

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. briefing paper	Q&A on Economic Policy Matters [partial] (3 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10991

FOLDER TITLE:

1995 Q&A's

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db2113

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]
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involuntary part-time jobs is a correct and straightforward calculation that uses consistent data from one survey, the Census bureau's Household Survey.

But more importantly, Secretary Reich's remarks capture the essence of the current jobless recovery. People have always turned to part-time and temporary work to stay afloat during recession until rescued by an economic recovery. In the past, an economic uptick has meant a mass return to permanent, full-time jobs and a sharp decline in involuntary part-time employment. In this recovery, the number of involuntary part-time workers has actually increased relative to the level during the recession.

Despite being 24 months into a recovery, job growth has been led by the temporary help sector. Thus Secretary Reich has accurately captured what most Americans clearly know: we are hardly experiencing a recovery for Americans interested in permanent, full time work.

III. JAPAN: TRADE ISSUES AND THE JAPANESE STIMULUS

JAPANESE STIMULUS -- QUESTION: What is your reaction to the fiscal stimulus package that Japanese Prime Minister announced last week?

BACKGROUND: On April 13th, the Japanese announced a 13 trillion yen stimulus package, roughly \$115 billion. This is comprised of increased public investment (infrastructure, education, housing) and lending by government-related institutions. The Japanese government optimistically announced that this would add 2.6% to Japanese Growth. However, a large part of the \$115 billion is accelerating spending of planned expenditures or counting money which will not add new stimulus to the economy.

We recommend that you avoid a direct comparison of their \$ 115 billion package to yours, as this is misplaced given that our economies are at different stages; The Japanese economy is now much weaker than ours. If pressed, you might point out the Japanese government, as compared to those in Congress, has at least begun to address the problem of weak growth.

ANSWER:

As I discussed with Prime Minister Miyazawa last Friday, the Japanese stimulus package is a first step toward promoting global economic recovery. However, sustained Japanese growth based on domestic demand is needed for a number of years to get the world economy back on track, and to help reduce Japan's trade surplus.

TRADE RESULTS VS. MANAGED TRADE -- QUESTION: At your meeting with Prime Minister Miyazawa last week, you said you wanted to see results. The Japanese equate results with managed trade. How can you be for results and against managed trade?

ANSWER:

The exact parameters of this initiative will be worked out in the next three months, but several things fundamentally are different. First, we have raised the significance of economics in the relationship. Second, for the first time in 12 years, the U.S. is honestly addressing its budget deficit -- and that puts us in a stronger position to request reciprocal action from Japan. Third, I will remain personally committed to these talks and will stay actively involved.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: How will the framework discussions proceed? Who will lead them from the American side?

BACKGROUND: The press is looking for indications of who is "running" Japan policy. Internal discussions currently are occurring on who will lead these talks. In the meantime, it is important that we do nothing to weaken Mickey Kantor's position as our chief negotiator.

ANSWER:

The two sides will meet in the near future to discuss schedule and approach. They will then move quickly to talks over the specific framework. On the U.S. side, the economic agencies -- Treasury, USTR and Commerce -- will play leading roles.

We view the U.S.-Japan relationship as having three, interconnected parts: economic issues, political/security partnership, and cooperation on global problems. Consequently, there must be a great deal of interagency coordination, as there was in the preparation for the Miyazawa visit.

MULTI-PURPOSE VEHICLES -- QUESTION: Is the Administration going to increase the tariff on multi-purpose vehicles to 25 percent? When are you going to make a decision?

BACKGROUND: The issue of minivan reclassification reemerged with the visit of Prime Minister Miyazawa. Also, this week the Court of International Trade trial began in Nissan's challenge of Treasury's distinction between 2-door and 4-door minivans. We will be holding an NEC Deputies meeting in the near future to discuss this issue.

ANSWER:

The Department of the Treasury is currently reviewing this matter, and we will wait for that review to be completed before any decision is taken.

Minivan reclassification raises broader questions about trade opportunities for autos and auto parts. Sixty percent of the U.S. trade deficit with Japan is comprised of autos and auto parts. Our industry has taken the difficult steps necessary to produce competitive goods. Japan must open its market to competitive U.S. goods.

AUTOS/AUTO PARTS -- QUESTION: Last year, Japanese auto producers agreed to buy more auto parts, increase the local content of cars made in U.S. plants, and import more cars into Japan. (These commitments grew out of Bush's ill-fated Japan trip.) What are you going to do, either to enforce these undertakings or as part of a new approach, to aid the U.S. auto industry?

BACKGROUND: Japanese auto companies voluntarily announced their plans to procure \$19 billion in auto parts in FY 92, to increase the local content of autos produced in U.S. plants from 50 percent to 70 percent, and to import more autos made in the U.S. to Japan. Japanese purchases of U.S. auto parts are increasing (\$10.5 billion in FY 91; \$6 billion in the first half of FY 92). However, they are unlikely to reach \$19 billion this year. The Japanese resist our characterization of these plans as "pledges".

ANSWER:

We take seriously the pledges of Japanese auto manufacturers and will look to them to fulfill their plans. Beyond that, I am deeply concerned about the competitiveness of the U.S. auto industry and the openness of foreign markets to our autos and auto parts. It is the responsibility of our companies to produce competitive goods, and they have. GM's so competitive it'll produce up to 20,000 Toyotas for export to Japan. It is now the obligation of other countries, including Japan, to open their markets to competitive U.S. goods.

SUPERCOMPUTERS -- QUESTION: There is evidence that Japan is not living up to its commitments under the Supercomputer Agreement. What do you intend to do about it?

BACKGROUND: U.S. supercomputer producers (i.e. Cray) hold 84 percent of the European public procurement market, but only 11 percent of the Japanese market. The Japanese agreed to adopt transparent procedures in their government procurement, but there is evidence that they have not lived up to the spirit of that agreement. We are considering whether to initiate a section 301 investigation or another form of interagency review to pressure the Japanese in their upcoming procurements to adopt more transparent procedures and to award more bids to competitive U.S. producers.

ANSWER:

U.S. supercomputer producers are the most competitive in the world. However, while we hold 84 percent of the European public procurement market, we have only 11 percent of the Japanese market. As I told Prime Minister Miyazawa, our companies have the responsibility to produce competitive goods, but when they do so, Japan has the obligation to open its markets. We are now considering what action to take concerning the Supercomputer Agreement. We will be looking very closely at the upcoming procurements, and we are looking for measurable progress -- both in terms of process and in terms of results -- under that agreement.

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001. draft	Draft Remarks to National Baptist Convention, New Orleans (6 pages)	09/09/1994	P5
002. note	Cook; RE: Telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10991

FOLDER TITLE:

African-American

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1289

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Great Stud. lots of members
net's talk.

draft, Tuesday night

President William Jefferson Clinton
Remarks to National Baptist Convention
New Orleans, Louisiana
September 9, 1994

Thank you, Dr. Jemison. I have known you as a friend and a spiritual guide. I know you will continue to be a source of wisdom as you begin a new chapter in your life. And I know that under the new leadership of ~~XXXXX~~ [to be elected on Thursday], the National Baptist Convention will continue its rich legacy of spreading the good Word, as it has for 114 years. I know first-hand the good work of the National Baptist Convention, which has been a strong presence in my home state for more than a century.

[other acknowledgments]

Two years ago, I had the honor of speaking ^{at your} ~~to the meeting of~~ the National Baptist Convention in Atlanta. (Last year, I wanted to be with you again but I had to give my regrets to Dr. Jemison because of a scheduling conflict.) All I know is, I felt like the boy who skipped Sunday school, and I promised him then that I would be here this year, no matter what. So I hope you've forgiven me. I am happy and honored to be here. I feel at home.

Today, I want to talk about the home we all share, the dreams we all dream, the walk that we must take together.

This home that we call America has weathered some hard storms: ~~the~~ Civil War, ~~the~~ Depression, World Wars and racial strife, to name a few. Each time, we did not allow the experience to wear us down, but rather to revive us, to allow ourselves to grow, to learn and to renew.

(it took a while each time)

too rhetorical

We face another storm now. It brews in the breast of every child who is unloved and neglected. It brews within families and communities torn by drugs and violence and it brews inside every person who fails to see across the lines that divide our people and our nation.

We can see the signs of the storm: children giving birth to ~~children~~ ^(projecting) children, a virtual condemnation to a life of poverty. And the violence that stains America: an 11-year-old hitman in Chicago, who sprays gunfire that kills another child before being killed himself by the very gangs that used him. A 13-year-old in a quiet New Jersey town, who steals a gun and uses it to end a petty argument and the life of his own 11-year-old friend. A crack addict who attacks and robs an elderly woman in her own home for \$53 -- a vicious crime made all the more heartbreaking because that woman was Rosa Parks.

Should say they are just in last few days. Reminding us again in case we forget?

Reminding us again in case we forget?

But in this storm, for all its darkness, I think we can be hopeful. This is another chance for our revival, for our renewal.

In 1955, Rosa Parks sounded a ^{cliche} ~~clarion~~ call to action. With dignity, ~~and self-respect~~, she told us that we are not free when so many of us are denied the most basic of human rights. She didn't wait for anyone to tell her what her conscience moved her to do. She held fast to that bus seat, and she helped guide us through the storm toward the daybreak of civil rights. *No good original copy.*

Today, at 81 years of age, she's sounded another alarm. The attack on Rosa Parks tells us that we need to set right the conditions that allow children to have children, to kill children, and that put an elderly person in danger, even in her own home.

That ^{keys (?)} attack tells us it's time to turn back the storm.

I believe we can do it, but the task cannot fall to any one community, ~~and no part~~ of our society can go it alone. We need to do this together. *certainly, we cannot expect govt. to do it for us*

Two years ago, when I last spoke before you, I said I wanted the chance to help make America a better place for all our people, and that I wanted to do it in partnership with you. I said I wanted to take up the fight for the working families of America, who were working harder for less and watching their dreams for themselves and for their children slipping away.

I was concerned about the loss of opportunity, the disappearing high-paying jobs, the erosion of education, the crumbling of our communities and ~~very importantly~~, the fracturing of our families. I was concerned that as a people we were tearing apart instead of coming together. *did not want our children...*

For the past 20 months, we have ~~worked to renew~~ the American Dream for working Americans. That means restoring the economy to provide opportunity for all Americans. That means giving our people the means to shape their lives again, to take responsibility for building for themselves and their children. That means putting government to work again for all Americans. That means restoring faith in one another so that we can pull together and not pull apart. *done everything we can to pull our*

It means fighting to do what works. We have fought plenty but now we have plenty that works. Our economic program works: we've cut the deficit and in less than two years, the economy has created more than 4 million jobs, 93 percent of them in the private sector. We fought for Nafta and now it's producing overseas markets for American goods and jobs for our people at home. For those same reasons now we're fighting for the GATT. *sort back on the side of renewing*

We fought to give people ~~opportunity that works~~: education and training reform; direct student loans with lower interest rates and better repayment schedules that has made higher education an easier goal for millions of young people; Goals 2000, a boost for student standards. The Earned Income Tax Credit, which is lifting millions of working families from poverty. Family leave, which is helping families stay together when a member gets sick or a newborn comes along. *Health care*

The power to shape and control other

Goals 2000

General standard

~~We are fighting for government that you deserve and that you can count on.~~ I promised a government that looks like America, and we have produced the most diverse Administration in history. 14 and a half percent of my appointees have been African American. [more than three times the number of appointments as under my predecessor]. 28 of my nominees to the Federal courts are African American, more than twice the combined appointments by the past three Presidents, and the American Bar Association has rated the qualifications of my nominees higher -- proving you can have diversity and quality. *(Link this w/ faith in each other)*

Almost one year ago, we launched our effort to reinvent government so it works better and costs less. We've cut the Federal payroll to its smallest size since the Kennedy Administration. And the money saved is being put toward law enforcement. That is government that works for you. Now we want to follow by reforming campaign financing and lobbying.

We have fought to restore faith in each other and civility toward each other. On Monday, we will launch AmeriCorps, the largest effort in history to rebuild our communities. [numbers to come] And last month, we ended more than five years [?] of gridlock by winning the Crime Bill. This is important for three reasons: First, it will do what we said it will, putting more police on the streets, banning assault weapons and handguns for juveniles; and put away violent, repeat offenders. *Prevent*

Second, it will require our people to become involved to make it work. That means working with the police to make community policing work and helping to get children off the streets and into programs they can say yes to.

Third, it is a statement *of principle* *who we are* of what we want as a nation. We want all our law-abiding people to feel safe. This bill says that we share the hope for a peaceful America, the hope for a country in which our children can grow and prosper without fear of dodging bullets. And it says that we can get the job done ourselves, that we can each do our part to make our world better, as Rosa Parks did 39 years ago.

So, we have done a good deal in almost 20 months, and it has not been alone. Your partnership in what we do is vital to everything we do. You animate the best goals and intentions, with

This is a bigger departure

This needs to be built up more.

See the page below Labor Day - and do all this stuff.

Need to link the person ANTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY immediate to church/private

Need in here to show more how it is the church
is one of the few remaining structures in our

your love and your good works and deeds. As church leaders, you give comfort to the ailing of body and spirit, you lift the fallen, you guide the lost souls of generations. Dr. King said you represent "the conscience of the state."

You undertake the greatest of things that no amount of power or government can do. You renew the soul.

Jesus said: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed."

I ask you today to consider what the children of America face every day. In two hours, another child under the age of 19 will be killed by gunfire somewhere in America, and another will die two hours after that and another two hours after that. These children won't reach their full potential because they won't even reach their next birthday.

This isn't a Baptist issue, or a Methodist issue or a Catholic or a Jewish issue. And this isn't even a black or white issue. ~~This is everyone's issue.~~ The 11-year-old in Chicago was black and so was his victim, ~~yes,~~ but the boy killed in New Jersey was white and so was the child who killed him. Does it matter? Anyone who thinks the storm that hits the house next door won't hit him is wrong in every sense.

Forty-eight years ago, I was born in a ~~rainstorm~~ ^{storm} which might have been an inauspicious start in life. But even though my father died before I was born, I had the strong and loving and disciplining guidance of my mother. Too often, children today don't have that; they don't have a parent to help them with the most basic of choices, to guide them on the right path.

Hugh Price, the head of the Urban League, says the problem isn't that we need to take the streets from criminals. He says: "Take back our children from the streets and the gangs, and the streets will take care of themselves."

Look at the killing in Chicago. The mother of the 11-year-old gunman gave birth for the first time when she was 15. She was forced to give her boy over to his grandmother, but he spent most of his time in the streets, and now we all know how it ended. Before he was killed himself, the boy shot down a young girl, shot her down in the shadow of three neighborhood churches. And one of her friends who saw her die said she started "hollering, so God could hear and stop the craziness." I believe that God has heard, but to stop the craziness, we in turn, must listen to God.

We should acknowledge that if a child is not cared for, he cannot care for others. We should commit ourselves to seeing that churches, no? God can & do it.

All this must start with our children because ~~it~~ it is our children for whom we do all our work.

This needs to link up

is it any better

Goes down to 4

Meaning what? Don't miss the place for Scripture?

every child and young person has a stable and enduring relationship with at least one caring and competent adult. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. said, "Whom we wish to change, we must first love." Therein lies the power. We should see that every child has an Angel on Earth.

And we should acknowledge ^{a civil, not a govt.} that every child has the right to grow up without fear. We all need to rededicate ourselves to create zones of safety and security for our young people. That ^{how,} includes ensuring safety on the way to school and in school and making sure that there are safe places for personal and social development.

These are things that government can't do without partnership with church leaders and the community.

Shouldn't this be higher rep. and civ. & is that govt can't do this at all. churches must help.

Better transition & topic sentence

And churches can help launch a national mobilization against teen pregnancy, and begin before children reach puberty, as early as age 10. ~~There is a crying need for this.~~ About 30 years ago, 1 in 5 African-American children was born out of wedlock. Now the figure is 2 of 3 children; among whites, 30 years ago, 1 in 40 children were born out of wedlock; now the number is 1 in 5.

We need to reach out ~~broadly~~ to teach our children respect for self and for each other. And to warn them that the best thing they can do to stay out of poverty is to make up their minds to wait to have a baby until they are old enough to take care of it and until they are married. ~~We need to teach them about the burden of responsibility.~~ We need to remind girls that becoming a single mother increases risk and diminishes opportunity. And boys need to be told that it is wrong to walk away from the girl they've made pregnant. ~~That they face an American Nightmare.~~

The point is, we are the most free of nations on this Earth. But we are not free if we are value-free. (We have built up our material capital. It is time to build up our spiritual capital)

This should go up to bottom of 3

I am painfully aware that there is a limit to what government can do. Government can't raise children. Government can't make good parents. Government can't show people how to live with one another in love, not in conflict.

And we can't possible do anything for anybody in this country unless our people are also willing to do something for themselves. There has to be a new ethic of personal and family and community responsibility that should unite people across the lines of different faiths and even different political philosophies. People must change from the inside out; we cannot change them from the outside in.

* See p. 3: Not Baptist, etc. . . .

In our society it's become too easy to assail, to tear down and to criticize. Anyone can do that. The hard part is building

Better transition.

up, and not giving up. ~~to have the perseverance of the saints and~~
~~keep on keeping on.~~

The hard part is making choices we can live with, choices that let our children live and thrive in freedom. *We have to make those choices ourselves.*
Rosa Parks & Louie told us about choices. and Fannie Lou Hamer knew about choices. She was a poor sharecropper in Mississippi, and her biggest choice was to use every fiber of her being to champion civil rights. She told the story of two boys who catch a bird and decide to use it to trick an old man. With their hands cupped around the bird, they asked the old man to tell them whether the bird is dead or alive. If the man said "dead," the boys would release the bird into flight, proving the man wrong; if the old man said "alive," they would crush the animal, and prove him wrong that way.

The ^{wise} man looked at ~~the captive bird,~~ then looked at the boys. "Sons," he said, "it's ^{call} in your hands."

So it is in all our hands. Like Fannie Lou Hamer and Rosa Parks, we can each do our part to renew America. We can chase the storm, and we can put in its place an America where the noise in the streets is that of children at play, in peace. This we can do, together.

I've heard that
~~My friend & I~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. schedule	RE: Telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	03/06/1996	P6/b(6)
002a. fax	Commerce to Curiel; RE: Telephone number (partial) (1 page)	03/05/1996	P6/b(6)
002b. draft	Draft Prepared Remarks Malcolm Baldrige Awards (2 pages)	03/05/1996	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10991

FOLDER TITLE:

Baldrige 1996 [1]

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1290

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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our need to be more sensitive to the impact on American workers when
 global economy. But ~~some companies are handing out pink slips even when their profits are~~
~~up and there is no clear economic necessity.~~ *downsizing is required.*

If American workers are doing their part -- working hard and playing by the rules -- and their employer is doing well, then the workers need a fair shake. The idea of America is that there is room for everyone to have a shot at the American dream.

There are many successful companies in our country that share the benefits as well as the burdens of volatile markets with their employees. There are many successful companies that give employees continuous education and training so that if anything should ever happen to them, if they should have to change jobs, they'll be better prepared to go on with their lives, to raise their children and to live in hope and dignity. The companies that do all this show us there is a way of doing business, by doing right by employees, and still do very well economically.

Malcolm Malcolm Baldrige Award winners are such companies.

~~One study by our Commerce Department shows that companies that have won the Baldrige Award soundly out-performed the Standard and Poor's 500 by more than 4 to 1 in terms of return on stock investment. The companies that were recognized for innovation, for investing in people, for investing in technology, for working as partners in the American community, for basically being good corporate citizens -- they were the smart picks for investment.~~

Deliver

These companies show us they can make good profits and still exercise a larger
 responsibility to the American community. *Businesses, workers, and their communities
 can work and win together.*

In our age of possibility, our ^{businesses} ~~corporations~~ can continue to see robust growth, with
 better products, more productivity, more jobs and healthy profits. We can find new and
 better ways to develop it, build^d it, and sell it, as our Award winners have done. And we
 should protect our investments in research and development and science and technology to
 ensure that we can do all that.

And at the same time, in this age of possibility, we are in position to plant a stronger
 and more prosperous future for all our people. Our leading edge in the 21st century is our
 people, working together, to face our challenges. That is how we will boost our
 competitiveness, and push ever upward the American standard -- the world's standard -- for
 excellence. Thank you.

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001. draft	Prepared Remarks Release of Bald Eagle Putuxent Naval Air Station (1 page)	07/04/1996	P5
002. schedule	RE: Home telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	07/4/1996	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10991

FOLDER TITLE:

Bald Eagle 7/4/96

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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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]

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.

from Johnson
+ McBinty

DRAFT

draft, 7/3/96, 5 p.m.

*Excellent
Remarks*

**President William J. Clinton
Prepared Remarks
Release of Bald Eagle
Putuxent Naval Air Station
July 4, 1996**

96 JUL 30 P 5 : 16

[Acknowledgments: Thank you, Jamie Clark (Asst. Dir., Ecology Services) for your service and that introduction. I commend Admiral Strong and Captain Standridge for the natural resources program here at the Patuxent River Naval Air Station, which is a model for military bases and communities. Representative Hoyer and Secretary Babbitt.]

It is fitting today, Independence Day that we celebrate freedom and independence. A moment ago, we gave a bald eagle its independence, releasing it back into the wild.

But I'd like to take a moment before I begin today, to talk about freedom and independence in another part of the world. As a people who cherish the right to choose our leaders and to have a say in our nation's destiny, we should all applaud what we saw in Russia yesterday. Millions of Russians returned to the polls and cast a free and open vote for Russia's democratic future.

With most of the ballots counted, it appears that President Yeltsin has won. I want to congratulate President Yeltsin and the Russian people for this milestone in their journey toward reform.

We should not underestimate the historic nature of this achievement. After centuries of imperial rule, and decades of communist oppression, the Russian people have turned their back on tyranny and are turning the corner toward freedom. They and their leaders have cleared the most important hurdle in building a new democracy: They have had their second democratic election.

McBinty thinks, will Russians not be offended if we say they didn't last?

When I was at the Kremlin earlier this spring, I saw portraits of Russia's other great reformers, like Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. Their achievements didn't last because they failed to create something larger than themselves. President Yeltsin, along with other leaders and the people of Russia, have -- democracy.

Today, we celebrate ¹⁷⁷⁶ the birth of our democracy and the rebirth of our national symbol. When our nation was founded two centuries and two decades ago, the Founders chose the bald eagle to represent all that America stands for, and the American President has always carried that symbol everywhere, as I have here today.

1782 *might be better to say only "our nations founders chose..."*

On America's first Independence Day, as many as quarter million bald eagles soared over what is now the continental United States. And those eagles seemed as

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Remarks at Gridiron Dinner (3 pages)	03/19/1994	P5
002. paper	Jokes for the Gridlock Dinner (4 pages)	03/27/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10991

FOLDER TITLE:

Comedy

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db2114

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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- 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)]

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President William J. Clinton
Remarks at Gridiron Dinner
March 19, 1994

(Draft)

I can't tell you what an honor it is to be here tonight... I mean, I really can't tell you.

Wasn't it worth the price of admission just to see the real Al Gore?: A cut-up... and not a cut-out?

Time and again, Al is hitting home runs. Against Ross Perot... on Dave Letterman... and still, people say he needs to loosen up. That's like saying Bob Dole should stop smiling so much.

And Bill Weld. Wasn't he funny? Bill's been called patrician, Brahmin. But you know, he and I do have some things in common. For instance: Bill's ancestors came over on the Mayflower and landed on Plymouth Rock. Mine landed in Arkansas in a Plymouth pickup.

And Bill and I both studied at Oxford. Well, not together. I was there on a Rhodes scholarship. Bill leased the place with an option to buy.

Would you look at the people here! When I came into the room, my first thought was, "Wow... almost every big name in the Washington media is here." And my second thought was, "If this ceiling caved in on all of you right now... wouldn't that be just awful?"

For weeks, I've had some other second thoughts... you know, about being here tonight. Don't get me wrong. Hillary and I are delighted to be here.

But coming over, as we were leaving the bunker -- I mean, the White House -- I said to Hillary: "Honey, you know what everybody in this crowd is thinking about. It's not health care. It's not welfare reform. It's not even crime -- although with all the expensive clothes and jewels here -- it ought to be. No, honey," I said, "They've all got one thing on their minds, and now I've got to deal with it. They want answers and tonight is the night."

So, despite arguments to the contrary from my counsel, I want to make a full disclosure and talk about how I got into this white... uh... [pause, pause, pause] tie. That's right. What you have heard is true. [Holding out lapels] It's a rental. To tell

the truth, I'm not sure it was a great investment, but to the extent I'm allowed, I fully intend to take a deduction for it.

Now that that's out of the way... I think it's time to get on to more pressing matters.

Are there any more courses to this dinner?

Honestly, I can't understand why I'm always getting grief about my weight. The fact is: I've lost a few pounds since I've been in office.

Just the other night at a dinner in Boston, I showed tremendous will power. When dessert came, I was very determined... I was very deliberate. I just said [pounding rostrum]: "No, no, no, no, no, no, no, no, no. *I'll just have a de-caf coffee, thank you very much.*" Most people didn't hear the entire quote, though.

I do get a little upset when I find I've been misquoted. Like on health care. What I really said was: "I'm for universal health care for everybody... except Harry and Louise. They're on their own."

But the American public never heard that message.

[Staff]

The fact is, getting the message out to the public isn't easy. We found out the hard way. So I brought on Dave Gergen, and I said, "Dave, how about polishing my public image and helping me improve relations with the press?" He said, "Great." That was 10 months ago. [Pause, looking at watch.] And he should be getting started any day now.

Yesterday, a member of my staff came up to me -- totally upset. "Why is it," he asked me, "why is it that whenever it looks like there might be a problem, you pull some senior citizen out of his rocker and bring him here to take care of it? Do you think that's fair?" And I said, "What's your point, Lloyd?"

Of course, there's no denying it. We have put older public servants in some key positions in our Administration. They bring a depth of experience, a sense of history... and they've raised the median age, so that now, we can even show P-G rated movies in the family theater.

And they're doing great things. Take ^{William} Richard Perry at the Pentagon, one of the older members of the Cabinet. He tells me the military's new ban on smoking will save us 10-Billion dollars... 10-Billion dollars. And that's just in ash trays.

But I don't think we should be obsessed with age. Last year, everyone was talking about how young my staff was. I won't say they've aged... but George has switched from a Stairmaster to a walker.

[Media]

Of course, we always try to remember why we're here. This week one of the people at the White House sent me this note which really touched me. And, if you'll allow me to be serious for a moment, I'd like to share it with you.

It says: "This Administration is doing things beyond my wildest dreams. I just want to thank you for giving me this incredible opportunity." And it's signed: "~~Andrea Mitchell~~."

for career ~~opportunities~~

"Maureen Dowd"

[GOP]

Yesterday a reporter asked me if I'd like to see George Mitchell named to be the next baseball commissioner. In the spirit of bi-partisanship, I said, "No, I'd rather see Bob Dole as the next baseball commissioner."

You know, Bob Dole and I don't disagree on everything. I'm in favor of three strikes and you're out. So's Bob Dole. He just doesn't realize that includes Presidential candidacies.

With three strikes-you're out, if you have three convictions, you go to jail... except in Virginia, where you go to the Republican Senate primary.

been working hard to see that we get along better with the press. Really, and they've given me some good advice.

For starters, I apologized to Walter Mears for a crack I made last year at one of the media dinners, when I said I could go over the heads of the media because of Larry King. And Walter said: "Big deal, Mr. President. We can go over your head to Hillary."

My staff had other advice, too, like:

--

There's been some criticism of

JOKES FOR THE GRIDLOCK DINNER
MARCH 27, 1993

What a thrill it is to be here at my first Gridlock -- I mean, Gridiron -- Club Dinner.

Eight months ago, as you know, I accepted my party's presidential nomination "on behalf of the people who do the work, pay the taxes, raise the kids, and play by the rules, in the name of the hardworking Americans who make up our forgotten middle class."

But, tonight, I'm proud to be here with a different group of Americans: the people who play hard and bend the rules, the members of the forgotten media class.

Preeminent among you is my great dinner companion, the first lady of White House journalism, and the club's first woman president, Helen Thomas.

I've admired Helen for years. She's a great reporter...the dean of the White House press corps...a pro for every minute of the 30 years she's been on the beat...keeping President's honest...and all the while breaking down barriers for women all over this town.

But, Helen. What's this I hear about a nanny problem?

Helen's has spent more time in the White House than anybody here tonight. But I still think it's odd that she demanded a security deposit when we moved in.

Helen's been in Washington so long, she remembers when the Electoral College was a high school.

Of course, what bring all of us together this evening -- public servants and public nuisances alike -- is our common love of politics. According to my language expert, George Stephanopoulos, politics comes from the word "poli," which is Greek for many, and "tics," which means bloodsucking leeches. And you know who you are.

John McLaughlin's here. He's in a happy mood. This is the only guy in America who gets frequent flier coupons for his ego trips.

Is there anyone present from N-B-C? The Nitroglycerine Broadcasting Company? You know, I've never seen Dateline, but I hear it's dynamite.

Oh, look, Phil Donahue. Sorry. That's Al Hunt, a real journalist.

Johnny Apple must be here... bureau chief for The New York Times. Johnny's been all over the world for The Times... and he always carries a bag packed with the essentials for any last-minute, far-flung assignment. It's got his passport, razor, toothbrush, a case of Chateau Lafite.

I also want to acknowledge Howell Raines here tonight, since no one else in the Administration does.

I should also recognize my good, very close, personal friend, advisor, confidant, ally, companion, and comrade... Alan Greenspan. He and I share a great many interests.... interest rates, that is.

And Colin Powell was scheduled to be here tonight. But about an hour before the dinner began, Les Aspin closed his table.

I know many of you covered my nominating speech at the convention in 1988, and my acceptance speech at the convention in 1992.

But here's something you may not know. After hearing both of these addresses, Fleetwood Mac has recorded a new song in my honor. It's called "Don't stop speaking until tomorrow."

I called Al Gore to help me with my remarks this evening, but he'd already used his best line. Have you ever heard his story about the "statistical analysis of the fluorocarbon exchange rate in the sub-Saharan micro-climate?" He told it at E-P-A, and the biologists laughed so hard, their plastic pocket protectors fell off.

The Gridiron Dinner is a big deal for us at the White House. We have a very young staff. Real young. For many of them, their security photo was the first picture taken of them since their sonogram. I'm the first President who has to schedule White House staff meetings around spring break.

One of the youngest staffers with the biggest responsibilities is my press secretary, Dee Dee Myers. Dee Dee came to me before the dinner and said, "Boss, what do you think I should wear?" I thought about it for a moment and said to her, "Dee Dee, make it something simple. Something elegant. You know, something J. Edgar Hoover might wear."

I'll tell you one thing, if there is a vacancy at the F-B-I, it's going to be awfully hard to fill J. Edgar's pumps.

This year, we're instituting a program that will allow some of our youngest Americans to serve their country the minute they get out of college.... And that's just in my Administration.

I've often said, we've got a Cabinet that looks like America, and a White House staff that looks like a head start program.

I won't say the entire staff is young... but I am a little nervous tonight. We left some of them home alone. Last time, we did this, we got back and...wouldn't you know it? Pizza boxes all over the West Wing. Boom boxes in the Cabinet Room. And somebody had taken Air Force One out of the hangar for a joyride...and left the tank empty. So, they're grounded...all of them.

I love this... getting all dressed up in white tie and tails. I kind of feel like Fred Astaire. Or like the emcee for the Oscars.

Come to think of it... it's been like a movie since we've gotten to Washington. Let's see. If we gave out awards for best actors, the nominees would be the Republicans -- for the "Crying Game." Joe Biden and Sam Nunn -- for "Damage." And Members of Congress who don't support my economy plan -- for "The Unforgiven." But my personal pick would be Al Gore -- for "Alive."

I guess you heard I got caught again making what they call off-the-cuff remarks. Last week, I said I would appoint James Carville to the Supreme Court. I was kidding. But you know, it's not really all that far-fetched. James is a lawyer. And although he's taken a lot of criticism for being so single-minded and driven; he's considered quite normal...on his planet.

And what's the worst that could happen? If the Senate confirms James for a life term, suddenly I am going to have eight more openings to fill.

I am looking at nominees to fill the robes of Associate Justice White, and I only have two litmus tests: The candidates must be lawyers and they must have a big heart. And, if after four years, we haven't found one, we'll accept any lawyer who has a heart.

I guess it's time to start picking on the prior speakers.

Madeleine Albright recommended one of my best diplomatic appointments. She suggested that we send Pamela Harriman to Paris. I had no idea we had an embassy in East Texas.

Early in my Administration, Ambassador Albright said I had to meet with the British Prime Minister, John Major. I must say, after the unpleasantness during the campaign, I was somewhat reluctant. But when I met with Mr. Major at the White House, it was uncanny. It was as if he had known me for years...knew

everything about me. We developed a tremendous rapport. He calls me "President Passport." And I call him "Major Blunder."

Senator Dole tells me there's a difference between house cats and reporters. Socks has been declawed. And some people don't believe cats should be neutered.

[To Dole] Bob, we just got a telegram for you from the rap singer you criticized, Ice-T. It says: "Stop lying about my record."

Now, look. Here's a guy who wanted to be President all his life...his campaign was derailed in New Hampshire...he emerged to be the leader of his party today...a man who is respected on both sides of the aisle, although his accomplishments continue to be outshone by those of his wife. But, enough about me, let's get back to Bob.

They say Bob Dole is the pitbull of the Republican Party. That's unfair....to pitbulls.

Bob, of course, is always interested in stories about what it's like to live in the White House. So, let me conclude with just this one.

Sometimes I walk through the White House in the middle of the night. And in the stillness I can feel the presence of Jefferson writing...Lincoln speaking...Ronald Reagan snoring.

I know sitting through bad comedy has been difficult, maybe even "taxing" for you. But I just want you to know...you have not suffered alone...your burden has been shared. I feel your pain. And I want to hug each and every one of you....Maybe some other time.

Just one week from tonight, I'm going to be in Vancouver, meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

I know many of you will be covering the summit meeting, and I look forward to seeing you there.

That meeting is a reminder that we are living in a time of change and challenge, when peoples throughout the world are striving for the freedom we enjoy. And it is a reminder of how fortunate we are to live in America, where every man and woman has the right to question, to criticize, and, just as important, to laugh at our leaders.

This evening is not just a celebration of laughter but a celebration of liberty. God bless you all.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. letter	Cindy; RE: Home address (partial) (1 page)	04/29/1994	P6/b(6)
001b. letter	Elizabeth; RE: Home address and medical information (partial) (1 page)	04/29	P6/b(6)
001c. note	Delia and Charlie; RE: Home telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
001d. letter	Sandra Weber; RE: Medical information (1 page)	04/29/1994	P6/b(6)
001e. letter	Kathleen; RE: Medical Information (1 page)	04/29/1994	P6/b(6)
001f. letter	Becky Ogle; RE: Medical information (3 pages)	04/29/1994	P6/b(6)
002. letter	Justin Dart; RE: Home address and telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	03/05/1994	P6/b(6)
003. draft	Remarks Before Americans with Disabilities (3 pages)	05/02/1994	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10992

FOLDER TITLE:

Disability [2]

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1307

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]
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President William J. Clinton
Remarks Before Americans With Disabilities
May 2, 1994
(Draft)

I am honored that Justin Dart has given me this book... knowing that every signature of every person taking part in the rally today represents thousands of other names of Americans who have also overcome tremendous obstacles.

There may be no truer grass-roots movement than that of Americans with disabilities. It is a movement that has made our laws, our environment and our society more fair and more humane. It has been fueled by anger... frustration... and, as we have seen with Kate Miles and her family... by determination and love.

But no family should be put through a stress test of going it alone to provide care for a family member. No family breadwinner should have to work three jobs because a child needs long-term care... no family should have to deplete its savings or risk bankruptcy. Our home-care program will give families like the Miles family and individuals with disabilities a fair break: greater choices about how and where to get care, and it will help pay for the cost of that care.

I applaud the courage of Kate Miles and Robbie and the rest of their family in coming here today.

It's fitting that the theme of ^{you} the rally today is "Bridge to Freedom."

I became President because I wanted to to ensure that every one of our people has the ^{effort} tools to become economically free.

Three years ago (??), the Americans With Disabilities Act became law and it has helped to fight job discrimination and to begin including, rather than excluding, the disability community from the main stream of American life.

But it is only part of the equation. The other part is this: We have to get rid of the systemic discrimination in insuring the health of our people.

And unless we do, millions of Americans will never know the dignity of putting in a day at work... will never know the independence of collecting a paycheck... will never know economic freedom.

It is unconscionable that any American with the mind and the desire and the ability to work is denied that chance.

JD has provided an example for all of us; he has shown above and beyond the call of duty. He is a message to all of us over the nation.

It is self-defeating to have a system that says to Americans with disabilities: You can have health benefits, but only if you don't work.

It is counter-productive to have a system that discourages employers from hiring a qualified person just because that person may be at risk of high medical bills.

Let's face it: The health care system we have now is failing millions of Americans. The health care system is failing you.

We had better fix it now, because if we don't it will be a long time before we can pass this way again. And every day that passes without a reformed health care system will be filled with wasted time and wasted humanity.

We can do it by getting rid of the obstacles to freedom in our health care system.

The term "pre-existing condition" is one that the people here today and millions of Americans know as prevention: It prevents people from being insured and it prevents employers from hiring these people because of the potential health care costs.

We need to say once and for all: You can't deny coverage to anyone with a pre-existing condition.

And further... there can be no lifetime limits on health care.

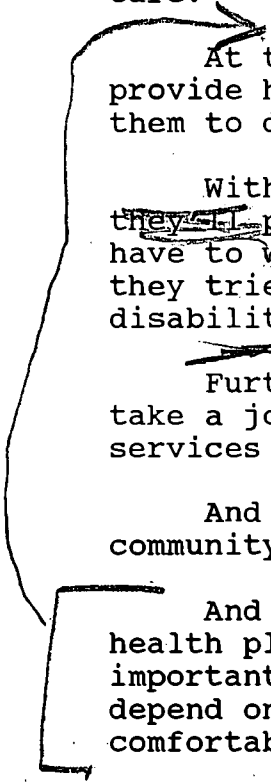
At the same time, we need to require all employers to provide health coverage... and we need to make it affordable for them to do so.

With our proposal, employers will be part of ~~large pools~~, so they ~~will~~ pay a ~~percentage of average~~ premiums... and they won't have to worry that their insurance rates will skyrocket because they tried to do the right thing by hiring a person with a disability.

Furthermore, help the person with a disability to be able to take a job by including a tax credit for personal-assistance services worth 50 percent of what he or she earns.

And all of this goes hand-in-hand with providing home- and community-based long-term care.

And you should have the freedom to choose the doctor and health plan that is best for you. This is something that is important for every American, but especially for Americans who depend on a doctor who knows them and with whom they feel comfortable.



Myers group
so they'll
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the

We should be rewarding the people who take personal responsibility... who go the extra mile... who have the desire and the capacity to contribute to our society.

No one disputes that the astronomical costs of our present health care system is unacceptable. At the rate its costs are growing, it will be siphoning off economic growth for generations.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Remarks for Inactivation of Berlin Brigade (4 pages)	07/12/1994	P5
002. note	RE: Telephone number (partial) (1 page)	06/29/1994	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carolyn Curiel
OA/Box Number: 10993

FOLDER TITLE:

International

Debbie Bush
2006-0461-F
db1313

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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BRIGADE 1 in G-DRWS

CC

President William J. Clinton
Remarks for Inactivation of Berlin Brigade
McNair Barracks, Berlin, Germany
July 12, 1994

Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl, Governing Mayor and Mrs. Diepgen,
Secretary Perry, General Shalikashvili, General Mattox, General
Yates, members of the Berlin Brigade, my fellow Americans:

How so?

Today we close a circle begun nearly a half century ago,
ending where we began, but somehow arriving at a different place
in this different time. We have come to Berlin.

In 1945, President Truman came to Berlin, and atop the ~~we had a~~
American headquarters he raised high the Stars and Stripes, ~~with~~
a simple wish that one day, Berlin would be part of "a better
world, a peaceful world, a world in which all the people will
have an opportunity to enjoy the good things in life."

Grand

Then as now, the colors rippled mightily in the winds of
Berlin. And the winds could not be contained, not by the breadth
of a Wall, not by the length of years. They gusted from here,
lifting a continent, finally, out of the cold and toward the
warmth of freedom.

Grand

To the men and women of the Berlin Brigade, and to those who ~~and~~
preceded you as defenders of this city, I say: ~~Let~~ fanned those ~~across~~
winds. With your courage, with your patriotism, with your very ~~presence~~
presence.

to all of them who
have
It was you who

Few moments in the life of a nation are as fulfilling as
when its sons and daughters in uniform can be thanked for a job
well done. Today we share such a moment. ~~It says to you~~

Members of the Berlin Brigade: America salutes you. Your
long campaign has been successful. Berlin is free. Berlin is
united. Berlin is part of a better world.

Berliners of all generations, from all walks of life have
been expressing their appreciation for your efforts, in the most
personal and heartfelt ways.

I and all your fellow Americans are swelled with pride for
what you have done for this city, this continent, and for the
United States of America. You are truly our vanguards of freedom.

No force of this size has ever accomplished more for peace
and stability. No force has better symbolized America's
commitment to the defense of human liberty. No force has better
embodied America's solidarity with peoples around the world who
are committed to democracy.

General MacArthur said, "The soldier, above all other people, prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war."

The members of the Berlin Brigade and the Americans who preceded them here at this most forward outpost knew the dangers better than anyone. You stood tall at the flashpoint of superpower disputes ~~and~~ on the nuclear precipice you did not flinch. You preserved and fortified this island of liberty, ~~and you did it without firing a single shot in anger. You provided a harbor for freedom and a harbinger for detente.~~

The example of your courage strengthened liberty's resolve. And because of it, Berlin faces perhaps its brightest future in 750 years of existence.

From Doughboy City to Templehof Airport to Checkpoint Charlie and other sites east of the Elbe river -- in all, more than 100,000 American men and women served in the Berlin Brigade.

People like the Colonel Gale Halvorsen, who tossed small, candy-filled parachutes to the children of Berlin during the Airlift (when?)

People like Private Hans Puhl, who risked his life in September 1964, leaping over the Wall to rescue a young East Berliner cut down by East German rifles as he dashed toward freedom.

People like Specialist Rebecca Montague, who was deployed from Berlin to Iraq to help deliver humanitarian relief to the Kurds in Northern Iraq in Operation "Provide Comfort."

And people like Sid Shacknow, a Holocaust survivor who made his way to America and into the Army and the Berlin Brigade. He was better known here as Brigadier General Shacknow, Brigade Commander -- a man who lived freedom's dream.

We honor these and all members of the Berlin Brigade and their families, whose support and love have buttressed all we have done here.

Not far from here is a piece of America, a copy of the Liberty Bell that hangs in Philadelphia, sent to Berliners through the donations of 16 million Americans. When that bell rang for the first time in 1950, no one could say with certainty when freedom would come. When the first cargo planes landed in 1948 as part of Operation Vittles, as the Airlift was called, no one knew how long it would last or even if it could succeed. When the Wall went up in 1961, no one could say when the city and severed families would be whole again.

(wound my did war to bring the symbols of freedom into [unclear] LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

FRANCE

—

No one knew. But many, many people believed that freedom would one triumph.

When the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin was signed in 1971, no one knew whether we could use the agreement to improve the lives of Berliners.

But we held fast and we believed, and history proved us right. It proved that freedom's will is stronger than tyranny's wall.

I am not the first American President to come to Berlin. And to the citizens of this city and to all who cherish freedom as a birthright, America pledges that I will not be the last.

I have come to Berlin, as President Truman did, as President Kennedy did, as Presidents Nixon and Reagan did, each to stand at democracy's door in East Europe. But now we have crossed that threshold to a new world of opportunities.

Carter

In 1994, we face new challenges. No one can say with certainty whether those people to Berlin's east, struggling now to establish democracy and market economies will be successful. But one thing is certain. Together with our allies, we are obligated to help them succeed and help them we will.

Friends up
which
we got

I am privileged to be with you today as we turn a historic corner. For five decades, Americans stood shoulder to shoulder with British and French comrades and with the people of Berlin. We came as occupiers, stayed here as defenders, and we leave as friends.

Today, we bid farewell to the good and brave people of Berlin -- who have been and will always be friends and partners. And as we depart, we do not turn our backs. Throughout western Germany, our men and women and uniform will continue to be a presence. And in this city, while the work of our troops is done, other Americans from all walks of life are being drawn here, strengthening our economic and cultural bonds. Many more are coming, drawn by the vitality that you helped make possible.

This goodbye is not cause for sadness. We do not mourn, we have not one regret. Because of you, we can say, ^{now, finally:} All is peaceful, all is settled, all is quiet, here on freedom's front.

Members of the Berlin Brigade, I salute you: Mission Good accomplished.

Not a farewell. But a beginning.

Should have more about military commitment in Europe +
a world

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Cerda to Lin; RE: Telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	07/15/1994	P6/b(6)
001b. bio	Rodriguez; RE: Date of birth (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. bio	Fernandez; RE: Telephone number (partial) (1 page)	07/14/1994	P6/b(6)
003. letter	Martinez to President Clinton; RE: Home address (partial) (1 page)	06/30/1994	P6/b(6)
004. letter	Torres to President Clinton; RE: Home address (partial) (1 page)	06/18/1994	P6/b(6)
005. letter	Mejia to President Clinton; RE: Home address (partial) (1 page)	05/09/1994	P6/b(6)
006. letter	Garcia to President Clinton; RE: Home address (partial) (1 page)	05/30/1994	P6/b(6)
007. letter	Rodriguez to President Clinton; RE: Home address (partial) (1 page)	06/30/1994	P6/b(6)
008a. letter	Maidie Garcia to President Clinton; RE: Home address, telephone numbers and medical issues (2 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
008b. letter	Maidie Garcia to Hillary Clinton; RE: Home address, telephone numbers and medical issues (3 pages)	08/09/1993	P6/b(6)
009. memo	Castillo to Ibarra; RE: Telephone number (partial) (1 page)	07/14/1994	P6/b(6)
010. fax	Curiel to Newman; RE: Telephone number (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10993

FOLDER TITLE:

[Miscellaneous Material and Hispanic Americans] [1]

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1320

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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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011. draft	RE: National Council of La Raza (1 page)	n.d.	P5
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carolyn Curiel
OA/Box Number: 10993

FOLDER TITLE:

[Miscellaneous Material and Hispanic Americans] [1]

Debbie Bush
2006-0461-F
db1320

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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last day before retirement, ~~you should know that~~ whatever the world brings, ~~you~~ ^{they} and ~~your~~ ^{their} children will be prepared.

Our strategy is working. Our economy is coming back. The economy has generated more than 3.8 million jobs since I took office; inflation is the lowest it's been in two decades.

We honored the values that you honor: opportunity, responsibility, community, and most of all, family. We enacted the Family and Medical leave law. We cut taxes on 15 million families who choose work over welfare. We reformed the student loan system, so that your sons and daughters can go to college and your family won't go broke.

(Very imp. to Hispanics?)

By there I spelled it wrong to keep this?

We established our program of national service, AmeriCorps, which with guidance from La Raza will help rebuild Latino and other communities while helping young people pay for their education. We set up the White House Commission on Hispanic Educational Excellence, chaired by Raul Yzaguirre, who is charged with finding ways the system can be changed to better serve young Hispanics and their parents. *Let's talk.*

I'm proud of our record. We are doing all we can to give every American the tools to compete and win in a changing world, to give every child the chance to say: Yes, I can. But none of this will be truly successful unless ~~we~~ ^{we must} make sure that every working American family has health care.

Crime/Health

we solve one problem that creates to make all over

And to do that, I need your help. There are few things in life that are as clear cut: More working Hispanics are uninsured than any other segment of America, about 33 percent versus about 11 percent [check figures] for the rest of the population. Often Latinos don't have health care because they work for small businesses, or they work part-time, without benefits.

keep Americans from

These are people working their hearts out to make a better life. But all it takes is one illness without insurance and the family can be set back for a generation. It's a travesty.

taking full advantage of the changes they are facing.

I'll tell you about another group that has complete health security. If you're in that group, you get to pick your own doctor and health plan. You can change plans if you like, and you are never denied coverage for pre-existing conditions. You pay a fair price for insurance and your employer picks up most of the cost.

The group is Congress. The employer is you, the American taxpayer. Now, I say this not to suggest that members of Congress should not have health care. They should. But why not pass it around?

I think we ought to make this more of a work based argument: If you are in Prison, on welfare or in jail. Good (including Congress) then you get the Health Care. But if you are a hardworking M. CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTO COPY

(Middle class)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. draft	RE: Saturday Radio Address (2 pages)	10/12/1996	P5
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carolyn Curiel
OA/Box Number: 10994

FOLDER TITLE:

Radio Addresses

Debbie Bush
2006-0461-F
db2118

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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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)]

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President William J. Clinton
Saturday Radio Address
October 12, 1996

Good morning. Today is Columbus Day, marking the day an Italian explorer came upon the New World. It's a day that holds special significance and much pride for Italian-Americans. This day is also known as Dia de la Raza (DEE-ah deh lah RAH-zah), when the Hispanic and Native American cultures came together more than 500 years ago. All these people have shaped who we are as a nation... and today we all celebrate their contributions.

and all
min

We can only imagine the beauty of the land that explorers found half a millennium ago. In the centuries since, as we have grown, we have often paid a price with our natural resources and our environment. Some have been depleted, destroyed, endangered. And some, thankfully, have been preserved, restored and replenished.

This doesn't just happen. It takes work by every generation to make sure the next generation can enjoy the blessings and the beauty of America, and clean air and pure water. And as we build our bridge to the 21st Century, we must carry this mission with us.

It is worth for our generation all of us, as we can pass on to our children the Earth that God gave us.

In a few moments, I will sign into law a bill that will make our job easier, the Water Resources Development Act. And with me here in the Oval Office is someone who has devoted much of his life to creating a better environment, Vice President Al Gore.

I'd like him to tell you what this bill will do.

[VICE PRESIDENT GORE]

new law

This ~~bill~~ has been urgently needed. It reflects our commitment to continue the development of the nation's water resources and preserve the environment while being fiscally responsible.

even as we balance the budget.

We can do that, and we must. We are working to balance the budget, because we need to do that to ensure a better future, but we need to do it in a way that honors our obligations. And that means protecting education, Medicare, Medicaid... and the environment. To do one without the others will cost us a terrible price later.

I want to thank all the members of Congress who fought with us to win this water resources development act, especially xxxxxx??

DON'T NEED TO DO THIS, I DON'T THINK

I am heartened that we have turned back confrontation, and have won cooperation and bipartisanship to win this important new law.

DO NOT NEED TO DO THIS, I DON'T THINK

Today, I am also announcing my intention to sign the Parks Bill, which the Congress has approved. This bill promises to make American even more beautiful. It will create or improve

I am especially pleased that Congress was able to enact these laws in a bipartisan manner - setting aside party...

almost 120 national parks, trails, rivers or historical sites in 41 of our states. This bill will restore the breathtaking Presidio in San Francisco, which borders the bay... it will save the pristine Sterling Forest along the New York and New Jersey border, which is a place of recreation and a major source of clean water... it will help restore the beauty of the Tall Grass Prairie in Kansas... and it will bring back other natural sites that have been so long overlooked all around our nation.

for thousands of families

?

500 years ago, no one could have imagined the greatness that would bloom between our shores... nor could they have foreseen that the nation born here would become the model of people of all kinds working together for the common good.

Preserving our environment, restoring its wonder is in our common good... for today and for tomorrow. Let us truly celebrate today as a day of RE-discovery, in which we pledge to keep working, across the lines that divide us, to make America more beautiful and better than ever.

Thanks for listening.

And now, I will sign the Water Resources Development Act.

When we ~~preserve the Everglades~~

when we preserve the Everglades, we are standing up for ^{our} America's values. And that's something for all Americans to be proud of.

✓ from prev. page

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	RE: Prepared Remarks ReGo report Roll-Out (4 pages)	09/19/1996	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carolyn Curiel
OA/Box Number: 10994

FOLDER TITLE:

REGO [Reinventing Government] [2]

Debbie Bush
2006-0461-F
db2119

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

RM. 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]
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**President William Jefferson Clinton
Prepared Remarks
ReGo Report Roll-Out
Portland, Oregon
September 19, 1996**

[Acknowledgments: to be provided on site.]

You know, I have to hand it to our brilliant Vice President. I used to think Washington couldn't keep a secret. But Al Gore found some... he cut a book deal... and now he's telling all. And I forgive him. Because from now on... everyone will know... we are on our way to making government work the way it's supposed to work for all the American people.

And I will tell you this: Al Gore is doing for Federal government what he has done for the macarena [mah-kah-RAY-nuh]... he's removing all the unnecessary steps... and he's got everyone doing it!

~~For that,~~ we all thank the Vice President.

I am very happy to be back in Portland. We had a wonderful time coming down here on the bus from Seattle, here to the intersection of 4th and Main, meeting many wonderful people along the way.

I will never forget the bravery and resilience I saw in the people here when I visited during the floods last spring. The true pioneering spirit of America is alive and well here in Oregon. And I join the Vice President in congratulating all the people of Oregon for being pioneers in bringing common sense to our government. You're doing a wonderful job.

→ [ECON PROGRESS]
What this election is all about is simply this: It's a clear, unambiguous choice about building a bridge into the future or going back to the past.

Four years ago, we had government that was bloated, out of touch and into central control. For many good reasons, our people felt that government just didn't "get it."

But Al Gore and I knew that if we are going to be ready for the 21st century, then we need a government for the 21st century. So we have been building a bridge to the future by building a government that "gets it"... one that is lean, that works for the people with minimum red tape, with maximum results, while preserving America's values.

We have been building the bridge to the future by reducing the deficit and balancing the budget, and do it w/o devastation M M 95.

cut
69609... New we

are

-- and we are giving local communities the power to say how things will be used, police

We have been building the bridge by putting 100,000 more cops on the streets of America, almost 400 [394] so far in Oregon alone. And across America, crime has come down. In Oregon, violent crime was down 4 percent last year, and murders were down 8 percent -- the biggest drop in 3 decades.

We are building the bridge to the future by reforming welfare. *welfare reform bill & signed, ~~that~~ we worked w/ 41 states to launch welfare reform*

Area before the welfare reform bill & signed, ~~that~~ we worked w/ 41 states to launch welfare reform. ~~expensive~~ today, ~~to pay for~~ ~~the~~ ~~my~~ ~~welfare~~ ~~state~~ ~~day~~ ~~with~~ ~~office.~~

We are building the bridge to the future by ending the era of big government, and a big part of that has been reinventing government. And to get that job done, I have asked Al Gore to do an awful lot.

Just weeks after we took office, I asked him to report back to me in 6 months on how to fix the government. He did. He produced so much savings in that study, that we were able to pay for the 100,000 extra police officers in our Crime Bill.

Then, I asked Al Gore to go back and do a second review of government. I wanted him to find enough savings to pay for a middle class tax cut... and he did. Then last month, I asked Al Gore to report to me with recommendations on how to improve air safety and security. He did. Just this week the Congress passed half of his recommendations into law. And now we have actions underway to improve the safety and security for all Americans who fly.

Now, ~~let me tell you what~~ *has to* all of this means for the American people: It's meant a lot in the way of savings -- \$118 billion, so far, as the Vice President said. It means the government is smaller by 250,000 positions -- the smallest it's been since John Kennedy was President. Layers of management, rules and red tape that weren't needed are gone, and we're getting rid of 16,000 pages of regulations. But we have worked to save and improve what Americans need... like Medicare... Social Security... the National Park system... environmental protections... and other agencies, programs and laws that protect you and your family.

And we've made government work, without waste and without excuses. It used to be that if you needed a business loan, you faced a large stack of papers to apply; we changed that and now it's just one page. It used to be that the Federal Emergency Management Agency was such a disaster that the Congress was considering getting rid of it. But we changed that and now, under Director James Lee Witt, FEMA is there first and stays until the job is done when nature's darker forces strike our people. We are putting people first, and that's what we are working to do all across government.

I'll tell you a little about what this tell-all book reveals:

First, common sense has come to government. In everything from how we hire people to how we purchase supplies to the way our customs agents inspect for illegal drugs ... we have gotten rid of the excess bureaucracy and the double-speak. It used to be that if you were

in government, and needed a \$4 stapler... it'd cost you \$50 just in paperwork to get it. Now, a \$4 stapler costs not \$54, but \$4. Over and over again, that kind of waste has been eliminated.

Second, government is serving people better. ~~Most of the people in government want to do a good job, but they found it tough under the old ways.~~ Now, that's changing. One woman from Sacramento was so overwhelmed by the fast and friendly service she got at the Social Security office, she wrote to tell us that it left her "dazed and confused" -- in a good way. And now she says, she thinks more of government agencies and their employees. Our government workers should serve the people the way America's best companies serve their customers.

And that brings us to the third best-kept secret: Government is in partnership with business. ~~It makes sense. Our regulatory agencies have been directed to work in partnership with business.~~ After all, we want compliance... not punishment. That's how we'll keep our water and air clean... that's how we'll best protect the health and safety of all our people.

And the fourth secret is that we found that we do a better job when we are also partnered with our communities. When it comes to fighting crime, revitalizing housing and neighborhoods and educating our children, government alone cannot do the job.

As the Vice President said, we followed Oregon's example. When it comes to federal grants and programs you need, you threw out the Washington rule book, and we helped you do it. Now there are no strings attached... just one large qualification: You must show results. You know best how to reach your goals... and we want you to reach them.

That's the approach we took on welfare. Long before I signed the welfare reform bill, we had already accomplished a quiet revolution by allowing more than 40 states waivers to design a program that best fit their needs. And on crime, our Justice Department has teamed with state and local law enforcement in the COPS program to fight crime in new ways that work. There are one million fewer crime victims in America than there were one year ago, because we are partners in fighting crime with local communities.

Across America, we've allowed the states to set their own challenging standards for education. We've taking away the regulations and now, the schools must perform and be accountable. It's a better way to get the job done.

But we still have work to do. And in a second Clinton-Gore Administration this is what we will work for:

By the year 2002, by the time our federal budget is balanced, we will have an even smaller, more productive government than we have today.

We will privatize more parts of the government. We've done that already by selling operations like the Alaska Power Administration, and by converting many training and support programs to private companies -- saving American taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars. ~~We should also weed out from government the program that helps banks to finance student loans... Sallie Mae.~~ We have already reformed student loans; now they are direct, cheaper and easier to get and to repay for our young people. So, Sallie Mae should go private, and that alone would save the taxpayers \$22 million right away.

We need to make more of government operate in a businesslike way. So, by 2002, I want many of our agencies to become Performance Based Organizations. ~~What that means,~~ simply, is this: these agencies will have clear goals... they will promise to increase productivity and quality... they will set standards for customer service... and they will decrease costs. And we will give them the flexibility to get the job done. These organizations will be run by chief executive officers whose job literally depends on meeting goals. That's the bottom line.

Finally, we cannot continue to shrink government and transform the way it operates unless we use technology better. So today, I am announcing that the White House Home Page, which many of you have already used on the Internet, will become your one-stop gateway to government services. Whether you have a transaction, need a form or publication, ~~or just want information... it's all there.~~ And remember: ~~Online there are no lines.~~ If you want to know, for example, how much you have in Social Security savings and get an estimate of your future benefits -- it's right there.

~~any~~ ~~or~~ ~~It even has listed government laws and regulations.~~ For business people, this can be a very valuable resource. I used this the other day, and found that all you need to do is type in a couple of key words and it's all there. Quick, simple, convenient. Government at your service, at your fingertips.

Our goal is very basic: We want a government that people can have faith in. As we face our challenges and work to live up to all our potential in the 21st century, government alone cannot be the solution, but government that works with you can be part of the solution. Together, there is nothing we cannot do.

A reinvented government, that is leaner, more efficient, responsive, and mindful of our values -- that is how we will build our bridge to the 21st century, working together and moving forward together. Thank you and God bless.

a) I can't believe it's true
b) doesn't add anything

JUST NOT TRUE

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Hitt to Curiel; RE: Home address (partial) (1 page)	01/16/1996	P6/b(6)
002. memo	Speechwriters to Don Baer; RE: Telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	12/13/1995	P6/b(6)
003. memo	Carol Rasco to Michael Waldman; RE: SOU [State of the Union] (2 pages)	01/17/1996	P5
004. paper	RE: State of the Union speech (3 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10994

FOLDER TITLE:

S.O.T.U. State of the Union (1996) 1-23-96 [1]

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1337

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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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]
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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

17-Jan-1996 09:00am

TO: Michael Waldman
FROM: Carol H. Rasco
Domestic Policy Council
CC: Bruce N. Reed
SUBJECT: SOU

Initial thoughts:

First and foremost I like it....it's positive nature is very uplifting!

I believe the drug section needs to be beefed up to match the words on gangs...I know POTUS has indicated he wants very much to be able to announce new drug director....we need to think of what we do if that appt. not ready as it is a cabinet appt. and it may take a bit longer than a week to get the vet done. He could always reiterate the issue of the Conf. on Drugs, Youth, Violence coming up (title may be wrong) in Feb., plans to announce new director then.

Page 7: The part that says "Our schools have low standards, dilapidated and crowded classrooms,...." should be changed I feel to "Far too many of our schools...." There are a significant number of terrific schools out there and I cringe at the very negative image currently portrayed.

Page 8: Second sentence will raise MANY questions about whether he is proposing mandatory teacher testing like he did in Ark., is he going to ask for stronger federal role in traditional local community responsibilities...we need to think on how that is said so as NOT to raise these questions. Merit scholarships: private schools too?

Page 9: Bullet point on child support...should include females in that too....while males owe the most among back support there is a significant and growing number of mothers. While I am all for this particular bullet focusing on fathers we either need to drop the child support line or tweak it someway.

I don't on first three readings see anything about people with disabilities...it would be a natural to add something in the fourth challenge area. We could extend the insurance language which is one area that precludes people with disabilities from

working often or we can cite one of the incredible stats about untapped source of potential workers from among people with disabilities...I will ask Diana Fortuna to put something together today.

AIDS

Yeah, the word is in there! However, we may not have accomplished what we need by using it in the way it is now placed. I see no where in the speech where there is discussion of technology/science research/etc/ With all the new focus in recent days on the various viruses that threaten us it seems we have to work something in about research...that would be a good place to say something about AIDS....the issue is we have people, increasing numbers of women and children dying of AIDS and volunteer help while great is not the big answer....I'll keep reading and thinking on this one.

Thanks!

If the State of the Union addresses returning credibility to the nation's control of its borders, then it also should include some language indicating the President's recognition of the contribution of legal immigration to communities and the nation. The President has attempted to include such balance over the past year in his references to this issue before a wide range of audiences.

Immigration fits into the story about communities and personal responsibility. If illegal immigration enforcement is brought within these themes, then so too should legal immigration. Otherwise, the President will appear to be scapegoating noncitizens and he will be contributing implicitly to divisive and overheated anti-immigrant sentiments whether he intends to or not. Finally, this is not only a point about immigration, but goes straight to his vision of a national community with everyone -- citizens and noncitizens alike -- working hard and playing by the rules and working together to achieve a better society.

Drafted properly, there should be little concern that this will hurt the President. This crucial point is recognized by Governor Wilson who was careful to distinguish between illegal and legal immigration in nearly all of his remarks including his Presidential campaign announcement. It was recognized by Governor Bush who warned Republican Presidential candidates not to come to Texas and blame legal immigrants or immigration. There are reasons why they, and other governors, have been careful to make this point.

Legal immigration is also a business and industry competitiveness issue. That is why Bill Gates spoke out and why Senator Simpson caved immediately on certain legislative provisions viewed as restricting businesses access to needed foreign workers (how many other nontechnology national issues can you name that Bill Gates has led the fight on).

Expressing this idea in the speech does not need to be lengthy, but it does have to rise beyond reciting the well-worn "nation of immigrant" mantra that has been made barely adequate because it is chanted now even by those who blame legal immigrants for many of society's present problems.

If the Administration's success in bringing increasing credibility to enforcement of the immigration laws is included in the speech, it also can be placed into a context that reinforces the President's vision of community:

- Deterring illegal immigration is a fundamental element of a nation's need to control its borders to ensure its national

and economic security goals. It also is consistent with this Administration's vision of a national community where people strive not only to work hard, but also to contribute their fair share and play by the rules. An individual's illegal entry by definition defies this vision. And an illegal crosser's undocumented status virtually ensures some level of social marginalization and risks growth of an underclass rather than integration into and full participation in society.

While we must restore credibility to the enforcement of our immigration laws -- because we are a nation of laws -- we nevertheless must not allow immigration to become a wedge that divides us as a nation.

But it is crucial that the President have a vision of a national community that truly reflects a unifying theme. That is what a President does in the bully pulpit. After all, most noncitizens are part of families of U.S. citizens. Most noncitizens are simply future (voting) citizens. Here are some possibilities:

- Ultimately, legal immigration supports families and family values, business and global competitiveness. Our policies seek to reinforce immigration's role in strengthening families and communities (through reunification of close family members) and strengthening the economy (by supporting needed employment-based immigration when that does not compete with Americans for jobs). These are people who often waited years to enter legally, rather than illegally, worked hard and played by the rules to pursue the American Dream. In these areas in particular, it is important to affirm the continuing contribution of legal immigration to our country.
- Tie the community theme into the achievements and passing of Barbara Jordan -- using the type of national unifying language she used at the Convention and throughout her life.
- As part of community responsibility or community economic development, note the energy and hard work that legal immigrants have brought to the task of revitalizing decaying neighborhoods and small business development in some of our most depressed communities.
- The President has spoken about the value of the United States being able to send Haitian-American peacekeepers to Haiti who therefore had ties to Haiti, could speak the language and relate closely to the Haitian people. We know that noncitizens fought for American interests in the Iraqi war because President Clinton issued an executive order

expediting their naturalization. Perhaps there is a similar story to tell of a member of the U.S. peacekeeping force in Bosnia who is from a family that left that region and has returned to help restore peace.

The President has tied legal immigration to affirmative action, noting parallel issues and concerns. That might be done again in this speech.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	RE: State of the Union Address (4 pages)	01/23/1996	P5
002. letters	Outside Contributors; RE: State of the Union, address, and telephone number (62 pages)	12/18/1995	P5, P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10994

FOLDER TITLE:

S.O.T.U. State of the Union (1996) 1-23-96 [2]

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1338

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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~~So tonight I want to speak honestly of the challenges we face as a people.~~

Tonight I want of the challenges we face as a people

Our first challenge is to cherish our children and strengthen the American family.

Families are the foundation of American life. If you ~~stay together as a family~~, I believe we can stay together ~~as a nation~~.

~~of we have stronger families~~, we will have a stronger nation

We must take ^{more} responsibility for our children. It is not easy to be ^{a parent} young today.

~~I challenge our businesses, our parents, our media, our schools, our teachers, our communities, and our governments to help children make it. We need Washington to clear away the hurdles, not to build them up.~~

but it's even harder to be a child

To the media: I say you should create movies, CDs and television shows you would want your own children to use. ~~In the broadcast industry, do what movies have done, rate your programming to help parents protect their children.~~

and give children to ~~use and see~~ enjoy

To make the V chip work, I challenge the Telecom.

I call on Congress to pass the requirement for a "V Chip" in TV sets, so parents can screen out programs with violence and sex. Television should not betray the values of the family home.

It is pending in cong. & I urge you to pass the V-chip

When parents control what their own children see, that's not censorship — that's responsibility. ~~the government~~ enabling parents to take more resp. for their

I invite the leaders of major media corporations and the entertainment industry to come to the White House next month to work with us on concrete ways to improve what our children see on television. I am ready to work with you.

I say to those who produce and market cigarettes: Every year, a million children take up smoking; 300,000 of them will die ~~as a result~~. My administration has acted to stop the massive marketing campaign aimed at kids. We are saying: Market your products to adults, if you wish -- but draw the line on children.

~~And there is something that all of us in both parties recognize.~~ For too long, our welfare system has undermined the family. Congress and I are near agreement on sweeping welfare reform. We agree on time limits, tough work requirements, and the toughest possible child support enforcement. But we must provide child care so mothers can go to work. Send me a bipartisan welfare reform that will really move people from welfare to work and that does right by children, and I will sign ~~it in a heartbeat.~~

~~But reform is only the first step.~~ *passing legislation* The next step is to make it work. I challenge American business to hire people getting off welfare.

To strengthen the family, we must do everything we can to keep the teen pregnancy rate going down. *It is still far too high* ~~Last year, from this podium, I issued a call for a new national effort to~~ ~~come to grips with this problem.~~ Tonight I am pleased to announce that a group of

responding to that challenge by forming an org. to
prominent national leaders is ~~answering that call with an organization that will enlist the~~
Support Comm
grass roots ~~in~~ a national campaign against teen pregnancy. I challenge every American ~~to~~ *in every*
them.
join ~~in their efforts.~~

~~I call on American men and women to respect one another. I ask every American~~
9 man to swear, tonight, never, never, to lift his hand against a woman. We must end the
deadly scourge of domestic violence.

call on
I ~~challenge~~ America's families to stay together. And in particular, I challenge
fathers to love and care for their children. ~~Unless a man has died, there is no such thing as~~
~~a fatherless child, there is simply a father not doing his~~ *their* most basic human duty.

We need fathers home care for your children
~~We are collecting record amounts of child support payments, and Congress has~~
~~adopted my recommendation to deny drivers licenses to anyone who fails to pay the money~~
4118
4220 he owes his children.

But a check is no substitute for your love. Please, as President, as a father, ~~as a~~
ask
~~man who lost his own father before I was born], I~~ *ask* you: Help raise your children.

Our second Challenge is to provide Americans with the educational opportunities
we need for a new century.

Every classroom in America must be connected to the information superhighway ~~by~~

~~the year 2000~~, with computers, good software, and ~~skilled~~ ^{well-trained} teachers. ~~Government cannot do~~

~~this alone~~, but a partnership of educators, parents, business and government can. We are

working with the telecommunications industry ^{ed. & parents} ~~in California~~ to connect 20% of the

classrooms ^{in California} by this spring, and every classroom ^{in America} by the year 2000. I challenge leaders in

~~every state to do the same~~, and ask Congress to support our ^{Ed. Technology} ~~efforts~~ ^{national} to make the partnership successful. ^{initiative}

I challenge every community, school and state to ~~fully embrace our Goals 2000~~

^{national} initiative: adopt standards of excellence, measure whether schools are meeting those

standards, cut red tape so that schools have more flexibility for grassroots reforms, and hold

them accountable for results. ^{by embracing our Goals 2000}

~~And to get there~~, I challenge every state to give all parents the right to choose which public school their children attends, and let teachers form new schools with a charter they can keep only if they do a good job.

I challenge all schools to teach character education: education, values, and good

citizenship. I challenge parents to be their children's first teachers. Turn off the TV. See

that the homework gets done. ^{VISIT} ~~Know~~ your children's teachers ^{classroom}

Today, higher education is more important than ever before. ~~We must open the~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Foreign Policy Contributors; RE: State of the Union (12 pages)	12/22/1995	P5
002. draft	RE: "American Challenge" State of the Union Address (2 pages)	01/17/1996	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10994

FOLDER TITLE:

S.O.T.U. State of the Union (1996) 1-23-96 [3]

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db2120

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Bob Hormats

Below are a few thoughts for the State of the Union Address:

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

We are nearing the end of this century and the end of this millennium. As we approach the new millennium we need to be strong at home and strong abroad – to ensure that our society remains dynamic and cohesive. That is the legacy we must leave to the next generation of Americans. That will enable America to shape a world in which our interests and our values can thrive and, in turn, can reinforce our own prosperity and security.

1995 was the best year for the American economy in the last two decades. The US economy registered the fastest rate of growth of any major industrialized country. We created XXX millions of jobs. Our stock and bond markets have soared; that increased the value of the pension funds and mutual funds of millions of Americans. Once criticized for our large budget deficit, the US now has the lowest deficit among the large western economies. Our declining deficit has made lower interest rates possible and shifted more funds into productive private investment which, in turn, has led to declining inflation for American consumers. Continuing to cut deficits, increase productive investment and control inflation will leave a great legacy for the next generation of Americans.

American industry has undertaken a dramatic transformation resulting from extraordinary improvements in management and worker productivity, the rapid introduction of new technologies and significant measures to hold down costs. Once regarded as slipping behind in the global competitive race, American companies, American workers and the American economy are now powerful global competitors. Our currency has strengthened, along with investor confidence in our economy. We are leading in virtually all the new

technologies that will be critical to our growth and economic power in the 21st century. I intend to ensure that we continue to give our children the foundation to achieve new technological miracles in the decades ahead.

A strong economy is critical to America's global power as we approach the 21st century. In many parts of the world it gives our country even more influence than our preeminent military power. We are using this economic power to press for more open global markets, to support economic reform and free enterprise in countries moving from communism to capitalism, to rebuild areas ravaged by war and instability such as Bosnia, Gaza and Haiti, and to promote more stability on international financial markets. All of these efforts are critical to our future. At a time when American industry is at its most competitive in decades we need to continue to press for an open world economy – not succumb to pressures for trade restrictions at home or allow other countries to do so. Our economic strength enables us to approach the global economy with renewed confidence and purposefulness.

But American economic strength and dynamism – while enormously beneficial to most of our fellow citizens – has also required painful adjustments. The flexibility of our work force, its ability to adapt to the accelerating pace of technological and competitive changes, is a great strength. But it also means less economic security for many and a more unsettled work environment. We cannot ignore this. Job insecurity and wage stagnation are problems for large numbers of our fellow citizens. Our goal is to broaden the benefits of prosperity and to ensure that those who do not immediately benefit from our nation's growth and prosperity do not suffer the insecurity of the collapse of their incomes or of their health care and are assisted to obtain the tools to contribute to the country's economy.

Bob Hormats page 3 of 3

If our less trained and less educated citizens fall further behind others our society will be increasingly divided. We will be a less compelling example to the many societies that seek to achieve the democratic and market reforms that we believe in.

To better utilize the productive potential of all Americans in this Information Age, we need to strengthen our system of education and training. If we do not improve the capabilities of our educational system, and better utilize the productive potential of all of our citizens, we will fall short of our potential at home and in the international competitive race. The single most critical factor in increasing our long-range competitive capability and our nation's economic and political strength as we enter the next century is the effectiveness of our educational system - from kindergarten through adult training and retraining.

From: Adrian Karatnycky
Re: The State of the Union
Date: 22 December 1995

I appreciate the opportunity to offer some suggestions and share a few thoughts about the President's State of the Union address. Let me make several points.

1. DEMOCRACY'S PROGRESS

I think the President has a strong case to make that democracy has continued its global advance in the years of his Administration. By Freedom House's reckoning-- when the President took office, there were 99 formal democracies (i.e. countries which have governments elected in reasonably free and fair multiparty elections). Today there are 117 such democracies. As significantly, 55 percent of the world's population lives under governments that are formal democracies.

Democracies are our strongest and most reliable allies. Democracies can be counted on not to war with each other. They offer the best opportunity for development based on economic freedom and respect for rule of law. Democracies-- with all their imperfection-- offer the best chance that basic human rights will be respected.

Yet many of the world's democracies are embattled and weak. They have earned and deserve our support. In supporting them--through democracy initiatives and foreign aid-- we are widening the number of our allies and so strengthening our national security interests.

2. STILL A DANGEROUS WORLD

While the President can and should justifiably point to significant foreign policy successes--Northern Ireland, the Middle East, Haiti, Bosnia, democratic transitions in Central and East Europe, South Africa-- he should also sound a cautionary note.

In particular, he should not oversell the progress of Russia. I am--at root-- deeply pessimistic about Russia's mid-term future and I am even more worried about the security implications of China's rapid industrial growth amid widening internal repression and an increasingly assertive nationalism. Thus, I would urge you to refrain from any triumphalism about China and Russia. The U.S. is likely to face big challenges from these countries in the years ahead.

I understand that you will not want to--nor should you-- raise the hackles of these great powers. However, I do believe the president ought to make the general point that much of the world remains a dangerous place in which American leadership is essential.

Adrian Karatnycky, page 2 of 2

3. THE BIG PICTURE

Perhaps the broadest point that the president could make is to restate the need for a "vital center" (pace Arthur Schlesinger) in American politics. He should note that this country is at its strongest, when its leaders can agree on the fundamental aims of policy.

The vital center is consistently attacked by the far extremes of both the right and left. These extremes share the view that America's promise has been betrayed and that something is terribly wrong with our country. Those who attack the vital center are pessimists who have lost faith in America and in America's institutions-- including the men and women in our government.

They obscure in their ideological and moral fervor the goodness of this society, of America's constructive role in the world, and of the great respect which America and its democracy and open society command among ordinary people, the world over.

(Here, the President might want to offer some anecdote from his travels abroad, where he has been greeted with enthusiasm and hope. At that point there may be growing evidence of the welcome U.S. peacekeepers are getting from citizens of Bosnia.)

The preservation of a vital center is what makes it possible for our country to move forward at home and abroad. That center sometimes shifts; but it is based always on a understanding that we are working to correct imperfections and occasional excesses in an extremely successful society.


The vigorous debate of ideas is welcome and essential in our democracy. But that vigorous debate should be framed in ways that allow not so much for compromise as for a coming together around a consensus that reflects the wisdom of the vast majority of Americans.

I hope this is helpful. All the best for the holidays.

December 22, 1995

To: Tony Blinken

cc: Don Baer
Tony Lake

From: Jeremy Rosner 

Re: Foreign policy ideas for State of the Union

There are five facts that should frame the strategy behind the foreign policy section of this year's State of the Union speech:

1. **We have troops on the ground in Bosnia (and Haiti).** All the budget/political wrangling pales in comparison to the sacrifices of those whose lives are on the line for us.
2. **The American public does not much care about foreign policy these days.** The President should seize this as another opportunity to tell them why it's still important.
3. **The public has mixed impressions of the Clinton foreign policy record.** The public likes the fact that we're at peace and are making progress on several key issues; but is anxious about Bosnia and the recent spate of humanitarian interventions.
4. **This is the first opportunity to sketch foreign policy priorities for a second term.** The foreign policy part should be more forward-looking than retrospective.
5. **We don't need to convince the *left*; we need to convince the *middle*.** The emphasis should be on language and arguments that will speak to the skeptics, not the true believers who are already on the President's side on his foreign policy.

With these points in mind, I'd suggest:

- **Start at least with a nod to the troops; perhaps with foreign policy generally.** You will want to open the entire speech with a nod to the troops in Bosnia. Given that, you might even want to put the foreign policy section at the very top of the speech. It would flow nicely from Bosnia. It would defy expectations. It would send a signal that this is important. It would sound presidential. It would underscore that this guy is our Commander in Chief. It would enable the domestic section to have a more coherent flow.

Whether or not you do that, you should open with a long paragraph thanking the troops. This needs to be done carefully. It can't look like a cheap political trick.

It needs to acknowledge the mixed feelings within the Congress and among the public about this mission. You might think about something along the lines of: "Tonight we gather in this chamber and across America to talk about the state of our exceptional union. As we do, we must begin by noting that our nation today stands safe, secure, and confident in its role in the world because of the American men and women in uniform who stand sentry on our behalf. In this chamber and across America, we may debate many questions about how best ensure America's security; about how and when to deploy America's awesome might. But there is no debate on this point: our men and women in uniform embody the very best of America. So tonight let us begin by paying tribute to the men and women in our armed forces who are so ably protecting and serving our nation -- and particularly those who are helping to secure the peace in Bosnia. They are braving the cold, saving lives, but also facing risks, doing hard work, far away from their loved ones. I want them to know that all Americans acknowledge their contribution and will work together for their safe return."

- **In the review of the world, stress hard security challenges.** Next, you'll want to do a brief review of the world, noting the administration's accomplishments (Mideast, Ireland, no nukes targeted at us, NAFTA/GATT, readiness of our forces, trilateral nuke accord, START II?, etc.), and then cautioning that many challenges lie ahead. When you do the latter, get scary, not sentimental. That is: stress *hard* security challenges, which speak to the political center, far more than *humanitarian* issues, which raise anxieties in the political center. Some examples: stress the fact that there are over a hundred tons of weapons grade nuclear materials that remain inadequately safeguarded around the world today, and that all it would take is one Coke can full of this stuff to produce a bomb hundreds of times more powerful than the one that devastated Oklahoma City (and so fund Nunn-Lugar and pass the anti-terrorism bill!); or talk about the fact that the Sarin attack in Tokyo is just a minor preview of what may lie in store for our nation and others if we do not find better ways to keep chemicals and dangerous technologies out of the hands of fanatics and aggressors (and so ratify the CWC!); or stress the enormous difficulties of the states that are trying to repair the devastation of decades of communist rule, and how Europe could be plunged back into turmoil unless we do our part to support reformers and help stabilize the continent (and so expand NATO!). These are *core* issues that internationalists on both left and right can embrace.

- **Make a blunt appeal for public attention and support for foreign policy.** After the review section, the President should say something along the lines of: "The security America enjoys today is a great gift. It did not come free. It was purchased with the blood and sweat and sacrifice of generations of Americans. History will judge us by how we put this precious gift to use. When danger is not at the door, it is tempting to put it out of mind. There is a tendency to spend less attention and less money on the patient and unglamorous things we need to do to protect our country and maintain its leadership in the world. Tonight, I want to make a special appeal to each of you personally -- all of you who serve America in Congress, and all of you who serve America as citizens: let us err on the side of caution. Let us not take this pause of peace for granted. We need to

ensure the strength and readiness of our fighting forces, but there is even more. We must be willing to invest in the steady work of long-term diplomacy, in nuclear arms control, and, yes, in foreign aid, in order to leave a safer, sounder world for our children. These efforts are not cheap. Heaven knows they are not popular. But better to have our children chide us one day for having worried too much, than to have them curse us for having worried too little. So tonight and in the days ahead I will ask that even during this peaceful time, we rise above both apathy and partisanship to ensure that we never, never shortchange America's security."

- **Do bipartisanship.** You will undoubtedly want to do a longer section on Bosnia than the paragraph sketched above. That would be a good place to give a nod to bipartisanship. I would say: "I respect the differences of opinion we heard in Congress and across America about this complex conflict. But I also respect those who, at the end of the day, urged that we pull together as a nation behind our mission and our troops. And I would personally like to thank the distinguished and war-decorated congressional leaders in both parties who led that effort, especially Majority Leader Dole and Senator John McCain, and I would ask them to stand." It will be seen as magnanimous. It also reminds everyone of their support. If you don't do a dramatic nod to Republican internationalists here, then do it somewhere else.

- **Preview the Clinton foreign policy for his second term.** This is the perfect opportunity a) to lay out a compelling vision of what can be accomplished around the world in a second Clinton term and b) to quiet some concerns about his foreign policy, especially by implying that the future will revolve less around humanitarian interventions and more around hard-security priorities. Obviously, he can't say: "in my second term, I plan to" But he can say:

When I took office three years ago, our nation basked in end of the Cold War, but we also faced the challenge of continuing crises in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and elsewhere. We encountered many obstacles and suffered many setbacks in trying to address those challenges. But we can proudly say that America did its best to help the afflicted and to protect the peace. And tonight we can note with satisfaction that we saved hundreds of thousands from starvation in Somalia; that democracy has returned to Haiti; and the fighting has stopped in Bosnia.

Now, as we look ahead to the turn of this century, we should not assume that our future will be filled with such missions. But we must recognize that challenges to our security do remain. And if we continue our energetic leadership abroad, together we can imagine how much more we can accomplish together by the turn of this century.

We could enter the next century with the nuclear stockpiles on this planet cut by another x percent.

We could enter the next century with tough new international agreements to control chemical and biological weapons.

We could enter the next century with stronger laws and international agreements to combat the scourge of organized crime and terrorism.

We could enter the next century with an even stronger and larger NATO so that it can anchor the stability and security of a democratic Europe.

We could enter the next century with a military whose fighting edge of training, equipment, flexibility, and technology is even sharper than it is today.

We could enter the next century ready to lower even more barriers against U.S. exports in Asia and elsewhere so that our products can compete and win.

Etc. [you'll want to work in Russia and China, too.]

- Use foreign policy as an *illustration* of the speech's larger political argument. If we try to justify an activist foreign policy simply on the merits, we will lose -- not because people don't agree, but because they don't care enough about it now, and because there's more political passion behind opposing arguments based on deficit cutting, government reduction, nationalism, nativism, etc. There is a way to create a mandate for active internationalism, however, which is to use foreign policy as an *illustration* of the President's broader political argument.

For example, if the speech's implicit strategy is triangulation and common ground (which it should be!), then by all means use some foreign policy examples: "today we hear extreme voices of fear and indifference in both parties, voices that urge our nation to retreat from its responsibilities around the world and to hide behind protectionist trade barriers. Instead we must draw together on the common ground which tells us that America must remain strong and engaged, that we must tackle the world's dangers rather than trying to hide from them" Etc.

If: a) the President runs on a strategy of triangulation; and b) he uses foreign policy as an example of how we must beware of extreme voices at both ends of the spectrum; and c) he wins, then he can legitimately claim he has a *mandate* for an activist foreign policy. Structurally, this is how the GOP created a mandate *against* internationalism -- not by arguing it on the merits, but by making it an illustration of deficit cutting, anti-Beltwayism, etc. This same structural approach can create a mandate in our direction.

Good luck. Obviously, I'm glad to go over ideas and drafts as your writing progresses.

Memo for President Clinton
from Ronald Steel

Nearly every president since Truman has had his Doctrine. Most have been forgotten. That is because either they were trivial, like Carter's, or never followed through, like Nixon's. Truman's is remembered because it came after a great war when Americans were trying to figure out their place in the world.

That was 50 years ago. Today we are now living in one of those times. A great war, the Cold War, has ended. The nation is victorious, but confused. Its leaders seem no less confused than the people.

Amidst such confusion foreign policy is little more than a set of hasty improvisations. Policymakers rush to respond to "crises," and are themselves tossed aimlessly about by events. They mutter about "interests" and "security" and "responsibility" without being able to describe what these terms mean, let alone what the response to them should be.

As in 1947 the US has emerged victorious from a war. But unlike in 1947, it has no threatening adversary and does not enjoy overwhelming economic preponderance. Instead of being an adolescent giant among pygmy schoolmates, it is an overweight gladiator stumbling through a mid-life crisis. It boasts of being the only remaining superpower, but fears that the years of its Century may be running out.

Yes, the country could use a vision. Most countries can. And some find them in hallucinations. But even more it needs a plan -- a plan for making its way among nations that, for the most part, mean no serious harm but nonetheless could, by the inexorable logic of the global trading system, do what Khrushchev once threatened. They could bury it.

Ronald Steel page 2 of 3

A foreign policy of improvisation is not good enough. Neither is one that relies on a ritualistic incantation of hoary "lessons" from an earlier era. Such "lessons" are usually little more than buzz words designed to promote particular policies. It is as dangerous to draw rigid "lessons" from history as to ignore it.

This is particularly true at such a turning point in US relations with the world. A presidential initiative is necessary to create a new consensus on the nation's interests and how they can be furthered. Such an initiative must be more than mere bumper changes on the basic old model. This was the problem with the Bosnia speech, a collection of cliches that left the public indifferent at best, and for the most part incredulous.

There are essentially two ways of approaching US foreign policy today. One is to operate from the premise that the Cold War is not over. To be sure, the adversary has disappeared, but that is of relatively little consequence. The reason for this is that the Cold War was only partially about the US-Soviet competition. Beyond that was the deeper belief, earnestly promoted by those in command of foreign policy, that the US must assume the economic and political leadership of the world.

This belief has not been affected by the end of the Cold War -- nor even by the relative economic decline of the US vis a vis its competitors. This approach is evident in various documents emerging from within the government, and especially from the Pentagon (see, e.g., PPD 1992 and later variations).

The argument of these advocates is that the US must assume Britain's role in the 19th century: that of global balancer and stabilizer. The problems with this approach are self-evident and need not be spelled out here. They involve immense economic and military costs that the nation is ill able to assume.

Beyond that, it will also create conflict with rising nations that see fewer benefits from a global American hegemony than do planners in Washington. Further, from a political perspective, such a grandiose role is almost certain to be repudiated by the American public and will likely stimulate, as an understandable reaction, the very "isolationism" that it is ostensibly designed to circumvent.

The alternative approach is to take a much narrower definition of interests. This would involve viewing regional conflicts as regional problems. Yes, the Europeans have not been effective in settling their regional problem in the Balkans. But this is in part because the US has, through NATO, insisted on being the dominant power within Europe. This has reinforced a European habit of passivity and dependency, which in turn is used to justify a continued Cold War role for the US within Europe.

Ultimately economic and political constraints will force the US to retreat from grandiose and inflated concepts of "interest" that have little popular support. We are returning to a more traditional world marked by interaction among several important states. This has already happened in the economic realm, and will soon be evidenced in military and political realms as well.

This administration has the opportunity to lay out a doctrine for a post-Cold War era that does not rest on Cold War nostalgia or on neo-Wilsonian fantasies. If it does not, ~~it will~~ the nation, will be buffeted by events, further weakened economically, and quite likely, suffer the very serious consequences of a social reaction that could imperil the stability of the society.

If foreign policy is seen as the enemy, rather than the servant, of American interests it will be repudiated, along with those responsible for it.

We owe our children something else. We owe them full lives, not lives that are hollowed out and hardened because of the violence and degradation that assault them.

So I challenge Congress to send me the telecommunications bill, which would authorize industry to equip TVs with a V-chip so parents can block out violent or degrading programs. I challenge the entertainment industry: Create movies and CDs and TV shows as if they were for your own children. Tonight, I issue an invitation to the leaders of major media corporations and the entertainment industry to come to the White House for a meeting next month and work with us on concrete ways to improve what our children watch on television. [And I challenge the television industry to find a way to rate programming for adult content. The motion picture industry has done it for 25 years; the cable industry is doing it; video game companies are doing it; record companies are doing it, thanks to the work of Tipper Gore. It's time for broadcasters to give the same protections to our children.]

[We must challenge our schools to teach ethics and values. And if it will stop teenagers from shooting each other over gang jackets, then public schools should be able to require student uniforms.]

Teen pregnancy is down, but too many children are still having children. We must challenge our young people not to get pregnant or father a child until they are married. This is not a problem the government can solve. It can only be solved in our hearts and

our homes. Last year, from this podium, I issued a call for a new national effort to come to grips with this problem. Tonight, I am pleased to announce that a group of prominent national leaders has answered that call -- people like Nancy Kassebaum, Andrew Young, Warren Rudman, and C. Everett Koop. Let us all join in their effort.

Higher standards. Technology in the classroom. An aggressive strategy to open wider the doors of college. Teaching our children right from wrong. That is the duty we owe our children.

Second, I challenge government and businesses to join to give our people the tools they need to become winners of economic change.

America's economy is growing, steady and strong. Over the last three years, we have had the strongest growth of any major economy. The combined rate of inflation and unemployment is the lowest in 27 years. Home ownership is at its highest rate in 15 years. Businesses have created over 7 million American jobs. Businesses owned by women employ more people than the Fortune 500 combined. Three years ago, we were losing jobs in construction; today, we have gained nearly 800,000. A decade ago, the auto industry was on its back. Today, Detroit is beating Japan for the first time since the 1970s. Our economy is producing more new self-made millionaires every year than ever before.

But this is also a time of severe downsizing, competition and new technologies that

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. paper	RE: Gridiron Rehearsal (30 pages)	03/19/1993	P6/b(6)
002. draft	RE: Remarks for the Gridiron Dinner (3 pages)	03/27/1993	P5
003. draft	RE: Remarks for the Gridiron Dinner (5 pages)	03/27/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10995

FOLDER TITLE:

Gridlock Dinner 3/27/93

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
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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]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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President of the United States'
Remarks for Gridiron Dinner
March 27, 1993

Some people... can't

What a thrill it is to be here at my first ~~Gridiron~~^{lock} Gridiron Club Dinner... especially to be a guest of the club's first woman president.

I've been an admirer of Helen Thomas for years. She's a great reporter... the dean of the White House press corps... a pro for every minute of the 30 years she's been on the beat... and I do mean BEAT... keeping Presidents honest... and all the while breaking down barriers for women all over this town.

But, Helen, what's this I hear about a nanny problem?

Dole

I love this... getting all dressed up in white tie and tails. Kind of feel like Fred Astaire. Or like the emcee for the Oscars.

Come to think of it... it's been like a movie since we've gotten to Washington. Let's see. If we gave out awards for best actor, the nominees would be: the Republicans, for "The Crying Game"... Joe Biden and Sam Nunn, for "Damage"... ~~the people who~~ ~~are the~~ ~~for~~ ~~"A Few Good Men"~~... and, Members of Congress who don't support my economic plan, for "The Unforgiven."

But my personal pick would be Al Gore, for "Alive."

It's impressive all the faces I see in the crowd tonight. Imagine... a roomful of powerful people... the kind who might maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who's in and who's out... who's up and who's down... and that was just coming in from the lobby.

And I see some of my staff, too.

I won't say the staff is young... but I'm a little nervous tonight. We left some of them home alone. Last time we did this, we got back and... wouldn't you know it? Pizza boxes all over the West Wing -- no, no, it wasn't Domino's -- and somebody had taken Air Force One out of the hangar... and left the tank empty. So, they're grounded, all of them.

~~I told them~~ After this year... no more expensive media dinners for you. They have only themselves to blame.

Did you see Ross Perot on T-V last Sunday? ...You're in a minority. Boy, I never thought I'd say that to this crowd. But seriously, Ross' ratings are down. I didn't see it, either. I was watching "Murder, She Wrote." I love a mystery, and I've already figured Ross out.

But where does he get this stuff? Ross Perot says Federal employees get all these special privileges... like free rides on

the subway. Heck, everyone knows all Federal workers use chauffeured limousines.

I've got to hand it to Ross, though. A guy with BILLIONS, asking people to send him 15 dollars each. It's not a bad investment. You get this really neat decoder ring.

Oh. Is this mike live?

I guess you heard I got caught again making what they call off-the-cuff remarks. It's becoming a habit, I think. Last Saturday before my weekly radio address, I said I would appoint James Carville to the Supreme Court. I was kidding, but, you know, it's not so far-fetched. James IS a lawyer... and he might re-invigorate the bench. Look what he did for my campaign.

He might get everyone to wear their robes inside out... they'd stop all arguments to watch "Andy Griffith"... and no one could change their "briefs" while court was in session.

What's the worst that could happen? Liberals on the court might start getting along with conservatives - I mean, James gets along with Mary Matalin. A new level of jurisprudence could be achieved. Truth, Justice and the American Way would be served.

or... I might have eight more openings to fill.
look - the worst that could

You know, some critics say this Administration is taking too much time with appointments... that we're too concerned about getting women and minorities in the mix. Why, just the other day, Oliver North was saying...

Things are different with this Administration... because that's what the American people voted for... change.

But I know you've been hearing that there are some unorthodox goings-on in the Oval Office. You've heard... that I let photographer Annie Liebowitz bring in a boom box to play rock and roll, full blast... that an Elvis impersonator came in and sang "All Shook Up"... that Paul Begala came this close to showing a roomful of people his lucky Jockeys.

I want to set the record straight. They were boxer shorts, Fruit of the Loom.

I know that sitting through bad comedy has been difficult, maybe even "taxing" for you. But I just want you to know... you have not suffered alone... your burden has been shared. I feel your pain.

And I want to hug each and every one of you.

Yeltsin?

SOCIL - teach

Hill my joke - KAM Graham

Dale, Puss, Matalin

*Apple
- Bessler
- Credit Crunch*

IT IS TIME TO START EDITING THIS DOWN.

JOKES FOR THE GRIDLOCK DINNER
MARCH 27, 1993

DZ

What a thrill it is to be here at my first Gridlock -- I mean, Gridiron -- Club Dinner. You may think that being from Arkansas I don't know what the Gridiron is all about. We have a Gridiron in Little Rock...course, we hold it at Denny's.

And we don't wear white tie. It's too hard to get the chili dog stains out.

I understand your slogan here at the Gridiron is "singe, never burn." That's like my slogan at McDonalds -- always binge never purge.

But in Little Rock, we don't get to dine with the first lady of White House journalism. I am really pleased to be here as a guest of the club's first woman president, Helen Thomas.

I've admired Helen for years. She's a great reporter...the dean of the White House press corps...a pro for every minute of the 30 years she's been on the beat...And I do mean beat...keeping President's honest...and all the while breaking down barriers for women all over this town.

But, Helen. What's this I hear about a nanny problem?

Helen's has spent more time in the White House than anybody here tonight. But I still think it's odd that she demanded a security deposit when we moved in.

Helen's been in Washington so long, she remembers when the Electoral College was a high school.

As you know, the White House counsel had to grant a special ethics exemption for the Gridiron Dinner...Otherwise a twenty dollar limit would apply. I don't know why some of you are complaining that twenty dollars is too low; after all, at McDonalds, that's seven happy meals.

Eight months ago, as you know, I accepted my party's presidential nomination "on behalf of ~~the people who do the work, pay the taxes, raise the kids, and play by the rules, in the name of the hardworking Americans who make up our forgotten middle class.~~"

But, tonight, I'm proud to be here with a ~~different group of Americans: the people who play hard and bend the rules, the members of the forgotten media class.~~

Oh, look, Phil Donahue. Sorry. That's Al Hunt, a real journalist.

RCW
beginning
Mon 3/24

Johnny Apple must be here... bureau chief for The New York Times. Johnny's been all over the world for The Times... and he always carries a bag packed with the essentials for any last-minute, far-flung assignment. It's got his passport, razor, toothbrush, a case of Chateau Lafite.

I also want to acknowledge Howell Raines here tonight, since no one else in the Administration does.

sd
John McLaughlin's here. He's in a happy mood. This is the only guy in America who gets frequent flier coupons for his ego trips.

sd
Is there anyone present from N-B-C? The Nitroglycerine Broadcasting Company? You know, I've never seen Dateline, but I hear it's dynamite.

You may have heard we were considering Tom Brokaw to run the National Park Service. But Mack McLarty was afraid we'd catch him strapping model rocket engines to the sides of Old Faithful.

I should also recognize my good, very close, personal friend, advisor, confidant, ally, companion, and comrade... Alan Greenspan. ~~He and I share a great many interests... interest rates, I should say. Alan's great. I mean, really great. Hey. He's doing for me what Bob Strauss did for the Republicans.~~

sd
And Colin Powell was scheduled to be here tonight. But about an hour before the dinner began, Les Aspin closed his table.

Of course, what bring all of us together this evening -- public officials and public nuisances, servants and scribes -- is our love of politics. That's politics -- from "poli," the Greek word for many, and "tics," which means bloodsucking leaches.

open hearing both
~~I know many of you covered~~ my nominating speech at the convention in 1988, and my acceptance speech at the convention in 1992.

You probably won't be surprised to hear
~~But here's something you may not know. After hearing both of these addresses,~~ Fleetwood Mac has recorded a new song in my honor. It's called "Don't stop speaking until tomorrow."

I called Al Gore to help me with my remarks this evening, but he'd already used his best line. Have you ever heard his story about the "statistical analysis of the fluorocarbon exchange rate in the sub-Saharan micro-climate?" He told it at E-P-A, and the biologists laughed so hard, their plastic pocket protectors fell off.

Choosing Al Gore to be my Vice-President is probably the best decision I made in the course of running for the Presidency. During the day, when I need a hug, Al is always there.

He's been working very, very hard as Chairman of my Commission on government waste. Three times a day, he's there -- cleaning out Sock's litter box.

This year, we're instituting a program that will allow some of our youngest Americans to serve their country the minute they get out of college....~~And that's just in my Administration.~~

my I've got a Cabinet ~~that~~ *On the* looks like America, and *my* a White House ~~staff that~~ looks like a head start program.

the white staff We have a young staff at the White House. Real young. For many of ~~them~~, their security photo was the first picture taken of them since their sonogram. *I'm* the first President who has to schedule White House staff meetings around spring break.

I am glad to see that some of my staff managed tear themselves away from Chief Ike's Mambo Room to get here this evening. But don't feel bad, kids for one night only: This room is Queen Helen's Laugh Lounge.

I won't say the entire staff is young... but I am a little nervous tonight. We left some of them home alone. Last time, we did this, we got back and...wouldn't you know it? Pizza boxes all over the West Wing. Boom boxes in the Cabinet Room. And somebody had taken Air Force One out of the hangar for a joyride...and left the tank empty. So, they're grounded...all of them.

Some of my friends in Hollywood have started work on Home Alone 3. But their negotiations broke down with McCauley Caulkin. So, now, they're asking for George. I figure, why not? With a little make-up, he might look old enough for the part.

more up Dee Dee Myers came to me before the dinner and said, "Boss, what do you think I should wear?" I thought about it for a moment and said to her, "Dee Dee, make it something simple. Something elegant. You know, something J. Edgar Hoover might wear."

at the PAB There's been a lot of talk about the future of the F-B-I Director, and I am not prepared to make any announcements tonight. But ~~if~~ there is a vacancy, I'll tell you something. It's going to be awfully hard to fill J. Edgar's pumps.

I love this... getting all dressed up in white tie and tails. I kind of feel like Fred Astaire. Or like the emcee for the Oscars.

Come to think of it... it's been like a movie since we've gotten to Washington. Let's see. If we gave out awards for best actors, the nominees would be the Republicans -- for the "Crying Game." Joe Biden and Sam Nunn -- for "Damage." And Members of Congress who don't support my economy plan -- for "The Unforgiven." But my personal pick would be Al Gore -- for "Alive."

It's impressive all the faces I see in the crowd tonight. Imagine...a room full of powerful people...the kind who might maneuver for position and wonder endlessly about who's in and who's out...who's up and who's down...and that was just coming in from the lobby.

Is this mike live?

I guess you heard I got caught again making what they call off-the-cuff remarks. Last Saturday, before delivering my weekly radio address, I said I would appoint James Carville to the Supreme Court. I was kidding. But you know, it's not really all that far-fetched. James is a lawyer. And although he's taken a lot of criticism for being so single-minded and driven; he's considered quite normal...on his planet.

~~There is no question: James would revitalize the Supreme Court, just as he did for my campaign. He might get everyone to wear their robes inside out. They'd stop all arguments to watch "Andy Griffith." And no one could change their "briefs" while court was in session.~~

What's the worst that could happen? The Senate confirms James for a life term... and suddenly I have eight more openings to fill.

I am looking at nominees to fill the robes of Associate Justice White: they must be lawyers and they must have a big heart. And, if after four years, we haven't found one, we'll accept any lawyer who has a heart.

Many of you were wondering if Hillary, when she came to Washington, would take a private sector job, as she did in Little Rock, working at a law firm and serving on corporate boards like Wal-Mart. Well, she didn't. And I respect her decision to stay at home at the White House and raise the staff.

I think putting Hillary's office in the West Wing was a good idea. It's a shorter walk for me.

Hillary is doing a great job with the health care task force, but the Republicans say she's not up to the job. I guess

they wonder how she can improve the health of 250 million Americans when she can't get me to give up Egg McMuffins.

The latest magazine profile on me said my style was slow, plodding, deliberate. Generally, that kind of criticism doesn't bother me -- except this piece ran in Runner's World.

Madeleine Albright recommended one of my best diplomatic appointments. She suggested that we send Pamela Harriman to Paris. I had no idea we had an embassy in East Texas.

When I met with John Major at the White House, it was uncanny. It was as if he had known me for years...knew everything about me. We developed a tremendous rapport. He calls me "President Passport." And I call him "Major Blunder."

[To Dole] Bob, we just got a telegram for you from the rap singer, Ice-T. It says: "Stop lying about my record."

Here's a guy whose campaign was derailed in New Hampshire, who emerged to be the leader of his party today, a man who is respected on both sides of the aisle although his accomplishments continue to be outshone by those of his wife. But, enough about me, let's get back to Bob.

They say Bob Dole is the pitbull of the Republican Party. That's unfair....to pitbulls.

Although we're homesick for Arkansas, the Clinton family is now fully moved in to the White House and we're really enjoying it. The staff thinks of everything. Our cat's sand box has a special place in the residence. Little towel racks hang over it. The towels say: ~~Socks Redham Clinton~~. It's a nice touch.

Senator Dole tells me there's a difference between house cats and reporters. Socks has been declawed. And ~~some people don't believe cats should be neutered.~~ *God can find some*

As you know, I held my first press conference this week. And the delay was not my fault; it's the staff's schedule. Do you know hard it is to fit around their orthodonture appointments and t-ball games. *a lot of well wearing people*

Sometimes I walk through the White House in the middle of the night. And in the stillness I can feel the presence of Jefferson writing...Lincoln speaking...Ronald Reagan snoring.

Object to see

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	RE: Remarks for KABC-TV Los Angeles Town Meeting (1 page)	04/04/1993	P5
002a. memo	Urban Task Force to George Stephanopoulos; RE: Los Angeles (5 pages)	03/17/1993	P5
002b. memo	Paul Carey to David Dreyer; RE: Legislative Affairs - Urban Task Force (1 page)	03/16/1993	P5
002c. memo	Tom Epstein to Andre Oliver; RE: Telephone number [partial] (1 page)	03/14/1993	P6/b(6)
002d. memo	Maria Tio to David Dreyer; RE: Urban Taskforce Communications Strategy (7 pages)	03/17/1993	P5

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FOLDER TITLE:

KABC - T.V. Los Angeles 4/4/93 [Urban Task Force and Riots]

Debbie Bush
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RESTRICTION CODES

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Draft

TOM EPSTEIN
VERSION EDITS

President of the United States
Remarks for KABC-TV Los Angeles Town Meeting
April 4, 1993

Good Afternoon. As this message is delivered to you today, I'm in Canada for a summit meeting with Boris Yeltsin, ~~the President of Russia~~. In our talks, we're offering whatever ~~we can~~ ^{we are hoping to} support we can secure ~~the~~ path to democracy for the Russian people.

This dialogue with Moscow is important, because it is through such communication that ~~relations are built and bettered and cemented. Cooperation is fostered and tensions are lessened.~~

Just as dialogue ^{abroad can contribute to world} peace, dialogue ^{at home can contribute} to domestic tranquility as well. That's true not just with international affairs; it's true where you're sitting, too. And it's good to know that a forum like this is allowing an airing of the views and concerns that ~~the people of Los Angeles have.~~ ^{from people throughout the Los Angeles basin.} Thus, I ^{am pleased}

Nearly one year ago, we saw a tense situation spiral into death, destruction and damaged lives.

Since then, the Los Angeles area has made ~~remarkable~~ ^{I share your hopes that even} some progress in rebounding and more positive change is under way. Thanks in large measure to a strong sense of grass roots and community, ~~citizens~~ ^{Angelenos} have invested ~~of themselves~~ ^{themselves} to clean up and to rebuild. In the City of Angels, many of you have been earning your wings on Earth.

But there is still much work to do, and we must all ~~work~~ ^{pull} together to get it done.

And as you rebuild, ~~there are the longer term problems that need addressing now.~~ ^{I will work with you} California has been suffering through a long, hard recession. With your needs in mind, I've asked Commerce Secretary Ron Brown to lead a Cabinet-wide effort ~~so we to~~ ^{can} apply the benefits of our economic program where California needs it most.

Our plans for ~~defense conversion, technology research, worker retraining, small business support and urban renewal~~ ^{investment stimulus} ^{summer jobs,} ~~are aimed at making~~ ^{will} a difference. Our investments will provide Californians with good jobs at good wages.

I think ~~back almost a year ago~~ ^{vividly} and remember the devastation I saw in the neighborhoods of Los Angeles after the unrest. Those ~~are scenes that no one wants to see again.~~ ^{It was painful and} ~~It will take time, but we are ^{in Los Angeles.}~~

We must keep in mind that the trials ahead will be not only in the courtrooms. The challenge will be to draw strength from our diversity... to draw together... and to keep up the dialogue with each other.

terrifying ~~and~~ ^{and} profoundly affected all of us who witnessed it. ~~It was in Los Angeles who experienced it~~ ^{CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY}

with you for the long haul and won't let up until the task has been completed

DRAFT

March 17, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: URBAN TASK FORCE

SUBJECT: Los Angeles

This memorandum summarizes the recommendations of staff people who have met for over two weeks on the urban issues raised by the situation in Los Angeles. The recommendations are predicated on the following observations:

The Administration cannot neglect these issues until we have verdicts in pending court trials, or until the onset of the April 29 anniversary.

While no one can predict the outcomes of the trials, or the reaction by the community to them, we need to be prepared and active beforehand - the core element of that preparation is the immediate establishment of direct lines of communication to the community. The single greatest lesson we can draw from Bush's failure in LA is simple: *we must have a relationship, a dialogue, a presence - some basic foundation on which to build even grudging trust - before we need to use it.* And that means we can lose no time "pumping up the volume" on our concern, empathy, commitment, and determination.

There are reasons to believe the situation has deteriorated.

The community is disappointed at the lack of results coming from the rebuilding efforts. Guns are even more plentiful than they were a year before. Few businesses affected by the riots have been able to rebuild. Promised community development projects have been slow to materialize. The waters are roiled by the municipal elections underway. The effects of the California recession are deeply felt in the inner city. Our economic program has policies that deal with some of these problems; we need to get out the word about them.

The President's schedule is likely to be overcome by 100 day stories, the Civil Rights Parade on April 25, the roll-up to health care, etc.

Blocks of time for meetings and events need to be set aside now.

Many of these recommendations are symbolic because they should be.

The substance of our policy proposals has virtually no resonance with a great many of the people we most need to connect with. They are not impressed by five point proposals; they do not believe in the ability - or concern - of government to address their problems. We must establish emotional contact with

these people through which we demonstrate the authenticity and durability of our commitment. Georgia Avenue comes to mind.

These are issues and themes we must return to after April has come and gone.

Please review the recommendations and advise us on how to proceed.

Recommendations

* **Appointment of Cabinet Member to gather facts and show the flag.** As the appointment of Secretary Cisneros to be the Administration's lead spokesperson/symbol on South Florida-Hurricane Andrew, we recommend the appointment of a Cabinet Member to coordinate what should be the Administration's three-part policy: namely, prevention, communication, and response. The point person in Washington should keep track of the efforts of Departments and agencies, consult with the California delegation, provide the President with periodic reports on the overall situation, and visit LA.

The appointee need not head a Department directly related to LA in terms of policy or funding; it is critical, however, that the appointee is recognized by the community as having the President's ear. At the beginning, we recommend against a public anointment, because this will boost expectations and improperly establish this individual as the focal point of public attention. This individual should plan to visit LA within the next week to ten days -- to gather facts on the current social and economic climate, and to show the Administration's concern over the situation. *The appointment decision must occur quickly so that a thoughtful trip can be planned at once.*

- This trip, and the information gathering that flows from it, must reach the right audiences: community leaders, local elected officials, youth, business community, and local representatives of appropriate federal agencies -- FEMA, SBA, DOJ, etc.
- Pre-trip consultations should include: Mayor Bradley, Peter Ueberroth, Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas, Councilman Alatorre, CARECON (immigration issues), Representatives Waters, Tucker, Becerra, Roybal-Allard, Supervisors Molina and Burke, Angela Oh (Korean community leader), Police Chief Willie Williams, and the acting US Attorney Terry Bowers. This is by no means an exhaustive list.
- People who should be visited include the above, plus Church leaders, minority businesses, community

organizations, celebrities, Kathleen Brown, John Garamendi, Governor Wilson, minority media, labor leaders, Sheriff Block.

This person must also explore the relevant federal activity in the affected areas -- What funds were delivered? Were they effective? What reforms need to be undertaken? Is paperwork strangling the relief effort? Is prejudice?

* **Brief the President.** Once the emissary is ready to report, briefings should be held for the President and for California legislators in Washington. The President should be apprised by the Department of Justice on the status of the trials, and on the contingency planning underway in the event of an adverse outcome.

* **Appointment of a Clinton representative in Los Angeles.** This person should be on the ground, meeting with community and business leaders, elected officials, and key figures in state and city government, and provide Washington with daily intelligence and early warnings. HUD's experience with Otis Pitts indicates it should be a locally-respected leader.

* **Review of contingency plans for crisis management.** We need a clear plan for dealing with an emergency in LA that deals with federal resources, law enforcement, and communications. We need a communications strategy for dealing with California elected officials to minimize the number of dissonant voices.

* **Schedule a Presidential visit.** Once the emissary returns and reports; once the Yeltsin summit is concluded; and once the relevant policies are completed by DPC/NEC, *the President should go to LA.* The Task Force believes that this is absolutely essential if we are going to be successful in establishing a relationship with the community. The visit should occur as early in April as possible for two reasons: one, it should not be viewed as a "commemoration" of a riot; but, perhaps most importantly, *Bush was too little, too late - we cannot afford to be either.* Obviously, this visit must be thoughtfully planned and nuanced in its execution. He shouldn't go there to dole out largesse; there isn't any. The message should emphasize community and responsibility and the enduring image should play to the President's greatest strengths: when he leaves, LA should remember a President who listened, who cared, who would try. And, as an obviously very important second track, we need to push the expectation envelope as best we can; we have to emphasize that, while our plan represents a real departure from past policy, it will take a long time to turn LA (and other urban areas) around.

Site visits could include: Maxine Waters Employment Preparation Center, Local Initiatives Support Corporation, Community Build, SBA Business Incubators, Roberta Stephens

Villas, AME Church in South Central, LA Conservation Corps, Korean Chamber of Commerce, perhaps simply a street-walk.

* **Determine status of Clinton appointments for regional offices.** It should be a priority that regional offices of federal agencies (HUD, DOJ, FEMA, SBA, etc.) are filled with Clinton appointees, not holdovers or career people in acting positions.

* **Anniversary of Dr. King's death.** Although the President will be in Vancouver wrapping up the Yeltsin summit, we recommend some public acknowledgement by the President of this anniversary. On that date, Mayor Bradley and the local ABC affiliate are organizing a live televised community forum focusing on the city's social climate. They might accept a taped message from the President opening the forum -- and, importantly -- honoring Dr. King's legacy.

* **Policy initiatives.** Although our working group is strongly committed to effective communications of our essential commitment as a first priority - and we understand that program specifics don't have much community resonance - there is wide recognition that two very important audiences are more than interested in policy details. Public officials and community leaders must see credible policies from us if we expect their support. Secondly, the press will pay attention to policy details and we must be careful to avoid "all talk, no action" stories that will eventually percolate into the community.

Apart from the summer program, our urban policy is long-term, and not expected to payoff with short-term results. Nonetheless, we need to lay down some markers between now and April; the President should not be accused of doing nothing, when he has a lot of initiatives. We have two major hits: the enterprise zone/community development bank proposal (which may be finished as early as April 8), and crime/community policing plans which could be unveiled in April as well. A crime event might include support for the crime bill; HUD's plan for public safety in public housing, which they call Community Partnership Against Crime (COMPAC); and the 100,000 cops on the beat plan.

* **Publicizing what we already propose doing.** Through radio feeds, Cabinet department visits, etc., we can publicize efforts such as the stimulus package that are in the President's program to aid LA.

* **Separate non-profit initiative.** HUD reports that the Ford Foundation is interested in leading an effort to increase involvement by the foundation community in Los Angeles. The foundations can focus on serving the new populations in the LA community, in fostering conflict resolution techniques, etc.

Apparently consultation on this idea occurred during the transition; Vernon Jordan received a briefing.

* **Arsenio.** The Arsenio Hall Show is recommending a town meeting with the President, and the date they are suggesting is April 30. This date coincides with the first hundred days of the Clinton Administration. If we can move Arsenio earlier in the month of April, this can be done. If they are fixed on April 30, then we should not do this with the President. Remember that Arsenio was widely praised for his work on this subject last year; we should push for an acceptable date.

* **Preventive media.** We should investigate whether broadcast stations on their own, or with prompting from a non-profit, will run radio and television spots making a rational appeal for calm. The spot should use as talent ethnic activists, and artists (films, music and television) whose work is viewed as credible to make the appeal.

These proposals were compiled with the help of Surell Brady, Paul Carey, Paul Dimond, David Dreyer, DOJ, John Emerson, Tom Epstein, Kim Hopper, Arthur Jones, George Latimer, Julia Moffett, Andre Oliver, OMB, Jonathan Prince, Bruce Reed, Kim Tilley, Maria Tio, Alice Travis, Ann Walker, Maureen Warren, and Jeff Watson.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

16-Mar-1993 12:05pm

TO: David Dreyer
TO: Jonathan M. Prince

FROM: Paul R. Carey
Office of Legislative Affairs

SUBJECT: Legislative Affairs-Urban Task Force

There are certain members we need to keep in mind if we are planning to do a trip to South Central by a Cabinet Secretary or the POTUS. As you are aware, Senator Boxer had requested a visit from Secretary Cisneros, but we would like to have a level playing field for any event we do out there. It is very important to be as inclusive as possible with the California delegation, so we would like to invite Congressman Waters and both Senators. There may be some other House members who would ask to be included, but the participation of these three on an equal footing is necessary.

On the broader subject of urban policy development, I have called Congressman Rangel's office and will be taking Bruce Reed, Paul Diamond and Jose Cerda to meet with him to discuss urban policy. We should also be thinking about members who are relevant based upon their geographic region or committee assignments. eg; Moynihan, Moseley-Braun, Simon, Boxer, Feinstein, Riegle, Kennedy, Rangel, Waters, Holmes-Norton, Schumer, Maloney. (I need to go over the House names with Lorraine Miller)

*Also sent by
E-Mail*

March 17, 1993

To: David Dreyer

From: Maria Tio

Re: SECOND DRAFT/Urban taskforce communications strategy

Elected officials from L.A. told us:

--- We may not have time to define specific solutions to ease a myriad of hellacious problems in Los Angeles before an every day pushing-and-shoving incident becomes the match that sets flame to south central.

--- Racial tensions present in the community are mirrored in the political community and provide a significant stumbling block to a consensus solution of any kind. As an example of the morass, they pointed to several million dollars targeted for L.A. that have not been spent because city officials can't agree on how to spend the money and who gets to administer the funds.

--- Every imaginable racial group and class feels deprived of either economic or social justice, or some combination of both. We're told that

.Korean businessmen feel targeted and are arming themselves for a next go round. Given that 133 Korean businesses burned during the uprising were burned a second time by the SBA, I imagine some of these folks are on a very short fuse.

.Young African-Americans and Hispanics believe economic justice exists only in the drug trade and are itching to even the score on the social justice side when "the brothers" are slammed in the King and Denny verdicts.

.Whites, middle-class or otherwise, feel they're under seige. Underlying the media-fueled hysteria over the violent crime du jour, car jacking, is great unease.

--- No one believes in the local gov't, but everybody mistrusts the Feds. Everyone talked about being buried alive under FEMA paperwork or knowing someone who's business was buried by SBA disinterest. The only confidence expressed in the Rebuild L.A. effort was the confidence that "Orange County" would benefit the most.

So how do you design a media strategy to prevent Los Angeles from going up in smoke when a definition of your urban initiative is pending, when the Los Angeles community is hopelessly splintered

along racial and class lines and when city residents--even city officials--don't believe the local or federal government is capable of providing solutions to these problems?

Week of March 22

1) Buy time now with the folks who are the "hair trigger" in this situation.

A. Embark on a comprehensive media campaign. Use radio and television PSAs to make a rational appeal for calm. Use (as talent) ethnic activists who have community involvement and credibility, or ethnic artists whose art is viewed as politically correct by the folks to whom we're trying to appeal.

As example, here are a few people we could recruit to help in African-American outreach:

Former Cleveland Browns running back Jim Brown's self-help group, Amer-i-can, has turned around some of the hardest-core young gang members. He's a no-candy-pants-guy who was instrumental in engineering last year's truce in the gang warfare. Arrested Development are the politically correct music group of the year combining cutting-edge art form and social commitment. But for symbols, you can't top actor Denzel Washington and director Spike Lee for X.

These are the easily acquired talents for some easily-produced no-nonsense PSAs. They could be shot in black-and-white with exaggerated silent intros and tag out to command attention during air play. The actor or activist in extreme close-up, delivering a simple message: no one profits if there's nothing left.

For subsequent weeks, we could go after talent that would really make a difference. What I would give for a Betty Shabazz radio or tv psa that started with "If Malcolm had lived, he would not have condoned..."

Use the Thomasons to sign-on talent and produce the PSAs. Use the Presidential bully pulpit behind-the-scenes to influence radio and television stations to run the PSAs in prime time.

B. Use the office of Specialty Press to disseminate information to specialty print, radio and tv on administration's economic plan that would help specific constituencies.

C. Start talks with Networks and California television stations about using restraint in coverage.

2) Show through a number of visits by administration officials to Los Angeles this president's empathetic concern about the "human condition" and resolve to solve existing problems. Announce visits.

Week of March 29

Proposed visits

A. Hillary Clinton (could do March 18 or 19 on proposed West Coast trip)

1) A major speech at a Save-Our-Children event organized by churches and child-advocacy groups addressing quality-of-life issues impacting on the children of Los Angeles.

Speakers before Mrs. Clinton would address the need for racial tolerance as a means of making a sane world for our kids.

HRC's speech, using the jumping-off point of how there are no preventive health-care clinics in all of south central (info came from briefing with L.A. officials), would outline how this administration will impact on the quality of children's lives-- Head Start, WIC, immunization. But to what avail if we're only destroying each other. Will be able to talk about the concerns of L.A. children on the subject of riots and racial tolerance. Next item deals with possible town hall meeting with L.A. grammar school kids in South Central. See next item.

2) As part of the save-our-children day, a town hall meeting of sorts with grammar school children before the speech. I'm sure these kids can provide eye-witness accounts of the destruction and talk about lingering fears.

*Next group of celebrities, community spokespeople do PSAs. Encourage these folks to start talking to the local press, to make themselves available for the inevitable preview stories that should start cropping up around this time. We should supply talking points for them.

B. Initial Fact-finding mission by Vice-President Gore, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown. Subsequent mission by SBA administrator and Cabinet Secretaries who have a stake in the urban initiative.

1) High profile visit by Vice President and Ron Brown. The VEEP, as part of his new mission to streamline and cut waste in govt agencies, should be the person to chair open or closed-door meetings to hear citizen testimony on what went wrong with FEMA and SBA response to this urban emergency. You hear from everyone--community activists, Korean businessmen, etc. First day of hearings or meetings is public and then the VEEP is out of there.

2) Next day, the business of political consensus building carried on by Secretary Brown. Meetings with major players. Instead of announcement of the White House's liason to California as suggested in earlier memo, a couple of possibles for the liason position should travel with the Secretary to meetings around town. Since everyone seems to mistrust everyone else, I think you have to appoint someone who knows the terrain but who currently is not a player on the scene.

Week of April 5th

3) Next team of presidential officials hold semi-public meetings with groups of concerned L.A. citizens/activists. The group chosen should mirror the initiatives we will announce. If Los Angeles will be one of the six sites for summer jobs program, part of this local group should include people who are activists on the issue. If there's HUD money being given away (send the next guy in line at HUD), make sure there are local housing folks there. This way, the administration can test drive/test market some of the initiatives with the public and the press and see how they shake out.

Week of April 12th

4) Presidential visit to L.A.
Makes urban initiative announcement. (Should L.A. be site for summer jobs program announcement?) Audience should be heavy on community activists and light on elected officials to ensure maximum community credibility.

March 16, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR URBAN TASK FORCE

FROM: BRUCE REED *BR*
SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR L.A. RESPONSE

1. Put Someone in Charge: To this point, our preparations have been hampered by the lack of clear lines of responsibility within the administration. A lot of people are working on individual pieces of the problem, but it's hard for people at one agency to figure out what people at another are doing, and nobody's in charge. The President needs to name a single, reliable representative to lead a prevention and response effort in Los Angeles, and another person to coordinate prevention and response efforts across agencies in Washington.

The L.A. rep should meet with community and business leaders, elected officials, and key figures in state and city government, and provide Washington with daily intelligence and early warnings. The point person in Washington should keep track of everything the agencies and the White House are doing, consult with the California Congressional delegation, and provide the President with daily or weekly reports on the overall situation.

2. White House Response Plan: Most of the time, contingency plans aren't worth anything (Look out: the California National Guard's is code-named "GARDEN PLOT"). But we need a clear plan for how we will handle the political and communications aspects of an emergency in L.A. This doesn't have to involve elaborate speculation, just basic planning. For example, no matter what happens, we should be prepared for immediate communication with California Congressional leaders so that we have a coordinated response, and not an array of dissonant voices. Disaster will strike sometime in the Clinton Presidency, even if it doesn't happen this spring in L.A. We might as well have the communications war room ready.

3. Presidential Visit: I think the President should go to L.A. in the next few weeks to lower expectations, not to raise them. He shouldn't go there to dole out federal largesse -- there isn't any, it wouldn't mean much to South Central even if there were, and we don't want our message to be: "You had a riot, you should get a grant." The message should emphasize community and responsibility instead: We'll provide more opportunity, but Washington is not going to tell you what to do -- we're going to help you revitalize your community from the bottom

up. Any Presidential events out there should emphasize what they can do, not just what we're going to do. For example, he might spend some time with the Los Angeles Conservation Corps, a model national service program that helped rebuild L.A.

The other important point is that although our plan represents a dramatic departure, it is going to take a long time to turn things around. Perhaps the President could go back to the school or the neighborhood he visited before, to underscore how little has changed in the past year, so we don't get blamed for Bush's inaction.

4. Policy Markers: We should delude ourselves into thinking that our urban policy will make a great deal of difference in the short or even the medium term. (In fact, we're not sure it will work at all, but that's another story.) However, we should put a few markers down between now and the end of April, so at least we won't be accused of doing nothing. We have two major hits: the enterprise zone/community development bank proposal, which should be done by April 8, and crime/community policing plans which could be unveiled in April as well. A crime event might include support for the crime bill; HUD's plan for public safety in public housing, which they call Community Partnership Against Crime (COMPAC); and details (which will appear in the March 23 budget document) of how we plan to put 100,000 cops on the street.

FROM: A. WALKER

URBAN TASK FORCE

The following are areas that Task Force seems to have come to agreement on: *Needing to resolve*

- o Do we recommend sending the President to L.A.?

The task force has not come to agreement on this issue. We seem to agree that we should not tie a visit to any type of commemorative activity relating to last years' violence.

The Arsenio Hall proposal might be worth considering -- if we can move the date up to early April and tie into MLK anniversary and his non-violence, racial harmony philosophy.

- o Identify Administration/White House Liaison to L.A. Community

Criteria:

- Authority to speak for the President
- Perceived to be very close to the President -- "has the President's ear"
- Credibility with target audiences; local community leaders, local elected officials, youth, business community, FEMA, SBA, DOJ etc.
- Credibility with ethnic groups; Latinos, African-American, Korean-American
- Ability to coordinate flow of information between all agencies and coordinate "rapid-responses" to key issues
- Non-political, able to cut through the local political agendas without alienating elected officials
- Coalition-builder qualities

Recommendations

(The Task Force needs to evaluate each of the possible recommendations. This is not necessarily a complete list. Should still consider other recommendations that make sense.)

- Cabinet Secretary
Ron Brown - Commerce Department
Henry Cisneros - HUD
- FOB
Marian Wright Edelman
- o Create a "mission statement" and timeline for WH representative
- o Identify organizations/leaders that should be consulted/involved and met with in L.A. (incomplete)
 - Rev. Cecil Murray
 - Maxine Waters

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. news article	Hendricks; RE: Telephone number (partial) (1 page)	01/01/1993	P6/b(6)
002. memo	Rana Jose to Carolyn; RE: NAPO Executive Board Meeting [partial] (1 page)	03/11/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10995

FOLDER TITLE:

National Association of Police 3/16/93

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1346

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]
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- 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]

TO: Carolyn
FR: Jose, Rana
RE: NAPO Executive Board Meeting
DA: March 11, 1993

Carolyn, per your request, here is some crime info. Rana Sampson, a White House Fellow who I work with on crime policy, has put together an anecdotal piece on community policing that you will find at the end of this note. Also, Bruce Reed may want to include some new policy-related info, depending on what happens over the next couple of days.

National Association of Police Organizations

As you know, NAPO is the second largest police union in the country -- and the largest of the police groups to support President Clinton. They have a membership of some 135,000 rank-and-file police officers with large concentrations in New York and Texas. A Texas subdivision of NAPO, the Combined Law Enforcement Associations of Texas (CLEAT), also came out in support of President Clinton.

NAPO's current Executive Director was a big supporter of President Clinton's during the campaign. He, and Legislative Counsel Jules Bernstien, worked behind the scenes to get the NAPO endorsement. NAPO's current President, however, comes from the ranks of the organization's New York delegation, a faction that strongly opposed the Clinton endorsement. I've enclosed NAPO's three-pager on their organization for your perusal.

On a final note, NAPO opposes the ~~Police Corps~~. While Clinton is sure to mention it, it's a proposal that ~~as a union~~ they have always disliked. 2

Crime Stats

I've enclosed a list of the general crime stats (violent crime, murder, etc.). During the campaign, the President was never a big proponent of rattling off crime stats. This was in part related to Arkansas' high crime rate, and to his preference, I believe, to strike a more reasonable note on the crime issue. (We always accused Bush of playing politics with the crime bill, the Brady Bill and with his police group associations.) Also, wedding yourself to the crime rates is political suicide; the President should never claim that he's going to directly reduce crime rates. I think the Detroit transcript should give you a good indication of what the President is likely to want to say. Perhaps you can compare it to the speech Alan Stone wrote, but which the President did not give (enclosed).

~~One important state to include: 69 police officers were murdered in the line of duty in 1991 -- three quarters of whom were killed with handguns.~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Jonathan Gill; RE: President's remarks at Press dinner (8 pages)	03/18/1993	P5
002. paper	RE: Press dinner (2 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10995

FOLDER TITLE:

Press Dinner 3/18/93

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db2122

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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

19-Mar-1993 01:30pm

TO: (See Below)

FROM: Jonathan P. Gill
 Office of Media Affairs

SUBJECT: President's Remarks at Press Dinner INTERNAL USE ON

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

INTERNAL USE ONLY

March 18, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT RADIO AND TV CORRESPONDENTS
ASSOCIATION DINNER

The Washington Hilton
Washington, DC

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, members of the Radio and Television Correspondents Association and honored guests.

You've been after me for months for a formal press conference, and here it is. (Laughter.) If you will stay until about midnight, you will be invited to the first public meeting of Hillary's task force. (Laughter.)

You know why I can stiff you on the press conferences? Because Larry King liberated me from you by giving me to the American people directly. There he is, the person you ought to be mad at. (Applause.)

There are so many famous people here tonight, I hesitate to call names. I was looking and looking and looking for Roone Arledge, but I kept looking at the NBC table. (Laughter.) Then I realized he switched back over here because he was afraid if he sat there, there might be model rockets under his seat. (Laughter and applause.)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Now, there are a lot of interesting members of my administration here. One of them my White House Counsel, Bernie Nussbaum's over there, sitting in front of Roone. He's the oldest man who works for the White House. He's actually only 33, but he looks 90. (Laughter.) And you need to know that one of his jobs as my White House Counsel was to get me an attorney general. You might ask, why would I keep such an incompetent around? (Laughter.) The man who brought me Zoe Baird and Kimba Wood and, believe it or not, another dozen that for some reason or another you never got in the newspaper -- (laughter) -- all of whom couldn't meet Senator Biden's test of nanny purity. (Laughter.)

MORE

Well, anyway, we finally got around to Janet Reno. So, we're in there about to announce Janet Reno, and my antennae were picking up again, and I think, you know, she has really got it and she might be a folk hero. And it might really work. But if it doesn't, what in the hell am I going to do. (Laughter.) This is a true story. So right before we walk out, I take Bernie over and walk over in the corner of the Oval Office and I said, Nussbaum, this is it. If she doesn't work, you're going to have to have a sex change operation. (Laughter and applause.)

I want to thank you for inviting my staff tonight. You know, they're awfully young, and they're not used to this sort of dress-up event. (Laughter.) It's amazing to see them -- you know, the formal wear, the glamorous hairstyles, the beautiful earrings. And the women look nice tonight, too. (Laughter.)

Another thing I want to thank you for is inviting us all to this high-dollar dinner. Even though my staff is eating bread and water tonight, they appreciate being invited. (Laughter.) It's not the ethics rules that's keeping them from eating this expensive

MORE

dinner, it's that they've been spending so much time feeding you, they don't know how to let you feed them.

I do want to say this -- when I heard that they'd all been invited, I wanted to see how they were invited. And sure enough, you used their names -- you know, McLarty, Myers, Herman, the whole nine yards. They all got invited by their names. I was just absolutely convinced it would be "highly-placed White House source," "administration official."

I just want to tell you, though, we're all so happy to be here. I even let George stay up past his bedtime to come tonight. (Laughter.) I will say one thing, these young people have really gotten me going. They've taken a lot of time off my jogging. Of course, I needed a lot of time off my jogging. About a month ago, the Secret Service told me that Helen Thomas was gaining on me in high heels, so I -- (laughter).

I do want to say that you never give me credit for this. Everybody says, well, you've never had a press conference, you've never had a press conference. So I go back and I beat up on George and Dee Dee, and I say, they say I've never had a press conference. And they say, but you have answered more questions since you've been in office than any recent President. And you've done it at what you call a photo op and what we call Andrea Mitchell-in-my-face-again sessions. (Laughter.)

I will say this. I have taken some suggestions from the press, like -- you know, a few weeks ago when I went out to hype my stimulus program for public works in Washington, DC, with the Mayor and Congresswoman Norton, Brit Hume said, why don't you wear a body mike? And I said, I think that's a great idea. (Laughter.)

I do want to thank -- by the way, I want to thank all of you in the press, even those who aren't so nice to me from time to time, for being so nice to my kindergarten friend, Mack McLarty, who's also sitting over there at the NBC table; that's because he used to be a Ford dealer. (Laughter and applause.)

Could you believe -- could you believe that Ross Perot, who comes from Texarkana, only 35 miles from Mack McLarty's hometown of Hope, came up here the other day and attacked my Chief of Staff, who ran a Fortune 400 company -- attacked him as a business failure. He just resents it because Mack's a short guy with real power. (Laughter.)

I want to tell you that the jogging track is coming along nicely, and we expect our own McDonald's to be completed by fall. (Laughter.) And James Carville is going to train all the people who work behind the counter; and in every bag -- recycled bags -- you'll get a note which says, "It's carbohydrates -- stupid." (Laughter.)

I do want you to know this. A lot of you were concerned about my becoming President. I know you

inexperienced to be in politics at this level. And you thought I certainly had no business conducting the nation's foreign policy, and you were right. (Laughter and applause.) But you're stuck with me now. And you've got to admit, at least I look pretty good up there. I mean, there's Francois Mitterrand and Yitzhak Rabin and Jean-Bertrand Aristide. (Applause) And I watched all of President Reagan's press conferences, and I know when to tilt my head and smile. (Laughter.)

These guys like me a lot better than you think. I mean, when I met John Major the other night, he slapped me on the shoulder and said, you know, you don't look anything like your passport photos. (Laughter and applause.) And I said, well, I really

MORE

appreciate that, John. And there's nothing personal in what you tried to do to me -- (laughter) -- nothing. And next week I'll send you a note to that effect through Jimmy Breslin when I name him our envoy to Northern Ireland. (Laughter.)

You know, I love my Vice President, and I really resent the way Jay Leno makes fun of him. You know, in a few weeks the Vice President and I are going out to the great Northwest. We're going to Oregon for the Forest Summit and then we're going to Canada to see Mr. Yeltsin. And, you know, the Wall Street Journal had that article the other day about how I've made hugging more fashionable. It's going to be The Great American Hug-in. (Laughter.) I'm going to hug Yeltsin and Al's going to hug a tree. (Laughter.)

Well, if I kept going, I'd give you 150 jokes -- 150 specific jokes -- (laughter) -- guaranteed to reduce the humor deficit, which is crippling this country and denying us of control of our future. (Laughter and applause.) Jokes that could be passed on to our children. (Laughter.) Well, you haven't laughed at all of them. You may not like my delivery. I just want you to know that I'm here to listen. (Laughter.) I'll take better punch lines even from my opponents, but I want you to be specific. (Laughter.)

Well, I'll tell you one thing, unlike Alan Simpson I've stood up here for 10 minutes and haven't told a single off-color joke. (Laughter and applause.) You know, I love the motor voter bill and Alan hates it. That's because he's not too -- with the MTV crowd these days. (Laughter.) He called it the auto-fraudo bill, which I thought was pretty funny. (Laughter.) And I realized they were for the motor voter bill when they thought we were talking about BMWs and Mercedes. (Laughter.) But they took the welfare Cadillacs out of it yesterday.

I want to say something serious, if I can bring myself to do it. I want to thank all of you for the work that you do. I think you have a difficult job. Each of us sees the world in different ways and the whole complex interplay of the press and people in public life is designed somehow to give the American people a kaleidoscope of opinion, a mountain of facts organized in ways that will enable them to grasp it, so that somehow they -- not you or me -- they can be the main actors in the great American democracy.

Thomas Jefferson, recognized it a long time ago and those of you who have read a lot of our history know that he got a pretty rough press from time to time. But he said he would do anything before he would give up the freedom of the press. So I want to thank all of you for the job you do when it's hard on me and when it's fun.

I want to say a special word of thanks to George Stephanopoulos and to Dee Dee Myers for trying to represent my interest everyday. And some days I make it pretty dad-gum hard to do. But they also represent your interest to me.

I've had a good time tonight. I've enjoyed the dinner.

conversation. I was impressed that Cokie Roberts had enough sense to get out of here before I started telling these bad jokes. And I thank all of you for loving your country enough to gather like this and to give your lives to a career which is often thankless, which sometimes subjects you to unjust criticism, too.

I ask that in the months and years ahead you stay faithful to yourselves and to your cause. Never lose your sense of humor. And remember that most of us who do this on both sides, do it because we love our country and prefer to believe that an effort made today can make it better tomorrow. It's a good way to live a life.

Thank you and good night. (Applause.)

MORE

POTENTIAL JOKES FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON FROM CARTER WILKIE

DAVID DREYER SUGGESTS HE OPEN WITH:

I have a short statement, and then I'll be happy to take a few questions... NOT!

POSSIBLE ONE-LINERS:

Our campaign was the first to conduct a televised town hall meeting, in New Hampshire, a little more than a year ago... The feedback was astonishing... They brought me sacks of mail to my hotel room to read... I thought, "Here is the salvation of democracy... a whole Nation connected to the details of public policy"... The first letter said, "Do something about the hair."...

And you wouldn't believe all the mail after I outlined my economic package to Congress back in February... some of you said it was the speech of my career... but one irate letter I received said, "Mr. President, I saw you on TV... you spoke so long, you preempted my two favorite shows."...

★ It's been nearly two months since I've been in office and I guess I owe you all a progress report... the jogging track is coming along nicely... and we expect the McDonalds to be completed by fall...

~~One of the first things I did after taking office was to issue strict ethics guidelines for my advisers and cut the perks and privileges..~~ [although I was pleased to have the anchors over for lunch, I want you to know that I have no plans to repeat my predecessor's invitation to have Rush Limbaugh sleep in the Lincoln bedroom.]

My staff tells me that in these photo-ops we do, I've answered more questions than any recent President -- partly because of the persistence of Andrea Mitchell. I like Andrea, and I've always wanted to answer her questions... ~~until we found her network on Capitol Hill planting incendiary devices underneath my economic plan...~~

(more)

MORE ONE LINERS

I think you folks have taken far too much heat for the high tabloid content of today's news... and I think NBC showed amazing maturity in picking Michael Gartner's replacement... I'm sure Abe Hirschfeld will do a magnificent job... *TOO NEW YORK?*

Just imagine if we used tabloid gimmicks to boost our ratings at the White House [MIMIC "GERALDO" SHOW ANNOUNCER]: "Are heartless bureaucrats in the Office of Management and Budget ripping you off?... Join us... on the next Presidential town hall meeting."

You know, it's been 32 years since Newt Minow declared TV news a vast wasteland... funny, those are the same words Bob Dole uses these days to describe my economic plan...

Sometimes journalists get too carried away with pronouncing judgments... Just listen to what the press is saying about that cult leader in Texas: "crazed for attention"... "driven by a messianic complex"... Don't you think you guys have been a little tough on Ross Perot?...

You know, I love doing these weekly radio addresses, but I'm still trying to adapt to the medium. One week, my voice was so raw from allergies that they set up a "cough button" -- all I had to do was push it when I didn't want people to hear my voice... if only I had one of those for Newt Gingrich and Phil Gramm...

[USE WHEN NEEDED]: ...Hey, I don't mind if don't like this joke... I'm open to all suggestions, even from opponents... but if you have to criticize... be specific.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	RE: President Clinton's Radio Address (3 pages)	02/27/1993	P5
002. draft	RE: President Clinton's Radio Address (3 pages)	02/27/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10995

FOLDER TITLE:

Radio Address 2/27/93

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db2123

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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- 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]
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PRESIDENT CLINTON'S RADIO ADDRESS
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1993

(FIRST DRAFT)

Good morning.

Ten days ago, I asked for your help to bring change to America. I said then that it would be a challenge, and that it would mean every one of us would need to put a shoulder to push back the monsters at our door -- debt and deficit.

I asked for all Americans to contribute, especially those who can most afford to give. *nothing is far greater than the price of doing*
Right away, we heard from the naysayers. In fact, they didn't even wait to hear the economic plan, before they were ~~knocking it~~ *spand* knocking it. That thunder on Capitol Hill was the ~~pitter-patter~~ *all eyes* of an army of lobbyists, ~~selling their services to special interests, for the chance to take a whack at this economic plan.~~

They didn't even wait to hear from you. But you, my fellow Americans, have been drowning them out, all of them, with the voices of reason *and support & courage.* *The thunder*

You have looked at my plan, and you've concluded that it is good for America. I have been particularly moved by letters you have sent. Many of you who have written to me are working parents, some of you are single parents. You worry about the bills today but also about the life your children can expect tomorrow. Your support is a symbol of the selflessness, foresight and determination now catching fire across this nation.

One thing is clear: we're finished just talking about bringing down the deficit. We've received scores of checks from Americans who want to help out, right now. They mostly range from a few precious dollars to one-thousand dollars.

Now, I must tell you, we can't take that money here at the White House, but the Treasury Department can. If you've sent a check, it will come back to you with our thanks, and instructions to send it to the Treasury.

~~As welcome as the money is,~~ I am especially grateful for the words of support. One letter that caught my eye came from Rachel Nunamaker, of San Jose, California. She's 83 years old and she wrote just three lines. "Stick to your guns," she told me. "You're on the right track."

Thank you, Mrs. Nunamaker *and all like her who*
have sent words of encourg. & prayers.

*challenge
change
congress
Jobs
Nunamaker
Bill Clinton
for*

I think we are on the right track. Already, we have seen mortgage rates fall to their lowest level in twenty years -- twenty years! That's good news for everyone, but especially for the young adults and middle-income families who may have thought that being a homeowner was not possible for them. It's part of the American Dream that we've been working so hard to restore. And it CAN be restored.

With falling interest rates, more people can save money on business loans, car loans, every time they use their credit cards -- and they can use that money in ways to help the economy.

In the past week, we've gotten other ringing endorsements for our plan to set America on a new direction. We've brought together business and labor leaders, ~~newspapers both big and small~~, national and state organizations from A to Z. When groups as diverse as we've heard from agree that something is good for the economy, then you've got to figure that something's right.

After all, this isn't about being a Democrat, or being a Republican. ~~It's not about special interests or influence.~~ It's national interest over special interests; it's ~~people first~~ ^{dem party} over the credo of the '80s -- "me first." It's, quite simply, a chance to make America as great as the sum of its parts.

I mean, how can anyone deny that our huge debt is a disaster, a ticking bomb that will explode on our children unless we defuse it now? ~~It's just dumb financially to spend one-fifth of our budget simply to service that debt, day in, day out, year in, year out.~~ The burden is pulling us down and it keeps getting bigger and it's preventing us from making our nation as great as it can be. With my plan, we'll cut the deficit in half between now and 1997, and we can start putting our resources to work.

This plan will work for a simple reason. It cuts waste and spending and increases investments that will pay us back many times over. And it spreads the burden as fairly as possible.

It will work because of you.

~~In every poll taken by newspapers and TV networks,~~ Americans say they support my plan, and that's ~~tremendously~~ gratifying. But you know what's even better? I've seen the faces, I've heard the voices behind the numbers. In St. Louis, in California, in Seattle, in Ohio, in New York. And here in the White House, last Saturday, I heard from the children. Even the kids get it; they know how important this is for America and for their future.

Of course, not everyone agrees with me on everything. Some people agree with me not at all. That's democracy. And in the month since I came to Washington, we've seen democracy take on its most potent form. Last week, in my speech to Congress, I said that as long as we get America back on its feet, I didn't care

(Pass)
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What's
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because ultimately the credit must go to the people
who takes credit. ~~I take that back.~~ I do care, because I so
~~strongly believe that the credit must go to you, the people.~~ As *my put.*
~~John F. Kennedy~~ said: as citizens of this democracy, you are "the
beginning and the end."

Never forget that. WE won't. This Oval Office, the White House and Capitol Hill -- they're yours. Congress knows why you sent me here, although in the weeks to come you may want to remind them. YOU wanted a new direction. Now I've mapped it out. We all know the payoff is down the road. But we must start this journey now, together, and we must step boldly.

It's an exciting time to be an American, a time when the sense of national community and purpose is taking hold. We mustn't let this pass unacted on.

With that in mind, on Monday, we will mark an anniversary that is especially significant to my generation. Thirty-two years ago, President John Kennedy inspired Americans to service, in the Peace Corps. On Monday, I will unveil a proposal for a new generation of builders, a plan to invest in our country's future and to reclaim America and the American Dream, one block at a time, a plan that will involve one of our most precious resources: America's youth.

Through it, we hope to lift our communities, to help children at risk, to battle our social ills -- and all while helping thousands of Americans to go to college. It's called National Service.

Until then, God bless you all.

*program will give every child will
have a chance to go to college - volunteer
to serve, unmet needs.*

George Baker

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1993

(FIRST DRAFT)

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Ten days ago, I asked for your help to bring change to America. I said ~~then that~~ it would be a challenge, and that it would mean every one of us would need to ~~put a shoulder to push back the monsters at our door~~ debt and deficit.

~~Most of all, we work together~~ ^{lead to an} ~~asked for all Americans to contribute~~ ^{of a better} ~~especially those who can most afford to give~~ ^{input reform} a growing economy, more jobs, ^{a better} higher incomes, and ^{our children}

Right away, we heard from the naysayers. In fact, they didn't even wait to hear the economic plan, before they were knocking it. That thunder on Capitol Hill was the pitter-patter ^{some from} ~~of an~~ army of lobbyists, selling their services to special interests, ^{and pessimists -- the defenders of the SD who want to} for the chance to take a whack at this economic plan.

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You have looked at my plan, and you've ^{concluded} that it is good for America. I have been particularly moved by letters you have sent. Many of you who have written to me are working parents, some of you are single parents. You worry about the bills today but also about the life your children can expect tomorrow. Your support is a symbol of the selflessness, foresight and determination now catching fire across this nation.

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Thank you, Mrs. Nunamaker, ^{AND ALL like her who} ^{Have sent these words of encouragement + their prayers.}

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NOTHING WAS for higher than
the price of change*

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PATRIOT

who takes credit. ~~I take that back. I do care, because I so strongly believe that the credit must go to you, the people. As *one* Adlai Stevenson said: as citizens of this democracy, you are "the beginning and the end."~~

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Through it, we hope to lift our communities, to help children at risk, to battle our social ills -- and all while helping thousands of Americans to go to college. It's called National Service.

Until then, God bless you all.

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*every child apply for college
every American should have the
chance to volunteer to serve
our country and help us
meet urgent needs.*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Gabrielle to Carolyn; RE: Telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. draft	RE: National Crime Victims Rights Week (2 pages)	n.d.	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10995

FOLDER TITLE:

Violence

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1350

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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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)]

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

DRAFT

National Crime Victims Rights Week, 1994

RUSH

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

One of the foremost challenges facing our Nation today is the violence faced by too many Americans. Our young people are growing up in an increasingly violent society. Our schools must learn to deal with guns and gangs. Our parks and playgrounds often are not safe places for children to play. No corner of America, it often seems, is safe from violent crime.

Once each year, during National Crime Victims Rights Week, this Nation takes time to reflect on the innocent victims of these crimes and those who are working all across this country on their behalf. Thousands of people--many of them volunteers who have been victims themselves--are working tirelessly at the Federal, State, and local levels to provide emotional support, guidance, and financial assistance to help crime victims recover from the trauma of victimization and to ensure that they are treated fairly and sensitively as their cases progress through the criminal justice system.

At the same time, this Administration is working to ~~stop the violence and prevent the future victimization of innocent Americans.~~ We're working to pass a Crime Bill that will put more police on the streets of our communities. We're working to ensure that three-time losers spend the rest of their lives in prison with no chance to prey further on innocent victims. And we're working to encourage citizens to assume personal responsibility for improving their neighborhoods and to get involved in dealing with violence in their communities.

face violence today to ensure fewer victims tomorrow.
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Criminal offenders

Those who work on behalf of victims are helping immeasurably in this effort. They are there for their neighbors. They are there to provide comfort when someone has just lost a child to random gunfire, when the sanctity of someone's home has been invaded by an intruder, when someone has been robbed, brutalized or beaten. National Crime Victims Rights Week affords us the opportunity to express our appreciation to these "good neighbors" and to renew our commitment to meeting the needs and ensuring the rights of crime victims.

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Justice
See attached

We encourage communities across the U.S. to designate the appropriate event. Members must be expected to take responsibility for their actions and hold themselves accountable for what they have done.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 174, has designated the week of April 24 through April 30, 1994, as National Crime Victims Rights Week and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

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NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of April 24 through April 30, 1994, as National Crime Victims Rights Week. I urge all Americans to join in honoring those who work in behalf of crime

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This includes...
Clinton Library Photocopy

victims and their families and to commit themselves to working with their neighbors to stop the violence and to ensure safer streets, schools, and playgrounds for our Nation's children and all our citizens.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this day of April, and in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

Post-It™ routing request pad 7664
89400

ROUTING - REQUEST

Please

READ

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APPROVE

and FORWARD

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KEEP OR DISCARD

REVIEW WITH ME

Date

4-20

To

Carolyn

Please review ASAP.

Also does this

need to have.

Laure D review.

Let me know. Thanks.

From

Rene Voigt / OCPA

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. briefing paper	From Kim Tilley; RE: Catholic Bishops Meeting (1 page)	04/29/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carolyn Curiel
OA/Box Number: 10996

FOLDER TITLE:

Catholic Health Association 6/9/93 1st Lady [1]

Debbie Bush
2006-0461-F
db2124

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]

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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]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

April 28, 1993

1919 US Govt
pro-abortion national
health care
SUNY serve
by employees

CATHOLIC BISHOPS MEETING

DATE: April 29, 1993
LOCATION: 472 OEOB
TIME: 10:30 a.m.
FROM: Kim Tilley

I. PURPOSE

This meeting is important because of the necessity of having these groups support the health care reform plan.

II. BACKGROUND

Catholic Health Association

According to Melanne, CHA's health care reform plan is fairly close to what we'll eventually release. We've been told privately that they are highly likely to be with us all the way as long as the abortion - conscience exemption provision is included for the hospitals (i.e. to ensure that our plan would not mandate Catholic hospitals to perform abortions).

U.S. Catholic Conference (Bishops)

There is a good chance they will get hung up on the abortion provision. Melanne believes it is important to point out that we'll support the above-mentioned exemption for Catholic hospitals as well as mention that the health plan would not overturn a 24 hours waiting period, parental notification, etc.

Catholic Charities

They are not as likely to be hung up on the abortion provisions as the Bishops. As Fred Kammer until recently headed up the Health Policy Committee for the Bishop's Conference, it is conceivable that he could serve as a broker for us on this issue.

(NOTE: As the Catholic Health Association has extended an invitation for you to keynote their conference in June, they may bring this up during the meeting. Also, as you may remember, Betsey Wright is CHA's lobbyist. She will not be present at the meeting.)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	RE: Telephone numbers (partial) (4 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. draft	RE: Remarks to Export-Import Bank Conference (7 pages)	05/06/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10996

FOLDER TITLE:

Export-Import Bank May 6, 93

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1366

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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President William Jefferson Clinton
Remarks to Export-Import Bank Conference
May 6, 1993

[4th DRAFT]

Good morning.

[Acknowledgements]

I'm told that I'm the first President ever to address the Ex-Im Bank and its exporters. Can that be right?

When Ken Brody invited me here, my first thought was: What better audience can there possibly be than one made up of the people who help create and preserve high-paying jobs for Americans? I'm here to applaud the Export-Import Bank, exporters, government workers, international banks and foreign buyers whose work and cooperation lead us toward that goal.

And I want to emphasize this: Trade and exports once may have been treated as the sideshow, but they now share center stage, and anyone who doesn't understand that doesn't understand the direction of the global economy.

For 59 years, since F-D-R created it to help increase foreign trade with the Soviet Union, the Ex-Im Bank has assisted U-S companies sell more than \$270 Billion in American exports all around the world. And now, the bank's role in helping the economy of our country has never been more important.

The course that we have set for American commerce has a clear direction, and it is outward... for, only by reaching out across the oceans of today's moveable trade fronts can we get the maximum returns: an expanding export base that will provide more jobs than ever before for Americans. And make no mistake about this: The economy is the Number-One priority of this Administration, putting Americans to work is a lynchpin of our success, and we will not take our eyes off that prize.

Getting there will depend in good measure on how we make and close the sale on three beautiful words: exports, exports, exports.

The work that exporters and the Ex-Im Bank do toward that end is of fundamental importance:

Because every time we sell a Billion-dollars of American products and services overseas, we employ about 20-thousand people. In all, more than seven million Americans owe their jobs to export-related work.

13th + Penn

Ken Brody, Addressed distinguished guests, seen good voted out of Senate Bank by committee

Request from DeWitt

e/take

Which our nation must compete

e/the

e/measure

Because those American workers in export-related jobs make about 17-percent more than the average worker. [CHART A on high-wage jobs]

Your work is important because in the last five years, exports have accounted for nearly half, **nearly half** of our country's economic growth. Goods and services exports made up 10.7 percent of U-S G-D-P in 1992, up from 10.5 in 1991... and up from 7.5 percent in 1985.

~~[may get new chart on percentage of exports in g-d-p]~~

Your work is important because if U-S technology... whether it relates to the environment, energy, transportation or telecommunications... is to secure its pre-eminence, it must have a global reach. Only with world markets can we afford the research and development to stay competitive.

Export expansion encourages our most advanced industries... and they generate America's jobs for now and the future, in computers, aerospace and electronic components.

And your work is also important because widening world trade is a powerful ambassador for America. and it can be a valuable ally in supporting the world's turn to democracy.

As democracy flowers where once the salt of Communism was sown, we need to help cultivate its growth and progress... and we can do that by nurturing a healthy activity trading relationship with Russia, Eastern Europe and developing nations. Democracy and prosperity go hand-in-hand.

The work you do to help ^{to increase} American exports ^{are} ~~is~~ also crucial because in a world recession, recovery means ~~recognizing that~~ what's good for America is good for the global economy and vice versa. That is a point that ~~cannot be over-emphasized.~~

Because my Administration is developing a trade strategy that's export-oriented, I want to see two things happen and very soon. I want the passage of NAFTA, because it ~~is the key that~~ will unlock a market that will create hundreds of thousands of high-paying jobs.

And finally, after seven years of talks, I want the Uruguay round ~~of the GATT to end by~~ December 15th. This is a priority for my Administration because we want to widen GATT. It's the foundation of the global trading system, and for that reason we need the participation of Japan and the developing countries for it to be a true success.

~~But~~ ^{To my} today, I want to focus on promoting exports... and that's where the Ex-Im Bank plays a central role. In fiscal 1992, the Ex-Im Bank fostered more than a quarter-million American jobs, jobs that were an outgrowth of the Bank's support for 14-

All these are designed to create opport. for exports

Goal for America is good economy

more down in

Disincentive agreement

I'll make again + again

with the supplemental agreement on labor and the environment

Missing word?

Billion dollars in exports. That's pretty impressive, but it will not be enough to just hold our ground. I know we can top that by strengthening the partnership between government and the private sector through the Ex-Im Bank.

Products

The markets are out there, clamoring for American goods. But we have to be smarter about training our workers, about getting out of the laboratory and off the drawing board... about promoting ourselves and about getting to the markets. All the while, we'll be rolling up our sleeves not to fight our competitors, but so we can work together for a healthy trade environment.

Full size

Look at what the Ex-Im Bank has been able to do. It has been the big shoulders carrying businesses from the behemoths to the small entrepreneurs, with loans and through guarantees on private financing. It has helped to send everything from machine tools to computer software to buyers abroad. And has been at the forefront in supporting a new export industry that Vice President Gore has championed... the environmental industry. That industry is so important that I have directed Ron Brown to work with Ex-Im Bank, E-P-A and D-O-E to craft a national strategy for environmental exports.

EX-IM

These efforts will not only help to clean up the planet; they'll also put Americans to work. We have several environmental services exporters with us here today. One of them, Ormat, Incorporated of Sparks, Nevada, used its know-how to help the start-up of a geo-thermal energy power plant in the Philippines. That project not only met critical energy needs for villagers but also employed 3,800 Americans. And that's just one example among many.

ORMAT
SUN
AREA

We want to exponentially increase these success stories, in all areas of export, from the farm to Wall Street.

Main Street

Our plan to do that incorporates the work of Ex-Im Bank in setting down the groundwork today, at home and abroad, to boost exports and make America more competitive in the global economy... and that will improve the quality of jobs and the wages that Americans will make tomorrow.

reference?

What in the and global economies are inseparable. ~~How we do domestically and how we do internationally are~~ ~~in our comprehensive~~ export strategy, we will shape a more competitive America. Our workforce will be better trained through lifelong learning, and we will need it. The average American will change jobs seven times. If this variety is to be to our advantage, giving us a fresher, more versatile workforce we need to train our people now. ~~With apprenticeship and other job-training programs that we want to invest in,~~ we'll remove the risk of colliding with the new century.

we are to shape the changes to our

We need to train our people now

But the process has to extend beyond teaching programs that Government provides. Individuals, businesses, communities and

The ex im bank is going to help us ~~investments in~~ ~~but hard in hand, our strategy for human capital~~

educators must all share in the responsibility of changing the way we think about how we work and what we work for. The world does not end where America's borders begin. We must step up to the borders and think about competing, not retreating.

At the same time, we need to become better students of economics. The old ways of doing business just don't translate in the reality of today. One of the first things I did as President was to establish the National Economic Council. It just made good sense. We had a National Security Council to deal with foreign and security matters, but no unit to coordinate all our economic policy. Now we do.

One reason that we were so gratified to get Congress's approval of our budget plan in record time is because it shows the world community how serious we are about addressing America's economic problems.

For years, Washington was like the overweight doctor telling a patient to lose a few pounds: Our leaders in the past were asking trading partners to do something they wouldn't... to be responsible and to take care of their own crushing debts and deficits.

But look at us now. When we go to the G-7 meeting in July, we'll be a success story in the making, an example for our partners. For starters, we have a responsible budget plan, one that for the first time ever, reduces the deficit that has been ballooning for a generation... cutting it by 500-Billion dollars.

Our interest rates have fallen to a 20-year low, allowing American homeowners to re-finance, and that promises to give our economy a 100-Billion-dollar shot in the arm.

And soon, we'll unveil our comprehensive plan to reform health care, relieving a strain on individuals, providers, businesses and our nation's future. To help put the burden on the economy into perspective, consider this: In 1990, G-M spent more on medical coverage for its workers than it did on steel. Overall, health care costs jacked up the price of an American car by \$1,100... double the cost added to a Japanese car.

This is a true competitiveness issue... and our country is finally addressing it under this Administration.

We can point to all these accomplishments with pride when we sit down with our partners in July.

We can also make ourselves more competitive by cutting the waste out of Government. As I've said before, we must fundamentally reinvent Government, and that includes streamlining our export programs... an action long overdue. Right now, there are more than 150 different export promotion programs scattered

In the past we fought

across more than 10 agencies. Really; they're tangled like a ball of yarn.

Our goal is to untangle it. We want to end the duplication and overlap... and we want to make sure these programs are "customer-driven." We want our guide to be the needs of exporters and lenders.

Our vehicle to a coherent export promotion plan will be the Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee... T-P-C-C, and ~~interagency group that came into being through~~ the efforts of the working group in the Congress, in particular, Senator Don Riegle. Secretary of Commerce Brown chairs the group, which has been meeting daily, and once he is confirmed, ~~Bank Chairman-Designate Brody~~ will also have hands-on involvement.

With the Department of Commerce and T-P-C-C, Ex-Im Bank will help lead the way toward developing an export mentality throughout our nation. At the same time, the Bank will become more of a pro-active, consumer-friendly Bank. One area that will get more attention is the servicing of small- and medium-size businesses.

For every applicant, the Bank will aim to bypass the unnecessary red tape. Right now it takes the staff about six months to process a preliminary commitment application... and only one in six such preliminary commitments leads to an actual export sale. But with new procedures, the Bank will be able to respond to most requests within seven days. The staff will be able to process more cases... and support more real deals.

In short, the Ex-Im Bank will use better management measures to do more without spending more. In these days of deficit reduction, the Bank will have to live within its means at level funding and Ken has assured me he'll make the money work harder.

We want ~~all these steps supported~~ with a quick and successful completion of the Uruguay Round. One-third of world trade today is not covered by international rules. The Uruguay Round talks can help us discipline ~~those practices~~. And it will be a blessing for U-S exporters, because it will lower foreign tariffs, curb subsidies that tilt the playing field, and strengthen protection of intellectual property, which alone costs American companies 60-Billion dollars a year.

I mentioned NAFTA and its importance to jobs earlier. But here are the numbers. Exports to Canada already support about one-and-a-half million American jobs. And in just the past five years, the number of American jobs tied to export to Mexico have grown from 300-thousand to 700-thousand. With NAFTA's implementation, we project another 200-thousand high-wage jobs for Americans in the next two years.

W as mandated by Congress through the efforts of Sen. Riegle who will be calling you

intro
in the middle

Ken
These measures
to make the tax payers dollars to work harder.

Mexico is a very valued customer for another reason. As we throw open the doors of that market for our exports, we will also be helping our neighbor to stanch the flow of drugs and to provide jobs for its people. Mexico can proudly hold itself up as an example of new economic thinking... and we are glad to have with us here today a representative of its new breed of ~~economists~~... Secretary of Finance Pedro Aspe [pronounced AH-speh].

A progressive leader who is a breed apart.

Our success in America will depend on how we can develop our own new thinking... based on ideas that cast off self-absorption in favor of a willingness to work together.

We know this: Protectionism ultimately defeats the purpose behind it: to shield the worker from competition. That word competition is not a bad word. It spurs us to do better when we can feel someone else's hot breath on our necks.

But we also cannot lose our perspective on where we stand with our partners. I have put our trading partners on notice that I will expect access to their markets comparable to the access they have to ours. On the two way street of trade, the traffic has to move both ways. So, we welcome foreign products, services and investments here. But we insist that our products, services and investment be welcomed in other countries as well. It's only fair and it's only good business.

As we look around the world, our export opportunities seem almost limitless. Latin America is reigning in its debt, and what is emerging in a more stable economy is a populace starved for our consumer products and entrepreneurs shopping for our capital goods. It's a market for our exports that is growing at three times the rate in anyplace else in the world. *not clear*

Outside of this hemisphere, we will look increasingly to the newly industrializing countries of Asia... the fastest growing region of the world.

And of course, we will all look to Russia, where the Ex-Im mission comes full circle. ~~As I said earlier, it was established in 1934 to help foreign trade with Moscow.~~

Now, the Bank is doing what it first set out to do. To date, the Bank has approved 205-million in final commitments to Russia. The Bank is working on an oil and gas framework agreement that could support as much as 2-Billion dollars in American goods and services for Russia's energy sector.

Two months ago, I said that, considering the Trillions we spent to ensure Communism's defeat, we should be willing to invest a tiny fraction to support Russia as it pursues the course of democracy.

So, this is a helping hand to a new friend. And it's not without self-interest. We'll get new jobs as Russia demands more American products and services... and with democracy's success, we'll all share in the rewards of a less dangerous world. *gets*

the
it needs
to rebuild
the economy

At different junctures in this century Americans have shown themselves to be catalysts for global reform. Succeeding generations faced off against fascism, then communism... and now, with the end of the cold war, a new kind of task is at hand. We are called not just to adapt... but to lead a juggernaut into the new millenium.

an economic

In this new world of tomorrow... the brave will draw strength and prosperity from diversity... within communities, within nations and around the world. Each of us will grow because all of us will participate... and the hearts of the victors will beat in harmony.

Thank you all very much.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. speech	RE: Remarks at Northeastern University Commencement (22 pages)	06/19/1993	P5
002. draft	RE: Remarks at Northeastern University Commencement (2 pages)	06/19/1993	P5
003. draft	RE: Remarks at Northeastern University Commencement (2 pages)	06/19/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10996

FOLDER TITLE:

Northeastern U. 6/19/93

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db2125

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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6-19-93

Remarks of President William Jefferson Clinton
at Northeastern University Commencement
Boston Garden
June 19, 1993

Thank you. President Curry, members of the

faculty and staff, Senator Kennedy, Senator Kerry,

+ Congressman Meehan,

Congressman Frank, Mayor Flynn, Governor

Dukakis, honored guests, ~~ladies and gentlemen...~~

family, friends,

~~and especially...~~ members of Northeastern's Class of

'93 and their families and friends.

Lois → Frank work in Cong for Econ prog & justice ^{Hong}
Kerry VN

Kennedy → Brilliant Legis Worship
Popart Support

~~Meehan~~ ~~Main~~ ~~Topic~~ ~~or~~ ~~subject~~
~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~forum~~

Meehan - Fresh / long work.
- Remedy good

Peggy - Reich

1

- Walt El Stas / Tg
- Mike See
- Stu Wen -
- ↳ Fam (all) learn
- ↳ women health
- ↳ many
- ↳ Choir

Congratulations

Graduates, ~~you are to be congratulated. You~~

^{so} survived ^{lwg} five years of college and "parents' night" at

"Maxwell's." ~~What a beautiful sight you are! How~~

~~could you even think I would go instead to that other~~

~~place across the river?~~

And for traveling

~~And you brayed~~ Boston traffic to get here to

Back up on Storrow Dr

today, Boston's traffic nation's 2d

Boston Garden. ~~You know, if you had taken the~~

best sample of gridlocks.

~~"If", you could have avoided the back-up on Storrow~~

~~Drive, and saved yourself a lot of time, frustration~~

~~and grief. Believe me: I...know...gridlock.~~

I am ~~extremely~~ pleased to be here with you on

and
this special day as you receive your degrees, ~~For my~~

~~part, I am~~ deeply honored to receive this honorary

from an institution
degree for public service. I ~~would have worn the~~

the ~~cap, but someone said it might muss my hair.~~
the ~~cap, but someone said it might muss my hair.~~
the ~~cap, but someone said it might muss my hair.~~

~~Heurpo~~
~~One of the newspapers reporting that I was~~

~~coming here today called this "just another~~

~~commencement speech" for me. I'm here to tell you~~

~~that nothing could be farther from the truth. I've~~

This year I received

~~gotten~~ more than 200 invitations to address

graduating classes. ~~There may be even more,~~

~~considering the mountain of mail we're plowing~~

~~through every day at the White House.~~

Blue work (leaving)
Bul (Acad plus)
Blog people

But Northeastern stood out, a symbol of
the American Dream, built on education and work
and community service → Amer. f. poor, work fair chance

College access to all → lower - lower I / 20me
Habit Sew → pay back → Starting today
→ City of NE → coun
sew

NE

And if anyone illustrates why that is, it's a
~~student like Doug Luffborough.~~
student like Doug Luffborough. Your story and your
success are an inspiration, Doug. [[speaking to Doug
now]] That article that spoke about my coming here
also said that you planned to invite yourself and
your mother to the White House. Well, Doug, I'm
going to beat you to the punch.

**I know what having a good, strong and loving
mother can mean, especially when a father isn't
there: she can make every difference in the world, as**

Doug's M, Elsa Newman
your mother did for you, and mine did for me. ~~Mrs.~~

is her

~~Luffborough~~... would you please stand? Hillary and

I would love to see both you and Doug in

Washington. Will you come see us?

~~Graduates... today I applaud your~~

~~accomplishment... and I salute all the parents who~~

~~set the example and gave encouragement and~~

~~support that led you to reach new heights.~~

To all of you graduates:

~~This class of graduates of Northeastern, the~~

largest co-op school in the nation, is indeed a breed

By working & you in your field as you leave your degree,
apart. You have experienced a world that others

only anticipate until the day they take that diploma

and test the job market. ~~Go ahead and~~

*you embody the growing unity between
work & learning in a world where you're
work & stress, but you can depend on
what you can learn.*

~~Still, some of you are worried about your future.~~

~~You're wondering,~~ Even with the jump your co-op

education at Northeastern has given you... ^{some of you} ~~you're~~

^{must be}
wondering whether you'll be able to find the right

job... or any job at all.

You have done your part →
you deserve opportunity to ~~have~~ ^{have a good job} and

enjoy good life

That's understandable. ~~We've all seen in recent~~

For yrs the ^{challenges} ~~presence~~ of the global economy
~~years how our people seem to be working harder for~~

and our ^{unemployment} ~~total~~ ^{then} ~~response~~ to ~~to~~ have put more
~~less. We saw job security erode... and we saw~~

and more pressure on MC families + MC values.
~~families come under horrible stress. No one was hit~~
and have made it harder for people to work themselves out of

Most people have worked harder for less ^{product}
~~harder than the middle class... the working families~~
and paid more for health care, education
~~of America... who saw themselves spending ever~~
and housing.

~~more for health care, education and housing.~~

For most of the 1980s, those without
at least 2 yrs of education after HS saw
incomes go down, while college graduates
saw incomes go up. Even that has been
called into Q in the last couple of years.
unemployment up + incomes flat for college
grads

~~US response to global challenge~~
~~Because while this generation of parents owned a~~

We know what works → Ed works,
~~home... that cornerstone of the American Dream...~~

I in new tech work. Partners between

~~it was looking more and more out of reach for their~~

bus + worker + gov't worker. Grassroots efforts

~~children. Middle-class prosperity... those words that~~

to build strong, safe communities and give

~~motivated generations... were being drowned out by~~

every person a chance work.

~~three others that had a painful ring: "middle-class~~

A lot of Americans worked on that

~~squeeze."~~

But nationally our response was to follow
policies that gave 1% to 70%, ~~at~~ increased
debt 1-4, deficit 74-300, return to in
future, ignore fundamental probs from
educat + health, to cum in 80s, to ~~that~~
techno challenge of global econ.

PA → Rhetoric, labels, avoiding reality.
But that's beginning to change. Bit by bit, we

are taking down the obstacles blocking progress and

prosperity for Americans, ^{and nobody would debate} ~~Some people don't like it,~~

~~because they were doing just fine. But many more of~~

~~our people weren't doing just fine, and that's why~~

~~you demanded change.~~

~~No one has tried as we are trying to put our~~ ^{Put together}

economic house in order; ~~no one has tried as we are~~

~~trying to provide~~ ^{Provide} a national health care plan; ~~no one~~ <sup>Manufacturers afford, health care for all
Americans</sup>

~~has tried as we are trying to~~ ^{Prepare} prepare Americans to

compete in the new global economy.

~~And because we are trying... and I believe we~~

~~will succeed... I can say to the graduates who worry~~

~~about the future. We're on our way now to a better~~

~~tomorrow.~~

~~No, we won't see a dramatic turnaround~~

~~overnight.~~ We have a long road to travel... but

already we are seeing hopeful signs along the way:

Because of the progress of ~~my~~ my plan to reduce

~~The optimism surrounding just the announcement of~~
the deficit and ~~the~~ growth economy, interest

~~my growth plan has spurred the financial markets.~~

rates are at a 20 year low.

~~And as a result... we now have the lowest interest~~

~~rates in 20 years.~~

~~That means purchasing a home is now in reach~~

~~for many~~ ^{Now} ~~Americans who otherwise would be out of~~

~~the market. And many of you who own homes have~~

~~re-financed. Some of you are saving more than two~~ ^{saving thousands of dollars}

~~thousand dollars a year in the bargain. I'd say we're~~

~~beginning to do better.~~

Bringing def down is kept → lower F
rates free up pin F in our paper
- home, bus, consumer, car

Also central \$ on F, means now
\$ will go to edu, health, sewin, jobs

~~Because of the confidence in our growth plan...~~

~~inflation seems stable... and unemployment has~~

~~finally dipped below seven percent. We're beginning~~

~~to do better.~~

~~In fact,~~ In the first four months of our

Administration, more than three-quarters of a

million new jobs ^{were} ~~have been~~ added to the economy.

~~We're beginning to do better.~~

~~But we are doing something now. Once the~~

But we have to finish the job. ~~The~~
~~details of our budget plan are worked out in the~~
~~great plan~~

~~Congress... we'll be on our way to cutting the deficit~~

The Senate must pass the econ. plan.
~~by 500 Billion dollars in five years. We're going to~~
It cuts our deficit by 500 B over 5 years

~~do it chiefly by slashing spending, NOT by~~

~~increasing taxes.~~

For every ^{\$}10 in deficit reduction,
~~There will be some taxes... but the bulk of~~

* 5 is in spending cuts, 3⁷⁵ in taxes on
~~them... two-thirds of the new revenue will come~~

the top 6% of Americans, 1²⁵ on MC. ^{2/3}
~~from people with incomes of 200-thousand dollars~~

of new taxes on Amer w/ income of 200,000

~~and more. They profitted the most from the '80's...~~

Whose incomes went up + fell down in 80s.

~~so they can afford to give back the most now.~~

WAPT → life working poor out of poverty
was families under 30,000 heavily
welfare-work.

↳ Non families anyone
a chance

~~I think that's fair. Other people may not think~~

^{Some} ~~so~~ Lobbyists ^{+ legislators} in Washington oppose our plan. ~~They~~

They want more cuts, less taxes.
~~would prefer to force hard-pressed Americans to pay~~
But what is their alternative? The two
~~more so their wealthy clients and powerful interests~~
which have been presented here the
~~can pay less.~~

McC, the working man, and the elderly man.
Also do us to create jobs + income tax well
econ. leadership.

Those of you who celebrate today as families:

~~To the families before me, let me say: Many of~~

many of you had to make tough choices together

~~you know all too well about tough choices. You've~~

~~you didn't have the luxury of buying quality~~

~~been cutting spending and working hard and saving ^{gives up some things} + ^{investing} wisely~~

for the things you want... like a good education. ^{Now} It's

your country must do the same ~~and~~

~~high time our government was as careful with~~

EC program, health, and

~~taxpayers' money as you've been with the income~~

taxes —

~~you keep. We're working to do just that because it's~~

Give yr. country back to you ^{that's what it's} ^{about}

~~the only responsible thing to do.~~

You have done yr pt — ^{time} ^{to} ^{do} ^{over}.

Ask you only to remember lessons learned — Act to support → fight to give it to you
Repeal to give country back →

W8200 Rebel Amer person by 28 person, bus by bus, comm by comm

Outcomes → civil war / Sup Ct / → Action + Passion of
Run for fear of being pulled in to ^{CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPI} ~~their~~ ~~side~~

Action & passion of your time —
I tell you: You must become heroes... and you

Reinvent the American Dream and to open the
must do it now. You must become the champions of
Dream for all Americans —

the very idea that defines our culture: the idea that

When I was in college, prof —
the future can be better than the present and that

each of us has a personal, moral responsibility to

make it so.

~~WE have given you the chance to do that~~
Let us all resolve to do just that

ROSEN

**In November 1960, John Kennedy spoke here in
this arena on the eve of his election as President.**

**And he talked of the "contest between the
comfortable and the concerned, between those who
believe that we should rest and lie at anchor and
drift, and between those who want to move this
country forward."**

~~Now, 33 years later, the contest isn't over.~~

Never will be,

*On this
graduating
of your
new hope*

follow them. To the graduates who worry about the future... I say: We're on our way now to a better tomorrow, so you must not only hold hope in your heart, but you must translate that hope into action for yourself, your community and your country.



Graduates,

In taking on the challenges that we all face... we must keep in mind that being passive is passé... and that good enough is not good enough. We must do better.

*It's
we all
been rep.
for it.*

To do better... we must attack the economic deficit we inherited. ~~This is critical to secure our future. And if we don't start to bring the deficit under control now~~. the precious resources inherited by the next generation... by you... will be largely drained just paying the interest on the bills.

But we are doing something now. Once the details of our budget plan are worked out in the Congress... we'll be on our way to cutting the deficit by 500-Billion dollars in five years. We're going to do it chiefly by slashing spending, NOT by increasing taxes. There will be some taxes... but the bulk of them... two-thirds of the new revenue will come from people with incomes of 200-thousand dollars and more. They profited the most from the '80's... so they can afford to give back the most now, *when we need it.*

I think that's fair. Other people may not think ^{so} it's fair. But I say to them: ~~If you have an alternative plan... put it on the table. Let me see how you'd cut the deficit... let me see your spending cuts... let us all see that you have the courage to make tough choices to bring our nation the change it needs.~~ *Where are the alternatives. Show me. Better yet. Show the American people.*



To the families before me, let me say: Many of you know all too well about tough choices. You've been cutting spending and working hard and saving for the things you want... like a good education. It's high time our government was as careful with taxpayers' money as you've been with the income you keep. It's the only responsible thing to do.

I have heard from so many people who for too long felt disconnected from their leaders... who felt cut off from a government they saw as unwieldy, uncaring, remote and inefficient. We're trying to do something about that, too. We're working hard to streamline government... to change the way campaigns are financed... and we won passage of the motor voter law. Our aim is to dilute special interest and to strengthen the national interest... to guarantee the participation of more of our citizens in the democratic process. And with that in mind and with all our might... we're fighting gridlock.

Walt Whitman wrote about the "American compact" in our government. It means that the President and Congress are there for you... it is not you who are here for them. We're trying to

Now, I want to talk to the families here today... and those listening at Northeastern University's campus. In recent years your values were challenged... your hard work went unrewarded. Mothers and fathers who had done better than their parents now looked at their own children... and saw a legacy vanishing. Because while this generation of parents owned a home... that cornerstone of the American Dream... it was looking more and more out of reach for their children. Middle-class prosperity... those words were being drowned out by "middle-class squeeze."

~~That's why the American people demanded a change.~~

~~We are on a road to change, finally...~~ and already we are seeing hopeful signs, even though we do have a long way to go. When I presented my growth plan to the American people and to Congress in February... the financial markets took us seriously. As a result... we now have the lowest interest rates in 20 years. That means purchasing a home is now in reach for many Americans who otherwise would be out of the market. And many who already own homes have re-financed... and some of them are saving more than two-thousand-dollars a year in the bargain. I'd say we're beginning to do better.

Because of the confidence in our growth plan... inflation seems stable... and unemployment has finally dipped below seven percent. We're beginning to do better.

In fact, in the first four months of our Administration, more than three-quarters of a million new jobs have been added to the economy. We're beginning to do better, and if we stay with the program, we'll do better still. So much of our strategy to improve the economy is geared toward a great but basic goal: We want a job for every American who wants to work.

I know I'm preaching to the choir on this one, because the people who choose Northeastern University know well the value of work... and you know that the more you learn, the more you earn. In a world of ever-quicker paces of change... knowledge is the vehicle that will take us into the new millenium. Across the American spectrum... individuals will change jobs an average of seven times in a lifetime. That's why we're working for apprenticeship programs and lifelong learning, because they will help keep our work force competitive and vital... and they'll help our nation do better in the world economy.

Since the founding of our great nation, the working man and working woman... the middle class... have been our backbone. That backbone was strained in recent years... and something else was broken: The pact with your leaders that said you deserve better... your children deserve better.

Maybe I'm being overly literal-minded; but I assume this means I wouldn't be your President,

You have worked at least two years in your field in the real world as you've worked for your degree. So, you've had a chance to see whether you've chosen the right path. You might say you've had a chance to "date" your career before you marry it.

Still, many of you are worried about your future. You're wondering, even with the jump your co-op education at Northeastern has given you... you're wondering whether you'll be able to find the right job... or any job at all.

That's understandable. We've all seen in recent years how our people seem to be working harder for less. We saw job security erode... and we saw families come under horrible stress. No one was hit harder than the middle class... the working families of America... who saw themselves spending ever more for health care, education, and housing.

In recent years, our working families showed responsibility... but the government did not. That's changing now... and I say... it's about time.

Look at what we're doing now. Bit by bit, we are taking down the obstacles blocking progress and prosperity for Americans. If some people don't it, it's because they were doing just fine. But were you doing just fine? I know you weren't, because otherwise I wouldn't be here!

But I am here. And you will be doing better. We're on our way there now. No, it won't be a dramatic turnaround overnight; we all must be patient... and we all must be partners in bringing America the kind of change you demanded when you voted last November.

You raised your voices then... and you said with your votes, "enough... we can do better."

Let me, if I may, give you a progress report on what we're doing to make it better... to secure prosperity and global leadership for the generation I see represented before me... and those that will follow them.

First and foremost, we're attacking the economic deficit we inherited. This is critical to secure our future. Once the details of our plan are worked out in the Congress... we'll be on our way to cutting the deficit by 500-Billion dollars in five years... and we're going to do it chiefly by slashing spending, NOT by increasing taxes. There will be some taxes... but the bulk of them... two-thirds of them will come from people with incomes of 200-thousand dollars and more. They profited the most from the '80's... so they'll give back the most in the '90's.

We're hitting politics as usual by reforming the way campaigns are financed... and by passage of the motor voter law. Our aim is to dilute special interest and to strengthen the

good point

good lead-in

Missing word (like, want, see?)

This is where it starts to get artistic.

changing

not I would be here at your convenience

Does this ask for a response - "No!" - But the audience is unlikely to provide.

national interest... to guarantee the participation of more of our citizens in the democratic process. And with all our might... we're fighting a dinosaur of government that we'd like to make extinct: Gridlock

Is this a good metaphor? Is gridlock something big & unwieldy?

We've been working on a plan that will make health care affordable and accessible to every American. Almost 40-million Americans -- maybe some of you here -- don't have health insurance... millions more are in danger of losing it... and that's been a drain on everyone. We're going to fix that. And we've been working to put education within the reach of the children of working families, through direct student loans and a program of national service.

We have had a tremendous response to our plan for national service, both from around the nation, and in the Congress. Our plan will enlist students to address many of the pressing needs our our communities... like helping children at risk. And at the same time... these students will earn money to be used for their education.

Just today... we're sending off 15-hundred young people from around the country to San Francisco to train for our summer pilot program... many of them from the City Year Program here in Boston, which is taking part with Northeastern University. I know we all join together in wishing these recruits the best. They will be laying the groundwork for the bigger program we hope to begin soon... one that will help renew us as a people and rebuild our communities, block by block... while expanding opportunity to education.

Many of these ideas to make America better are new ideas, but their goals are as rooted in American values as the principles of our nation ~~was founded on~~. It was Thomas Jefferson who said a little revolution is good now and then. Then... he helped to change this land to one governed of the people, by the people and for the people. Now... Americans have seen the need to strengthen that foundation. The people want to change the way our Government takes care of the people. We are engaged in nothing less than a revolution to make America better... and you are going to help win it.

for foundation

In recent years your values were challenged... your hard work went unrewarded. Mothers and fathers who had done better than their parents now looked at their own children... and saw a legacy vanishing. Because while this generation of parents owned a home... that cornerstone of the American Dream... it was looking more and more out of reach for their children. Middle-class prosperity... those words were being drowned out by "middle-class squeeze."

Here, should he say, Now,

That's why the American people demanded a change.

I want to talk to the families here today.

Should we use Lincoln

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	RE: Saturday Radio Address (1 page)	04/22/1994	P5
002. paper	RE: Saturday Radio Address (4 pages)	n.d.	P5
003. paper	RE: Saturday Radio Address (4 pages)	n.d.	P5
004. profile	Wiebe; RE: Date of birth and SSN (partial) (1 page)	04/12/1994	P6/b(6)
005. fax	McGee to Liz; RE: Telephone number (partial) (1 page)	04/21/1994	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
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Sat. Rad. [Saturday Radio Address] 04/23/94

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 2006-0461-F
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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]

the Senate and House bills... a bill that includes ~~protection,~~ ^{more police} punishment and prevention.

I want 100-thousand more police officers on the streets... the House voted for 50-thousand, but that's not enough. We've seen in cities like Los Angeles and Houston, more police on the streets is a proven way to prevent crime. ^{in community policing}

I want the House to join the Senate to ban the weapons of war that plague our streets: assault weapons.

I want both Houses to tailor a provision that will ~~shut down the revolving door at our prisons and~~ put away repeat, violent offenders... and put them away for good: three strikes and they're out.

I want ~~funding for more prisons~~ ^{to help state build the} ~~they need to make~~ ^{close the revolving door and stop letting} ~~criminals go free~~ ^{before}

The legislation I sign will fight crime against women and it will take on youth crime. ^{without}

It will employ boot camps to shake up the first-time offender and give him another chance at life... and drug courts to get the drug abuser treatment so he won't be a repeat criminal. ^{after serving an average less than half their sentence.}

And it will give young people something to say yes to: More after-hours clean and safe activity, like midnight basketball and job training. We'll make young people this deal: ~~If you do your part, we'll see that you have the skills to get a job.~~

~~programs. We need to give young people who want to play by the rules the chance to get ahead.~~

Make no mistake about it: ~~Doing all this won't be easy and it won't be cheap. I support fully funding this legislation at about 20-Billion dollars over five years. But it can be done without new taxes and without increasing the Federal deficit, by cutting the Federal workforce by 252-thousand workers and using the savings to fight crime. I think that's a good trade for the American people.~~

~~I believe we must create a Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund, paid for which~~ ^{pay for it through} ~~the Fed. bureaucracy by 252,000 positions~~ ^{and use the savings to fight crime.} I'm asking the Congress to move quickly on this... and if they do, I'll cut through the red tape and put the first 20-thousand extra police officers on the street within one year. That's how urgent this is.

From the hearts of our cities to deep in our rural country, our people are weary of picking up the paper and reading about attacks like the one that occurred just this week in Norristown, Pennsylvania, a working-class community outside of Philadelphia: A 12-year-old girl shot in the face with a semi-automatic handgun. It was broad daylight and she was getting off the school bus, surrounded by classmates. The boy arrested was 13-years-old.

This is the ~~most~~ ^{most sweeping} crime bill ever. ^{that's why I}

CC, This is a good start. What it needs is to read less like a stump speech and have a bit more specific detail about what the administration's goals are in the conference committee. What is at issue between the House and the Senate and how does the President propose to work out those differences so that the American people get what they deserve.

I'm not sure what the best way to organize this is for now. I'm inclined to think that after you introduce that we have crossed some major hurdles, then you want to swing back to a personal, non-Washington story that will give some narrative drive to the speech. (Philly sounds like a good example to me.) Then you could swing back into specifically what the conference committee plans to do.

Below, I've provided some thoughts on where some of these components might come from.

Thanks, Don

Good morning. Today, we are close to achieving something very important for our country; we are close to taking an urgent step to better our society.

This week the House joined the Senate and passed a crime bill. It was a wonderful moment, but we still have a job to do.

Would be nice to remind listeners that Foley promised President last month that this would be the first item of business after the recess and that Foley and the leadership worked very hard to keep that promise. Give some detail about provisions they have worked through to get to passage.

The leaders on Capitol Hill worked hard to get to this point, and they will work harder still, hammering together the House and Senate versions. [possible insert on what transpired with leadership] This is their top priority: on that I have their pledge.

Why not roll back to last year, when the dire fears of crime and violence in the country were getting all worked up. Talk about how Americans have seen their zones of safety drawing narrower and narrower, with murders of people like Polly Klass and James Jordan and the Long Island RR passengers and, of course, countless other acts of random violence that never receive the public attention of such high-profile cases. Americans have put out a cry for help. And now we are on the verge of giving it to them that help. But no one should think for a minute that this will be easy or that what prompted the movement toward this bill is in any way artificial. That's when I would pop in the story about the Philly student on the school

bus. And I'd give more of the detail of that story, to show how that zone of safety keeps getting tighter and tighter.

If you can add some color like that, then much of the next half page can either go or compressed substantially.

And you, the American people, have my pledge that as soon as I am given crime legislation that is tough and smart and meets the goals we set out to make our streets, our homes and our communities safer... I'll sign it into law.

We've waited a long time for this, but as urgently as it is needed, our crime legislation must fit America's bill before it can become law... and nothing less will do.

From the beginning, we have sought to combine three goals: to protect our law-abiding citizens... to punish criminals... and to prevent crime in the first place.

To protect... punish... and prevent. It's an equation for just good, common sense.

I believe... as many of our people do... that the greatest nation on earth does not have to be the most violent, too.

But the fact is, right now, we have: the most violent crime rate... the largest percentage of people behind bars... cities where young people in gangs are often better armed than the police... children who carry guns to school. Any specific stats to support these claims? *in 20*

With the right crime legislation, we can begin to do better.

This is what needs to be in that legislation: Aren't we past this point of general statements about the legislation? It's worth including, briefly, what the original goals were. But now, what is at issue in the conference? Is any of this stuff seriously in jeopardy? I think the speech will have more of an activist, immediate feel if we say, first, what the public can at this moment be assured of if the bill becomes law and then focus in on what the headlines in the next few weeks will be focusing on as the committee does its work.

More protection: We want to add 100-thousand police officers in the next five years, to patrol America's streets and neighborhoods... relating to the people who live there... and lowering the crime rate. We know this works. In Los Angeles and in Houston... crime rates went down as the number of police went up.

Effective punishment: We want funding for more prison cells... boot camps for non-violent juvenile offenders... and drug treatment that can help a prisoner, once released, to start a new life.

But we need a tougher approach for a relatively small percentage of the criminal population... those who commit dangerous, violent crimes repeatedly... criminals like the one who killed little Polly Klass while he was on parole. To these criminals we must say: "three strikes and you're out." It's time to shut down the revolving door at our prisons.

This legislation must have a healthy dose of prevention. We ask young people all the time to say "no" to gangs, guns and drugs. That isn't a strategy unless we also give them opportunities to say "yes"... to afterschool programs, like midnight basketball... to jobs... and to education. The toughest veteran police officer will tell you: Without prevention like this, you're only doing part of the job.

Again, the next few graphs seem like stump material. When I sat down last week with a coalition of the top law-enforcement groups in our country... we agreed that all this will work for our crime legislation.

I've also asked parents and business owners... I've asked the young people who are most affected by violence... I've asked city mayors... and they all say pretty much the same thing: "Do something... but do what works."

From the hearts of our cities to deep in our rural country, our people are weary of not feeling safe... weary of picking up the paper and reading about unthinkable attacks. Just the other day in the suburbs of Philadelphia, a 12-year-old girl was shot in the face by a classmate -- on the school bus. As noted above, this seems worth expanding on. And if not this story, then maybe another one that demonstrates a similar point.

Americans want to know that when their child goes to school, the other children won't be carrying a weapon. Americans want to know that assault weapons, designed without conscience for sheer destruction and death, can't get into the hands of criminals.

To those who question whether these controls work, I give you the Brady Bill. Already, just months after it was put in effect, we've seen how effectively we can keep handguns out of dangerous hands.

We are a country with the greatest freedoms on the face of the earth. But we must accept that with those freedoms come greater personal responsibilities.

Our responsibility now is to reclaim a part of America that we must not lose sight of.

This is not a time for partisanship... for politics or for posturing. It's time to do what's right by America. It's time for all of us to unite behind the crime bill.

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Thanks, Don

~~(Leadership meeting; Nixon death? could make pretape obs.)~~

Good morning. Today, we are close to achieving something very important for our country; we are close to taking an urgent step to better our society by doing what exactly.

This week the House joined the Senate and passed a crime bill. It was a wonderful moment, but the job still is not done. But we still have a job to do.

Would be nice to remind listeners that Foley promised President last month that this would be the first item of business after the recess and that Foley and the leadership worked very hard to keep that promise. Give some detail about provisions they have worked through to get to passage. Right now, it reads a bit too much like boilerplate language. The leaders on Capitol Hill worked hard to get to this point, and they will work harder still, hammering together the House and Senate versions. [possible insert on what transpired with leadership] This is their top priority: on that I have their pledge.

A lot of what follows in the next few graphs has been said many times before. Any chance of thinking about new reasons for getting into this.

One example: Why not roll back to last year, when the dire fears of crime and violence in the country were getting all worked up. Talk about how Americans have seen their zones of safety drawing narrower and narrower, with murders of people like Polly Klass and James Jordan and the Long Island RR passengers and, of course, countless other acts of random violence that never receive the public attention of such high-profile cases.

House Amendment

*Expanded
Death
penalty
Spending
on
re*

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I've also asked parents and business owners... I've asked the young people who are most affected by violence... I've asked city mayors... and they all say pretty much the same thing: "Do something... but do what works."

From the hearts of our cities to deep in our rural country, our people are weary of not feeling safe... weary of picking up the paper and reading about unthinkable attacks. Just the other day in the suburbs of Philadelphia, a 12-year-old girl was shot in the face by a classmate -- on the school bus. As noted above, this seems worth expanding on. **And if not this story, then maybe another one that demonstrates a similar point.**

Americans want to know that when their child goes to school, the other children won't be carrying a weapon. Americans want to know that assault weapons, designed without conscience for sheer destruction and death, can't get into the hands of criminals.

To those who question whether these controls work, I give you the Brady Bill. Already, just months after it was put in effect, we've seen how effectively we can keep handguns out of dangerous hands.

We are a country with the greatest freedoms on the face of the earth. But we must accept that with those freedoms come greater personal responsibilities.

Our responsibility now is to reclaim a part of America that we must not lose sight of. **Such as what?**

This is not a time for partisanship... for politics or for posturing. It's time to do what's right by America. It's time for all of us to unite behind the crime bill.

Thanks for listening.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. News article	Walsh; RE: Home telephone number (partial) (1 page)	07/06/1995	P6/b(6)
002. memo	Jim Castelli to Melanne Verveer, et al.; RE: Pope draft (1 page)	10/03/1995	P5
003a. briefing paper	RE: Bosnia (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003b. briefing paper	RE: China/Vietnam (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003c. briefing paper	RE: Middle East (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003d. talking points	RE: Middle East (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003e. briefing paper	RE: Indonesia/East Timor (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003f. briefing paper	RE: Papal Visit to Africa (1 page)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
003g. briefing paper	RE: Ireland Peace Accords (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
004. fax	Nigro to Verville; RE: Home telephone number (partial) (1 page)	09/26/1995	P6/b(6)
005. memo	Wharton to President; RE: Meeting with Pope John Paul II (2 pages)	08/04/1993	P1/b(1), P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10997

FOLDER TITLE:

Pope - Visit 10/4/95 [2]

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1392

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]

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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)]

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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- 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]

Memo

To: Melanne Verveer, Marilyn DiGiacobbe, Caroline Curiel
From: Jim Castelli
Date: October 3, 1995
Re: 3:45 10/3 Pope Draft

I like this; it touches all the bases and it's a lot tighter than the earlier draft. Just a few comments:

- Page 2, last line of first full paragraph; it somehow makes me nervous to hear the President of the United States say "Virgin Mary," but I can't think of anything that doesn't get even more theological.
- Page 2, after Maryland: I think this draft does a great job of focusing on Catholic support for community and shared responsibility. I'm a little concerned that this is undercut by the reference to a soup kitchen, which is usually associated with charity, not justice. Can we be daring and add to this list the notion that the pope can also see the Catholic Church at work in protecting the rights of the poor in the federal budget process?
- Page 2, "There are some 60 million..."; we shouldn't use such detailed figures on Catholic schools and not mention hospitals, charities, and other Catholic organizations. Maybe we could say something like, "...parishes, thousands of hospitals and charities, 9,000..."
- Page 3, paragraph beginning, "Your Holiness..."; we should say "written and spoken...", not just "written."
- Page 4, last graf; I'd drop "as you know" after the reference to St. Francis. That phrase is almost always patronizing, even when it's not intended.
- Would it be overdone to use the word "Solidarity" somewhere?
- Page 5, "On the threshold..."; this is just stylistic, but I'd suggest tightening it to this: "...faith, family, community, and peace. That is what we must work toward, for as many reasons as there are children on Earth."

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	Streett to Curiel; RE: Telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. article	RE: Telephone number (partial) (1 page)	05/13/1994	P6/b(6)
003. schedule	Schedule; RE: Telephone numbers (partial) (1 page)	05/15/1994	P6/b(6)
004. memo	Rick Allen to Don Baer; RE: May 12 Indianapolis Speech (2 pages)	05/06/1994	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Carolyn Curiel
 OA/Box Number: 10997

FOLDER TITLE:

Zelman, Walter [1]

Debbie Bush
 2006-0461-F
 db1406

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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May 6, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER

FROM: RICK ALLEN *RA*
SUBJECT: MAY 12 INDIANAPOLIS SPEECH

I am sorry the press of other business in the last two days has kept me from forwarding my ideas about the various themes the President could explore on May 12, using Robert Kennedy's April 4, 1968 speech as a jumping off point.

-- A appeal for an end to violence: This, after all, was the principal theme of Kennedy's speech. The President could link his Memphis speech (personal responsibility) and the ban on assault weapons and other anti-crime initiatives (governmental responsibility) with something very much on Robert Kennedy's mind in 1968: the violence of institutions. (This latter concept is developed more fully in the Cleveland speech Kennedy gave the next day.) A number of current initiatives, from welfare reform, to school-to-work and re-employment, and even to health care and reinventing government, can be linked by their common goal of making institutions more responsive to and nurturing for citizens.

-- An exploration of race relations: Here, the President might refer to the May 17 anniversary of the Brown v. Board of Education decision, and review our history from that case, through the heyday of the civil rights movement (for which April 4, 1968 marked a watershed), to the state of current race relations, with a sidebar on South Africa (where once again Kennedy provide a tie). I think this is a critically important topic, but I think it may be too risky, especially with the Congressional protest about our Haiti policy heating up and Randall Robinson in the hospital.

-- A discussion of leadership: Robert Kennedy demonstrated throughout his life the ability to inspire people to take action; in Indianapolis that night, his leadership consisted of inspiring people not to do something. Being able to do either, at precisely the right moment, is rare leadership. The President could use this as a point of departure for a discussion of where he's pushed the body politic (from budgets to NAFTA to the assault weapons ban), where he's catalyzed the public's involvement (national service) and where he's shown restraint (dangerous, but perhaps a way to present the case for certain foreign policy decisions).

-- A call to heal old wounds: The assassination of Dr. King was just one of the horrors of that year, and in many senses, we have neither bridged old gaps nor forgotten old scars. With the ending of the trade ban with Vietnam, the anniversaries of the 1968 assassinations, and the death of Richard Nixon, there are a series of recent events that can be woven into an analysis of what our history meant and how we can now move forward, wiser (as Aeschylus promised) through our pain and God's grace.

-- A recognition of the bond of common goal: Unlike the previous theme, this one would argue for unity despite current factors that lead to atomization and friction, rather than explain or exorcise old enmities. It would make the speech more thematically linked with the upcoming commencements, which you wanted to sound the reunification chord. National service could be cited as demonstrating the principles that were so powerful on the 1992 campaign trail: opportunity, responsibility and community, as a basis for a united America.

As I mentioned to you at our office, I would love to take a crack at a draft of this speech for you and Carolyn. If this is still a possibility, I will have it for you by first thing Monday morning, if you would tell me in which direction you want it to go, and if your office can give me some of the particulars of the event (especially the context and length for the speech). Please let me know (606-5000, ext. 157).