

FOIA MARKER

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Presidential Library Staff.**

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Press Secretary

Series/Staff Member: Mike McCurry

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 11102

FolderID:

Folder Title:

Book Group

Stack:

S

Row:

94

Section:

3

Shelf:

10

Position:

1

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Personally Identifiable Information [partial] (1 page)	00/00/0000	b(6)
002. profile	Peggy Boston; RE: Personally Identifiable Information [partial] (1 page)	00/00/0000	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Press Secretary
Mike McCurry
OA/Box Number: 11102

FOLDER TITLE:

Book Group

2011-0586-F

db4229

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Calls to make re interviewing POTUS for books

1. Jack Bass 601/232-7146

Bass is professor of Journalism at Univ. of Miss.

He requested I/W with POTUS for The White House Fights Back.

His request comes from Ron Goldfarb through Harold Ickes.

*Left
message on
voice mail
1 Nov 95*

The book will focus on the White House's activities over the next year and on the development of a more measured leadership. He I/W'ed POTUS in '74 for The Transformation of Southern Politics.

Gerald
2. Deborah and ~~Gary~~ Strober 212/734-5656

The Strobers sent their I/W request directly to POTUS.

*Letter
from
Dorakind
sent*

The book will focus on "a week in the White House". They request 2 weeks in the WH, a weekend at Camp David, and possibly foreign travel.. The Strobers authored 2 HarperCollins books (on Kennedy and Nixon) and a book on Billy Graham.

3. Roger Newman 718/601-0673

This request came through Harold's office.

The book will be an extensive biography on POTUS; he requests "insider's access".

✓ = people to call

~~ESL: Will you call these authors and explain that their interviews probably won't happen?~~ The numbers are listed below. The only one MMC wants to do is Whitcover.

PENDING BOOK REQUESTS

AUTHOR: Jules Whitcover, Baltimore Sun
He has written 13 books on American politics and history.
452-8250

BOOK: The Year the Dream Died
- focus is on the political, social, and cultural impact of 1968
- POTUS appraisal of 1968, how events of 1968 may have contributed to the climate and problems today

AUTHOR: Robert McElvaine, Professor, Millsaps College - George wants you to call.
This request was sent through George Stephanopoulos.
601/924-1598

BOOK: What's Left?
- counterpoint to David Frum's Dead Right
- has interviewed with Stephanopoulos, Paul Simon, James Carville, Paul Begala, David Bonier, Bill Galston
- he interviewed then Gov. Clinton in 1986

AUTHOR: Jack Bass, Professor of Journalism, University of Mississippi
This request comes from Ron Golbfarb through Harold Ickes:
601/232-7146

BOOK: The White House Fights Back
- interviewed Clinton in 1974 for The Transformation of Southern Politics
- focus is on White House's activities over next 18 months and on the development of a more measured leadership

AUTHOR: Jim and Lee Powell, Jim was the editor of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette
This message came via William Wilson (FOB). - please review request (page is clipped) -
501/324-6863

BOOK: -want POTUS to write forward to their biography on Sen. Fulbright are you sure we want to say no?
- POTUS likes this idea because of Powell's Arkansas connection

AUTHOR: Deborah and Gary Strober
The Strobbers sent their request in writing to the President.
212/734-5656

BOOK: -They wrote two HarperCollins books (on Kennedy and Nixon) and a book on Billy Graham
- focus is "A Week in the White House"
- request 2 weeks in the White House (not necessary consecutive), a weekend at Camp David, and possibly foreign travel

Barry
AUTHOR: Eric Pianin (Washington Post) and George Hager (CQ)

They want to meet with Panetta.

This request comes through Barry Toiv.

Pianin 334-7426 Hager 887-8500

BOOK: -Focus is the political history of the deficit (Reagan years, Bush, '90 agreement, Clinton budget).

-Panetta met with them a few times when he was at OMB.

Harold
✓ AUTHOR: Roger Newman, author of a biography of Hugo Black

This request comes from Roger Newman through Harold Ickes.

718/601-0673

-This request comes via Harold Ickes' office.

-Plans to write extensive bio of POTUS ; he requests insider's access

Witcover

1627 K Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20007
July 30, 1995

To: Julie Mason
White House Press Office
From: Jules Witcover
Baltimore Sun

As I informed Mike McCurry earlier, I am completing work on a book revisiting the year 1968, entitled *The Year the Dream Died*. I have completed all the chapters dealing with the events of the year and am now winding up my interviews for the final chapter. It will attempt to assess the political, social and cultural impact of 1968, from the challenges of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson's decision not to seek reelection, to the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Kennedy, the turmoil in the streets and on the campuses, and ultimately the election of Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

Accordingly, I would hope to have a few minutes with President Clinton to hear his appraisal of this historic and tumultuous year, his thoughts on how the events of 1968 may have contributed to the climate and problems that exist in the country today, and what course American society might have taken had King and Kennedy lived.

This will be my thirteenth book on American politics and history. Others have included examinations of the 1968 presidential campaigns of Robert Kennedy and Richard Nixon, all five presidential campaigns since 1976, and the office of the vice presidency.

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

May 26, 1995

☐ ACCEPT☒ REGRET 35 MAY 30 PENDING 26

TO: Billy Webster,
Director of Scheduling and Advance

FROM: Mike McCurry, Assistant to the President *MMC*
and Press Secretary

REQUEST: For the President to interview with Jules Witcover for his book.

PURPOSE: The interview would enable the President to discuss some of the events of the year 1968 which influenced his life.

BACKGROUND: Witcover is writing a book on the year 1968. He'd like to know the President's thoughts on how the events of this year changed American history and the mood of the American people.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: The President interviewed with Witcover and Jack Germond in April 1993.

DATE AND TIME: TBD. No later than June 16th.

DURATION: Briefing plus 45-minute interview.

LOCATION: Oval Office.

PARTICIPANTS: POTUS, Mike McCurry.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Briefing plus on the record interview.

REMARKS REQUIRED: No

MEDIA COVERAGE: Witcover's book.

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: No

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No

RECOMMENDED BY: Mike McCurry.

STAFF CONTACT: Mike McCurry, 6-2673

ORIGIN OF PROPOSAL: Jules Witcover

McElvaine

July 3, 1995

Mr. Mike McCurry
c/o Ms. Allison Willkie
Press Office
The White House
FAX: 202/456-6423

MILLSAPS
COLLEGE

Dear Mr. McCurry:

I believe that you have received from Laura Capps in George Stephanopoulos's office a copy of my letter requesting an interview with President Clinton for the book on which I am presently working, *What's Left?* (Another copy of this letter is attached.) Both Paul Begala and Secretary of Education Dick Riley have had long talks with me about the book (as have David Kusnet and Carter Willkie), and they are enthusiastic about the project and its potential impact on next year's election.

I believe that an interview with the President would be critical to the impact of the book, and that the book stands to be very helpful to the President in his reelection effort. As I noted in the letter to Mr. Stephanopoulos, I am sure that the President will remember me from an interview in 1986 and from some of my previous books. It may also be worth pointing out that I have been contributing to his speeches, both during the campaign and since he has become President.

I would very much like to obtain an interview with the President during the month of July. (I will complete the book within the next few months.) Since I am working from a long distance, I would appreciate it if a date could be set somewhat in advance, so that I can make travel arrangements and set up other interviews while I am in Washington.

Many thanks for your assistance.

Best wishes,



Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters

Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291
Fax: 601/974-1324
e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

1701 NORTH STATE ST.

JACKSON • MS • 39210

(601) 974-1000

McElvaine

June 5, 1995

Mr. George Stephanopoulos
The White House
FAX: 202/456-2883

**MILLSAPS
COLLEGE**

Dear Mr. Stephanopoulos:

This is a follow-up to my letter of May 22 (copy attached), seeking to obtain an interview with President Clinton for the book on which I am presently working, *What's Left?* Paul Begala has told me that he has talked with you about this request and my book project, which he thinks may be very helpful to the President's reelection campaign.

If you bring this request up with the President, I am sure that he will remember me from our previous meetings and from my writings.

I expect to be in Washington on June 15-16 and again from June 26-28. I'll be in the New York area between those dates, but could easily return to Washington if it would be better for the President's schedule to meet with me during the week of June 19.

Please let me know if an interview with the President can be arranged during one of these time periods.

I would also like to interview you for the book. Would it be possible for you to meet with me on the 15th, 16th, 26th, 27th, or 28th of this month?

Best wishes,

Bob McElvaine

Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters

Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291

Fax: 601/974-1324

e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

1701 NORTH STATE ST.

JACKSON • MS • 39210

(601) 974-1000

McElvaine

COPY

May 22, 1995

Mr. George Stephanopoulos
The White House
FAX: 202/456-2883

**MILLSAPS
COLLEGE**

Dear Mr. Stephanopoulos:

Paul Begala has agreed to help me obtain an interview with President Clinton for the book on which I am presently working, *What's Left?* Paul told me to go through you and/or Gene Sperling to arrange a time for an interview with the President. Paul will follow up by phone.

My book is intended as a counterpoint to David Frum's *Dead Right*. On a trip to Washington a few weeks ago, I did several interviews, including Paul and James Carville, David Bonior, Paul Simon, Bill Galston, and several others. Those with whom I talked about my ideas on the Democratic future are very enthusiastic about the book project and its potential positive impact for the party and the President in next year's election. (The book will be published next spring.) Paul was particularly taken with the idea (and the title).

I believe that an interview with the President would be critical to the impact of the book, and that the book stands to be very helpful to the President in his reelection effort. I had a long interview with then-Governor Clinton in Little Rock in 1986 and have met him several times since. I'm sure that he will remember me and I know that he is familiar with at least one of my books, *The End of the Conservative Era*. I have also been contributing to his speeches, both during the campaign and since he has become President.

I expect to be in the Washington area from about June 14 until the end of June. The period from June 15 through 19 would be especially good for me, but I would, of course, arrange to meet with the President at any time that fits his schedule.

Best wishes,

Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters
Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291
Fax: 601/974-1324
e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

1701 NORTH STATE ST.

JACKSON, MS 39210

(601) 974-1000

Bass

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~NAME~~
Evelyn
Pls follow-up
w/ Ickes.
Recommendation?
- mm

4 July 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
MIKE MCCURRY
MARK GEARAN

FROM: Harold Ickes *(H)*
SUBJECT: Possible book by Jack Bass about the
Administration

Attached is a self-explanatory 22 May 1995 letter to me from Ron Goldfarb and a 19 May 1995 letter to Mr. Goldfarb from Jack Bass, Professor of Journalism at the University of Mississippi.

Mr. Bass is interested in writing a book about the White House's activities over the next 18 months. If he is to do so, however, he would want certain access to the Administration.

What's your reaction?

Goldfarb, Rm
- rmes

GOLDFARB AND GRAYBILL • LAW OFFICES

918 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 400, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 PH: (202) 466-3030 FAX: (202) 293-3187

May 22, 1995

VIA FACSIMILE (4 PP) / 456-2883

Harold Ickes
Assistant to the President and
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Harold:

You probably know Jack Bass as the author of the recent biography of Judge Frank Johnson, Taming The Storm (edited by Jacqueline Onassis, by the way) and of Unlikely Heroes, a great book about the federal judiciary's role in the civil rights revolution. He's first rate. Through Dick Riley, he's approached President Clinton, hoping to be commissioned to do for the Clinton presidency what Ronald Reagan commissioned during his incumbency -- an inside story of the White House experience of a sitting president. Jack's trying one more time now.

I urge you to consider this idea and plug it with your boss if you agree with me it makes sense from everyone's point of view. Best case scenario for President Clinton -- the story continues into a second term. Worst case scenario -- at least this term is portrayed uniquely.

I'm also about to sell a book about the White House by Mary Lynn Kotz with an introduction planned by Mrs. Clinton. These ideas are good for all concerned parties; they are good politics; and, they are in the public interest. I hope you'll agree.

Best regards,

Rm
Ronald Goldfarb

Enclosure



The University of Mississippi

Department of Journalism
University, MS 38677
(601) 232-7146
FAX: (601) 232-5703

May 19, 1995

Mr. Ronald Goldfarb
918 16th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Ron:

The book I'm now proposing to write about President Clinton, The White House Fights Back, would insure a definitive account of the current period in the White House. I believe this period will be crucial in American history. Such a book eventually would serve as a useful supplement to the President's own book or books, as the case may be. The White House Fights Back would provide a fair and accurate account of both the substantive and procedural responses made to last year's election and the events that have followed. In telling a readable story in human terms, this book will provide new insight about the current White House and those who work there.

As reported May 7 in The New York Times, staff changes in the White House led to policy changes, including that of insuring for President Clinton daily time for reflection. My thesis, in part, is that the Oklahoma City tragedy provided an event that allowed a more measured presidential leadership to express itself.

My interest is in writing a book that adds to public understanding on this critical period. From a White perspective, such a book could have an impact on the climate for governing during a second term or even on the 1996 campaign, depending on pub date, but my interest is to chronicle with accuracy the unfolding story of President Clinton's political response to last fall's election. I want a book that both will enhance current understanding and provide insight for future historians.

As one who first interviewed both Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich in 1974, when both were making unsuccessful races for Congress, the proposed book represents a story that has continuity and context. Those 1974 interviews were conducted for research for The Transformation of Southern Politics, which received widespread critical acclaim, and Walter DeVries and I have used them in writing a preface to a reissue of the book scheduled this summer by the University of Georgia Press. Walt commented in 1974 after our interview with the governor of Georgia, "That guy

Mr. Ronald Goldfarb/page 2

May 19, 1995

could go all the way." I felt that way after our interview with the law professor from the University of Arkansas.

As you know, I have an eager editor and an informal commitment from the Ford Foundation for a grant to work on a different book project, one that will require making a commitment imminently. Because The White House Fights Back would require access, I need to know by the middle of June whether there is interest in making such access available.

Sincerely,



Jack Bass
Professor of Journalism



The University of Mississippi

Department of Journalism
University, MS 38677
(601) 732-7146
FAX (601) 232-5703

May 17, 1995

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

When I think back to my effort at the end of 1987 to write an article for The Washington Post Magazine about you as a potential 1988 candidate and my proposal of last December for a book that might be titled, "The White House Fights Back," it seems that I tend to be slightly ahead of the curve.

A book such as I propose would insure a definitive account of the next 18 months of your record in the White House, which I believe will be a crucial period in American history. Such a book would eventually serve as a useful supplement to your own book or books, as the case may be. The White House Fights Back would provide a fair and accurate account of both the substantive and procedural responses made to last year's election and the events that have followed. In telling a readable story in human terms that provides new insight about the current White House and those who work there, this book also could improve the climate of understanding for a second term, which I expect you to win.

Because I am also considering a different book project, one that will require making a commitment imminently, I would appreciate hearing from you before the middle of June if my current proposal is of interest.

On a personal note, I believe you have handled exceptionally well the response to the tragedy in Oklahoma City.

Sincerely,

Jack Bass
Professor of Journalism

Wm. R. Wilson, Jr.
600 West Capitol, Room 149
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
501-324-6863

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6.2.95

May 12, 1995

President William Jefferson Clinton
White House
Washington, D.C. 20544

My Dear Mr. President:

Jim and Lee Powell have just finished a biography on Senator Fulbright. I read portions of the manuscript, and believe it is extremely well written, and an important work on the life of a great American.

The book is generally favorable to Fulbright, but it doesn't pull any punches (for example it candidly discusses his studied failure to step front and center, during the great civil rights crisis of the 50's and 60's).

Lee and Jim talked to me the other day and asked me if I would talk to you about the possibility of your writing a forward to this fine book. I hereby submit this possibility to you for your consideration.

Cordially,

Wm. R. Wilson, Jr.

Lee (6) Geary
I'm inclined to do
the Powell was the editor
of the Mr. Geary
PK

Strober

Deborah Hart Strober

Gerald Strober

25 East End Avenue
New York, New York 10028

(212) 734-5656

April 3, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of February 10.

I hope that you have had the opportunity to look at my book, GRAHAM: A DAY IN BILLY'S LIFE.

My writing partner, Deborah Hart Strober, and I are the authors of two recent books on the presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon respectively, LET US BEGIN ANEW: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE KENNEDY PRESIDENCY (HARPERCOLLINS 1993); and NIXON: AN ORAL HISTORY OF HIS PRESIDENCY (HarperCollins 1994).

We would like to write a book describing a week in the life of the White House from a reportorially objective and human interest point of view.

We would require your cooperation, including being able to spend at least two weeks-not necessarily on consecutive days- in the White House, a weekend at Camp David, and the possibility of accompanying you on a domestic and/or overseas trip.

As personal references we suggest you contact Dr. Billy Graham, Ambassador Alfred Moses and Mark Mellman.

We expect that the book will be published in the late spring of 1996.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Cordially,


Gerald S. Strober

Pianin
Hager

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

31-May-1995 03:03pm

TO: Evelyn S. Lieberman
FROM: Barry J. Toiv
Office of the Chief of Staff
SUBJECT: A book - Panetta

For your book radar screen:

Eric Pianin of the Post and George Hager of Congressional Quarterly have been working forever on a book on the political history of the deficit -- essentially focusing on the Reagan years, 1981, Gramm-Rudman, Bush, the 1990 agreement, and our 1993 budget.

Since they didn't get it out before this year, they now have to do something of a rewrite.

Leon is obviously critical to the story, and he met with them a few times at OMB. They are going to ask to sit down with him again at some point this year, and I assume he's going to be willing to do that.

But it should still go through the committee process.

The timing is not urgent, since it may be a while, but I wanted you to have it on file for the next time we focus on books.

ROGER K. NEWMAN

Newman

5601 Riverdale Ave.
Bronx, NY 10471
718 601-0673
September 5, 1995

Hon. Harold Ickes
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for your kind letter on my book on Hugo Black which somehow only reached me last week after I was away for a while. Coming from someone whose family knew him so well while growing up makes it even more pleasant. Do you remember the Blacks staying with your family in Maine in the summer of 1950? His daughter, JoJo, who's a few years old than you, doesn't recall going, but I wonder if you do. (Another tidbit: I think a search would prove that Vince Foster was related to Black's first wife, whose sister Virginia Durr is Lucy Hackney's mother. Her maiden name was Foster and her uncle went to Little Rock somewhere around 1900 or so, I guess. I'd be surprised if they weren't related.)

The book's reception has been very gratifying, making all the years feel worthwhile. To hear from several people that President Clinton liked the book very much and talked about it is particularly gratifying. How he found the time is read a tome like this is beyond, but I am glad that he did. The book won one of the two major legal awards (Scribes), would have won the other (ABA) if the publisher had remembered to submit and would have also, so I understand, won the Pulitzer (it was a finalist) except that the judges look for balance and wanted to give the history award to Doris Goodwin for her FDR book and therefore couldn't give biography to me since it was just too close in subject. I am now working on a book on the current Supreme Court.

I wish to help in any way I can in the '96 campaign, along the lines of writing I would hope, for that is what I do. I am very serious about this. I'm obviously if in Washington regularly. I have also been in touch with Michael Waldman about a possible role if the campaign finance/lobbying reform commission gets up and running.

One more thing: I wish very much one day to write a similarly extensive, sympathetic and fair biography of President Clinton. My fondest hope would be something along the lines of the arrangement Edmund Morris had with Reagan. I believe he got security clearance, had an office in the White

House, monthly meetings with Reagan and open access to all members of the administration. I realize that a book like this wouldn't appear until well into the future, but I am willing to undertake this for the long haul. Several months back, Ab Mikva made a few inquiries but got little response and Sheldon Hackney told me he would see what he would find. But this is something that I wish very much to do (the reasons, I would hope, are obvious), feel I am equipped to do and can do well.

You said that we have met. I don't believe we have but hope we will one day. Again, thank you very much for your kind letter.

Sincerely,

Roger K. Newman

Newman

Newsweek

1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. | Suite 1220 | Washington | DC | 20006 | (202) 626-2000

Michael D. McCurry
White House Press Secretary
The White House
Washington DC

8 September 1995

Dear Mike,

Thanks very much for your time and advice on getting started with the 1996 book project. Before leaving on vacation I met with the project team in New York and brought up the points you raised. Here's what I found out:

Confidentiality: This is the first priority for everyone working on the project. Nothing I report about the President's campaign will appear until after the election, not even as a cleverly camouflaged flick in a weekly story nor as a vaguely sourced Periscope item nor as campaign trail gossip. In twelve years, there has not been a single leak from the project.

In order to maintain that record, those of us working on the project observe a code of silence that prohibits us from sharing our reporting with editors, Newsweek colleagues, friends, rivals, etc. This includes not only words but shrugs, knowing glances, raised eyebrows and all those other nonverbal cues we ourselves dine on as reporters. We file our material to special queues available only to two people at Newsweek: Peter Goldman, the project manager and author of the 1984, 1988 and 1992 books and Ken Auchincloss, the project editor, who has been detached from his weekly duties at the magazine. To prevent confidential material leaking from one campaign to another my colleagues covering Republican or third-party candidates will have no access to my files nor will I be able to read theirs.

The purpose of all this is to assure sources that the thoughts they share with us can in no way affect their candidate's fortunes before the election. The special issue and the book give us luxuries our regular coverage does not: lots of time, lots of space and total confidentiality. Unlike the magazine, the book does not seek to explain the daily and hourly swerves of the campaign but instead to fully relate the aspirations, emotions and experiences of the candidates and their key advisors. In order to do this we need a degree of access and intimacy that are not provided to the regular campaign press. In return, we embargo everything we get until after the votes are counted.

Gang of 4
We need to
make decision/
recommendation on
book project access
for '96.

- MMZ
PS I vote special
occasion access only -
no hard pins.

Individual Chapters: The jury is still out on your suggestion that reporters write chapters about the campaigns they cover. The editors (at Newsweek and Random House) place a premium on maintaining a single narrative voice but the idea is still on the table. You can be sure though the President's campaign is as central as it gets in the 1996 campaign. Our conversations won't suffer the fate you remember from your days with Bob Kerrey. And you probably know from our days together at the State Department I am neither a fan nor a practitioner of "attitude journalism." I view my job as reporting the views and experiences of my sources and am very content to let readers analyze and draw their own conclusions. I plan to approach the campaign in exactly the same way and believe this is the best way to prevent the type of distortion you are understandably concerned about.

Access: Much as I would love to repeat the extraordinary access Mark Miller enjoyed during the 1992 campaign I realize covering an incumbent President imposes considerable restrictions. I hope as the campaign develops we can develop the maximum access possible under the circumstances. When Tom DeFrank covered the Reagan and Bush reelection campaigns he occasionally travelled on Air Force One as a guest of the President. This way he did not sit with the White House pool nor did he file the magazine pool reports. There may have been one or two exceptions during the 1992 campaign when our White House correspondent was unable to travel and Tom filled in but in general this is something I think we should avoid. It creates confusion and also the appearance that the Newsweek project reporter and the Newsweek White House correspondent are interchangeable when in fact we are not. Most of the time I will be travelling independently or on the press charter and this won't be an issue. But if the plane turns out to offer the best access to the President, I would like to suggest we follow the system DeFrank used in 1998 and 1992.

I look forward to covering the campaign and to our work together.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'K. Breslau', with a stylized flourish.

Karen Breslau

Fy1 - From
Bob McElvaine
(please save)

**MILLSAPS
COLLEGE**

Date: Oct. 11, 1995 Time: 4:20 PM (Central)

To: Ms. Evelyn Liebermann

Press Office

FAX No.: 202/456-6423

From: Robert S. McElvaine

Dept.: History

Comments: See attached letter.

I am transmitting this cover page and 1 page(s).
If you do not receive all of the pages indicated,
please telephone us immediately.

Verification telephone number is 601-974-1291 or 601-974-1309.

Our FAX number is 601-974-1324.

1701 NORTH STATE ST.

JACKSON • MS • 39210

(601) 974-1800

October 11, 1995

**MILLSAPS
COLLEGE**

Ms. Evelyn Liebermann
Press Office
The White House
FAX: 202/456-6423

Dear Ms. Liebermann:

Thanks for your call today. I attempted to return it, but now I think it may be better to send you something in writing before we talk.

If the problem with my request for an interview is really one of finding a time for it, I should tell you that I am almost completely flexible on this. I am willing to return to Washington at any time during the remainder of the year, whenever it can be fit into the President's schedule.

If the problem is not one of scheduling, but of concern about the President being identified with ideas in a book with the word "left" in it, let me point out that the title is meant to be cute, but the vision I am developing is very mainstream. Among the people close to the President who have been impressed with what I am talking about and have told me they think the President would benefit from talking with me are Dick Riley, Dale Bumpers, Paul Begala, and Doug Sosnik. I have also talked with George Stephanopoulos, and he can confirm that my ideas are in no sense extreme.

After you have had a chance to read this, let's talk by phone and see if something can be worked out.

Best wishes,



Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters
Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291
Fax: 601/974-1324
e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

202-456-6423

Date: 9/26/95

To: Julie Mason

From: Jack Bass, 607 S. 8th Street, Oxford, MS (601) 234-6302

6 pages, including this cover sheet

Message: Here is additional and related material re
the book proposal. Thanks. (I co-authored The Transformation
of Southern Politics with Walter DeVries)

Jack Bass
607 S. 8th Street
Oxford, MS 38655
(601) 2340-6302

Here is an addendum to my letter of May 17, proposing a book, The White House Fights Back.

Enclosed is a copy of the preface to the new Brown Thrasher edition of The Transformation of Southern Politics, which was published this month by the University of Georgia Press. The original book was listed by the American Library Association for its list of 50 Outstanding Adult Books in 1976. David Broder called that book "a story of such sweep and significance that only the full resources of journalism and political science could portray it accurately . . . a compelling story with insights on every page." Vernon Jordan called the book "a must for any student of the South or of American politics." The University of Georgia Press has reissued "Transformation" as a portrayal of the political history of that period.

My most recent book, Taming the Storm: The Life and Times of Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr. and the South's Fight Over Civil Rights, was edited by Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and won the 1994 Robert F. Kennedy Book Award.

With the same attention to "careful analysis and revealing anecdotes" that Broder found in "Transformation," The White House Fights Back would capture the pivotal drama and political dynamics of 1996 and cast it as history.

Preface to the Brown Thrasher Edition

THE CENTRAL THEMES of southern politics still involve, as they did when this book first was published in 1976, the rise of the Republican Party, black political development and the Democratic response to it, and the interaction of these forces with social and economic issues. The 1994 Republican breakthrough in the South, however, seems to reflect the fulfillment of the party's dreams two decades earlier of "realignment." The GOP captured that year a majority of the governorships and both houses of Congress from the eleven states of the old Confederacy. The Republicans held an edge of 6-5 among the governors, 13-9 in the Senate, and 64-61 in the House. They also won a majority of the North Carolina and South Carolina House of Representatives and the Florida Senate—the first time this century Republicans won legislative majorities in any state legislative body in the South, except for a one-term majority in the Tennessee House more than two decades earlier.

The Transformation of Southern Politics was published originally as the nation was electing its first Deep South president. Jimmy Carter emerged as a representative of the region's political transformation. Although his was certainly a failed presidency in terms of voter rejection of a second term, his postpresidential record suggests that history may treat him more kindly than did the voters.

The book's reissue, as an analysis of the South as it appeared in 1976, provides the historical background for understanding the region into the twenty-first century. In 1974, we first met Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich, both as young college professors running unsuccessfully for Congress, their first campaigns for office. Clinton narrowly lost to a Republican incumbent after beating six other Democrats for the party nomination. He already

Preface to the Brown Thrasher Edition

projected the intellect, energy, political instincts, and charisma that would lead him to the White House. Gingrich viewed the Republican leadership in Georgia at the time as "a disaster." In retrospect, he reflected an aggressive and focused determination to build the Republican party in Georgia and the region based on "organizational strength, long range strategy, and patience." That it would lead him to Speaker of the House, the first southern Republican to hold that office, was even less predictable than Clinton's rise to the top.

In 1974, Clinton told us, "I got interested in politics and was just consumed with it from about the time I was fourteen years old. I happen to believe that the way that I can best sell myself, and the way that I can get the best organization going, is by having a better grasp of the issues than the people I'm running against, knowing more about it and being able to pose constructive alternatives." Clinton believed in reaching out to all voters: "I don't give a damn whether they thought of themselves as Republicans or Democrats or independents or however they voted before."

In words that would echo eighteen years later in the 1992 presidential campaign, he said, "I think the main thing is to take the tides that are flowing now and the skills that I can bring and the issues that I want to speak on, which the people respond to—and run with it just as damn hard as I can." He continued, "I'm saying that my presentation of the issues is something that the average voter just distills into his general perception of me as a person. I do it because I think it's the responsible thing to do and because it's the only way I know to sell myself."

Gingrich said in 1974, "There's a psychological constituency out there . . . very angry at what's going on in Washington." He added, "Probably one of the beauties of open elective politics is that if you work hard enough it doesn't matter what people think—you may win." After losing in 1974 and 1976, he got elected in 1978. The lone Republican in the Georgia House delegation in 1990, he saw his party gain three seats in 1992, three more in 1994, and a convert in 1995 for an 8-3 majority. The three of the remaining Democrats were all black.

Gingrich not only became in 1995 the first Republican from the South ever to serve as speaker of the House, but Mississippi's junior Republican senator, Trent Lott, became number two Republican leader in the Senate. Veteran Republicans Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Jesse Helms of North Carolina became chairmen of major committees in the Senate. Senator Phil Gramm of Texas and former Governor Lamar Alexander of Tennessee both were jockeying for the 1996 Republican presidential nomination. With Democrats Clinton and Gore serving as president and vice president, southerners dominated the leadership ranks of both parties as the nation prepared to move into the twenty-first century.

Southern Republicans not only picked up sixteen House seats in 1994, but nine of the ten new Republicans elected in 1992 to the House came from the South. All twenty-five of these new southern Republicans in the House of

Preface to the Brown Thrasher Edition

Representatives came from districts that, according to the 1994 *Almanac of American Politics*, had voted 60 percent or more for George Bush in the 1988 presidential election. Of sixty-seven such districts, Republicans held fifty-five seats. Voting trends suggest additional future GOP opportunity.

The Republican House gains represent three trends—with demographic, racial, and religious dimensions. The demographic trend involves continued expansion of predominantly white, middle and upper-middle class suburbs that provide a conservative base for Republican candidates. This conservative base has flowed down from presidential Republicanism into state and local elections and spilled over onto Main Street of the smaller cities and towns.

Meanwhile, the evolution of the Voting Rights Act and judicial interpretation of it allowed blacks and Republicans to coalesce around the concept of single member electoral districts. No issue has had more direct impact on electoral politics, resulting in the election of more blacks and more Republicans.

Judicially mandated majority-black districts, however, have undermined moderate and progressive white Democrats who got elected on a biracial coalition. The result is the election of more blacks—an increase in Congress from three in 1990 to seventeen in reapportioned House districts in 1992. All won reelection in 1994, but with twenty-five fewer white Democrats from the South with whom to form an effective coalition on policy issues.

This result means a significant increase in direct representation for black voters, but diminished indirect representation. For example, a white state representative with a mildly progressive voting record said after the switch from at-large elections in his urban county in South Carolina: "Black voters aren't important to me anymore." A year later he switched to the Republican party.

With black voters packed into majority-black districts, many progressive white Democratic office-holders found their core support too small to remain in office. "One unhappy result in South Carolina," that state's largest newspaper observed in 1993, "has been a reduction of the kind of moderate Democrats who provided the state with progressive leadership over the past thirty years or so."

With apparently safe legislative and congressional districts—at this writing a divided Supreme Court has yet to rule definitively on "majority-minority" districts—the question is whether the emerging crop of black political leaders will become parochial in outlook. Will they be concerned only with narrow interests of their districts or self-defined "black" interests? Or will they find that freedom from reliance on white voters and financial supporters allows them to develop political sophistication and an agenda that can lead to tangible economic opportunity for the mass of their supporters?

On a regional basis, no new political development has been more pervasive since 1976 than the emergence of the religious right as a political force. White southern evangelicals traditionally had been more other-

MARGARET A. WILLIAMS

Mike —

You, me, Lisa and
Evelyn need to discuss.
We'll ultimately
follow your lead but
have reservations

Maggie

→ ask Maggie to
Book project meeting

Newsweek

1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. | Suite 1220 | Washington | DC. | 20006 | (202) 626-2000

Ms. Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
OEOB
Washington DC

September 15, 1995

Dear Maggie,

Thanks very much for taking the time to meet with me about the 1996 Newsweek campaign project. It was very helpful for me to hear your thoughts about covering the First Lady's role in the campaign. I understand your point about the President being the central actor in this story but also feel it would be difficult to fully explain the President's reelection campaign without including Mrs. Clinton's role as the President's closest advisor and best friend. I hope it will be possible to arrange appropriate, periodic access as Mrs. Clinton's schedule permits that will enable me to accurately relate Mrs. Clinton's insights and to include her voice in the narrative.

Unlike our regular weekly coverage, the book and the special issue do not seek to explain the daily and hourly swerves of the campaign but instead to accurately and vividly relate the aspirations, emotions and experiences of the candidates and their key advisors. As Mike McCurry will be able to tell you from the days I covered the State Department I am neither a fan nor a practitioner of "attitude journalism." I view my job as reporting in a fair manner the views and experiences related first-hand by my sources and am very content to let intelligent readers draw their own conclusions. My colleagues on the project are very dedicated to this "old-fashioned" style of reporting and believe this is what has made the campaign project so successful in the past.

In order to do this we need a degree of access and intimacy that are not provided to the regular campaign press. In return, we embargo everything we report until after the votes are counted. I agree with you that security is the highest priority for a reporting project of this nature. In the twelve years Newsweek has published the book there has never been a leak from the project. Not one.

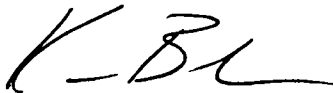
My project colleagues and I are taking a number of precautions to make sure we maintain that record. We observe a "code of silence" that prohibits us from sharing anything we learn with editors, Newsweek colleagues, friends or anyone else. Nothing I report about the President's campaign will appear until after the election, not even as a cleverly camouflaged flick in a weekly story nor as a vaguely sourced Periscope item nor as campaign trail gossip. The purpose of all this is to assure sources that the thoughts they share with the project can in no way affect their candidate's fortunes before the election.

We work on laptops, not on the Newsweek computer system. I store all project-related material at my home. My reports will be filed to a special queue accessible to only two people at Newsweek: Peter Goldman, the project manager and author of the 1984, 1988 and 1992 books who works from his home in Manhattan and Ken Auchincloss, the project editor, who has been detached from his weekly duties at the magazine. To prevent confidential material leaking from one campaign to another my colleagues covering Republican or third-party candidates will have no access to my files nor will I be able to read theirs.

If you would like any further information about the project please feel free to contact me at 626-2032. As we discussed, I would be very grateful for the opportunity to meet briefly with Mrs. Clinton and introduce myself. I will contact your office to see when this might be possible.

Thank you again for your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'K-BL', with a stylized, flowing script.

Karen Breslau

cc: Lisa Caputo

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Leon Panetta, George Stephanopoulos, Mark Gearan, Pat
Griffin, Harold Ickes, John Podesta, Marcia Hale, Gene
Sperling
FR: Mike McCurry ^{mmc}
DT: March 7, 1995
RE: Elizabeth Drew

Having been deputized to vet book requests, I wanted to give you an update on Elizabeth Drew's new project. Although it sounds like a book focusing primarily on the new Republican congress, the White House will figure prominently. I think that we can positively affect Drew's reporting if we deal with her in a direct and disciplined way and coordinate our remarks. I recommend that you each sit for interviews on specific aspects of her book for defined periods. Here are topics she would propose to cover in her initial meetings:

- How is the White House dealing generally with the 104th Congress?
- How did our strategy for dealing with Congress evolve?
- How did White House pick and choose places to engage with Congress and draw distinctions (e.g. why 100,000 cops as first veto threat).
- Framing of issues for press appearances like State of the Union?

I recommend we take 5 minutes at a senior staff meeting to go over this subject. Drew will start calling each of you soon to schedule appointments, if she hasn't already.

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

February 8, 1995

*Julie - I need to call
Kimberly.**Evelyn
Circulate to
"book project
committee."
- MM?*

MEMORANDUM TO: Mike McCurry
Press Secretary
The White House

FROM: Kimberly Marteau *[Signature]*
Director
Office of Public Liaison

SUBJECT: WALTER SHAPIRO BOOK INTERVIEW WITH DR. DUFFEY

As I mentioned to you, Walter Shapiro interviewed Dr. Duffey last Wednesday for Shapiro's 1996 Random House book on "Clinton and politics and foreign policy." He hopes to interview Dr. Duffey again in one or two months. Ground rules were that everything was on background, but he will come back to us for permission to use specific quotes. Following is my interpretation of the themes and direction Shapiro appears to be taking with this project.

Shapiro is clearly sympathetic with the Democrats and Clinton. Although this does not mean his book won't have some barbs, he stated twice that this will not be an "Elizabeth Drew or Bob Woodward" style of book.

Shapiro will pin his thesis on 5 or 6 foreign policy issues as they are played out in 1995. Right now, his list includes the following: Russia, Mexican peso, Bosnia and North Korea. Duffey suggested the following as other possible hooks: human rights; the evolution of the Administration position on the expansion of democracy, as originally explained by Tony Lake (which Shapiro noted was not part of Christopher's latest "new European security architecture" speech); trade (which Shapiro believes we will back off from a little); and solvency.

One of his main themes is that Bill Clinton represents the last generation of U.S. leaders whose foreign policy has been shaped by anti-Vietnam sentiment. He believes that Democrats have been on the wrong side of this cultural divide and must "dig themselves out." He thinks that this cultural resentment is being played out through all of the baggage being laid on the First Couple by conservatives. He also suggests that Mrs. Clinton was more effective in the '60s than Clinton, and that the extreme virulence aimed at her has been based on people sensing this. He noted that even the detail of the First Lady's use of headbands has served as a negative symbol of the '60s for some. On a larger scale, he made the point that Mrs. Clinton was right in recognizing a spiritual void in the country and wanting to address it, but no one will listen to her because of this cultural prejudice.

Another main theme Shapiro will pursue is to consider the generational and cultural continuities in Clinton's foreign policy. For example, explained Shapiro, Clinton's hatred of racism is reflected, perhaps subliminally, in his decision to send troops to Haiti despite its unpopularity with the public.

- 2 -

Shapiro thinks the Clinton Administration position that "everything we do in foreign policy is related to economic security" has been taken to "ludicrous" levels. Shapiro stated that McCarthy froze the debate on the issue of discussing democracy in economic terms. It was forbidden in U.S. politics. He opined that Clinton was influenced by this.

Per Shapiro, one influence on Clinton is the idea that we have come to define our leadership by actions abroad, rather than at home. We Americans want to be inspired by our international, rather than domestic, role. Clinton has suffered from this for his first 2 years. I.e., there is much less stature associated with speaking to a Minnesota town hall than in meeting with Middle Eastern leaders pledging peace. To this must be added occasional, perceived indecisiveness on world issues, says Shapiro.

Shapiro wants to expand on whom Clinton has put into foreign policy positions and why. He raised the issue of whether the US should play a Messianic role in the world. He also plans to address the reasons why the U.S. is the only country concerned about North Korea.

Finally, Shapiro believes that Clinton was "gutsy" on the Mexican peso crisis. In his mind, this crisis represented the first failure of the influence of "old-fashioned authority figure" politics, i.e., the new Congress will not necessarily respond to Henry Kissinger's or James Baker's imploring them on foreign policy issues. The Cold War assumptions are not within their thinking.

Mike, please let me know if any of this needs further explication. You can reach me at 202-619-4355.

He's off the
wall about being
turned down.

GT
9-15-95

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

Ginny

☒ YOU WERE CALLED BY -

☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY -

OF (Organization)

Jakes Whitaker

☒ PLEASE PHONE ►

☐ FTS

☐ AUTOVON

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN

☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL

☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

Why?

298-
8359

Hang up before I could get it

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

K

9-15

2:42

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)

Prescribed by GSA
U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1991 281-781/40014
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

For Mr. -
Why are we
doing?

ROUTING SLIP

DATE: 5/31/95

FROM: Billy Webster
Director of Scheduling and Advance

SUBJECT: Interview w/ Jules Witcover

Don Baer	☒	Abner J. Mikva	☐
Erskine Bowles	☐	Laura Tyson	☐
Rebecca Cameron	☐	Leon Panetta	☐
Peg Cusack	☐	John Podesta	☐
Rahm Emanuel	☐	Jack Quinn	☐
Mark Gearan	☒	Carol Rasco	☐
Jack Gibbons	☐	Lee Satterfield	☐
Pat Griffin	☐	Patti Solis	☒
Marcia Hale	☐	Doug Sosnik	☒
Alexis Herman	☐	G. Stephanopoulos	☐
Nancy Hernreich	☐	Ann Stock	☐
Kitty Higgins	☐	Stephanie Streett	☐
Harold Ickes	☐	Kim Tilley	☐
Anthony Lake	☐	Jodie Torkelson	☐
Bruce Lindsey	☐	Melanne Verveer	☐
Mike McCurry	☒	Anne Walley	☐
Anne McGuire	☒	Maggie Williams	☐
Mack McLarty	☐		

McCurry

FILE: x

Regret

FYI x

ADVICE ☐

ACTION ☐

REGRET POTUS, suggest a surrogate is needed: ☐

COMMENTS: PEW BW 5/31

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

11-Jul-1995 07:49pm

TO: Evelyn S. Lieberman
FROM: Barry J. Toiv
Office of the Chief of Staff
CC: Julie E. Mason
SUBJECT: Book

Harold sent a memo to Leon, Mark, and McCurry regarding a proposed book on Clinton by Jack Bass. Leon says we need to have a meeting about it. Let's talk.

ask
Barry

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

4 July 1995

to BT
mccurry
④

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
MIKE MCCURRY
MARK GEARAN

FROM: Harold Ickes (H)

SUBJECT: Possible book by Jack Bass about the
Administration

Attached is a self-explanatory 22 May 1995 letter to me from Ron Goldfarb and a 19 May 1995 letter to Mr. Goldfarb from Jack Bass, Professor of Journalism at the University of Mississippi.

Mr. Bass is interested in writing a book about the White House's activities over the next 18 months. If he is to do so, however, he would want certain access to the Administration.

What's your reaction?

Goldfarb, Rm
- rmes

GOLDFARB AND GRAYBILL • LAW OFFICES

918 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 400, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 PH: (202) 466-3030 FAX: (202) 293-3187

May 22, 1995

VIA FACSIMILE (4 PP) / 456-2883

Harold Ickes
Assistant to the President and
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Harold:

You probably know Jack Bass as the author of the recent biography of Judge Frank Johnson, *Taming The Storm* (edited by Jacqueline Onassis, by the way) and of *Unlikely Heroes*, a great book about the federal judiciary's role in the civil rights revolution. He's first rate. Through Dick Riley, he's approached President Clinton, hoping to be commissioned to do for the Clinton presidency what Ronald Reagan commissioned during his incumbency -- an inside story of the White House experience of a sitting president. Jack's trying one more time now.

I urge you to consider this idea and plug it with your boss if you agree with me it makes sense from everyone's point of view. Best case scenario for President Clinton -- the story continues into a second term. Worst case scenario -- at least this term is portrayed uniquely.

I'm also about to sell a book about the White House by Mary Lynn Kotz with an introduction planned by Mrs. Clinton. These ideas are good for all concerned parties; they are good politics; and, they are in the public interest. I hope you'll agree.

Best regards,

Rm
Ronald Goldfarb

Enclosure



The University of Mississippi

Department of Journalism
University, MS 38677
(601) 232-7146
FAX: (601) 232-5703

May 19, 1995

Mr. Ronald Goldfarb
918 16th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Ron:

The book I'm now proposing to write about President Clinton, The White House Fights Back, would insure a definitive account of the current period in the White House. I believe this period will be crucial in American history. Such a book eventually would serve as a useful supplement to the President's own book or books, as the case may be. The White House Fights Back would provide a fair and accurate account of both the substantive and procedural responses made to last year's election and the events that have followed. In telling a readable story in human terms, this book will provide new insight about the current White House and those who work there.

As reported May 7 in The New York Times, staff changes in the White House led to policy changes, including that of insuring for President Clinton daily time for reflection. My thesis, in part, is that the Oklahoma City tragedy provided an event that allowed a more measured presidential leadership to express itself.

My interest is in writing a book that adds to public understanding on this critical period. From a White perspective, such a book could have an impact on the climate for governing during a second term or even on the 1996 campaign, depending on pub date, but my interest is to chronicle with accuracy the unfolding story of President Clinton's political response to last fall's election. I want a book that both will enhance current understanding and provide insight for future historians.

As one who first interviewed both Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich in 1974, when both were making unsuccessful races for Congress, the proposed book represents a story that has continuity and context. Those 1974 interviews were conducted for research for The Transformation of Southern Politics, which received widespread critical acclaim, and Walter DeVries and I have used them in writing a preface to a reissue of the book scheduled this summer by the University of Georgia Press. Walt commented in 1974 after our interview with the governor of Georgia, "That guy

May 19, 1995

could go all the way." I felt that way after our interview with the law professor from the University of Arkansas.

As you know, I have an eager editor and an informal commitment from the Ford Foundation for a grant to work on a different book project, one that will require making a commitment imminently. Because The White House Fights Back would require access, I need to know by the middle of June whether there is interest in making such access available.

Sincerely,



Jack Bass
Professor of Journalism



The University of Mississippi

Department of Journalism
University, MS 38677
(601) 712-7146
FAX (601) 232-6702

May 17, 1995

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

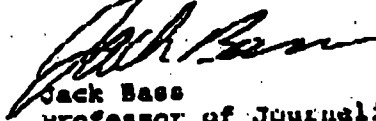
When I think back to my effort at the end of 1987 to write an article for The Washington Post Magazine about you as a potential 1988 candidate and my proposal of last December for a book that might be titled, "The White House Fights Back," it seems that I tend to be slightly ahead of the curve.

A book such as I propose would insure a definitive account of the next 18 months of your record in the White House, which I believe will be a crucial period in American history. Such a book would eventually serve as a useful supplement to your own book or books, as the case may be. The White House Fights Back would provide a fair and accurate account of both the substantive and procedural responses made to last year's election and the events that have followed. In telling a readable story in human terms that provides new insight about the current White House and those who work there, this book also could improve the climate of understanding for a second term, which I expect you to win.

Because I am also considering a different book project, one that will require making a commitment imminently, I would appreciate hearing from you before the middle of June if my current proposal is of interest.

On a personal note, I believe you have handled exceptionally well the response to the tragedy in Oklahoma City.

Sincerely,



Jack Bass
Professor of Journalism

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO: Allison/Julie
☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY ☒ YOU WERE VISITED BY -
Bob McElwaine
 OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE PHONE ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON
214-733 4100 rm. 212
☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU
☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

home -
 601 924 1598
 wants to interview

RECEIVED BY fw DATE 9/20 TIME 11:10

50363-111 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 OPTIONAL FORM 363 (Rev. 1-94)
 U.S. G.P.O.:1994-300-891/00003 Prescribed by GSA

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO: Allison
☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY -
Bob McElvaine
 OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE PHONE ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON
601 974 1291 or 1598
☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU
☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

RECEIVED BY fw DATE 9/13 TIME 10:25

50363-111 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 OPTIONAL FORM 363 (Rev. 1-94)
 U.S. G.P.O.:1994-300-891/00003 Prescribed by GSA

September 1, 1995

Thursday

**MILLSAPS
COLLEGE**

Ms. Allison Willkie
Press Office
The White House
FAX: 202/456-6423

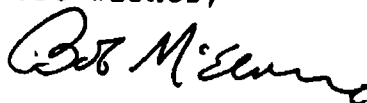
Dear Ms. Willkie:

I am planning another trip to Washington to do more interviews for my new book, *What's Left?* I will be in town September 24-28. I would like to renew my request to obtain an interview with the President during that period.

If necessary, Carter can fill you in on the details of my project and my background. If you need any of the supporting information I sent previously to you and through Laura Capps in George Stephanopoulos's office and Kerri Morgan in Dick Riley's office, let me know and I'll forward it to you.

Any assistance that you are able to provide will be greatly appreciated. Please let me know of developments with my request.

Best wishes,



Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters
Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291
Fax: 601/974-1324
e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

1701 NORTH STATE ST.

JACKSON • MS • 39210

(601) 974-1000

July 3, 1995

**MILLSAPS
COLLEGE**

Ms. Allison Willkie
Press Office
The White House
FAX: 202/456-6423

Dear Ms. Willkie:

As Carter told you last Thursday, I am trying to obtain an interview with President Clinton for the book on which I am presently working, *What's Left?* Late last week the Press Office should have received from Laura Capps in George Stephanopoulos's office a copy of my letter containing this request. Attached is a copy of that letter and a new letter addressed to Mr. McCurry, requesting a date for an interview with the President.

Any assistance that you are able to provide in this regard will be greatly appreciated.

Best wishes,



Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters
Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291
Fax: 601/974-1324
e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1995

Mr. Billy Webster
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Director of Scheduling and Advance

Dear Mr. Webster,

FYI: George Stephanopoulos has agreed to be interviewed.

Laura Capps
Exec. Assistant to George Stephanopoulos

Mike McC -
your thoughts? We
shouldn't do any more
books in my view.
RW

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mike,

Mike
McLung

Another book
request. I'd feel
more comfortable if
you'd turn it
down (sounds more
official). Is
that ok?

Thank,

Julie

9/27

John -
Follow up with Mason.
They were going to make
decision on this book.

Book
Interviews
Pending

MILLSAPS COLLEGE

Date: Sept. 15, 1995 Time: 1:50 PM (Central)

To: Ms. Janis Enwright

Office of Harold Ickes

FAX No.: 202/456-2464

From: Robert S. McElvaine

Dept.: History

Comments: See attached letter.

I am transmitting this cover page and 1 page(s).
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MILLSAPS COLLEGE

September 15, 1995

Ms. Janis Enwright
Office of Harold Ickes
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
FAX: 202/456-2464

Dear Ms. Enwright:

I am currently working on a new book, entitled *What's Left?* My intention is to do for "our side" what David Frum's *Dead Right* (Basic, 1994) did for the right: offer a friendly and committed, but also frank and critical, examination of the policies, practices, and ideals of American progressive politics and thinking, combined with an assessment of Gingrichism and its vulnerabilities and a vision and prescription for Democrats in 1996 and beyond. I am represented by the William Morris Agency and anticipate that this will be a major and influential book.

I have written several previous books, including *The Great Depression* (Times Books, 1984, 1993), *The End of the Conservative Era: Liberalism After Reagan* (Arbor House, 1987) and *Mario Cuomo: A Biography* (Scribners, 1988), and I frequently write articles and op-ed pieces for such publications as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Atlanta Constitution*, *Boston Globe*, *Newsweek*, and *The Washington Monthly*.

I have already interviewed several leading members of Congress and of the President's staff, including George Stephanopoulos, Bill Galston, and Bruce Reed. The Press Office is trying to arrange an interview with the President when I am next in Washington, from **September 24 through 28**. I would like to arrange an interview with Mr. Ickes during that time. I would appreciate it if you would contact me to set up a time for such a discussion.

Best wishes,



Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters

Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291
Fax: 601/974-1324
e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Personally Identifiable Information [partial] (1 page)	00/00/0000	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Press Secretary
Mike McCurry
OA/Box Number: 11102

FOLDER TITLE:

Book Group

2011-0586-F
db4229

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

HAYNES B. JOHNSON,

DAVID S. BRODER,

(b)(6)

ILYSE J. VERON,

[001]

May 25, 1995

TO: MIKE McCURRY

FR: HAYNES JOHNSON AND DAVID S. BRODER

Mike:

About our interview with the President Tuesday, May 30, for our book, The System:

To reiterate what we said earlier, this conversation with the President comes after hundreds over more than two years with virtually all the leading players in the health reform battle: Republican and Democratic leaders of Congress and heads of operative committees, major opposing lobbyists, administration members from Cabinet to First Lady, governors and others outside the Beltway. As you'll remember, we're using the health care fight to illuminate a greater issue: How, and whether, the political/governmental system works--or doesn't--and to draw large lessons from that experience.

What we most want--and need--is to get the unique perspective of Bill Clinton himself. We want to be able to let all readers understand what it was like for the President as he went through the critical junctures of that experience--what surprised him, what heartened him, what dismayed him, what personal and political lessons he draws from it.

We have no hidden agenda in this conversation. We do have a number of areas we'd like to explore. Among them: the choice of Hillary to head the task force and Ira to manage it; the role of

the interest groups and the Democratic Party upon whom the administration counted to win the fight; the impact of Whitewater, talk radio, and the Gingrich GOP; the veto threat in the 1994 State of the Union address; the final difficult decision to pull the plug last fall; the role the health care fight played in the Republican takeover of Congress and what part health care will play in the 1996 presidential campaign. And, finally, but crucially, his thoughts about the presidency, the system, and the American future.

Our goal is to make sure we reflect the President's thinking, and his voice, in what we believe became a defining issue for the two parties and the country--and a story that is far from over.

We appreciate all your help, Mike, and look forward to this conversation.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Haynes Johnson", with a long horizontal line extending from the end of the signature.

Haynes Johnson

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David S. Broder", with a stylized, cursive script.

David S. Broder

Proof of story MCC

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To <i>Mike McCauley</i>	From	
Co. <i>White House</i>	Co.	
Dept.	Phone #	
Fax # <i>202 456-6423</i>	Fax #	

SAVE

17:07:19

*Evelyn
Broder is
candid in
telegraph
his punch.
We blo nee
to get
in w/
Haynes.
- M*

may
Dear Mike:¶

Thanks for reaffirming that the interview with the president is on the agenda in the next two weeks.¶

The principal goal we'd like to accomplish in the 45 minutes is to get his personal reflections on the experience of wrestling with the health care issue. As you know, we have spent a great deal of time with the First Lady and Ira and others on the task force, as well as the economic team and congressional liaison staff, and all the key players on the Hill and in many of the interest groups.¶

What we most want--and need--is a clear sense of what this was like from the unique perspective of Bill Clinton himself. What his expectations were when he began, how he envisaged accomplishing his goals, and what he sees as the critical junctures in the story. In short, we want Bill Clinton's voice in the telling of this story.¶

We are using the health care fight as a window through which to examine the workings of our political and governmental system--the book is tentatively titled "The System"--and so we would like very much to know what lessons he drew from the experience--what surprised him, what heartened him, what dismayed him.¶

There are a few specific decisions on which he can enlighten us. They range from the choice of Hillary to head the task force and to do the planning in-house, rather than out in the departments, to the veto threat in the January 1994 State of the Union, the role of the special interests and the political opposition, and the end game maneuvers from his speech to the governors in Boston right down to the final decision to pull the plug.¶

But our main goal is to enable readers to understand what this fight was like from the perspective of the principal players--and mainly we want to be sure to give him time to reflect his view from the Oval Office.¶

We appreciate your arranging this. Please let us know if you have questions.¶

¶

Dave Broder 334-7444.¶

Haynes Johnson 965-2665.

FAX number: (202) 456-6423
Attention: Julie Mason, White House Press Office
October 12, 1995
From: Stuart McIver
2201 NE 32 Court
Lighthouse Point, Fl. 33064
(305) 943-5091

Subject; HAIL TO THE CHIEFS, a book on the American presidents, from George Washington to Bill Clinton, to be published by Birch Lane Press, of New York, in late spring of 1996, well ahead of the election.

The book will consist of short introductory and closing chapters and biographical essays on each president, with roughly three pictures for each presidential chapter. Since I have the responsibility for the presidents from Grover Cleveland to the present, I will be needing the following material on President Clinton:

A fact sheet: when and where born, when and where educated, wedding date, personal information, dates of all gubernatorial campaigns and results, date when he declared for presidency, this type of material.

A summary of the achievements of President Clinton. I believe such a summary was prepared last year.

Whatever biographical summary you have available for the press. Also bios on Hillary and Al Gore.

Anything else you want to send to make him look good. After all, this book will be out before the election.

I will need several pictures: a head and shoulders portrait of the President, a newsy, non-posed picture of him with Hillary and any others you could send showing the President engaged in significant presidential activity, such as bringing Rabin and Arafat together or whatever you regard as appropriate.

I hate to rush you but I will begin working on the President Clinton chapter around October 25.

And now, a totally off-the-wall request, having nothing to do with the CHIEFS book. As a member of the Mystery Writers of America (my tenth book, MURDER IN THE TROPICS will be out November 2) I am delighted with the President's interest in mysteries. If you have a list of his favorite writers or books or a press release on the subject, please send it to me. I would be happy to write it up for the Florida's chapter's newsletter.

Thanks.

Stuart McIver



October 12, 1995

Mr. Mike McCurry
White House Press Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

st

Dear Mr. McCurry:

Last May, as emcee of the annual White House News Photographers Association dinner, I spoke to President Clinton about a book project, and he asked that I forward a proposal to you.

My wife and I are profiling about 30 people born between 1946 and 1955, the so-called first wave of the baby boom generation. The book is to be published as early as possible in 1996, the year the generation begins turning 50.

As an oral history of the nation's largest and most influential generation, we feel it is important to include profiles of President and Mrs. Clinton, the first of their generation to occupy the White House. Because the text is strictly the direct comments of each subject, it is an opportunity for Mr. and Mrs. Clinton to discuss the everyday things in their lives without probing political questions.

I look forward to hearing from you to further discuss how we might be able to include the President and Mrs. Clinton in this book project. Attached is a brief overview of the project, biographies of the authors, and two sample profiles to give you an idea of the scope and content of this project.

Sincerely,

P.O. Box 344
68 Polk Street
Basye, Virginia
2 2 8 1 0

tel: 540.856.2069
fax: 540.856.3341
pgr: 703.701.4660

OVERVIEW

Objective: To create a book that will make a strong, personal connection with the 38 million Baby Boomers born between 1946 and 1955, America's largest and most influential generation. We will do this through brief, first-person accounts

Format: Half photography and half text, this format is calculated to attract a generation reared on television and conditioned to respond to sound bites.

Stunning black and white photography will allow readers to identify instantly with their Boomer cohorts. The probing eye of nationally renowned photojournalist Bernie Boston will give us an intimate, revealing look at the Boomers' lives. We will share their joys and sorrow, feel what they feel and see what they see.

The book's visual richness will be balanced by anecdotes of the events that shaped their lives in the Boomers' own words. The tone and mood and pace of their voices will help us understand not only their personal journeys, but how their generation has shaped our times. This is the first book on the Boomer generation that tells their story exclusively through revealing photographic images and the Boomers' first-person accounts.

Contents:

Part I: 10 pages of nostalgia

Consumer behavior, demographers believe, is stimulated by experiences shared in youth. The Boomers came of age during some of our nation's most turbulent times. The book will open with a section of nostalgic images that quickly evoke strong memories of the time, place and sense of events. Text will include the year and one-line descriptions of the events.

Part II: Profiles--100+ pages

Boomers were taught from birth that they were special, that they could be whatever they wanted, that they could make a difference. This section will feature -- through revealing photography and first-person accounts -- 30 or so Boomers. Readers will be able to reaffirm their own sense of uniqueness by looking into the lives of some of their generation's most intriguing and original cohorts.

Part III -- 4 pages of demographics and notable names

This section will give readers a quick demographic and psychographic profile of their cohorts, and a list of well-known Boomers. It will allow them to define and compare themselves with the rest of their generation.

Subjects: Those featured in this book will be, for the most part, ordinary people; thoughtful and intriguing unknowns, people who are originals, who have insightful observations about their lives and times. A few will be well-known Americans from the world of politics, entertainment, business, sports and the arts.

Timing: To coincide with when the vanguard of the Boom generation (those born in 1946), begin turning 50. Available as early as possible in 1996.

Target audience:

Primary -- The 38+ million Boomers born between 1946 and 1955. These people, now 40 to 49 years old, also represent the largest group of adults who purchased books in the past year.

Secondary -- Another 38 million Boomers, born in Wave II between 1956 and 1964, who are the siblings, classmates and workplace peers of the Wave I Boomers. Also friends and family members of the generation.

THE AUTHORS

Bernie Boston:

As a nationally-renowned photojournalist, Bernie Boston has been at the center of America's top news events since 1963. His historic portfolio includes coverage of the Civil Rights movement, anti-Vietnam war activities, Watergate and Iran-Contra hearings, Middle East peace accords, and every President since Harry Truman.

Along with portraits of the famous -- from politicians to artists -- Bernie has also photographed hundreds of ordinary folks with grace, dignity and humor. His stories on a teenage girl dying of cancer, and of poverty in Washington, D.C. are just two of many that have received awards from his peers.

Bernie received the National Press Photographers Association Joseph A. Sprague Memorial Award in 1993. The Association's highest honor in the field of photojournalism, the Sprague is given to an individual who advances, elevates or attains unusual recognition for his profession.

In addition to placing second for the Pulitzer Prize in 1987 and 1968, Bernie has won dozens of awards from such organizations as the White House News Photographers Association (WHNPA), the National Press Photographers Association (NPPA), Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, and the Ohio Press Photographers Association.

Born and raised in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area, Boston received his degree in photo technology from the Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, N.Y. in 1955. After two years of military service in Germany, he returned to Washington where he worked as assistant manager for a custom color service, and as a freelance photographer.

He joined the staff of The Dayton (O.) Daily News in 1963, and in 1967 became staff photographer for The Washington (D.C.) Star. He was named chief photographer in 1971, a position he held until the newspaper folded in 1981. Bernie was then hired by The Los Angeles Times to establish a photo operation in its Washington bureau.

His work has been published in many books including "The Best of Life", "Life: The First Fifty Years", "150 Year of Photojournalism", "Life's Classic Moments", and a variety of textbooks on government and photography. Bernie taught a photojournalism class at Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT) during the 1990 spring quarter. He also taught a summer course in color photojournalism at RIT for seven years; has served on the faculty of many seminars; was a member of the NPPA Flying Short Course; and has frequently judged national, state and local photography contests. Bernie has been the subject of four television news feature stories.

An active member of WHNPA since 1967, Bernie has served four terms as its president. He has been vice president eight times, dinner chairman three times, and on the executive board since 1973. He served as chairman of the NPPA Freedom of Information Committee, and has served as president of NPPA's Washington Chapter (now inactive). He is also a member of the Senate Press Photographers Gallery.

Bernie has served his community on the board of the Northern Virginia Community College, as chairman of the McLean (VA) Community Center Board, and Fairfax County (VA) History Commission, the McLean Historical Society, and McLean Arts Council. A member of the Aircraft Owners and Pilot's Association, Bernie holds a commercial pilot's rating. He is also a member of the Fairfax Rod and Gun Club.

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. profile	Peggy Boston; RE: Personally Identifiable Information [partial] (1 page)	00/00/0000	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Press Secretary
Mike McCurry
OA/Box Number: 11102

FOLDER TITLE:

Book Group

2011-0586-F
db4229

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Peggy Boston:

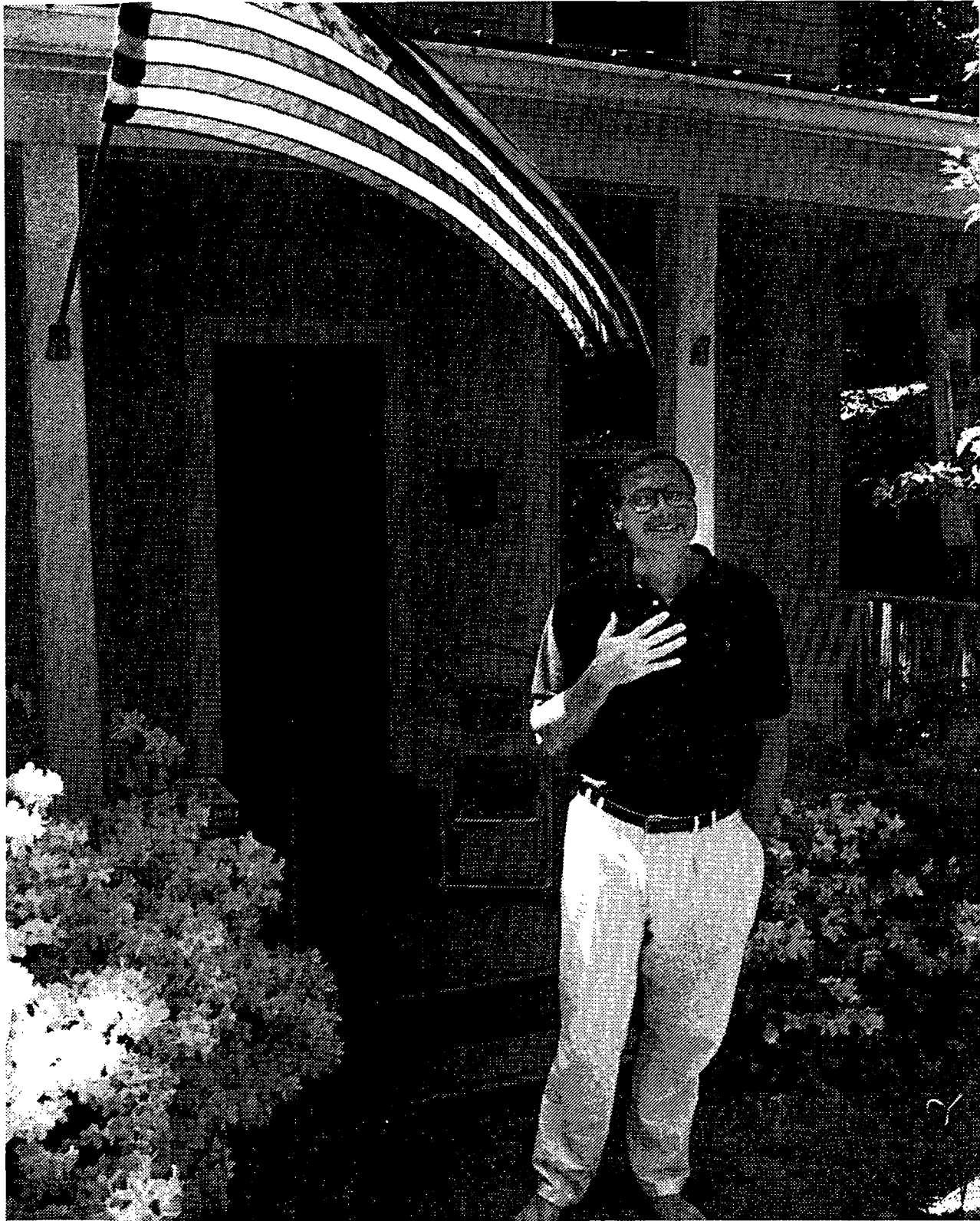
Peggy came by her interest in the Baby Boom generation naturally. Born (b)(6) she is 20 days shy of being an official Boomer. She interviewed for her first job in April 1968, the week that Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated. The interview process involved watching three American cities burn, dodging curfews to catch flights, and a firsthand look at crisis journalism. She got a job with The Washington (D.C.) Star, and spent her first day at the newspaper with 200,000 marchers on the Washington Monument grounds celebrating the Civil Rights movement's Solidarity Day. [002]

She worked at The Star from 1968, when she received a degree in communications from the University of Illinois, until 1981. Her writing there won numerous local and regional awards.

In 1981, Peggy formed Boston Marketing Inc. which has since served such clients as USA TODAY, Reuters News Service, AT&T, Citibank, and U.S. News & World Report. For several years she regularly wrote feature stories for the Great Falls (VA) Gazette. Most recently she coordinated the development and production of advertising sales materials for National Geographic as the magazine's advertising promotion director. In July 1994, she and her photographer husband moved to Virginia's Shenandoah Valley to pursue freelance careers.

Peggy has served her community as president and board member for Neighbors for a Better Community, a local civic and civil rights group, and in politics for the Democratic party and local candidates. She holds a private pilot's license and plays tennis. Named the Betty Crocker Homemaker of Tomorrow in high school, from 1981 to 1986 Peggy ran a popular, though financially unsuccessful, cookie business called Cookies Plus.

Raised on a farm in Illinois, she has remained close to many of her 27 Boomer classmates over the years. It is their unique profile that motivated Peggy to explore the Boomer generation through the voices of individuals.



Chris Core

Born in Rock Island, Illinois, Chris grew up in nearby Clinton, Iowa. He attended Augustana College in Rock Island for two years, then transferred to the University of Wisconsin where he graduated in 1971. He was married for the first time at age 43, and has an infant daughter. Chris is a radio personality for the top-rated afternoon radio show in Washington, DC.

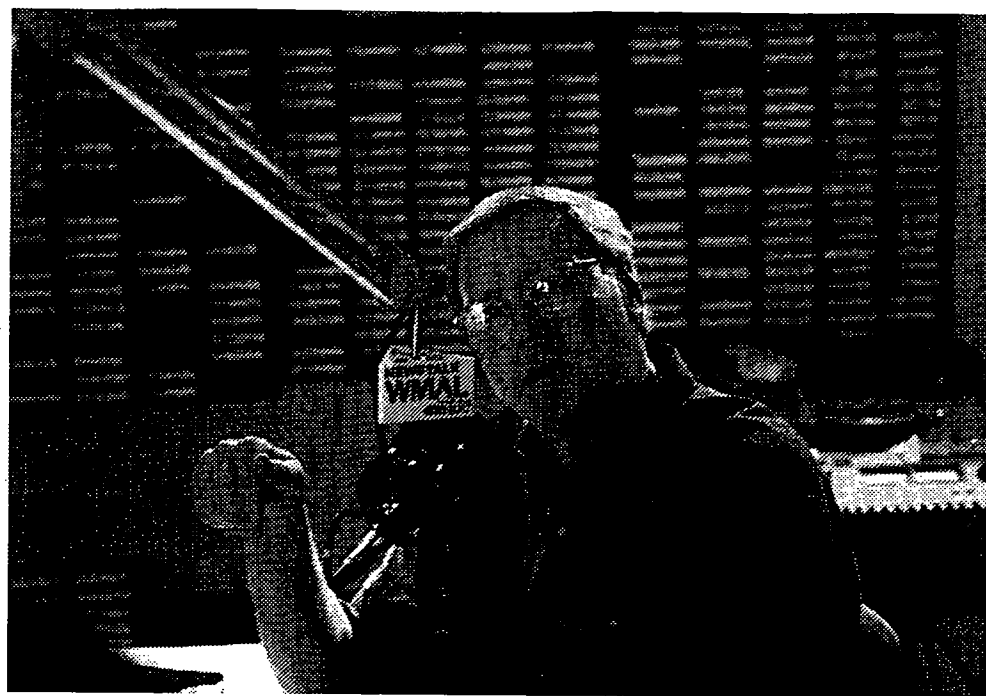
PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

I grew up in an Ozzie and Harriet sort of family. My father worked for himself as an insurance agent, and my mother stayed at home and took care of my brother and me. Elementary school was one block away, and I could walk to school by myself. Everybody had a Mom and a Dad. We had the best of both worlds ... the security of growing up in the 50s when there wasn't a World War and the economy was good, and the benefits of all the social changes of the 60s.

I went to Augustana College because it was a small school with a bunch of people like me. But I found it was boring because the 60s was happening and it wasn't happening there. After two years, I transferred to the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Everything that happened in the 60s happened at Wisconsin. I was more of an observer than a participant. Did I ever march? Yeah, but only to see it up close. I wasn't a hippie or a radical or any of that sort of stuff.

I registered for the draft when I was 18, got a 2-S like everybody else. But the doctor said I had allergies, so I got a 1-Y, which means you're draftable, but unless the Russians are on our beaches you won't get called. Then one day I got a card that said I was 4-F. I also got a very high draft lottery number. My chances of being drafted were diminishing. But before that I was doing what Clinton was; investigating the possibilities. I never would have not served, I never would have gone to Canada, or been a conscientious objector. I had friends who served in Vietnam, died there. I was sitting in a room with other guys when the lottery numbers were drawn, and the guy I was sitting next to got a 1. And it was just like 'Holy.....'. Every single night we'd watch Walter Cronkite, and listen to the numbers. It was a big part of our lives.

Vietnam and drugs are defining characteristics of my generation. Everybody our age tried something. I puffed on a joint once because it was the cool thing to do. But I didn't know how to inhale



because I'd never smoked a cigarette. Then I thought drugs were an option like beer or wine, that they should be legal. I still believe people should choose as much about their lives as possible, but I'm willing to make an exception on drugs. All the drugs ... they're devastating.

Discrimination is a big part of my inner self. My mother tells a story that probably explains when I first became aware of discrimination. It was in 1960. Seems that somebody told me people wouldn't vote for Kennedy because he was Catholic. I was so appalled that I decided I was for him. Now, I didn't grow up in an area with blacks or Hispanics ... Iowa, for God's sake! But I just couldn't understand discrimination. It just didn't make sense to me. It's still the one thing that I just absolutely ... am really passionate about. I mean, you can discriminate against somebody as an individual, if they're a jerk. I don't have a problem with that. But just discriminating because somebody is black or female or whatever. I don't know where it came

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

from. Probably my parents. They are good people who always took folks at face value, always taught it was wrong to discriminate.

A coming-of-age moment? Yeah, I can tell you an embarrassing story about that. When I went to Augustana, I wanted to be a "Big Guy On Campus", so I figured out an angle. There was a position called Student Judiciary. A panel for hearing disciplinary cases. Quite prestigious. And I knew that I could convince the Council to give me this position. And sure enough I did. About a week later, I was in a dorm room where there was a big party with beer. Back then, smoking or drinking weren't allowed at Augustana. The student proctor came to the door and reported everybody who was in the room. Even though I wasn't drinking, as a member of the Judiciary, I was expected to report anybody I saw who was. So they took my position away.

Before I was on the Judiciary, the local fraternities paid no attention to me. Then, when I got on, all of a sudden the top fraternities rushed to notice me. When I lost the position, they didn't talk to me anymore. And that was really interesting to me. I mean, that really was a defining moment, when all of a sudden I thought, 'This kind of stuff is not important. These people ... number one they're not my friends, number two the hell with this.' That was when I started looking for other things that were more interesting, looking into real politics and getting involved with people who weren't as snobby. I was a little heartbroken at first, and certainly embarrassed. But after that I found it so liberating.

Like every college student, I was pretty interested in Gene McCarthy in 1968. But then I went to hear Bobby Kennedy speak in Rock Island, and I really got a big crush on him. When he died I was really heartbroken. That was the assassination that touched me. It still makes me cry.

I don't think our generation has gone to sleep. It's our nature to get involved. We've gotten into other things for awhile, like raising kids. We're used to getting our way because we're a big voting block. I think we'll be politically active again. When we get to be 60 years old, 61 or 62, if it looks like Social Security is in trouble, we'll act up.

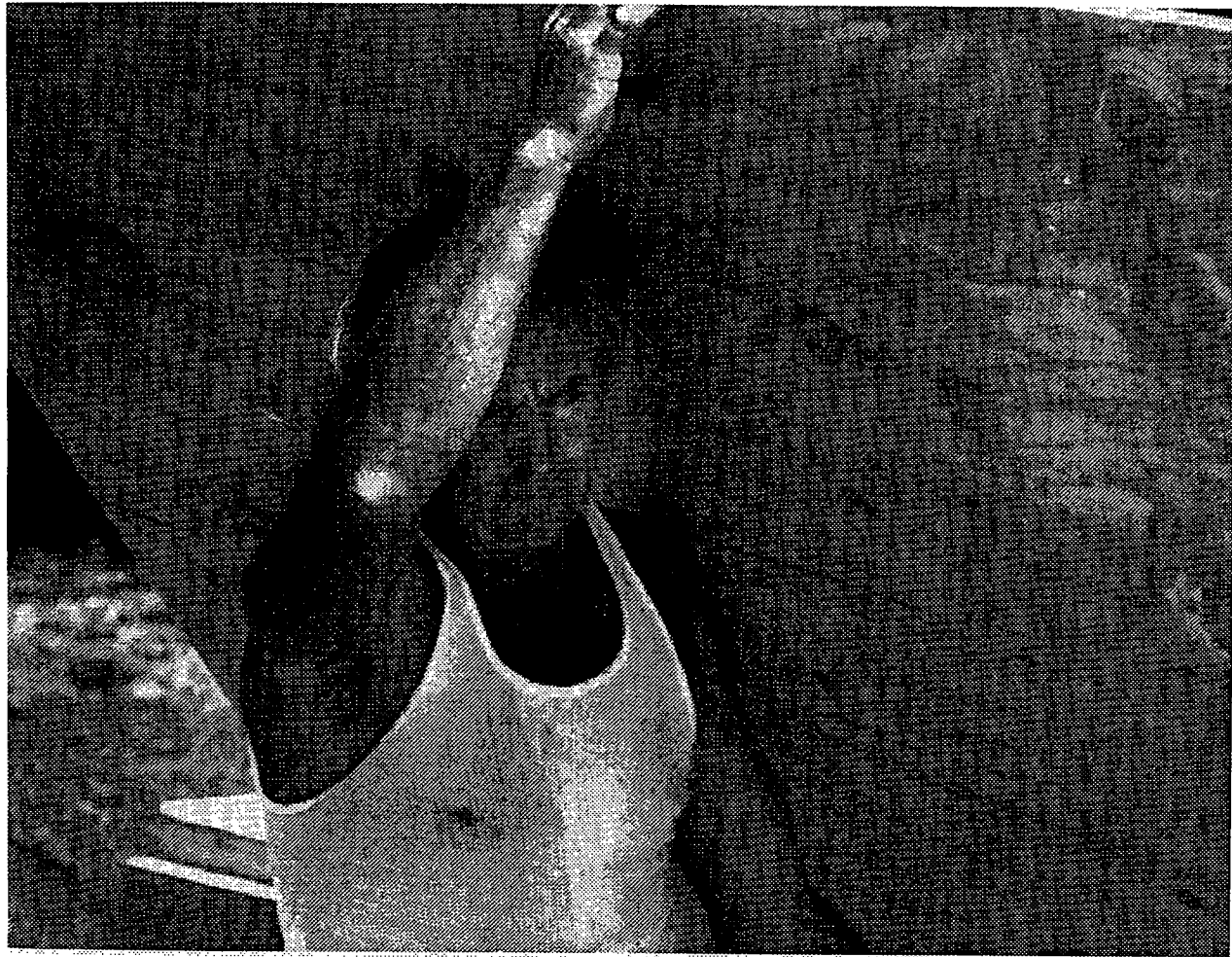
It's definitely true that this generation has aged differently than any generation before it. I'm a symbol of that difference. For a long time I was Peter Pan ... didn't want to grow up. And I didn't have to. I was sort of a big kid, still am kind of a big kid. But personally there was always something missing, and I didn't know what it was. Now I know. My daughter Tabatha. But it took me a long time to get there. Part of the aging difference is physical activity. We've been much more health conscious. And part of it is our mentality, maybe because we've been catered to, because we are full of ourselves.

It's also an outlook. I think the whole generation says "Why should we do that, live up to somebody else's expectations." Why can't we just continue to play? Have time to play, make time to play. And that's wonderfully healthy. The anthem of our generation is "Forever Young." We're gonna keep a youthful outlook, and part of that outlook is optimism, trying to keep an open mind.



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

January 2, 1946



Donald W. Dellinger

Born at home in Moore Store, Virginia, Donnie has always lived near his birthplace in the scenic Shenandoah Valley. The youngest of 14 children, he was four years old when his father died, and began working at the age of 14. A self-taught master carpenter, his dreams include having his own cabinet shop, or opening a restaurant.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

I was born in Shenandoah County at home down the road here about two and a half miles from where I live now. I have kin scattered up and down the valley here. I went to school over at Broadway, quit in the eighth grade. Made a mistake there, but everybody makes mistakes I reckon.

My father died when I was four, so I never got to know him. I'm the youngest of 14. My mother, I can say she was a good woman. When my father died, she had seven children under 18 at home yet. We didn't get welfare or nothing like that, so she went to work for \$4 a day. We had to walk three miles each way. I went along with her each day, and I still remember the walks down to the neighbor's house where she kept house for a lady. Yeah, I can remember that lady. I would gather eggs for her, and pull weeds in her garden. When she paid my mother, she would give me a nickle. Well, I thought that was just outrageous. Boy, I could go to the store and I'd buy a whole handful of candy.

I started working when I was 14, down in the orchard like about all the boys around here. We grafted trees, pruned trees; usually when we picked apples I worked in the shed, helped pack apples in the shed. I think when I started I was making about \$16.50 a week. Then I went to a farm. Stayed there for 17 years.

I was around 30 when I quit the farm and started carpentry full time. It was a scary time. Wasn't exactly sure where the next money was coming from.



When you have a family, you always have bills. But me and my wife talked it over, and she said if I wanted to do carpentry work, then to try and go ahead and do it.

I wanted to learn to build, so I just started doing it. I was about 21 or 22 when I started building this house in the evenings and on weekends. Most of what I've learned was from watching people do it. We didn't have money to go out and have everything done, so we just learned to do it. You learn a little bit more about how to approach something when you gotta do it yourself. You always look for the best way to approach something. Like in life.

I've learned to work with all types of people, so I enjoy my work, I mean, I enjoy working with people. It's a lot in the attitude, if you're going to get along or not. I can't see where I'd want to change the style of my life. Maybe the quality but not the style. The way I view things. I like to treat people like I'd want them to treat me. I cannot stand to argue. I heard a lot of it at home, been around a lot of arguing, I'll say that. My stepfather and my mother, they argued. He liked to do a little drinking.

I didn't serve in the military. When I was 18, I went to be examined like everybody else. They classified me 1-A, and the man told me, he says, Dellinger, you passed with flying colors. Now you just go on home and sweat it out. I went home and was expecting a call any day because the Vietnam war had broke out and they were taking men left and right. But I wasn't called.

There wasn't a whole lot of talk here in the Valley about Vietnam. Most people didn't know how to take that war cause you heard so many different views. You just went to serve your country. Most of us thought it was our duty to help. If I'd been called, I reckon I'd of been there. I certainly wasn't going to run to Canada to get away from it. After this thing was over, it seemed like a lot of boys died useless. They

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



were trying to protect other people, so you can't say they died in vain, their lives weren't in vain. But it seems like the country backed out.

Sometimes I wish I had gone so I could have seen more of the world and experienced more of the outside life. I always had a feeling of having lost something. My life's been good I reckon. I've worked. One of these days I might travel, if the money situation gets good enough. I'd like to go to the Smokies. Me and my youngest son, we were talking, one of these days we're gonna take off and go to Alaska.

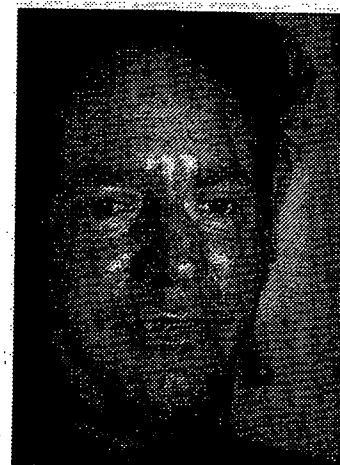
I've never been around any drugs in this area, or heard of any drugs. I didn't hunt any, either. Now once in a while you'd see a carload of hippies go through. People would call them hippies, anyway. But I never did completely find out exactly what a hippie was supposed to be.

I was married at 19. My wife, she was the prettiest girl the Lord ever put on this Earth, so I married her. We were married for 28 years and have four sons and five grandchildren. But we're separated now. It's a change a person don't like to make. I can't tell you any good points about it, except it has pushed me a little closer to my last son. I gotta come home and fix his supper cause he sure does like to eat. Kevin is 14. I'm hoping he'll go to college. He's stayed on the A-B honor roll for the last couple of years.

My second son Carl and his wife and grandchild are living with me now, too. Keith lives in Timberville, and Wayne lives up the road a couple of miles. Wayne is working with me right now, for the same company.

I think I'm a little more restless now than I was years ago. I mean, there's a lot of things that I'd like to do. I see time a-running out. I'd like to open a restaurant one of these years. I like to cook. I learned to cook to feed myself and my family, oh, over 40 years ago. Frying steaks. We even bake some cakes. We always made a fresh coconut cake for Christmas; the ones in the stores were so dry they just didn't taste right. Main thing now is getting the finances to do something like that. If I hit the lottery, if I hit the big lottery, I'd like to have myself a little cabinet shop. And as far as my mind feels and aging, I want to do things just as bad as I ever did.

There's nothing special about my life. The only thing that I would want people to say about me is that I treated everybody as good as I could. That's basically it. Oh, uh, to know that my sons considered me a good daddy. I love my kids.



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PENDING BOOK REQUESTS

- AUTHOR: Jules Whitcover, Baltimore Sun
He has written 13 books on American politics and history.
- BOOK: The Year the Dream Died
-The focus is on the political, social, and cultural impact of 1968
- He is looking for POTUS' appraisal of 1968, how events of 1968 may have contributed to the climate and problems of today.
- AUTHOR: Robert McElvaine, Professor, Millsaps College
- BOOK: What's Left?
- counterpoint to David Frum's Dead Right
- He has interviewed Stephanopoulos, Paul Simon, James Carville, Paul Begala, David Bonier, Bill Galston
- He interviewed then-Governor Clinton in 1986.
- AUTHOR: Jack Bass, Professor of Journalism, University of Mississippi
- BOOK: The White House Fights Back
- Bass interviewed Clinton during his unsuccessful race for governor in 1974 for The Transformation of Southern Politics
- The focus is on Clinton's political reaction to the 1994 elections, and the White House's activities over next 18 months
-Part of his thesis is that the Oklahoma City tragedy provided an event that allowed a more measured presidential leadership to develop (i.e., time for daily reflection).
- AUTHOR: Jim and Lee Powell, Jim was the editor of the *Arkansas Democrat Gazette*
- BOOK: -They are asking POTUS to write forward to their biography on Sen. Fulbright
- POTUS likes this idea because of Powell's Arkansas connection.
- AUTHOR: Deborah and Gary Strober
- BOOK: -They wrote two HarperCollins books (on Kennedy and Nixon) and a book on Billy Graham
- The book will focus on a week in the life of the White House in an objective and human interest point of view.
- The authors request substantial access (i.e., 2 weeks in the White House, not necessarily consecutive, a weekend at Camp David, and possibly foreign travel)
- AUTHOR: Eric Pianin (Washington Post) and George Hager (CQ)
- BOOK: -Focus is on the political history of the deficit (Reagan years, Bush, '90 agreement, Clinton budget)
-Panetta met with them a few times at OMB
- AUTHOR: Roger Newman, author of a biography of Hugo Black.
- BOOK: -This request comes via Harold Ickes.
-He is planning to write an extensive biography of POTUS and requests insider's access to POTUS and to the White House.

Also - Newsweek Request

1627 K Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20007
July 30, 1995

To: Julie Mason
White House Press Office
From: Jules Witcover
Baltimore Sun

As I informed Mike McCurry earlier, I am completing work on a book revisiting the year 1968, entitled *The Year the Dream Died*. I have completed all the chapters dealing with the events of the year and am now winding up my interviews for the final chapter. It will attempt to assess the political, social and cultural impact of 1968, from the challenges of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson's decision not to seek reelection, to the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Kennedy, the turmoil in the streets and on the campuses, and ultimately the election of Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

Accordingly, I would hope to have a few minutes with President Clinton to hear his appraisal of this historic and tumultuous year, his thoughts on how the events of 1968 may have contributed to the climate and problems that exist in the country today, and what course American society might have taken had King and Kennedy lived.

This will be my thirteenth book on American politics and history. Others have included examinations of the 1968 presidential campaigns of Robert Kennedy and Richard Nixon, all five presidential campaigns since 1976, and the office of the vice presidency.

Witcover

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

May 26, 1995

ACCEPT

REGRET 35 MAY 30 PM 8:26

TO: Billy Webster,
Director of Scheduling and Advance

FROM: Mike McCurry, Assistant to the President MMS
and Press Secretary

REQUEST: For the President to interview with Jules
Witcover for his book.

PURPOSE: The interview would enable the President to
discuss some of the events of the year 1968
which influenced his life.

BACKGROUND: Witcover is writing a book on the year 1968.
He'd like to know the President's thoughts on
how the events of this year changed American
history and the mood of the American people.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION: The President interviewed with Witcover and
Jack Germond in April 1993.

DATE AND TIME: TBD. No later than June 16th.

DURATION: Briefing plus 45-minute interview.

LOCATION: Oval Office.

PARTICIPANTS: POTUS, Mike McCurry.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Briefing plus on the record interview.

REMARKS REQUIRED: No

MEDIA COVERAGE: Witcover's book.

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: No

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: No

RECOMMENDED BY: Mike McCurry.

STAFF CONTACT: Mike McCurry, 6-2673

ORIGIN OF PROPOSAL: Jules Witcover

McElvaine

July 3, 1995

Mr. Mike McCurry
c/o Ms. Allison Willkie
Press Office
The White House
FAX: 202/456-6423

MILLSAPS
COLLEGE

Dear Mr. McCurry:

I believe that you have received from Laura Capps in George Stephanopoulos's office a copy of my letter requesting an interview with President Clinton for the book on which I am presently working, *What's Left?* (Another copy of this letter is attached.) Both Paul Begala and Secretary of Education Dick Riley have had long talks with me about the book (as have David Kusnet and Carter Willkie), and they are enthusiastic about the project and its potential impact on next year's election.

I believe that an interview with the President would be critical to the impact of the book, and that the book stands to be very helpful to the President in his reelection effort. As I noted in the letter to Mr. Stephanopoulos, I am sure that the President will remember me from an interview in 1986 and from some of my previous books. It may also be worth pointing out that I have been contributing to his speeches, both during the campaign and since he has become President.

I would very much like to obtain an interview with the President during the month of July. (I will complete the book within the next few months.) Since I am working from a long distance, I would appreciate it if a date could be set somewhat in advance, so that I can make travel arrangements and set up other interviews while I am in Washington.

Many thanks for your assistance.

Best wishes,



Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters
Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291
Fax: 601/974-1324
e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

1701 NORTH STATE ST.

JACKSON • MS • 39210

(601) 974-1000

McElvaine

June 5, 1995

Mr. George Stephanopoulos
The White House
FAX: 202/456-2883

**MILLSAPS
COLLEGE**

Dear Mr. Stephanopoulos:

This is a follow-up to my letter of May 22 (copy attached), seeking to obtain an interview with President Clinton for the book on which I am presently working, *What's Left?* Paul Begala has told me that he has talked with you about this request and my book project, which he thinks may be very helpful to the President's reelection campaign.

If you bring this request up with the President, I am sure that he will remember me from our previous meetings and from my writings.

I expect to be in Washington on June 15-16 and again from June 26-28. I'll be in the New York area between those dates, but could easily return to Washington if it would be better for the President's schedule to meet with me during the week of June 19.

Please let me know if an interview with the President can be arranged during one of these time periods.

I would also like to interview you for the book. Would it be possible for you to meet with me on the 15th, 16th, 26th, 27th, or 28th of this month?

Best wishes,

Bob McElvaine
Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters

Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291

Fax: 601/974-1324

e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

1701 NORTH STATE ST.

JACKSON • MS • 39210

(601) 974-1000

McElvaine

COPY

May 22, 1995

Mr. George Stephanopoulos
The White House
FAX: 202/456-2883

MILLSAPS
COLLEGE

Dear Mr. Stephanopoulos:

Paul Begala has agreed to help me obtain an interview with President Clinton for the book on which I am presently working, *What's Left?* Paul told me to go through you and/or Gene Sperling to arrange a time for an interview with the President. Paul will follow up by phone.

My book is intended as a counterpoint to David Frum's *Dead Right*. On a trip to Washington a few weeks ago, I did several interviews, including Paul and James Carville, David Bonior, Paul Simon, Bill Galston, and several others. Those with whom I talked about my ideas on the Democratic future are very enthusiastic about the book project and its potential positive impact for the party and the President in next year's election. (The book will be published next spring.) Paul was particularly taken with the idea (and the title).

I believe that an interview with the President would be critical to the impact of the book, and that the book stands to be very helpful to the President in his reelection effort. I had a long interview with then-Governor Clinton in Little Rock in 1986 and have met him several times since. I'm sure that he will remember me and I know that he is familiar with at least one of my books, *The End of the Conservative Era*. I have also been contributing to his speeches, both during the campaign and since he has become President.

I expect to be in the Washington area from about June 14 until the end of June. The period from June 15 through 19 would be especially good for me, but I would, of course, arrange to meet with the President at any time that fits his schedule.

Best wishes,

Robert S. McElvaine
Elizabeth Chisholm Professor
of Arts & Letters
Telephone: 601/924-1598 or 601/974-1291
Fax: 601/974-1324
e-mail: mcelvrs@okra.millsaps.edu

1701 NORTH STATE ST.

JACKSON • MS • 39216

(601) 974-1000

Bass

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4 July 1995

~~Mike~~
Evelyn
Pls follow-up
w/ Ickes.
Recommendation?
- MMC

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
MIKE MCCURRY
MARK GEARAN

FROM: Harold Ickes 
SUBJECT: Possible book by Jack Bass about the
Administration

Attached is a self-explanatory 22 May 1995 letter to me from Ron Goldfarb and a 19 May 1995 letter to Mr. Goldfarb from Jack Bass, Professor of Journalism at the University of Mississippi.

Mr. Bass is interested in writing a book about the White House's activities over the next 18 months. If he is to do so, however, he would want certain access to the Administration.

What's your reaction?

Goldfarb, Rm
- rmes

GOLDFARB AND GRAYBILL • LAW OFFICES

918 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 400, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 PH: (202) 466-3030 FAX: (202) 293-3187

May 22, 1995

VIA FACSIMILE (4 PP) / 456-2883

Harold Ickes
Assistant to the President and
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Harold:

You probably know Jack Bass as the author of the recent biography of Judge Frank Johnson, *Taming The Storm* (edited by Jacqueline Onassis, by the way) and of *Unlikely Heroes*, a great book about the federal judiciary's role in the civil rights revolution. He's first rate. Through Dick Riley, he's approached President Clinton, hoping to be commissioned to do for the Clinton presidency what Ronald Reagan commissioned during his incumbency -- an inside story of the White House experience of a sitting president. Jack's trying one more time now.

I urge you to consider this idea and plug it with your boss if you agree with me it makes sense from everyone's point of view. Best case scenario for President Clinton -- the story continues into a second term. Worst case scenario -- at least this term is portrayed uniquely.

I'm also about to sell a book about the White House by Mary Lynn Kotz with an introduction planned by Mrs. Clinton. These ideas are good for all concerned parties; they are good politics; and, they are in the public interest. I hope you'll agree.

Best regards,

Rm
Ronald Goldfarb

Enclosure



The University of Mississippi

Department of Journalism
University, MS 38677
(601) 232-7146
FAX: (601) 232-5703

May 19, 1995

Mr. Ronald Goldfarb
918 16th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Ron:

The book I'm now proposing to write about President Clinton, The White House Fights Back, would insure a definitive account of the current period in the White House. I believe this period will be crucial in American history. Such a book eventually would serve as a useful supplement to the President's own book or books, as the case may be. The White House Fights Back would provide a fair and accurate account of both the substantive and procedural responses made to last year's election and the events that have followed. In telling a readable story in human terms, this book will provide new insight about the current White House and those who work there.

As reported May 7 in The New York Times, staff changes in the White House led to policy changes, including that of insuring for President Clinton daily time for reflection. My thesis, in part, is that the Oklahoma City tragedy provided an event that allowed a more measured presidential leadership to express itself.

My interest is in writing a book that adds to public understanding on this critical period. From a White perspective, such a book could have an impact on the climate for governing during a second term or even on the 1996 campaign, depending on pub date, but my interest is to chronicle with accuracy the unfolding story of President Clinton's political response to last fall's election. I want a book that both will enhance current understanding and provide insight for future historians.

As one who first interviewed both Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich in 1974, when both were making unsuccessful races for Congress, the proposed book represents a story that has continuity and context. Those 1974 interviews were conducted for research for The Transformation of Southern Politics, which received widespread critical acclaim, and Walter DeVries and I have used them in writing a preface to a reissue of the book scheduled this summer by the University of Georgia Press. Walt commented in 1974 after our interview with the governor of Georgia, "That guy

Mr. Ronald Goldfarb/page 2

May 19, 1995

could go all the way." I felt that way after our interview with the law professor from the University of Arkansas.

As you know, I have an eager editor and an informal commitment from the Ford Foundation for a grant to work on a different book project, one that will require making a commitment imminently. Because The White House Fights Back would require access, I need to know by the middle of June whether there is interest in making such access available.

Sincerely,



Jack Bass
Professor of Journalism



The University of Mississippi

Department of Journalism
University, MS 38677
(601) 732-7146
FAX (601) 232-5703

May 17, 1995

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

When I think back to my effort at the end of 1987 to write an article for The Washington Post Magazine about you as a potential 1988 candidate and my proposal of last December for a book that might be titled, "The White House Fights Back," it seems that I tend to be slightly ahead of the curve.

A book such as I propose would insure a definitive account of the next 18 months of your record in the White House, which I believe will be a crucial period in American history. Such a book would eventually serve as a useful supplement to your own book or books, as the case may be. The White House Fights Back would provide a fair and accurate account of both the substantive and procedural responses made to last year's election and the events that have followed. In telling a readable story in human terms that provides new insight about the current White House and those who work there, this book also could improve the climate of understanding for a second term, which I expect you to win.

Because I am also considering a different book project, one that will require making a commitment imminently, I would appreciate hearing from you before the middle of June if my current proposal is of interest.

On a personal note, I believe you have handled exceptionally well the response to the tragedy in Oklahoma City.

Sincerely,

Jack Bass
Professor of Journalism

Wm. R. Wilson, Jr.
600 West Capitol, Room 149
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
501-324-6863

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6.2.95

May 12, 1995

President William Jefferson Clinton
White House
Washington, D.C. 20544

My Dear Mr. President:

Jim and Lee Powell have just finished a biography on Senator Fulbright. I read portions of the manuscript, and believe it is extremely well written, and an important work on the life of a great American.

The book is generally favorable to Fulbright, but it doesn't pull any punches (for example it candidly discusses his studied failure to step front and center, during the great civil rights crisis of the 50's and 60's).

Lee and Jim talked to me the other day and asked me if I would talk to you about the possibility of your writing a forward to this fine book. I hereby submit this possibility to you for your consideration.

Cordially,

Wm. R. Wilson, Jr.

Lee (B) Geary
I'm inclined to do
this Powell was the editor
of the Mr. Bayes
JR

Strober

Deborah Hart Strober
Gerald Strober
25 East End Avenue
New York, New York 10028

(212) 734-5656

April 3, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of February 10.

I hope that you have had the opportunity to look at my book, GRAHAM: A DAY IN BILLY'S LIFE.

My writing partner, Deborah Hart Strober, and I are the authors of two recent books on the presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon respectively, LET US BEGIN ANEW: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE KENNEDY PRESIDENCY (HARPERCOLLINS 1993); and NIXON: AN ORAL HISTORY OF HIS PRESIDENCY (HarperCollins 1994).

We would like to write a book describing a week in the life of the White House from a reportorially objective and human interest point of view.

We would require your cooperation, including being able to spend at least two weeks-not necessarily on consecutive days- in the White House, a weekend at Camp David, and the possibility of accompanying you on a domestic and/or overseas trip.

As personal references we suggest you contact Dr. Billy Graham, Ambassador Alfred Moses and Mark Mellman.

We expect that the book will be published in the late spring of 1996.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Cordially,


Gerald S. Strober

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

31-May-1995 03:03pm

TO: Evelyn S. Lieberman

FROM: Barry J. Toiv
 Office of the Chief of Staff

SUBJECT: A book

For your book radar screen:

Eric Pianin of the Post and George Hager of Congressional Quarterly have been working forever on a book on the political history of the deficit -- essentially focusing on the Reagan years, 1981, Gramm-Rudman, Bush, the 1990 agreement, and our 1993 budget.

Since they didn't get it out before this year, they now have to do something of a rewrite.

Leon is obviously critical to the story, and he met with them a few times at OMB. They are going to ask to sit down with him again at some point this year, and I assume he's going to be willing to do that.

But it should still go through the committee process.

The timing is not urgent, since it may be a while, but I wanted you to have it on file for the next time we focus on books.

ROGER K. NEWMAN**Newman**

5601 Riverdale Ave.
Bronx, NY 10471
718 601-0673
September 5, 1995

Hon. Harold Ickes
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for your kind letter on my book on Hugo Black which somehow only reached me last week after I was away for a while. Coming from someone whose family knew him so well while growing up makes it even more pleasant. Do you remember the Blacks staying with your family in Maine in the summer of 1950? His daughter, JoJo, who's a few years old than you, doesn't recall going, but I wonder if you do. (Another tidbit: I think a search would prove that Vince Foster was related to Black's first wife, whose sister Virginia Durr is Lucy Hackney's mother. Her maiden name was Foster and her uncle went to Little Rock somewhere around 1900 or so, I guess. I'd be surprised if they weren't related.)

The book's reception has been very gratifying, making all the years feel worthwhile. To hear from several people that President Clinton liked the book very much and talked about it is particularly gratifying. How he found the time is read a tome like this is beyond, but I am glad that he did. The book won one of the two major legal awards (Scribes), would have won the other (ABA) if the publisher had remembered to submit and would have also, so I understand, won the Pulitzer (it was a finalist) except that the judges look for balance and wanted to give the history award to Doris Goodwin for her FDR book and therefore couldn't give biography to me since it was just too close in subject. I am now working on a book on the current Supreme Court.

I wish to help in any way I can in the '96 campaign, along the lines of writing I would hope, for that is what I do. I am very serious about this. I'm obviously in Washington regularly. I have also been in touch with Michael Waldman about a possible role if the campaign finance/lobbying reform commission gets up and running.

One more thing: I wish very much one day to write a similarly extensive, sympathetic and fair biography of President Clinton. My fondest hope would be something along the lines of the arrangement Edmund Morris had with Reagan. I believe he got security clearance, had an office in the White

House, monthly meetings with Reagan and open access to all members of the administration. I realize that a book like this wouldn't appear until well into the future, but I am willing to undertake this for the long haul. Several months back, Ab Mikva made a few inquiries but got little response and Sheldon Hackney told me he would see what he would find. But this is something that I wish very much to do (the reasons, I would hope, are obvious), feel I am equipped to do and can do well.

You said that we have met. I don't believe we have but hope we will one day. Again, thank you very much for your kind letter.

Sincerely,

Roger K. Newman

Newman

Newsweek

1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. | Suite 1220 | Washington | DC. | 20006 | (202) 626-2000

Michael D. McCurry
White House Press Secretary
The White House
Washington DC

8 September 1995

Dear Mike,

Thanks very much for your time and advice on getting started with the 1996 book project. Before leaving on vacation I met with the project team in New York and brought up the points you raised. Here's what I found out:

Confidentiality: This is the first priority for everyone working on the project. Nothing I report about the President's campaign will appear until after the election, not even as a cleverly camouflaged flick in a weekly story nor as a vaguely sourced Periscope item nor as campaign trail gossip. In twelve years, there has not been a single leak from the project.

In order to maintain that record, those of us working on the project observe a code of silence that prohibits us from sharing our reporting with editors, Newsweek colleagues, friends, rivals, etc. This includes not only words but shrugs, knowing glances, raised eyebrows and all those other nonverbal cues we ourselves dine on as reporters. We file our material to special queues available only to two people at Newsweek: Peter Goldman, the project manager and author of the 1984, 1988 and 1992 books and Ken Auchincloss, the project editor, who has been detached from his weekly duties at the magazine. To prevent confidential material leaking from one campaign to another my colleagues covering Republican or third-party candidates will have no access to my files nor will I be able to read theirs.

The purpose of all this is to assure sources that the thoughts they share with us can in no way affect their candidate's fortunes before the election. The special issue and the book give us luxuries our regular coverage does not: lots of time, lots of space and total confidentiality. Unlike the magazine, the book does not seek to explain the daily and hourly swerves of the campaign but instead to fully relate the aspirations, emotions and experiences of the candidates and their key advisors. In order to do this we need a degree of access and intimacy that are not provided to the regular campaign press. In return, we embargo everything we get until after the votes are counted.

Gang of 4
We need to
make decision/
recommendation on
book project access
for '96.
- MM^c
PS I vote special
occasion access only -
no hard pins.

Individual Chapters: The jury is still out on your suggestion that reporters write chapters about the campaigns they cover. The editors (at Newsweek and Random House) place a premium on maintaining a single narrative voice but the idea is still on the table. You can be sure though the President's campaign is as central as it gets in the 1996 campaign. Our conversations won't suffer the fate you remember from your days with Bob Kerrey. And you probably know from our days together at the State Department I am neither a fan nor a practitioner of "attitude journalism." I view my job as reporting the views and experiences of my sources and am very content to let readers analyze and draw their own conclusions. I plan to approach the campaign in exactly the same way and believe this is the best way to prevent the type of distortion you are understandably concerned about.

Access: Much as I would love to repeat the extraordinary access Mark Miller enjoyed during the 1992 campaign I realize covering an incumbent President imposes considerable restrictions. I hope as the campaign develops we can develop the maximum access possible under the circumstances. When Tom DeFrank covered the Reagan and Bush reelection campaigns he occasionally travelled on Air Force One as a guest of the President. This way he did not sit with the White House pool nor did he file the magazine pool reports. There may have been one or two exceptions during the 1992 campaign when our White House correspondent was unable to travel and Tom filled in but in general this is something I think we should avoid. It creates confusion and also the appearance that the Newsweek project reporter and the Newsweek White House correspondent are interchangeable when in fact we are not. Most of the time I will be travelling independently or on the press charter and this won't be an issue. But if the plane turns out to offer the best access to the President, I would like to suggest we follow the system DeFrank used in 1998 and 1992.

I look forward to covering the campaign and to our work together.

Best regards,

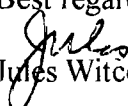
A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'K. Breslau', with a stylized flourish.

Karen Breslau

3042 Q Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20007
April 2, 1996

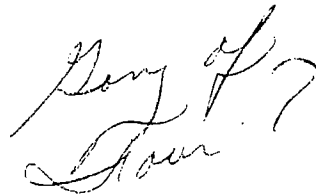
Dear Mike:

As I told you the other night at the Gridiron dinner, I again mentioned to President Clinton my book project on 1968 and he again said he would talk to me about it. This is just to confirm that the book's publication has been delayed by the publisher until the summer of 1997, to bring it out for the 30th anniversary of the year, and so I now have a few more months before it goes into final editing. I will appreciate what you can do to arrange an interview sometime in that time frame.

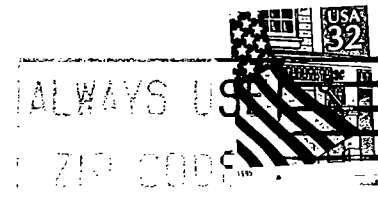
Best regards,

Jules Witcover

Home: 298-8359
Work: 452-8250

To Review -


Perry O'Flaherty

Jim Winters
Washington Bureau
1627 K Street NW
Suite 1100,
Washington, DC 20006-1792



*Mr. Michael McCurry
Press Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500*



November 21, 1995

Dear Mike:

The following may help clarify what I want to discuss with the President in connection with my book, *The Year the Dream Died: Revisiting 1968 in America*, now scheduled for publication in 1997:

Two conflicting perspectives have emerged regarding the political significance of the turmoil of 1968. One basic view, held predominantly by liberal and moderate Democrats, says the hope to restore the nation's moral purpose by ending the Vietnam war and moving the civil rights protest from issues of racial equality to issues of economic justice was shattered by the demise of the Great Society agenda, the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy and the election of Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew. The result, this view holds, was the radicalization of both movements at the expense of the credibility of the Democratic Party, barely sustained later by the perseverance of a younger generation of Democrats, including Bill Clinton and Al Gore.

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From the perspective of the first view, 1968 was a year of tragedy, disillusionment and lasting damage to the dream of peace abroad and social and economic justice at home. From the perspective of the second, it was a year of ugly excess that demonstrated the bankruptcy of liberalism and gave the conservative movement fertile ground in which to take root.

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For the concluding chapter of my book, I have explored these and other pertinent questions about 1968 with many leading figures of the era and many whose formative years were affected by these events, including Vice President Gore. President Clinton's views would be an invaluable contribution to public understanding of 1968's place in the nation's history and its significance in terms of where we find ourselves today.

Sincerely,



Jules Witcover



THE BALTIMORE SUN

Washington Bureau

~~MAC~~
EL
go for H.

Nov. 22

Sunny -

Please pass this on to
Mike. And thanks again.

Sub

Mike -

What do you want
me to do with the
wit cover request?

BT

11-27-95

CS

146481 JS
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1/19/96
PP014-04

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 JAN 17 AID: 57
January 17, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN
DAVID SHIPLEY

SUBJECT: READING LIST FOR GEORGE MAGAZINE

COPY

Here, for final approval, is a shortened reading list for George magazine. Please let us know if you would like us to make additional changes.

Desert Solitaire, by Edward Abbey

Jihad vs. McWorld, by Benjamin Barber

Dixie City Jam, by James Lee Burke

How the Irish Saved Civilization, by Thomas Cahill

Lincoln, by David Herbert Donald

Road Ahead, by Bill Gates

No Ordinary Time, by Doris Kearns Goodwin

The Cure at Troy, by Seamus Heaney

A World Lit Only by Fire, by William Manchester

Andrew Jackson, by Robert Remini

Bosnia, by Noel Malcolm

The New Middle East, by Shimon Peres

Angus -

Here's the longer
list.

James

1/8/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 JAN 2 P3:06

Q: Should we
take any of

January 2, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN, DAVID SHIPLEY
SUBJECT: READING LIST FOR GEORGE MAGAZINE

George magazine would like to publish a list of approximately ten books you have recently read and admired. If you wish, you could also include a sentence or two of commentary about each book.

Don Baer and Mike McCurry recommend that you accept the invitation.

The list would appear in the March issue of George. The deadline is January 19.

Please let us know how you wish to proceed.

Have read all but
1, 11, 12, 13. from August
vacation forward -

① No Ordinary Time Doris Kearns Goodwin

② Lincoln David H. Donald

③ Jihad vs. McWorld Benjamin Barber

④ Andrew Jackson Robert Remini

⑤ Word & Only by Fire William Manchester

⑥ How the Irish Saved Civilization T. Cahill

⑦ The City of Dreadful Night Samuel Johnson

⑧ The New Middle East S. Pines

⑨ Paradise, Lost William Shakespeare

⑩ David Solovay E. Abbey

⑪ Life of the Blessed H. Thompson

⑫ Middle Class Break S. Grunberg

⑬ Picture City T. J. J. J. J.

⑭ Portrait of a Spirit P. J. J. J.

⑮ The Road to Nowhere P. J. J. J.

1 - No Ordinary Time : Franklin D. Roosevelt - The Homefront in World War II : Doris K. Goodwin

2 - Lincoln : David H. Donald

3 - Jihad vs. McWorld : How the Plan is Both Falling Apart & Coming Together - & what it means for Democrats

4 - Andrew Jackson & the Bank War : Benjamin Barber

5 - Word & Only by Fire : The Medieval Mind & the Renaissance Portrait of an Age : William Manchester

6 - How the Irish Saved Civilization : The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe : Thomas Cahill

Attn. Julie Mason

Tel: 201-861-2898

Lorrie -
This is the
book request
talked about -
shld include
in Qans of Q??

The Parker Imperial
7855-Boulevard East
Apt. 23A
North Bergen, N.J. 07047

February 7, 1996

Mr. Michael D. McCurry
White House Spokesman
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. McCurry,

As indicated in the accompanying letter from HarperCollins Publishers, I have been commissioned to write a biography of the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Since President Clinton knew Mr. Rabin well, I would be most appreciative if he could spare some time to talk with me about him.

My aim is to present the Prime Minister not only as a soldier, diplomat, and political figure, but as a human being, and I'm sure the President's contribution would help greatly in bringing the man alive to this generation and future ones.

I plan to leave for the Middle East any time from February 15 to the end of the month, and I may stay there to write the book. I do hope President Clinton will be able to see me at his earliest convenience.

In addition to the letter from HarperCollins, there follows one that Mr. Rabin sent me some time ago concerning my book, "Genesis 1948" (he wrote the introduction to the reprint), and some extracts from reviews of my various books.

Thank you so much.

Sincerely,

Dan Kurzman

Dan Kurzman

Add'l Title
Division100 East 57th Street
New York, New York 10022-3590Telephone (212) 695-6000
Telex 980000Chairman, Board of Directors
Vice President

Julie Mason (2)

HarperCollins Publishers

November 22, 1995

To whom it may concern:

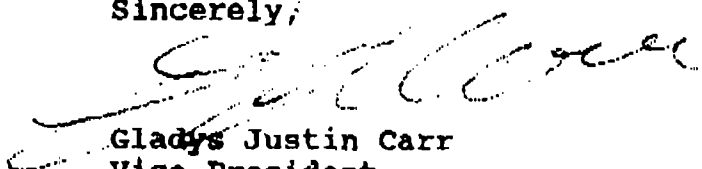
Dan Kurzman has been commissioned by HarperCollins to write a biography of the late Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzak Rabin. Mr. Kurzman, a former foreign correspondent for the Washington Post, is the author of 13 books on recent contemporary history, including two biographies: "BEN GURION: PROPHET OF FIRE," which won the National Jewish Book Award, and "KISHI AND JAPAN," which the New York Times cited as "one of the most important biographies of the year."

He also wrote "GENESIS 1948: The First Arab-Israeli War." Mr. Rabin, whom Mr. Kurzman knew as a source and friend for 30 years, wrote the introduction to the reprint of this book, praising it highly for its "in-depth look at both the Israeli and Arab sides."

In addition to the National Jewish Book Award, Mr. Kurzman has won the George Polk Memorial Award, The Cornelius Ryan Award for the year's best book on foreign affairs (twice), and the Newspaper Guild Front Page Award.

Any help you can give Mr. Kurzman in facilitating his research would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,


Gladys Justin Carr
Vice President

GJC:dmo

Julie Mason (3)

ראש הממשלה
PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem, March 22, 1993

Dear Dan,

I would like to seize the opportunity of the publication of your book to congratulate you on your outstanding research which will, I believe, become one of the best references to the glorious epopee that led to the establishment of the State of Israel as a homeland for the Jewish People.

In my view, this book is but an appreciation we owe to those who fought and sacrificed their lives in the name of an ideal which seemed impossible to materialize and doomed by our enemies to fail.

Unfortunately we have fought too many wars since then and until now our recognition and acceptance is being challenged. I believe it is more than time to heal the wounds and scars of war, time for peacemaking.

Dan, I wish you the best in your future endeavors, the best of luck and good health.

Sincerely,

Y. Rabin
Yitzhak RabinMr. Dan Kurtzman
U.S.A.

FATAL VOYAGE

== PRAISE FOR DAN KURZMAN'S PREVIOUS BOOKS ==

GENESIS 1948: THE FIRST ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

"The best thing on the 1948 war... that this reviewer has ever read—or is likely to read."
—Roderick MacLeish, *Washington Post*

"One of the most intriguing studies of military conflict I have ever encountered."
—Roy Newquist, *Chicago Daily News*

"Almost reaches the panorama and intensity of *War and Peace*. Barbara Tuchman is perhaps his only peer."
—*Catholic World*

MIRACLE OF NOVEMBER: MADRID'S EPIC STAND 1936

"No book in English... brings to the surface so vividly the human roots of the conflict."
—*San Diego Union*

"Kurzman ranks as one of the best of 20th-century journalist-historians, and this book is his finest to date."
—*Providence Journal*

"Reminiscent of Hemingway... It is an immense loss for those who fail to read it."
—*Cleveland Press*

DAY OF THE BOMB: COUNTDOWN TO HIROSHIMA

"This great writer of the most powerful epics of our time has finally written the epic."
—Georgie Anne Geyer, *Universal Press Syndicate*

"A mighty feat of research and writing."
—*Publishers Weekly*

A KILLING WIND

INSIDE UNION CARBIDE AND THE BHOPAL CATASTROPHE

"Dan Kurzman is a master storyteller... The reader is left with the sense of a deeper understanding of the world that usually comes from seeing a performance of a Greek tragedy."
—Angus Wright, *San Francisco Chronicle*

"Dazzling... Mr. Kurzman is a superb researcher... His narrative is compelling."
—Jon R. Luoma, *New York Times Book Review*

III
FATAL VOYAGE
The Sinking of the USS Indianapolis
III

DAN KURZMAN

Athenium



9 780689 120077
ISBN 0-689-12007-9

ATHENEUM

Macmillan Publishing Company
866 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022

7 JULIE MAXSON

November 21, 1995

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Jules Witcover

FATAL VOYAGE

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7 JULIE MASON

WHAT'S LEFT?

A New Democratic Vision for America

Robert S. McElvaine

Summary

"The country has no idea of what an affirmative Democratic program would look like and less confidence that Democrats could agree to pass such a program if they ever decided what it was," E.J. Dionne, Jr., correctly wrote in a Fall 1995 *Washington Post* column. This succinctly states the basic problem confronting Democrats and progressives. Although a growing majority of voters were becoming alarmed at the extremist nature of the policies being pushed by the Republican majority as the 104th Congress proceeded, this did not translate into much of an increase in support for the opposition party. The main reason is that the American people are looking for something more than an opposition party. They want a "*proposition* party," one that presents a clear set of ideas with which they can identify. *What's Left?* takes up the challenge of defining a new progressive vision and program.

Republicans charge that Democrats are "bankrupt" of ideas--"brain dead." These charges are too harsh, but Democrats are in great need of a new vision and program of progressivism around which they can unite. *What's Left?* will get the Democrats out of their Chapter Eleven of ideas. It is the Democratic counterpoint to David Frum's *Dead Right*, a book that has had a large impact on political thinking and is credited with playing an important part in the Republican victory in the Congressional elections of 1994. *What's Left?* does for progressivism and the Democrats what the Frum book did for the right and Republicans: it offers a friendly and committed, but also frank and critical, examination of the policies, practices, and ideals of American liberal/left politics and thinking, combined with an assessment of Gingrichism and its vulnerabilities and a vision and prescription for Democrats in the remainder of the 1990s and beyond.

What's Left? - 2

But the book is much more than a prescription to cure the ailments of the American left. It is also a diagnosis of what has gone wrong with America in recent decades, a prognosis for the nation's future and an examination of what might be done to restore us to health. The book employs history and what used to be termed political economy to explore what has gone wrong with America and to suggest what might be done to begin to reverse our social, moral, and economic decline.

What's Left? argues that, as the twentieth century draws to a close, the American people face a three-fold predicament that threatens to alter our nation beyond recognition. The three principal problems facing American society today--the rise of a two-tier, "winner-take-all" economy of increasing inequality, the breakdown of values, and a rampant cynicism (including, but not confined to, a collapse of faith in government and leaders)--are intertwined and must be addressed in a comprehensive manner.

The rapidly changing, two-tier economy in which we find ourselves is constantly enriching a small segment of our society while the income of the vast majority stagnates or declines. If left unchecked, this phenomenon could make the twenty-first century United States resemble a Third World country with an elite consisting of a relatively few fabulously wealthy people and a vast number of people struggling desperately to make ends meet. No statistics better capture what has been happening than these astounding facts: Between 1977 and the end of the Reagan administration in 1989, 70 percent of all the income growth in the United States went to the top one percent of income recipients. And, 100 percent of the increased wealth in the United States went to the wealthiest 20 percent of Americans. This is to say, of course, that fourth-fifths of Americans saw absolutely no increase in their wealth during the "prosperous" eighties. The result of these trends is that the United States, which prides itself on being a largely egalitarian society, has come to have the largest disparity of wealth and income in any Western nation.

The reaction of the putatively new thinkers of the G.O.P. to the three-pronged menace to the American way of life is a shrug of the shoulders coupled with a host of proposals designed to exacerbate the problems. Basically they suggest the trickle-down economics and unfettering of free enterprise that characterized conservative dogma from Alexander Hamilton through

What's Left? - 3

Calvin Coolidge and was discredited by the Great Depression. The Republican ideas are so old that they seem new to people whose knowledge of history is often not what it should be.

The Republicans "new ideas" to deal with an economy in which the rich are getting richer and everyone else is losing ground include the following: tax cuts weighted in favor of the highest income groups; replacing the progressive income tax with a "flat tax"; excluding unearned income--interest, dividends, capital gains, and inheritance--from all taxes (which is to say: *If you had to work for your income, we'll tax it; if you got it without work, you can keep it all*--in effect, this is a proposal for an *Unearned Income Tax Credit*); the substitution of a regressive national sales tax for the income tax; allowing corporations to raid workers' pension funds; cutting the Earned Income Tax Credit, which helps poor working families keep their heads above the waters of welfare; and slashing college loans, thus pulling the major ladder into a middle class life out of the reach of more Americans who lack affluence.

What Democrats need to make clear is that, unlike the Republicans, they favor policies that will provide assistance to middle class as well as poor Americans in coping with the new economy. While Republicans would leave each American to face the enormous forces of technological change and international competition on his or her own, the basic Democratic philosophy must be to use the government to cushion the impact of these powerful influences and assist people in making their way in this frightening new world. This can be done through such means as education and training programs and tax policy.

* * *

The nation finds itself at a critical juncture, much like the period exactly a century ago, in which dramatic social and economic changes are undermining the familiar ways of life and leaving large numbers of Americans very apprehensive about their futures, both personal and national. In the 1990s, as in the 1890s, the American social-economic-political system does not seem to be working for a substantial portion of the population. Their grievances are real, although unfocused (or, in some cases, focused on the wrong targets).

What's Left? - 4

In both periods the nation was moving from one economic age to another. In an essay he wrote more than forty years ago, the late historian Richard Hofstadter outlined a "psychic crisis of the 1890's." That crisis had to do with a related set of wrenching changes that together marked a watershed for the American people. The source of the national anxiety of a century ago was people's fear that the conditions that had made America great were ending and the nation was headed into uncharted and dangerous territory that could bring the end of the world--or at least America--as they knew it.

The ingredients in this fear-inducing mix a hundred years ago included a fundamental change in the economy and society, from agriculture to industry and from rural and small town to urban; the perceived "closing" of the frontier, the experience of which was believed to have been responsible for shaping the unique American character; massive immigration of "different" people (from eastern and southern Europe) who were thought to be inassimilable; a growing gap between the rich and poor (Mark Twain called the late nineteenth century "the Gilded Age," because the top of society shined brightly, but that veneer hid a shameful, decaying society beneath it); the rapid concentration of business power through corporate mergers; the rise of social Darwinism to a position of intellectual dominance, seemingly justifying the growing maldistribution of wealth and income and the ignoring of the problems of the poor; the perception of increasing crime and political corruption; and the submerging of the separated "island communities" that had characterized America up until that time and had provided numerous small stages on which many people could play major roles into a national society and culture with far fewer places of prominence. All of this appeared to add up to a contraction of opportunity for most Americans--and so to a fundamentally different situation in which the future would be looked upon, not with the traditional American optimism, but with apprehension.

Once again, we are in the midst of a fundamental transformation of our economy and society. This time it is from an industrial to a "post-industrial" economy based on electronics, information, and services. Large-scale immigration of "different" people, this time mostly from Latin America and Asia, again worries "native" Americans.

We are, undeniably, in a New Gilded Age. We have a two-tier economy in which those at the top are doing very well, but those in the middle and lower ranks are stagnating or

What's Left? - 5

declining. And, although the term itself is not often used, social Darwinism is again dominating important segments of American thought in the late twentieth century, as it did in the late nineteenth. This creed that replaces a benevolent God with a ruthless competitive Market as the omnipotent force in the universe is the unacknowledged secular deity of many conservatives.

We also are experiencing a phenomenon very similar to the loss of island communities with their many stages for people of moderate talents. The late nineteenth century submergence of the island communities into metropolitan, regional, and even national arenas with far fewer places, and those only for those with higher talents or skills, is being replicated in the late twentieth century with the emergence of a worldwide stage.

Clearly, we are facing another Psychic Crisis of the Nineties.

* * *

What's Left? offers a new definition of "supply-side economics," maintaining that the fabulous productive capacity of the free market system has so increased the supply side of the economic equation that our economy has become dependent on ever-increasing levels of consumption. The resulting "consumption ethic" is *the* principal corrosive agent eating away at traditional values. It undermines families and community; it fosters hyper-individualism, present-mindedness, self-indulgence, and immediate gratification; it increases competitive urges to dangerous levels, widens the gap between the rich and everyone else, and encourages--particularly through the advertising that is its lifeblood--the sort of deceitful communication that results in a cynicism as pernicious as it is pervasive.

The economy's need for mass consumption is the origin of our values and other problems today. Any new vision for the left must be rooted in this realization.

* * *

Self-styled conservatives firmly believe that, if left free to work its magic, the market will solve all problems. This is the fundamental trouble with the Republican philosophy. The

What's Left? - 6

Market is their God. They genuflect in front of the New York Stock Exchange and trace the sign of the dollar on their chests. The market is, to be sure, a very powerful force. Were we polytheistic, we might readily accept the Market as one among the deities. But it is a fundamental mistake to confuse the market with a single, omnipotent Deity. It is a deity that lacks some of the attributes that most of us expect from our God, such as justice, compassion, and morality.

When the Market is taken as an omnipotent God, it becomes an excuse for actions that run counter to decency, morality, and traditional values: *Well, we might not like to "downsize" thousands of our employees out of jobs, possibly ruining their lives, but we have no choice. We must stay competitive. The Market requires us to do it.*

The market promises--and delivers--wondrous goods and services. No economic system can come close to matching the productive forces that it can unleash. While this immense productive capacity is an obvious blessing, it is not an unmixed one. It had resulted by the early twentieth century in such an enormous and rapidly growing supply that it seemed necessary to begin artificially to stimulate consumption, which, in turn, required a lifting of restraints on basic acquisitive urges and so the subversion of those traditional values that had helped to keep them in check.

The social Darwinian "conservatives" who argue that, as the classical economists insisted, morality has no place in a market-based economy (no more than it does in Darwin's nature) are right. Their economics may have become a *less* dismal science with the amazing productivity of its supply-side phase, but that is precisely why it destroys values.

Since the market is amoral, anyone who desires *both* the benefits of the productive forces that this economic system unleashes *and* the preservation or revival of traditional values (and most Republicans, as well as most Americans, profess to want both of these objectives) *has to* accept that morality will be imposed upon this amoral system by regulation. That is the basis for the new progressive philosophy.

There is, finally, a remarkable contradiction on the right over religion, Darwinism, and economics. Most of those who identify themselves with the "Christian Right" refuse to accept biological Darwinism. They reject the idea that humans could have evolved through natural

What's Left? - 7

selection; they say this leaves no room for God. But Darwinism is, in essence, "marketplace biology." It sees the same force of a competitive environment (which is to say, a natural marketplace) selecting the biological "winners" that free-market economics favors as the force that should select the economic winners. Totally unfettered free-market economics is, in short, grounded in the same "Godless" idea of natural selection that is the basis of evolutionary biology. Yet many--it is probably safe to say, *most*--of the people involved with the Christian Right are staunch advocates of social and economic Darwinism. If they condemn both "Godless Darwinism" and "Godless Communism," how can they so readily embrace what is in fact a "Godless Marketplace"? Wouldn't it make more sense for them to favor injecting some morality into the amoral marketplace, rather than treating the Market as a Deity that supersedes the God they worship on Sunday? Is it consistent to worship the traditional Judeo-Christian-Islamic God on one day of the week and treat the Market as God on the other six?

* * *

What's Left? contends that politics today are largely shaped by events, policies, and memories of "the sixties" (an era that goes beyond the calendar decade and ends in the mid-seventies, with the Nixon resignation and the final American pullout from Vietnam). The sixties defined liberalism and conservatism for the remainder of the century. By linking the former with antiwar protest, minority rights movements, violence, and licentiousness, the decade set the stage for the decline of liberalism, leaving a void that the brand of conservatism that emerged in the sixties was gradually able to fill over the following quarter century.

If we are to understand the decade and its continuing effects on our politics and culture, it is essential that we realize that there were *two* "sixties." Democrats were central to both; Republicans were peripheral to both. There was an early sixties, or "good sixties," which ran from the sit-ins that began in Greensboro, North Carolina, in February, 1960, through the middle years of the decade, and centered on the civil rights movement, attempts at rebuilding community, optimism, integration, sacrifice, and confidence in the capacity of government to play a role in making people's lives better. What is more often remembered today and what is

What's Left? - 8

properly denounced by conservatives is the late sixties, or "bad sixties," which ran from about 1967 through the early 1970s, and centered on hedonism, the self, individual freedom, pessimism, disintegration and separatism, and the conclusion that government was inept, corrupt, and evil. These two sixties have become almost inextricably intertwined in the public mind, but separating them is essential to the future well-being of both the Democratic party and the nation.

Democrats won only two of the seven presidential elections between 1964 and 1996. A major reason for this is that Republicans have skillfully identified Democrats with the "bad sixties." In this effort they have enjoyed great assistance from Democratic liberals, many of whom slid easily from their support for the "good sixties" into needlessly tying themselves to the excesses of the later sixties. Since the Republicans were not associated with either of the sixties (although they trace the origins of today's right-wing to that decade), they have been able to market themselves as what amounts to the "anti-sixties" party. They have done a good job of persuading a large number of Americans that their country was nearly perfect prior to the sixties, when Democrats, liberals, hippies, and their fellow travellers (including, although this is usually not said explicitly, blacks and women) "destroyed" our society.

The ironic fact is that it is the right wing, with its embracing of complete freedom, that is today much closer to the "bad sixties" than is the left. What Democrats and progressives need to do is to reidentify with the good sixties and make clear their opposition to the bad sixties.

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What's Left? - 9

McElvaine has long been active in Democratic politics. He has contributed to the campaign speeches of presidential candidates Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis, and Bill Clinton, as well as to the several of the speeches of President Clinton. He has appeared on a large number of television and radio programs, including NBC's "Today," NPR's "Morning Edition" and "All Things Considered," BBC television and radio, and such radio shows as those of Studs Terkel, Tom Snyder, Michael Jackson, and Howard Cosell.

Although *What's Left?* is a personal view of the past, present, and future of both America and the left, the book employs numerous interviews with major Democratic political figures and liberal and progressive intellectuals, such as Christopher Dodd, Tom Daschle, Dick Gephardt, Mario Cuomo, David Bonior, Paul Begala, James Carville, George Stephanopoulos, Paul Simon, Robert Reich, Richard Riley, Donna Shalala, Madeline Kunin, Eleanor Holmes Norton, Nydia Velazquez, Rosa DeLauro, Barney Frank, Patsy Mink, Jim McDermott, Dale Bumpers, Joe Kennedy, Marcy Kaptur, Bill Richardson, and many others.

What's Left? is not a dry book aimed at policy wonks; rather, it is an exciting combination of history, analysis and commentary, some of it humorous, peppered with pithy quotes from the leading political figures interviewed for the book. It provides a long-term vision for the revival of the American left and an historically based analysis of the current American predicament.

MAJOR POINTS OF A NEW DEMOCRATIC VISION

1. There *is* a public interest.
2. There are also private interests, and these must be respected and encouraged, as long as they do not substantially undermine the public interest.
3. Morality must once again become a central theme of progressives.
4. We are connected, not only with other people today, but with past and future generations.
5. Government is inherently neither good nor bad.
6. Moderating the extremes of wealth and poverty is a highly desirable goal, but *how* this is done is of critical importance.
7. Limits do exist -- in terms of personal behavior, business practices, natural resources, etc.
8. Responsibility is the price of freedom.
9. The free market system is the best economic system ever devised by humans, but--like the best political system ever devised by humans, democracy--it is imperfect and can produce problems. *The Market is not God*. We need to apply the wisdom our Founding Fathers used with respect to the political system to our economic system: make it fundamentally a free market, but with the sorts of checks and balances that the Founders placed on pure democracy.
10. Basing our whole society on "market values" (values\$), as extreme "conservatives" desire, is a prescription for disaster. Self-interest is part of human nature and so cannot be ignored; but we are also social creatures. Both sides of our natures need to be taken into account.
11. At least as important as getting the government out of the lives of the people is getting the people *into* the life of the government.
12. If the Great Society envisioned by Lyndon Johnson is beyond our reach, we ought to strive for what is more important: to become a *good* society.

What's Left? - 11

MAJOR THEMES OF A NEW PROGRESSIVISM

Responsibility (Two-way: Personal & social)

Community

Reciprocity

Interdependence (on levels of community, nation, & planet)

Balance

Connection

The Future

Investment

Diversity within unity

Sacrifice (shared, fair & for a clear purpose)

Participation (Government *by & for*, not just
of the people)

Deficit Reduction

Equality without Sameness

The Social Contract For America

1. Campaign finance reform and lobbying reform
2. Universal health care
3. Sorting investment from spending
4. Responsible deficit reduction
5. Welfare reform that helps make people productive citizens
6. A revival of our educational system
7. Research adequate to maintain world economic leadership
8. Retraining for new jobs in an ever-changing economy
9. National Service
10. Adequate, but sensible, environmental protection
11. Support for public arts worthy of a great nation