from the 19th century to the present and to track its legislative history.

CONSTITUTION

Gordon Wood - Professor of History at Brown University; for some reason Newt Gingrich is a big fan of his work and he has also served on the board of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars housed in the Smithsonian which is an indication of his favor with conservatives. He is nevertheless very good.

Michael Kammen - Professor of History at Cornell; has written extensively about the Constitution (Mystic Chords of Memory) and is first rate; past president of the AHA.

Bernard Bailyn - Harvard University; dean of the 18th century American historians who has done trend-setting work on the intellectual history that explains the ideas in the Constitution, The Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution.

Jeff Tullis - Prof. of political Science at U. Texas; author of The Rhetorical Presidency, a very influential book in the field;

William F. Harris - Professor of Political Science at U. Penn; author of the Interpretable Constitution; at work now on the Federalist Papers; specializes in constitutional theory as opposed to constitutional history;

Ann Norton - Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, author of A Republic of Signs.

PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

Michael Sandel - Professor of Philosophy at Harvard; a leading figure in the current public philosophy debate, has provided in Democracy's Discontents a critique of the liberal tradition and the tradition of civic republicanism. He might also be induced to talk about the problem of inequality in a democracy as a problem in the theory of justice. So far as I can tell, he does not have a theory of his own to put forward as a substitute for either of these American traditions.

Ronald Dworkin - Professor of Philosophy at New York University and Oxford U.; spends half of his time in London; on the problem of inequality; he might make an interesting pairing

with Michael Sandel, as they do not agree about liberalism. Dworkin would defend the progressive liberal tradition as being not philosophically rigorous but the best we can do in a real democracy with competing commitments to liberty and equality.

John Rawls - Professor of Philosophy at Harvard is the giant figure whose Theory of Justice established the framework for all

work in this field. Dworkin is a much better speaker, however, and represents the same general point of view.

Richard Rorty - Professor of Philosophy at the University of Virginia; is the other big name in the public philosophy game. He is a creative and outspoken man of the left who believes (among other things) that religion and values questions ought to be kept out of politics, which is the classical liberal position.

Michael Walzer - Professor of Political Philosophy at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton; highly respected intellectual of the sensible Left; has written influentially on multiculturalism and on theories of justice; author of Spheres of Justice;

Benjamin Barber or William Greider on the relationships between the emerging global market place and democracy (both see capitalism as a threat to democracy). George Soros should be a guest if this is the topic, as he shares their view.

Jean Bethke Elshtain - Professor of Social Ethics at the University of Chicago, author of Democracy on Trial, and a sensible proponent of the need to revitalize civil society, as well as to find some cultural common ground.

Robert Putnam - Professor of Political Science at Harvard, the man who started all the fuss about "Bowling Alone" and the decline of civil society. His candidate for the culprit in the "who killed civil society" debate is "television." There are critics who think civil society is actually in good shape, and who think Putnam is being misled because there are new kinds of organizations at work. If so, how explain the alienation of the public from all institutions of American life? If Putnam is the presenter, we should have Elshtain there because she is a supporter, and we should have some of the critics there, such as the journalists Nicholas Lemann or Robert J. Samuelson or Richard Stengel.

Theda Skocpol - Professor of Government and Sociology, Harvard University. Is doing interesting research that she calls her "Civic Engagement Project." She argues compellingly that: (1) Voluntary groups and democratic national government are not opposites; they rise and fall together throughout U. S. History; (2) For much of American history, there has been no zero-sum trade off between local and extralocal activity -- because many groups that we think of as local have also been part of translocal federations; and (3) The chief problem in our civic life today is not the absence of group activity, but a weakening of encompassing national associations and a breakdown of two-way relationships between leaders and actual groups of citizens.

Alan Wolfe -- Professor of Sociology (?) at Boston

University. He is an unconventional thinker who is a centrist. He argues that middle class Americans believe in capitalism, but they see it has social costs and thus believe really in balanced capitalism. They expect individuals not only to act out of self-interest but from virtue also. Middle class Americans think the virtues of capitalism can be balanced with the virtues of community.

James Davison Hunter - Professor of Sociology at the University of Virginia and the director of the fairly new "Post-Modernity Project" that has done some fascinating polling about our "political culture" and also conducts a continuing seminar on contemporary political culture (not partisan politics nor public policy); he is the author The Culture Wars and Before the Shooting Starts.

Seymour Martin Lipset - Professor of Political Science at George Mason U. who spent his career at Berkeley and is a dominant figure in his field. He is a neo-conservative, but a first-rate scholar whose findings do not always give comfort to his political friends. American Exceptionalism (1996) uses cross-national polling data to confirm that Americans are the most individualistic and anti-statist people in the developed world and then he argues that our high rates of social pathology (divorce, crime, drugs, violence, etc.) are simply the flip side to America's culture of individual achievement and success. The ironic thing is that since Americans are the least taxed and least regulated and the least benefitted by government services among the industrial nations, it is hard to argue that government is responsible for our high rates of crime, dependency, divorce, drugs, etc. After interviewing him, which was interesting, I doubt that he is a dynamic or captivating presenter.

Dennis Thompson - Professor of Political Philosophy at Harvard; has interests in ethics; is the author with Amy Guttmann of Democracy and Disagreement, a book that attempts to define the criteria (6 of them) for a successful deliberative democracy.

Amy Gutmann - Professor of Politics at Princeton University; in addition to the above book with Dennis Thompson, she has been interested in the current debates about multiculturalism and "the politics of recognition." She does not have a sharp political or ideological profile.

Martha Nussbaum - Professor of Philosophy at Brown (on the way to U. Chicago?) who is a specialist in the Stoics. She is a rising star with an interest in cosmopolitanism as a philosophical stance (i.e. nationalism is bad). Dynamic presenter, though I think she is all wrong.

Elaine Pagels - Professor of Religion at Princeton University; on Gnosticism or the concept of evil.

Kathleen Hall Jamieson - Dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at U. Penn and a specialist in the rhetoric of political campaigns. She appears frequently as an expert commentator on television and is a fascinating presenter. She can, for instance, show the group a couple of campaign ads (bipartisan) and explain why the audience reacts as it does and what the video makers are doing in the ad to get the audience response they want. Her other professional field is the rhetoric of the written word; she can explain why a speech works or doesn't work.

Garry Wills - former Professor of Culture and Public Policy at Northwestern University (he is also former journalist and former several other things in an unusual career); he is more a public intellectual than a scholar's scholar but is widely respected; writes regularly for the serious press such as The New York Review of Books and even the New York Times Magazine. He may be too well identified politically for the early rounds of this series, but he is always stimulating and can perform on a wide range of subjects. His most recent book is a cultural biography of John Wayne, the actor and the myth.

LITERARY STUDIES

Henry Louis Gates head of the W.E.B. DuBois Center at Harvard and ubiquitous presence on the cultural scene. Writes regularly and brilliantly for the New Yorker.

Stephen Nichols - Professor of French Literature at the Johns Hopkins U.; also does comparative literature; is particularly strong in French literature; thoroughly conversant with recent literary theory but still a mainstream scholar.

Nancy Vickers - currently at USC but on her way to be the President of Bryn Mawr College; a scholar of the Renaissance; has been a lively "responder" to Greenblatt; she also works sometimes with rock music, comparing its structure to classical forms of music; charming speaker;

Elaine Scarry - Professor of Literature at Harvard; has written on the literary representation of pain and bodily suffering.

Edward Said - Professor of Literature at Columbia University; author of Orientalism almost twenty years ago that began a productive controversy about the literary representation of colonized peoples. Culture and Imperialism (1993) continued to examine the same subject. Literary theory at its most provocative. I have never heard him speak, but he is a major figure. I hear he is ill, though still performing.

Louis Menand - Professor of English at CUNY (Grad. Center); writes widely as literary and cultural critic.

Stephen Greenblatt - spent most of his career at Berkeley but is now in Europe for the academic year and will move to Harvard for 1997-98 and after; is one of the leading academic literary critics of the post-modernist/post-structuralist persuasion but is not abrasive or outrageous; is the leader now of a new approach called "the new historicism" that once again seeks clues to the meaning of the text by asking it, "what is the context in which you were composed?" He is an excellent speaker. He is currently in the news as the editor of the new Norton anthology of Shakespeare, which is stirring up an argument because it focuses on the indeterminacy of the text (we don't really know what version of the plays Shakespeare would have preferred to be the definitive text).

Michael Berube' - Professor of Literature at the University of Illinois Champagne-Urbana; a visible but sensible proponent of post-structural literary criticism;

Dennis Donahue - Professor of Literature at Columbia (?CK); traditionalist in methodology and a critic of the new literary theory; specialist in Irish literature but broadly knowledgeable about literature in English; an ingratiating speaker and a major figure in his field.

MULTICULTURALISM

Walter Michaels - Professor of literature(ck?) at Hopkins; his book Our America is the subject of an excellent review in the current New Yorker; his book argues against identity politics, in fact it argues that neither multicultural identities nor the single melting-pot patriotic identity are good things; is an engaging speaker.

Jean Bethke Elshtain - Professor of Social Ethics at the University of Chicago has written persuasively about multiculturalism and democracy in Democracy on Trial; she is also a vigorous participant in the debate over civil society;

Cornel West - Professor of African American Studies at Harvard; prophetic Christian Socialist; speaks in the riveting fashion of a Baptist preacher. Religion is his field.

POETRY CRITICISM

Helen Vendler - Professor of Literature at Harvard, is best known for her criticism and interpretation of poetry. She is very traditional in her methodology and is an engaging presenter.

She could, for instance, have everyone read a short poem, talk a bit about the scene today for poetry and poetry criticism (there is a huge boom) and then "read" the poem with the group. Hands down, she would be the best person to introduce a lay audience to poetry and its interpretation.

Peter Sachs - just moving from Hopkins to Harvard, is an excellent poet whose poems are accessible and who is willing and able to talk about them to lay audiences.

INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Samuel P. Huntington - Professor of International Relations or Political Science at Harvard; very conservative, very gloomy, very much outside the universalist assumptions of U.S. foreign policy and very formidable intellectually; author currently of The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the world Order; the book is a powerful reading of cultural separatism into the international order; he would make for a tremendously exciting evening, but he may be too well identified politically and the subject may be too close to real policy debates. We would need to have a strong voice for an alternative point of view present as well.

William H. McNeil - emeritus Professor of History at the University of Chicago; a major scholar of world history; not as politically visible as Sam Huntington, and he reaches different conclusions from Huntington's even though he reads the world in similar ways; he has universalist assumptions whereas Huntington is a particularist;

Sisela Bok - Senior Fellow at Harvard, but she is really a philosopher; she came to public attention a few years ago as the author of Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life; her most recent book is Common Values (1995), which is about the possibility of sharing common values across cultural, national, ethnic, and religious boundaries, which is the moral problem underlying the concept of "human rights." It also faces directly the central assumption of Sam Huntington's Cassandra-like global view: that the core values of the existing world "civilizations" are irreconcilable so we had better work out modus vivendi with Asia and the Islamic world, leaving each civilization in charge of its own space.

ART CRITICISM AND HISTORY

Michael Freed - Art Historian at Johns Hopkins; commands both 19th century and contemporary art (at least through the New York School era); Rhodes Scholar but hated it; incredible lecturer;

Leo Steinberg - art historian at U of Penn; giant of the field; ten or so years ago his book The Sexuality of Christ treated the imagery of the Christ Child in Medieval and Renaissance paintings; we would want him to present something else;

Michael Camille - at the University of Chicago; is a Medievalist; author of Images on the Edge about book illuminations and pictures in the margins of books; outstanding lecturer

Tim Clark - at U. Cal Berkeley; art historian; wonderful lecturer

ANTHROPOLOGY

Clifford Geertz - Professor of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton; revolutionized Anthropology a generation ago with a new approach to the analysis of cultures.

EDUCATION

Jerome Bruner - Harvard Professor who has revolutionized the way we think of the psychology of education.

CITIES

TK

DEMOGRAPHY

Jane Menken - Professor of Sociology at U of Pennsylvania; a leading figure in historical demography from which much can be learned.

Susan Watkins - also at U Penn in Sociology; she does historical demography in a comparative context using data from France and Russia and China, etc.

January 16, 1997

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

You may have thought that I rambled on much too much in my letter of December 18, but I still did not really finish. This, then, is a second installment of advice for the second term. I'll make it much more synoptic than the previous one, in hopes that it will be clear enough so that you and your advisors can fill in the blanks. The general topics in the headings do seem important to us, and they might even organize what you choose to say.

This installment has been informed by the ideas of several of my kindred spirits who wish you well and with whom I have been talking about your challenges (Alan Brinkley, Will Harris, and Sidney Blumenthal particularly). We are in general agreement, but I am not at all sure that I have captured precisely in this letter their notions of how you should approach your second term. Though I intend to send you more carefully fashioned advice later, I am rushing this letter to you on the possibility that something we have to say will be helpful as you construct your inaugural address, which ought to suggest the broad themes of your second term.

THE CONSTITUTION AS THE REPOSITORY OF OUR COMMON VALUES

The inaugural is a wonderful opportunity to talk to the American people about principles and purposes. You will be taking an oath of office for the ninth (?) time, and that oath is to support and uphold the Constitution of the United States. Significantly, it is an oath to the Constitution, which embodies our core values, and not to the nation or the flag or some other abstract representation of a people or a place. Significantly also, new Americans in their naturalization ceremony also take an oath to the Constitution. We are an idea about how

individuals should live together and govern themselves. We are the idea of democracy, and democracy should be understood not as the "thin" conception of majority rule because our democracy is supposed to serve the whole people no matter who gets elected. In its "thick" conception, democracy should be thought of as those dispositions of thought and spirit that allow people to come together as equals to find solutions for common problems.

In the Constitution, We The People, the whole people, come together to form a society, "a more perfect union." Note that the Constitution is written in the present tense! We renew the act of formation every day. It is true therefore that our society is never completed; it is always in the act of becoming. We are continuously making our union more perfect, finding ways to realize more fully the ideals on which our nation IS founded.

The Constitution spells out the mechanisms of governance through which the people will govern themselves and through which they will seek to achieve the common purposes enumerated in the document. As Washington and Lincoln and the great figures among your predecessors knew, we need what Washington called a "national sentiment" in order to secure "the blessings of liberty."

The idea of a national community is not synonymous with the idea of a national government, but it is impossible without such a government. National governmental institutions may be badly in need of repair and reconceptualization, but it is inconceivable that the United States can survive as a great nation and a successful and humane society without a government capable of expressing our aspirations for ourselves. Your challenge is to get the American people to think that their community is not just the zipcode in which they happen to live but the nation as a whole.

One of our problems is that every group is increasingly insular, defining its own community as distinct and apart from other groups and from the people as a whole. We need a sense of a national community that includes us all, no matter where we live or what other group we belong to. The core values of that national community are to be found in the Constitution and the democracy that has grown from the Constitution. No citizen should be left outside the community; individuals should not have to go it alone in face of the powerfully disrupting forces of the contemporary world.

You might even think of using Daniel Webster's phrase that Lincoln was fond of, "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever." It had a particular meaning in the debates over slavery and secession, but it is capable of a contemporary meaning as well.

A RETURN TO FIRST PRINCIPLES

As we approach the millennium, it is an appropriate time to ask ourselves about our first principles and how well we are doing in living by them. Does our democracy still work the way we want it to work? Have we taken those first principles so much for granted that they have lost much of their powerful meaning? It is important for people not to think that citizenship consists merely in voting, paying taxes, obeying the laws and standing when the Star Spangled Banner is played. That is a very thin idea of citizenship.

THE CHARACTER OF CITIZENSHIP

There is a robust form of citizenship that needs to be activated if your notion of government is to succeed, a notion in which the government provides the tools (education, job training, enterprise zones, social safety net, regulations that protect individuals from rapacious and unscrupulous exploiters, etc.) for individuals to come together to solve their own problems and fulfill their own dreams. Citizens need to be actively engaged in the life of their communities and the life of the nation. Voluntarism is the most obvious example of this sort of engagement, and Americorps is a good symbolic signal for it.

THREATS

There are threats to this kind of robust citizenship, but the Inaugural Address probably is not the place to talk about them. Just so you will know what I have in mind here, I am thinking of all the forces of contemporary life that work to separate individuals from their secure attachments to lasting institutions and communities: the global economy, technological change, social change that seems to alter our values and our beliefs about how one should live life and what we owe to each other, and the confusing evolution of the post-Cold-War international order.

These are the sources of anxiety and cynicism in an America in which the objective measures of wellbeing are almost all positive. The economy is doing well, inflation is low, unemployment is low, the federal deficit has been reduced dramatically, the United States is the most powerful country in the world economically and militarily. Yet, Americans are anxious about the future and cynical about institutions because of the atomizing forces that are dislodging us from our connections to communities of confirmation. By that I mean those communities through which we get our individual identities and from which we learn our values, which are also at the same time communities that we can influence and change and which therefore give us a sense of efficacy that wards off alienation.

You must, of course, be careful to avoid the "malaise" problem in any public utterance, but it is important for you at some point in the future to name the enemy, to identify the source of our problems, because your job is to rally Americans to come together to master those threats in the next four years. Only in that way can you restore our sense of confidence that has been undermined by the atomizing forces.

Concrete examples of the threats may be needed. Jobs lost because of "downsizing" will be understood by everyone. The mobility required of individuals living in a modern economy moves people out of familiar local settings where they feel a sense of belonging Technology is changing so rapidly that mastery of particular machinery does not last very long, giving rise to anxiety even in the midst of plenty. Education, professional development and job retraining are pertinent here. . . . Cultural shifts that seem to legitimize self-indulgence and atomizing self-regard (the Me Decade) also cause people to feel outside a community of shared values, drifting alone without institutional supports. As the world changes rapidly, and the change threatens to carry away the values we hold dear, we need to find ways to preserve the values we hold dear so that our children and their children will be able to live by the values we trust.

A FULLER CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY

One set of issues has to do with whether citizens can participate equally in our self-governance, or are there barriers of income and education that make some more equal than others. The 48% participation in the last election is a reflection of the levels of alienation the public feels with regard not only to government but with regard to all institutions of American life. You may not want to raise the issue in this way because it is so negative. Campaign finance reform is the most obvious public policy action that would help, but the real solution is to come from the more robust form of involved citizenship that you are calling for.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE?

The Constitution also, of course, sets forth crucial individual rights that are to be enjoyed by every citizen, but it is important to realize that these rights are guaranteed by the community which the Constitution is calling into being. Individual rights are embedded in the community and dependent upon the community.

We, the citizens, are the people for whom the Constitution speaks, and we share common beliefs about what makes for a just society, such beliefs as tolerance, fair play and equal opportunity. We need to renew the vitality of our commitment to

those beliefs and to each other. There is a very real sense in which the dramatically new circumstances of the world today require us to return to our origins and see our first principles anew. You might even think of using the familiar lines from Langston Hughes' poem, "Let America Be America Again." (some verses omitted)

Let America be the dream the dreamers dreamed --
Let it be that great strong land of love
Where never kings connive nor tyrants scheme
That any man be crushed by one above.

O, let my land be a land where Liberty
Is crowned with no false patriotic wreath,
But opportunity is real, and life is free,
Equality is in the air we breathe.

O, let America be America again --
The land that never has been yet --
And yet must be - the land where every man is free.
The land that's mine - the poor man's, Indian's, ME --

ADMONITIONS:

1. Stop campaigning (start teaching).
2. Talk about community. A community is where a person will plant a tree in the full knowledge that he will not live long enough to sit in its shade. A community is a place where everybody's mama can whip everybody's kid -- i.e. mutual responsibility.
3. Don't talk about the vital center; that is merely tactical. Besides, when Arthur Schlesinger used that phrase and made it famous, he meant it to refer to a broad democratic space on the political spectrum between authoritarianism of the right and totalitarianism of the left.
4. Save any discussion of the policy agenda for the State of the Union.
5. The bridge to the 21st century has done its work; what we need now is a description of what Americans should hope to see on the far side of the bridge.
6. Talk about the need for the United States to be a leader on the world scene, lending its strength to the extension of human rights and individual freedom, and lending its support to the spread of democracy in its various forms.

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7. Keep it short; the Gettysburg Address was 272 words.

With great respect,

Sheldon Hackney

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 23, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES

CC: SYLVIA MATHEWS, JOHN PODESTA,
DON BAER, ANN LEWIS

FROM: BRUCE REED
ELENA KAGAN

SUBJECT: POTENTIAL MAY AND JUNE EVENTS

This memo contains a brief description of policy announcements that we expect will be ready in May and June, along with suggested dates for making them. A number of other ideas also may be ready for announcement in this timeframe, but we are sufficiently uncertain as not to include them on this list.

Prior to Mexico Trip

GTO Announcement

The President can announce a crackdown on narcotics money laundering by expanding the Geographic Targeting Order -- a highly successful program requiring financial institutions in New York to report information about certain cash transmissions to Columbia. The President would take action to apply these reporting requirements to money transmitters across the nation.

Prior to Mexico Trip

Food Safety Report

The President can discuss a report issued by the Secretaries of HHS, USDA, and EPA, in response to a directive he issued three months ago, proposing steps to improve the safety of the food supply. The report will announce the creation of a new public-private partnership to educate consumers on food safety. It also will announce a host of new regulatory and research initiatives, including one to improve methods of detecting hepatitis.

Week of May 5

CEA Report on Welfare Caseloads

Janet Yellen and Bruce can announce, while the President is in Mexico, the issuance of a new CEA report on the decline of welfare caseloads. The report attributes a substantial portion of the decline to the Administration's waiver policies. At the same time, the Administration can announce \$7.5 million in HHS grants to the states to evaluate their waivers.

May 10 Radio Address

Child Support Announcement

The President can announce (1) the transmittal to Congress of an HHS report showing that child support collections have increased by 50% in the last four years; (2) Treasury Department action, in response to a prior Executive Order, seizing certain federal payments that otherwise would have gone to delinquent parents; and (3) the transmittal to Congress of legislation making it a

felony to cross state lines to evade child support obligations. The President has indicated that he would like to do a radio address on this subject.

May 15

Law Enforcement Event

At a Peace Officers Memorial event, the President can announce \$1.2 million in new money for scholarships to the children of federal (and perhaps also state and local) law enforcement officers slain in the line of duty. He also can announce the completion by the National Institute of Justice of a prototype "smart gun" -- a gun that can be fired only within a certain distance of a wristband worn by the owner. The gun should protect police officers from being shot by their own guns.

May 17 Radio Address

State Sign-Ons to Education Tests

The President should be able to announce that a number of new states have signed up for his 4th and 8th grade testing initiative. We are hoping for a package including Massachusetts, West Virginia, Missouri, Vermont, and (the grand prize -- but probably the least likely in this timeframe) New York.

May 18

Commencement Address on Science

The President can deliver a major address exploring the ethical questions raised by new scientific breakthroughs. In addition to anticipating release of the National Bioethics Committee's cloning report (due the next week), the President should be able to announce new proposed legislation on genetic screening that would place limits on the use of genetic information by insurance companies for underwriting purposes.

May 19

Education Town Hall

The President can participate in a session with teachers, students, parents, and others to explain the standards associated with his 4th and 8th grade tests. The roundtable would demonstrate with concrete examples the kind of student work -- and the kind of teaching -- that reflects high standards. Alternatively, the President can go to one of the states that has endorsed our testing proposal to speak to the legislature. In either case, the President also can sign an Executive Order designating an advisory council for the testing initiative.

May 20

Welfare-to-Work Announcement

The President will meet with Eli Segal and the CEOs of about 25 companies to launch the Welfare-to-Work Foundation and announce new corporate commitments to hire welfare recipients.

May 21

Mayor's Drug Conference

If we have not announced the GTO expansion prior to this time, we can do it when the President speaks at this event. Otherwise, the President can announce the issuance of a DOJ/ONDCP report marking the one-year anniversary of his methamphetamine strategy and calling for follow-up initiatives. The President also can release a report on his pilot program for drug testing in the federal criminal justice system, which will describe the success of the program and may call for its expansion.

May 22

Meeting with Mayors on Immigrant Benefits

The President can meet with a group of bipartisan mayors, including Mayors Giuliani and Riordan, to discuss the effect of the welfare law on legal immigrants and the Administration's proposal to restore certain benefits. Immigrants affected by the bill also could attend this meeting, as the President suggested at last week's Hispanic Caucus meeting. This event is, of course, contingent on the absence of a budget deal.

May 24 Radio Address

Sex Offender Registry Announcement

The President can announce that the interim National Sex Offender Registration system -- which he directed the Attorney General to develop in a radio address last summer -- is now up and running. At the same time, he can announce that he is signing an Executive Order instructing the Attorney General and Secretary of Defense to ensure that sex offenders released from federal and military prisons are listed in the national registry.

May 25

Receipt of Cloning Report

As noted above, the National Bioethics Advisory Committee is due to release its report on cloning on this day. We are currently unsure whether the report will conform to the President's own views regarding this issue. We may want the President to receive the report officially, or at least to respond to its release.

Sometime in June

Child Care Announcement

The President can announce that HHS is proposing a regulation on the welfare law's child care provisions, which includes extending basic health and safety standards to nearly all federally funded child care.

Sometime in June

Welfare-to-Work Transportation Event

At an event focusing on the "to" in welfare-to-work, the President can announce pilot grants to 25 states to develop welfare-to-work transportation grants. At the same time, he can promote his proposal, contained in his NEXTEA bill, to provide \$600 million for this purpose.

June 30

Turnaround School Event

We are currently exploring whether DeWitt Clinton High School in Brooklyn will postpone its graduation so the President can address the graduating class of this "turnaround school" on his education initiatives. The President may be ready to announce a program to help resuscitate failing schools by providing the funding and assistance necessary to turn them into charter schools.

July 1

Education Standards Event

The President can announce the release of a Department of Education study that will allow, for the first time, comparisons in math and science achievement between most U.S. states and the 41 countries participating in TIMSS testing. At the same time, the President can report (if he has not done so already, on June 10, at a proposed event for the National Math and Science Teachers

of the Year) on the response to his directive to the Department of Education, NSF, and other agencies to mobilize resources to improve math and science education.

February 27, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR SYLVIA MATHEWS

CC: DON BAER

FROM: BRUCE REED
ELENA KAGAN

SUBJECT: IDEAS

We thought the following status report on ideas for executive action might prove useful. If you have any questions, please call Elena.

Ideas from last week

AIDS Vaccine: We are still vetting the proposal for the President to issue a challenge on developing an AIDS vaccine. We will know within a week or two how the scientific community would greet this challenge.

Race Commission: We have been reviewing a proposal to establish a President's Commission on Racial Reconciliation. Elena will get together with Sylvia to compare notes.

Patients' Bill of Rights/Quality Commission: The counsel's office is currently vetting our nominations for the Quality Commission, which will be charged with developing a Patients' Bill of Rights. We have been told that the nominations will not be ready for announcement until the week of March 10. Announcement of the Commission can be combined with the release of a HHS regulation that would guarantee an expedited appeal whenever a plan proposes to deny care that a Medicare patient believes is urgently needed.

Home Health Care Regulation: After reviewing the home health care regulation, DPC and HHS concluded that it was not substantive enough to warrant a presidential event. As a result, it will be released next week during HCFA Administrator Bruce Vladeck's congressional testimony. We have asked HHS, however, to review more substantive regulatory or legislative proposals that we could announce in the future. One legislative proposal, which will not be ready for at least several weeks, would require criminal background checks for home health providers participating in Medicare.

New ideas you asked about

Ban on Human Cloning: Congress has banned the use of federal funds for cloning, but privately funded research is not similarly restricted. The President could call on the scientific

community to institute a moratorium on human cloning research -- at least while the National Bioethics Advisory Committee implements the President's request to study the issue over the next 90 days. We will make a recommendation next week on this proposal -- sooner if absolutely necessary.

Extradition of Child Pornographers: We are still discussing this issue with the Justice Department. We will have a better sense of possible actions next week.

Tobacco Advertising: We are reviewing a proposal for the President to take action responding to tobacco companies' use of the internet and other fora to get around our tobacco regulation. We must run this proposal by the Justice Department to ensure that such action does not compromise our efforts to defend the regulation in court.

Testing in Military Schools: We are currently looking into securing the commitment of the Department of Defense to give students in its schools our proposed 4th and 8th grade tests. (We believe it would be preferable for DOD to volunteer to give these tests than for the President to order the Department to do so.) We should know next week whether DOD will agree.

Advisory Panel for Education Tests: The Education Department is putting together a panel of teachers and other trusted educators to advise on the development of our 4th and 8th grade tests. We are attempting to press this forward as soon as possible, but need at least a few weeks to determine the best structure for the panel and to vet potential appointees.

Other ideas

Trigger Lock Executive Order: Dennis Burke just proposed an executive order requiring agencies to provide all federal law enforcement officers with trigger locks, so that the officers can protect their children against accidental shootings. We should have this executive order completed within a week.

Medicare fraud legislation: We are working with HHS to finalize a new package of fraud and abuse initiatives for unveiling the week of March 10. Since Florida is the "fraud and abuse capital" of the nation, we believe the President's visit there would provide an excellent opportunity to announce the new package, perhaps in a March 15 radio address. Governor Chiles would give the package a strong endorsement.

Governmental hiring of welfare recipients: We are currently putting together a package of proposals to facilitate the federal government's hiring of welfare recipients. We think that this package will include an executive order establishing a separate hiring track for welfare recipients and providing nonfinancial incentives to federal agencies to make use of this new hiring authority. We hope to be ready to go by the end of next week.

Classified research with human subjects: In response to recommendations of the President's

Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments, we have prepared (1) an Executive Order strengthening protections for human subjects of secret research; and (2) legislation expanding compensation for Cold War-era uranium miners. With one week's notice, we can be ready to announce these policies and release a summary report detailing the Administration's full response to the Committee's 18 recommendations.

Seat Belt Study: The Department of Transportation will give the President a report on March 10 on ways to increase seat belt use. DOT's report is likely to include ideas for presidential challenges to states and business groups, as well as a proposal (consistent with our budget) to offer financial incentives to states to improve and enforce seat belt laws.

Children's Health EO: The DPC, NEC, CEQ, and OSTP are working on an executive order designed to ensure that the federal government considers the special needs of children when taking regulatory action. The executive order requires every agency to determine whether a regulation may impose disproportionate risks on children and, if so, to evaluate the specific effects of the regulation on children. The order may be ready within a few weeks, but with interagency discussions still going on, there is some possibility of a last-minute hitch.

Welfare-to-Work Transportation Plan: We can announce at any time our Access to Jobs proposal, which would allocate \$100 million of ISTEA funding to improve transportation systems so that welfare recipients and other low-income workers could get to work more easily. Lack of convenient and affordable transportation is currently an obstacle to getting people from welfare to work, and this proposed program is a very serious attempt to address this problem.

Service Summit: We could announce "commitments" from the federal government to the service summit -- proposals for how the federal government can support service and voluntarism to help youth. We could be ready to make such announcements in 2-3 weeks if necessary.

File - Ideas generally
other

Health Care Comm'n?
lots of contributors?
coffee files?

Child Pornographers. Legislation to have Secretary of State review treaties to fix the problem of extradition.

Child Support. Release of legislation

Children's Health. EO putting effect on this as a factor into all rule making (part of WH Council on Brain in June).

Children's Hospital. Internet event kick off.

Clean Air Rule. Fight will start in mid-March and we can plan events/radio address with kids with asthma for then.

Cloning. Possible Executive Order. Pitch to scientific community to suspend any research in human cloning. In addition, response to President's advisory committee on Human Radiation Experiments which tightens protections of human subjects of secret research and recommends compensating Uranium miners.

CPI Response

Drug testing funding for prisons, Drug testing for Drivers license - two to four state test with grant from discretionary funds.

Electoral Voting Reform. Adding early voting or mail voting to our Finance Proposals.

FCC alcohol. Letter, review of next possible steps.

Flextime/FLMA

First American Heritage Rivers. Designation.

1 by
Earth Day

Health Care. Naming of Commission, task of drafting an HMO Bill of Rights.

Home Health Care. Need legislation on criminal background checks. Can be released as an event or radio address.

IRS Computers. Need for revised overhaul of IRS computers, ways in which emphasizes convenience to the taxpayer.

Medicaid/Medicare Fraud. Introduction of Bill.

Mexico Decision

National Sex Offenders Registry. Computerization by Executive Order.

AMA (Med hand)

Pension Reform Legislation. New legislation on pensions, especially for women.

Refrigerators. Raising efficiency standards for refrigerators.

Seat Belt Study. Arrives on March 10 with challenges to states to offer financial incentives to states to tighten laws.

Smoking Regulations. Review evasion of regulations and use of Internet to reach young smokers. Consider response to State of Virginia position.

Speeches. State Legislature speeches on Education, Welfare Service Summit and pre-events to summit. Don Baer will convene meetings.

Standards testing. EO setting up at federal Military Schools.

Tests. EO and announcement of advisory panels, setting up program, releasing samples and challenging testmakers to devise tests.

Trigger Locks study/lives lost to kids, EO putting trigger locks on all federal guns (add study of promise of gun of future to save lives of police).

TV - Ratings Review with industry, urging violence and sex ratings on programs.

Welfare to Work Transportation Program. Possible announcement in Michigan.

Welfare Recipients. Bruce Reed tracking government plan to hire welfare recipients, with an executive order establishing separate track.

GWT-welfare
|EO|
(WH-Terhune)

Race Council

AIDs vaccine - 2 wks.

Ed Tech Corp - Klein? - 2 wks

Service Summit

Camp Finance -

co-chairs
announcement

Lead up events - 0-3

- Announcing WTW task force
2 to 3 wks.

Pauline M. Abernathy

02/23/97 10:06:01 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Corrected action/event ideas

I apologize for not getting back to you last week on action ideas. I was staff contact for events on Friday, Weds., and Friday for HRC and/or the POTUS. I'm not sure what form people gave you ideas, so I will just briefly list some and I can put them into your format if someone circulates it to me.

DC: Bruce said DPC ought to get more active on education and crime in DC. Regarding education, Becton has not been as aggressive as Mayor Daley in Chicago and does not seem to have surrounded himself with the kind of people Daley has and he needs to. Melanne and I have discussed the idea of helping Becton create a small high-level advisory committee for him made up of the real stars in the field. This approach would enable us to do more while addressing the Dept.'s concerns about getting too involved in local education reform. I was planning to discuss the idea with Mike C, OMB, and the Dept. unless you recommend otherwise.

Regarding DC events, the FLOTUS has now done events on microenterprise, challenging law firms to partner with schools, and on colleges partnering with schools and pledging reading tutors. I worked with Ann Lewis, Steve Silverman, and Carol Thompson-Cole on the memo to the President on coordinating DC events, but did not yet hear whether Thursday night's meeting with the President on DC responded to that memo. The memo both described a process for coordinating events, and listed some of the ideas I have been kicking around for a while, such as White House involvement in DC net days, a big cleanup effort on Earth Day, and highlighting agency efforts, including NASA's involvement in the schools and GSA's donation of computers.

DC School Construction Event: Next Thursday 2/27 we expect the privatization of Connie Lee to be completed, making it possible for us to do a high profile event with Rubin and one of the White House principals announcing that we are making millions of dollars available for school construction and repair in DC -- more than would be available for DC under our national school construction proposal. Treasury will be submitting an event proposal to the White House.

DC Economic Development: The POTUS is scheduled to announce the specifics of his DC economic development proposal on Friday March 7.

DC summer jobs: We could help ensure there are jobs available for DC teens this summer in at least two ways: by convening DC employers and challenging them to do more and by continuing and expanding the federal agencies' summer jobs and internship programs. Last summer the federal government hired hundreds of DC youth. The Treasury Dept. has powerful letters from students who interned there over the summer. One DC public school student said the internship was her first experience in the work world, taught her how to use a computer, and allowed her to visit the White House for the first time -- after having lived in DC for 18 years!

Pediatric Drug Labeling: Elizabeth Drye, Patsy, OVP, and I have held some meetings with FDA and

outside groups on the lack of pediatric safety and dosing information on many drugs with pediatric applications. FDA has made it relatively easy for drug companies to provide this data, but still most do not do it, leaving it up to doctors to decide whether to prescribe the drug for children and in what doses. This issue has become *very* hot now for two reasons: it is now clear that the actions Kessler took to encourage companies to submit this data have not worked, and many doctors are afraid to prescribe the highly effective anti-HIV protease inhibitors to children without better information because the drugs are so toxic. Further Administration action on this issue could generate industry opposition, but would likely earn broad public support and attention. There seem to be several views within the Administration on how best to proceed on this issue, and I believe it is ripe for DPC to step in and develop a consensus. Elizabeth and I would be happy to brief you on this issue.

Child Care: I do not have a specific initiative in mind, but as you and Bruce have stated before, we need to take some actions on child care, perhaps on quality/safety. I would think we need to ask HHS, DOL and others to give us some proposals. Were you planning on doing this as part of our 0-3 working group?

0-3: List of possible actions being developed.

Education: I won't attempt this without seeing what Mike has already given you. As I mentioned before, we could do a great POTUS or FLOTUS event on the release of a new Education Dept. manual on how to establish a community school, similar to the manual on school uniforms. It is very well done and ready to go. Rahm had initially scheduled a POTUS event to release the manual, but it fell through and I don't believe it has been rescheduled.

Family Medical Leave: Rahm and Gene have a list of reports on the FMLA that DOL is preparing an which could be the subject of future events. I can get a copy of the latest to you if you are interested and do not already have it. While recent discussions have focused on linkage with flex-time, I think there are some additional expansion proposals that the Administration might entertain and would be much less controversial than lowering the firm-size threshold to 25 employees -- such as making family emergencies related to domestic violence subject to the FMLA. I know Gene will be assigning someone from the NEC to be working on family and work issues, but am unclear how active you expect DPC to be.

I hope this is helpful.

DEAN - o'Neil

February 20, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO ELENA KAGAN

FROM:

Diane Regas



SUBJECT:

Opportunities for the President in the upcoming months

Attached is a response to your request for actions and events for the President.

Action or Event	Message	Timing
<p>Announce Brownfields Action Agenda and commitment to designate 10 showcase communities. This agenda will include several agencies' actions including commitments to policy changes, to advance the President's priority of cleaning up contaminated sites to make way for re-use. EPA is working on this idea and has sent a memo to Bruce Reed and others laying out the details.</p>	<p>Clinton Administration is acting to protect health of American communities and to help create jobs</p>	<p>mid-late March</p>
<p>Executive Order to Protect Human Subjects of Classified Experiments, and announcement of the Administration Response to the Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments (ACHRE). The ACHRE report delved into the Cold War history of human subject research, and was accepted by the President in October of 1994. DPC chaired an interagency process in summer 1995 to identify actions across agencies that would respond to the ACHRE's 18 recommendations. The Executive Order would increase protection for subjects of classified research. There is a small amount of work to get the response and e.o. in final form, they have been formally circulated by OMB.</p>	<p>Openness in Government Executive Action to Protect people</p>	<p>One week's notice</p>
<p>Executive Order to Consider Children's Health in federal actions. The E.O. would (1) elevate the protection of children to a high priority in all agency actions; (2) create a working group to coordinate a federal research agenda on children; (3) require departments to analyze how certain regulations protect children.</p>	<p>Protecting Kids, environment</p>	<p>March or April</p>

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Announce the American Heritage Rivers Program. The President announced this concept in the State of the Union, and all involved departments have been getting a huge response nationwide. CEQ and DPC have convened an interagency effort to pin down the process and implementation issues. Our goal is a memo to the President in early May.

Working with communities to support their efforts to protect rivers and revitalize surrounding areas

June
(American Rivers month)

Announce selection of American Heritage Rivers. Soon after the program elements are defined, we would plan to begin selecting rivers. Selection will be based, in part, on community support, so announcements should generate good local interest.

Local events, location TBD.

ASAP, TBD, late summer or early fall

Announce end to dumping of contaminated material off of NJ beaches. This will be the culmination of the New York New Jersey Dredging agreement that the VP announced in July 1996. This issue is very important to environmental and labor interests in NJ. The original plan is very challenging to implement, and we will not know whether an event is appropriate until late summer.

Protecting New Jersey's beaches.

September 1, 1997

New program to protect health of millions of beach goers, large numbers of whom get sick from beach pollution every year. Currently beach goers do not know whether their favorite beaches are contaminated with unhealthy sewage overflows. EPA will put into place a new warning system that will predict beach water quality based on rainfall and other information, and provide this information to the public.

Protecting health of American families.

Memorial Day

Conservation Report summarizing President's accomplishments in protecting national heritage. CEQ and DOI are working on this and I have not seen a draft.

President Clinton is among the most successful in protecting America's valuable lands and resources.

Consult with DOI, should be after issues in CA and MT are resolved.

Announce initiative to encourage rural cooperatives, or other actions to promote sustainable development in rural areas. Rural areas have persistent poverty, unemployment, and environmental contamination that bring down the rural quality of life. Rural cooperatives can encourage development that reduces contamination and creates jobs. This is a potential opportunity to coordinate the services of large numbers of federal agencies.

President Clinton acting to protect American rural families.

Consult with USDA; still on the drawing board.

Cleanup of 500th Superfund site.

President Clinton is acting to protect the environment and the health of American families

January or February, 1998.

Twenty-fifth anniversary of the Clean Water Act is October 18, 1997. The President could designate 10/18/97-10/18/98 as the year of clean water and do nationwide community-level events to celebrate progress that has been made over 25 years. This is a gleam in the eye--not yet fully developed.

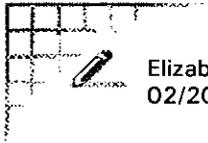
The Clean Water Laws have worked to make progress in American communities.

October, 1997

Earth Day, April 22. CEQ has something planned. I will pursue what exactly it is.

Climate Change. This is a big year for climate change. We are on the hook to produce targets and timetables for reductions of greenhouse gases (agreement scheduled for December in Kyoto Japan). This will be very contentious with industry and environmentalists and has little resonance with the public. We need to be thinking about whether and to what extent the President should be making more (or fewer, or different) statement on this issue.

IDEAS - other



Elizabeth Drye
02/20/97 07:52:29 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Pending Events

TOBACCO: February 27th -- POTUS/VP event w/FDA Commissioner Kessler to mark the first effective date of FDA's tobacco regulation and Kessler's departure. Structure still under discussion.

HUMAN RADIATION EXPERIMENTS: March (?) -- release of Administration report, *Building Public Trust: Actions to Respond to the Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments*, and signing of EO on classified human research. (If we don't do POTUS event, we should get the report out the door soon anyway).

Event would include Secretaries of HHS, DOE, and possibly DOD, Hazel O'Leary, Advisory Cmt Members, and a small number of stakeholders.

TRANSPORTATION SAFETY (reprise): March 7 DOT is supposed to deliver a report the President requested January 23 outlining a plan to increase the use of seatbelts nationwide. DOT is working with a coalition of industry and consumer types. Report will push for state primary seatbelt laws and greater enforcement of passenger restraint laws, and it may hold up North Carolina's enforcement program as a model. We could do an event with leading states and law enforcement types.

FDA RULE REQUIRING COMPANIES TO TEST SAFETY OF DRUGS IN KIDS (not ready yet): FDA is considering issuing a rule requiring that drugs be tested in kids for safety and efficacy before FDA approves them. Currently, 80% of drugs prescribed for kids have not been tested and approved explicitly for pediatric use and are therefore not "labeled" for pediatric use. As a result, doctors often don't know what doses are safe and whether the drug will be effective, and Medicaid does not always reimburse their use in kids. This is a big issue for the AIDS community and pediatric groups. I've been working with the VP and First Lady's offices to see what we can do short of regulation, but since incentive-based approaches have failed, FDA will recommend -- and the White House may support -- requiring pediatric tests. Drug companies will oppose, but have a hard case to make. I'll keep you posted. If we do it, it has great event potential. Fits perfectly with the kids EO Diane is working on, but is on a separate track.