

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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001. minutes	New Covenant (1 page)	ca. 1995	P5

**COLLECTION:**

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 Domestic Policy Council  
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**FOLDER TITLE:**

New Covenant

rs65

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(u)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(u)(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 [(u)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise 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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"THE NEW COVENANT:  
RESPONSIBILITY AND REBUILDING THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY"  
Georgetown University, October 23, 1991



**Bill**   
**Clinton**  
**FOR PRESIDENT**

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**"THE NEW COVENANT:**

**RESPONSIBILITY AND REBUILDING THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY"**  
Georgetown University, October 23, 1991

**T**hank you all for being here today. You are living in revolutionary times. When I was here, America sought to contain Communism, not roll it back. Most respected academics held that once a country "went Communist," the loss of freedom was permanent and irreversible. Yet in the last three years, we've seen the Berlin Wall come down, Germany reunified, all of Eastern Europe abandon Communism, a coup in the Soviet Union fail and the Soviet Union itself disintegrate, liberating the Baltics and other republics. Now the Soviet Foreign Minister is trying to help our Secretary of State make peace in the Middle East. And in the space of one year, Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel both came to this city to thank America for supporting their quest for freedom. Nelson Mandela walked out of a jail in South Africa he entered before I entered Georgetown in 1964. He now wants a Bill of Rights like ours for his country.

We should be celebrating. All around the world, the American Dream -- political freedom, market economics, national independence -- is ascendant. Everything your parents and grandparents stood for from World War II on has been rewarded.

Yet we're not celebrating. Why? Because our people fear that while the American Dream reigns supreme abroad, it is dying here at home. We're losing jobs and wasting opportunities. The very fiber of our nation is breaking down.

Families are coming apart, kids are dropping out of school, drugs and crime dominate our streets. And our leaders here in Washington are doing nothing to turn America around.

Our political system rotates between being the butt of jokes and the object of scorn. Frustration produces calls for term limits from voters who think they can't vote incumbents out, resentment produces votes for David Duke -- not just from racists, but from voters so desperate for change, they'll

support the most anti-establishment message, even from an ex-Klansman who was inspired by Adolf Hitler. We've got to rebuild our political life together before demagogues and racists and those who pander to the worst in us bring this country down.

People once looked to our President and Congress to bring us together, solve problems, and make progress. Now, in the face of massive challenges, our government stands discredited, our people disillusioned. There's a hole in our politics where a sense of common purpose used to be.

The Reagan-Bush years have exalted private gain over public obligations, special interests over the common good, wealth and fame over work and family. The 1980s ushered in a gilded age of greed, selfishness, irresponsibility, excess, and neglect.

S&L crooks stole billions of dollars in other people's money. Pentagon contractors and HUD consultants stole from the taxpayers. Many big corporate executives raised their own salaries when their companies were losing money and their workers were losing their jobs. Middle-class families worked longer hours for less money and spent more on health care, housing, education, and taxes. Poverty rose. Many inner-city streets were taken over by crime and drugs, welfare and despair. Family responsibility became an oxymoron for deadbeat fathers, who were more likely to make their car payments than pay their child support.

And government, which should have been setting an example, was even worse. Congress raised its pay and guarded its perks while most Americans were working harder for less money. Two Republican presidents elected on a promise of fiscal responsibility advanced budget policies that more than tripled the national debt. Congress went along with that, too. Taxes were lowered on the wealthiest people whose incomes rose, and raised on middle class people whose incomes fell.

And through it all, millions of decent, ordinary people who worked hard, played by the rules, and took responsibility for their own actions were falling behind, living a life of struggle without reward or security. For 12 years, the forgotten middle class watched their economic interests ignored and their values run into the ground. In the 1980s, nothing illustrates this more clearly than the fact that charitable giving by middle-class families went up as their incomes went down, while charitable giving by the wealthiest Americans went down as their incomes went up. Responsibility went unrewarded and so did hard work. It's no wonder so many kids growing up on the street think it makes more sense to join a gang and deal drugs than to stay in school and go to work. The fast buck was glorified from Wall Street to Main Street to Mean Street.

To turn America around, we need a new approach founded on our most sacred principles as a nation, with a vision for the future. We need a New Covenant, a solemn agreement between the people and their government, to provide opportunity for everybody, inspire responsibility throughout our society, and restore a sense of community to this great nation. A New Covenant to take government back from the powerful interests and the bureaucracy, and give this country back to ordinary people.

More than two hundred years ago, our founders outlined our first social compact between government and the people, not just between lords and kings. More than a century ago, Abraham Lincoln gave his life to maintain the Union that compact created. Sixty years ago, Franklin Roosevelt renewed that promise with a New Deal that offered opportunity in return for hard work.

Today we need to forge a New Covenant that will repair the damaged bond between the people and their government and restore our basic values -- the notion that our country has a responsibility to help people get ahead. That citizens have

not only the right but a responsibility to rise as far and as high as their talents and determination can take them, and that we're all in this together. We must make good on the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said, "A debt of service is due from every man to his country proportional to the bounties which nature and fortune have measured to him."

**M**ake no mistake -- this New Covenant means change -- change in our party, change in our national leadership, and change in our country. Far away from Washington, in your hometowns and mine, people have lost faith in the ability of government to change their lives for the better. Out there, you can hear the quiet, troubled voice of the forgotten middle class, lamenting that government no longer looks out for their interests or honors their values -- like individual responsibility, hard work, family, community. They think their government takes more from them than it gives back, and looks the other way when special interests only take from this country and give nothing back. And they're right.

This New Covenant can't be between the politicians and the established interests. It can't be just another backroom deal between the people in power and the people who keep them there. This New Covenant can only be ratified by the people in the 1992 election. That is why I'm running for President.

Some people think it's old-fashioned to talk like this. Some people even think I am naive to suggest that we can restore the American Dream through a covenant between people and their government. But I believe with all my heart after 11 years of work as governor, working every day to create opportunity and jobs and improve education and deal with all the problems that we all know so much about -- I believe that the only way we can hold this country together, and move boldly forward into the future, is to do it together with a New Covenant.

Over 25 years ago, Professor Carroll Quigley taught in his Western Civilization class here at Georgetown that the defining idea of our culture in general and our country in particular is "future preference," the idea that the future can be better than the present, and that each of us has a personal, moral responsibility to make it so.

I hope they still teach that lesson here, and I hope you believe it, because I don't think we can save America without it.

In the weeks to come, I will come back to Georgetown and outline my plans to rebuild our economy, regain our competitive leadership in the world, restore the forgotten middle class, and reclaim the future for the next generation. I will put forth my views on how to promote our national security and foreign policy interests after the Cold War. And I will tell you in clear terms what I believe the President and the Congress owe the people in this New Covenant for change.

But I can tell you, based on my long experience in public life, there will never be a government program for every problem. Much of what holds us together and moves us ahead is the daily assumption of personal responsibility by millions of Americans from all walks of life. I can promise to do a hundred different things for you as President. But none of them will make any difference unless we all do more as citizens. And today, I want to talk about the responsibilities we owe to ourselves, to one another, and to our nation.

It's been 30 years since a Democrat ran for President and asked something of all the American people. I intend to challenge you to do more and to do better.

We must go beyond the competing ideas of the old political establishment: beyond every man for himself on the one hand, and the right to something for nothing on the other.

We need a New Covenant that will challenge all our citizens to be responsible. The New Covenant will say to our corporate leaders at the top of the ladder: We'll promote economic growth and the free market, but we're not going to help you diminish the middle class and weaken the economy. We'll support your efforts to increase profits and jobs through quality products and services, but we're going to hold you responsible to be good corporate citizens, too.

The New Covenant will say to people on welfare: We're going to provide the training and education and health care you need, but if you can work, you've got to go to work, because you can no longer stay on welfare forever.

The New Covenant will say to the hard-working middle class and those who aspire to it: We're going to guarantee you access to a college education, but if you get that help, you've got to give something back to your country.

And the New Covenant will challenge all of us in public service. We have a solemn responsibility to honor the values and promote the interests of the people who elected us, and if we don't, we don't belong in government anymore.

This New Covenant must begin here in Washington. The New Covenant will literally revolutionize government and fundamentally change its relationship to people. People don't want some top-down bureaucracy telling them what to do anymore. That's one reason they tore down the Berlin Wall and threw out the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and Russia. Now, the New Covenant will challenge our government to change its way of doing business, too. The American people need a government that works at a price they can afford.

The Republicans have been in charge of the government for 12 years. They've brought the country to the brink of bankruptcy. Democrats who want the government to do more -- and I'm one of them -- have a heavy responsibility to show that we're going to spend the taxpayer's money wisely and with discipline.

I want to make government more efficient and more effective by eliminating unnecessary layers of bureaucracy and cutting administrative costs, and by giving people more choices in the services they get, and empowering them to make those choices. That's what we've tried to do in Arkansas -- balancing our budget every year, improving services, and treating taxpayers like our customers and our bosses, giving them more choices in public schools, child care centers, and services for the elderly.

The New Covenant must challenge Congress to act responsibly. And here again, Democrats must lead the way. Because they want to use government to help people, Democrats have to put Congress in order. Congress must live by the laws it applies to other workplaces. No more midnight pay raises. Congressional pay shouldn't go up while the pay of working Americans is going down. Let's clamp down on campaign spending and open the airwaves to encourage real political debate instead of paid political assassination. No more bounced checks. No more bad restaurant debts. No more fixed tickets. Service in Congress is privilege enough.

We can't go on like this. We have to honor, reward and reflect the work ethic, not the power grab. Responsibility is for everybody, and it begins here in the nation's capital.

The New Covenant will also challenge the private sector. The most irresponsible people in the 1980s were those in business who abused their position at the top of the totem pole. This is my message to the business community: As President, I'm going to do everything I can to make it easier for your company to compete in the world, with a better trained workforce, cooperation between labor and management, fair and strong trade policies, and incentives to invest in America's economic growth. But I want the jetsetters and the feather bedders of corporate America to know that if you sell your companies and your workers and your country down the river, you'll get called on the carpet. That's what the President's bully pulpit is for.

All of you who are going into business, it is a noble endeavor. It is the thing that makes this country run. The private sector creates jobs, not the public sector. But you have to know that the people with the responsibility in the private sector should think it's simply not enough to obey the letter of the law and make as much money as you can. It's wrong for executives to do what so many did in the 1980s. The biggest companies raised their pay by four times the percentage their workers' pay went up and three times the percentage their profits went up. It's wrong to drive a company into the ground and have the chief executive bail out with a golden parachute to a cushy life.

The average CEO at a major American corporation is paid about 100 times as much as the average worker. Compare that to two countries doing much better than we are in the world economy. In Germany it's 23 to 1, and in Japan, which just completed 58 months of untrammled economic growth, it's 17 to 1. Our government today rewards that excess with a tax break for executive pay, no matter how high it is. That's wrong. If a company wants to overpay its executives and underinvest in the future, it shouldn't get any special treatment from Uncle Sam. If a company wants to transfer jobs abroad and cut the security of working people, it shouldn't get special treatment from the Treasury. In the 1980s, we didn't do enough to help our companies to compete and win in a global economy. We did too much to transfer wealth away from hard-working middle-class people to the rich without good reason. That's got to stop. There should be no more deductibility for irresponsibility.

The New Covenant will also challenge the hard-working middle-class families of America. Their challenge centers around work and education. I know Americans worry about the quality of education in this country and want the best for their children. The Clinton Administration will set high national standards based on international competition for what everybody ought to know, and a national examination

system to measure whether they're learning it. It's not enough to put money into schools. We need to challenge the schools to produce and we've got to insist on results.

I just came from Thomas Jefferson Junior High School here in Washington, and the principal of that school, Vera White, I think is here with me today. I've been to that school three times in the last five years. That school is in a building that was built when Grant was President. They have the plaster models of the Jefferson Memorial in the school auditorium. But every time I've been in that school, you could eat lunch off every floor in the school. There is a spirit of learning that pervades the atmosphere. Almost everyone in the school comes from an ordinary family in Washington--it's almost 100 percent minority. In several years that school has won the National Math Council's competition going all the way to the finals for junior high school performance in math. Every time I go there I'm just overwhelmed by the spirit that exists at Thomas Jefferson Junior High School. The teachers and the principal don't make excuses for the problems that the kids bring to the classroom; they open those kids to a brighter world. We need more of that.

But we also have to recognize that teachers can't do it all. We must challenge all parents and children to believe all children can learn. And here is the biggest challenge of all: Too many American parents raise their kids to believe that how much they learn depends on the IQ that God gave them and how much money their family makes. Yet in the countries we are competing against for the future, children are raised to believe that how much they learn depends on how hard they work, and how much their parents encourage them to learn.

The New Covenant will challenge students of America to stay in school. Students who drop out of school or fail to learn as much as they can are not just letting down themselves and their families. They're failing their communities, because from that point on, chances are they're subtracting from

society, not adding to it. In Arkansas, we've tried to enhance responsibility for students by saying that if they drop out for no good reason, they lose the privilege of a driver's license.

The New Covenant means new challenges for every young person. I want to establish a system of voluntary national service for all Americans. In a Clinton Administration, we'll put forth a domestic GI Bill that will say to the middle class as well as low-income people: We want you to go to college, we'll pay for it, it will be the best money we ever spent, but you've got to give something back to your country in return. As President, I'll set up a trust fund out of which any American can borrow money for a college education, so long as they pay it back either as a small percentage of their income over time or with a couple of years of national service as teachers, police officers, child care workers -- doing work our country desperately needs.

And education doesn't stop in school. Adults have a responsibility to keep learning so they can stay ahead of the competition, too. All of us are going to have to work smarter in the years to come. That will require new forms of cooperation in the workplace between management and workers, and a continuing effort to move toward high-performance work organizations.

There's a special challenge in the New Covenant for the young men and women who live in America's most troubled urban neighborhoods. There are children, like those I met in Chicago and Los Angeles, who live in fear of being forced to join a gang or getting shot going to and from school.

Many of these young people believe this country has ignored them for too long, and they're right. Many of them think America unfairly blames them for every wrong in our society -- for drugs, crime, poverty, the breakup of the family and the breakdown of the schools -- and they're right. They worry that because their face is of a different color, their only

choice in life is jail or welfare or a dead-end job, that being a minority in an inner city is a guarantee of failure. But they're wrong -- and when I'm President, I'm going to do my best to prove they're wrong.

I know these young people can overcome anything they set their mind to. I believe America needs their strength, their intelligence, and their humanity. And because I believe in them and what they can contribute to our society, they must not be let off the hook. All society can offer them is a chance to develop their God-given abilities. They have to do the rest. Anybody who tells them otherwise is lying -- and they know it.

As President, I'll see that they get the same deal as everyone else: they've got to play by the rules, stay off drugs, stay in school and keep out of the streets. They've got to stop having children if they're not prepared to support them. Governments don't raise children. People do. And for those young people who do get into trouble, we'll give them one chance to avoid prison, by setting up community boot camps for first-time non-violent offenders -- where they can learn discipline, get drug treatment if necessary, continue their education, and do useful work for their community. A second chance to be a first-rate citizen.

The New Covenant must be pro-work. That means people who work shouldn't be poor. In a Clinton Administration, we'll do everything we can to break the cycle of dependency and help the poor climb out of poverty. First, we need to make work pay by expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit for the working poor, creating savings accounts that make it easier for poor people even on welfare to save. I support microenterprise grants for those who want to start a small business. At the same time, we need to assure all Americans that they'll have access to health care when they go to work.

The New Covenant can break the cycle of welfare. Welfare should be a second chance, not a way of life. In a Clinton

Administration, we're going to put an end to welfare as we know it. I want to erase the stigma of welfare for good by restoring a simple, dignified principle: no one who can work can stay on welfare forever.

We'll still help people who can't help themselves, and those who need education and training and child care. But if people can work, they'll have to do so. We'll give them all the help they need for up to two years. But after that, if they're able to work, they'll have to take a job in the private sector, or start earning their way through community service. That way, we'll restore the covenant that welfare was first meant to be: to give temporary help to people who've fallen on hard times.

If the New Covenant is pro-work, it must also be pro-family. That means we must demand the toughest possible child support enforcement. We need an administration that will give state agencies that collect child support full law enforcement authority, and find new ways of catching deadbeats. In Arkansas, we passed a law this year that says if you owe more than a thousand dollars in child support, we're going to report you to every credit agency in the state. People shouldn't be able to borrow money before they take care of their children.

Finally, the President has the greatest responsibility of all -- to bring us together, not drive us apart. For 12 years, this President and his predecessor have divided us against each other -- pitting rich against poor, black against white, women against men -- creating a country where we no longer recognize that we're all in this together. They have profited by fostering an atmosphere of blame and denial instead of building an ethic of responsibility. They had a chance to bring out the best in us and instead they appealed to the worst in us.

Nothing exemplifies this more clearly than the battle over the

Civil Rights Act of 1991. You know from what I've already said today that I can't be for quotas. I'm for responsibility at every turn. That bill is not a quota bill. When the Civil Rights Act was in place from 1964 to 1987, I never had a single employer in my state say "it's a quota bill." We need rules of workplace fairness for the 70% of new entrants in our workforce who will be women and minorities in the decade of the '90s. That's what that bill is for.

*Why does the President refuse to let a civil rights bill pass?*  
Because he knows that the people he is dependent on for his electoral majority -- white, working-class men and women, mostly men -- have had their incomes decline in the 1980s and they may return to their natural home, to someone who offers them real opportunity. And so he is dredging up the same old tactic that the hard Right has employed in my part of the country, in the South, since I was a child. When everything gets tight, and you think you're going to lose those people, you find the most economically insecure white people, and you scare the living daylight out of them.

That is wrong. This President turned away John Danforth, who shepherded Clarence Thomas' nomination through the Senate. John Danforth begged him for a civil rights bill. He said no. He turned away the Business Roundtable, an organization of corporate executives, largely Republican, who said we need a civil rights bill. He said no. And today, in the press it's reported that he turned away his own minority leader in the United States Senate, Senator Bob Dole, who wanted a civil rights bill.

This man does not want a bill. He wants an issue to drive a stake into the heart of America and it's wrong. And I won't let him get away with it.

I pledge to you that I'm not going to let the Republicans get away with this cynical scam anymore. A New Covenant means it's my responsibility and the responsibility of every

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American in this country to fight back against the politics of division and bring this country together.

After all, that is what's special about America. We want to be part of a nation that's coming together, not coming apart. We want to be part of a community where people look out for each other, not just for themselves. We want to be part of a nation that brings out the best in us, not the worst. And we believe that the only limit to what we can do is what our leaders are willing to ask of us and what we are willing to expect of ourselves.

Nearly sixty years ago, in a famous speech to the Commonwealth Club in the final months of his 1932 campaign, Franklin Roosevelt outlined a new compact that gave hope to a nation mired in the Great Depression. The role of government, he said, was to promise every American the right to make a living. The people's role was to do their best to make the most of it. He said: "Faith in America demands that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. In the strength of great hope we must all shoulder our common load."

That's what our hope is today: A New Covenant to shoulder our common load. When people assume responsibility and shoulder that common load, they acquire a dignity they never knew before. When people go to work, they rediscover a pride that was lost. When fathers pay their child support, they restore a connection that they and their children need. When students work harder, they find out they all can learn and do as well as anyone else on Earth. When corporate managers put their workers and their long-term profits ahead of their own paychecks, their companies do well, and so do they. When the privilege of serving is enough of a perk for people in Congress, and the President finally assumes responsibility for America's problems, we'll not only stop doing wrong, we'll begin to do what is right to move America forward.

*And that is what this election is really all about -- forging a New Covenant of change that will honor middle-class values, restore the public trust, create a new sense of community, and make America work again. Thank you.*

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6/7/94

Bruce - I've since lifted  
portions of this for  
other speeches, so  
it isn't entirely unused.

Kusnet

File:  
New Covenant

Draft #5: 1/19/94, 12 pm

The President of the United States  
Georgetown University  
January 20, 1994

Thirty years ago, inspired by a fallen president who asked my generation to give something back to America, I came to Georgetown.

For me, it was the start of a journey. And I am here today to talk about journeys -- journeys of discovery, journeys of change, journeys whose most important steps are yet to come.

I have never really left the Georgetown community. Years after I graduated, I continued to learn from President O'Donovan's predecessor, Father Timothy Healy. Father Healy was a man of phenomenal enthusiasms, for life, for learning, and for friendship. I know that -- because he was my friend.

On the day he died, just a little more than a year ago, he was carrying a letter to me. He asked me to think beyond the winter cold in which I would be inaugurated and remember that, with their demand for change, the people were "forcing the spring" of American renewal. Father Healy, wherever you are -- and I think I know -- thank you for your wisdom, thank you for your friendship, and thank you for that phrase.

Today, I want to tell you how far we've come -- and how far we have to go -- on our journey of national renewal.

We began our journey carrying the heavy load of the failures of the past; shackled to a debt that mortgages our future; burdened by the cynicism created when government does wrong by people who do right; and slowed down by a political culture dominated by outmoded ideology and short-term advantage.

For two decades, the middle class had been working longer and harder to maintain stagnant living standards. Seemingly secure jobs were lost, and, along with declining wages, people lost the security of stable and reliable health insurance.

For more than three decades, our social fabric had been coming apart. As manufacturing jobs left our cities, the working poor lost important rungs on their ladder of opportunity into the middle class. Too many families came apart; too many children were raised without the wisdom of both parents; too many children had children of their own. In places devastated by poverty and despair -- in spite of the heroic efforts of fathers and mothers, teachers and ministers -- crime and violence filled the vacuum caused by the absence of work and hope.

All these changes came at a time when people's confidence in the capacity of public institutions was at an all-time low. To the hardworking middle class, government wasn't providing value for their tax dollars. In Washington, narrow interests prevailed over national interests, and government seemed frozen in gridlock.

The genius of our democracy is that, at every crucial moment, Americans have found the will and the way to change. That is why the American people voted for change fourteen months ago; that is why my responsibility is to make the changes our people deserve and our times demand.

Here at Georgetown, just over two years ago, I spoke of a "new covenant" to repair the damaged bond between the people and their government and restore our most basic values. The New Covenant moves beyond the stale, failed orthodoxies of Left and Right. It offers a new approach to economic policy that moves beyond trickle-down and tax-and-spend; a new approach to social policy that moves beyond every man for himself, on the one hand, and something-for-nothing, on the other; and a new approach to foreign policy that stands up for our values and our economic interests.

The steps we've taken this year keep faith with that covenant -- offering opportunity, demanding responsibility, and restoring community. We have built the foundation for a lasting economic recovery. We are making government an instrument of our common purpose as a people. We have begun to restore our tattered social fabric. And, from meetings in Moscow to promote democracy to meetings in Tokyo to revive the world economy, our seriousness of purpose is winning respect and getting results.

Here at home, we have transformed America's agenda, addressing problems long deferred or denied. Now, the debate is not over whether to provide health security -- but how. Not whether to reform welfare -- but how. Not whether to make well-intentioned but ultimately futile efforts to protect American workers from economic change -- but how to give them the tools and the skills to profit from it. At long last, the American spirit is prevailing -- and we as a people are addressing our challenges with clarity and confidence.

We've built the foundation for a real recovery that will endure and enrich the lives of all Americans.

I know the recovery is not good enough. Many are out of work; many are working for lower wages; and many live in fear of losing their jobs or their health insurance. Our recovery will not be complete -- and our work will not be done -- until every American has the security to embrace the future without fear. We have a long way to go. But we are moving in the right direction.

and taking the steps to trim the federal payroll by a quarter million jobs, so we can provide better service for less money. That is why -- under Secretary Reich's leadership -- the Labor Department is combining the more than 150 existing employment training programs into one stop career service centers. Instead of pushing paper to shuffle people in and out of 150 different programs, there ought to be one program for everyone who needs training.

And, with Motor Voter, which makes it easier to register to vote, we provided millions more Americans with a voice in the democratic process, vindicating the old saying that the best cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy.

In our journey of change, we are restoring the social fabric, honoring the values that inspire our people but were ignored by their government.

Seventeen days into the new Administration, we broke eight years of gridlock and enacted the Family and Medical Leave Law. It says to our working men and women: If you have a newborn child or an ailing parent, now you can take time off to be with them without losing your jobs. You can be a good parent and a good worker at the same time.

On a Sunday last fall, when I returned from my early morning run, I saw a father, a mother, and three daughters who were taking a tour. The family was there with the Make a Wish Foundation, because one of the daughters was desperately ill, and she wanted to see the White House. I talked to the family for a while, and the father said: " If it hadn't been for the family leave law, I would have had to choose between spending time with my precious daughter who may not make it, or working to support my family so that the rest of us could go on. No parent should ever have to make that choice -- and now I don't have to."

And, then, he told me: "Mr. President, don't you ever think that it doesn't matter what goes on up here."

In our journey of change, we are empowering American parents to provide a better life for their children. By expanding child nutrition and child immunization and Head Start, we are offering parents the support they need send their children off to their first day of school, healthy and hopeful and ready to learn.

And these investments will pay for themselves many times over when those children become responsible citizens and productive workers.

In our journey of change, we are making sure that work pays in America.

We passed an economic plan that reflects our new approach: doing more with less, cutting government spending that doesn't work and investing in what does work. Our plan will reduce the deficit by \$500 billion over five years, and it cuts \$255 billion in spending from 342 separate accounts.

I have just learned from our Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Leon Panetta, that our deficit projection for the next fiscal year will be under \$180 billion, which is lower than even our initial projections and well over \$100 billion less than if we had not enacted our economic plan. If we stay on this plan, we'll have cut the deficit in half as a percentage of our national income. And, if we pass health care reform, the deficit will head down to two percent of our national income within five years, for the first time since 1979. [Will check with OMB.]

We reversed trickle-down economics, restoring fairness to our tax system. We asked the top 1.2 percent of Americans, the folks earning \$180,000 or more a year, to pay higher income taxes -- not because we want to punish them but because they are best able to pay. Our critics said the tax burden would fall on average middle class Americans; our critics were wrong. For 98% of our citizens, income tax rates will not go up. And, for 15 million who labor for low wages, there will be a tax cut to reward their choosing work over welfare.

Our new approach recognizes that the most important source of opportunity is a vibrant, entrepreneurial economy. That is why we offered bold new incentives for growth, rewarding those who start and own the small businesses that generate most new jobs. Nine out of ten small businesses will be eligible for tax incentives when they invest in the future to create new jobs.

Slowly but surely, our economic plan is creating new opportunity and providing new security for middle class families.

Deficit reduction has led to lower interest rates. More people are buying cars, buying their own homes, or refinancing their mortgages at low rates.

All this serves our greatest goals: creating new jobs and increasing incomes. Last year, the private economy created 1.6 million new jobs -- one-and-a-half times as many as in the previous four years.

In our journey of change, we are taking the first steps to make government work for the people again.

With the Vice President's National Performance Review, we are literally reinventing government, wiping out useless layers of middle management, eliminating red tape, insisting on results,

By increasing the Earned Income Tax Credit, we send a simple message to 15 million Americans who work hard for low wages: If you work full time and raise children, you will no longer live or labor in poverty. We reward fulltime work over lifetime welfare - - our first step to keeping our commitment to end welfare as we know it. This may be the most important social program of the past three decades -- and it doesn't create any government bureaucracy.

With the Earned Income Tax Credit, we can lift up families like the Dorseys of Atlanta, whom I met last July. Kevin Dorsey is a warehouse manager. His wife, Marian, works part-time as a clerk. With the Earned Income Tax Credit, they can buy more clothes and more books for their three children.

For millions of workers who are still jobless, we extended unemployment compensation benefits and identified those who need help getting their next job, so they can get counseling and training. Here at Georgetown, I called on business and labor and government to meet the challenges of a dynamic economy -- where the average 18-year-old will change jobs seven times in a lifetime, where people stay unemployed longer, and most don't get called back to the same job they left. We are taking the first steps to keep that commitment -- and change our unemployment system to a re-employment system.

Last year, I was inspired to meet Americans, young and old, who have the courage to take responsibility for their lives and learn new skills. From the high school students I met in Delaware, who are taking training for highly skilled jobs in the airline industry; to the widowed mother in Detroit who is study to become a machinist, so that she can support her children with a paycheck, not a welfare check; to the laid-off aerospace and auto workers I met at Van Nuys Community College in California, where they are learning new skills from film production to computer science -- I saw why American know-how and our can-do spirit are still the envy of the world.

In our journey of change, we encourage our young people, regardless of their family incomes, to study hard and aim high in life. By revolutionizing the student loan program, we make it easier and less expensive for deserving young people, the sons and daughters of the forgotten middle class, to borrow the money they need to go to college.

And, as they serve America in hundreds of different places, in hundreds of different ways, they will be earning money for their educations.

One of my happiest moments last year was walking across a slightly soggy White House lawn, with a wonderful group of young people from all over the country, to sign our National Service

bill into law. In this, its first year, our National Service Program, Americorps, will send 20,000 young people to communities all across our nation, caring for the elderly, working with young people, and -- most important of all -- helping our police protect our communities. And I am confident that the cheers that went up when National Service became law will echo from small town clinics to inner city playgrounds for generations to come.

I know that talking about service here at Georgetown is like preaching to the choir. Our Americorps will harness the spirit that has motivated Jesuits since Loyola and all people of conscience since time immemorial: a fierce unwillingness to accept things as they are. It is the spirit behind the thirteen student volunteer groups here at Georgetown -- and some of you are here with us today. I hope that spirit may lead some of you to join in the National Service Summer of Safety, starting in June -- a coordinated effort to stop violence and reduce crime.

The most important step to restoring the social fabric is protecting our citizens' safety on the streets, in their homes, and in the schools.

We enacted the Brady Bill to keep guns out of the hands of children and criminals and people with a history of mental illness. The Brady Bill became law because Americans are finally fed up with the violence that cuts down another person with gunfire every 22 minutes -- and because the voice of the people was stronger than the power of the gun lobby.

The crime bills which have passed both Houses of Congress will advance our goals of putting 100,000 more police on the street, controlling assault weapons, building more prison cells to keep hardened criminals behind bars, and creating boot camps where nonviolent first offenders will have the chance to learn some discipline and straighten out their lives. And, when Congress returns next week, I will ask them to pass the Crime Bill without delay.

Step by step, we are reviving our economy, renewing our community, and restoring our people's confidence that America can be strong at home and abroad. The line between domestic and foreign policy is becoming blurred, but one thing is clear: The only way to be secure at home is to engage abroad as well.

When I spoke here two years ago, I said our foreign policy must meet three tests: it must advance our economic renewal, prepare our military for the challenges of a new era, and promote the spread of democracy around the globe.

The steps we took to put our economic house in order strengthened our global clout. Where once our leaders went to economic summits with hat in hand, now we stand with our heads

held high. Partly as a result, not since the period after World War II has the U.S. secured so many trade-expanding, job-creating agreements in so short a period.

First, at a July summit in Tokyo, we struck a new agreement to make our economic relationship with Japan more equitable. Then, in November, we won Congressional approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA will create new customers for our products and 200,000 new American jobs.

Just after we passed NAFTA, I met with leaders from the Asian Pacific region to ensure that America shares in the rising tide of Pacific prosperity. And a month after that, we led the world to an agreement that takes down trade barriers in over 8,000 product areas by an average of one third. The GATT Agreement, as it is called, will create hundreds of thousands of new American jobs in the coming years.

These steps have been part of the New Covenant I spoke of during my campaign -- a promise to put the interests of our broad middle class at the center of our foreign policy.

At the same time, we worked to update our defense forces for this era's challenges. We conducted a Bottom-Up Review to make sure our forces are ready, agile, mobile and smart. I am committed to ensuring that America's armed forces remain the best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared fighting force in the world.

We also worked to help cushion the impact for Americans in defense facilities as we make the transition from a Cold War to a peacetime economy. We have acted to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction by North Korea, Iraq, China and others. And we continue to pursue the fullest possible accounting of our POW/MIA's in Southeast Asia.

When apartheid finally ended in South Africa, we lifted sanctions and pledged to assist the transition to non-racial democracy. At the same time, we have pressed for improvements in China's human rights record. And we have substantially increased funding for grass-roots democratic organizing around the world.

In this year of epic transformations, one of the most memorable was captured in the handshake between Yitzak Rabin and Yasir Arafat. My meeting with Syria's President Assad on Sunday was another positive step in that process.

From the Middle East to Asia to Europe, one thing has been clear this year: the world depends on America's leadership. We are an engine of economic growth. We are a bulwark of military security. We are a beacon of democratic hope.

Last week, I traveled across the Atlantic to help build a new security for a broader Europe, based not on its old divisions but on its new democratic integration.

That's why we worked with our Allies to establish the Partnership for Peace, a plan to bring former Soviet and Warsaw Pact states into closer defense cooperation with NATO. That's why we signed an historic accord to eliminate over 1,800 nuclear warheads left in Ukraine from the Soviet era.

And that's why I urged the Russian people to stay the course of democratic and market reform. My Administration fought last year to provide over \$4 billion in new assistance to Russia and the other new independent states. Why? Because partnership with a peaceful and free Russia is in our interest.

Over the last year, and around the world, my Administration has worked to enlarge the free community of market democracies. In Prague last week, I met with two of the heroes of Europe's democratic revolutions -- Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel -- and I outlined new ways to help their reforms succeed.

Certainly these are times of change -- sometimes unsettling change -- for many Americans. But our nation has always made change work to our advantage. Today, at home and abroad, we are doing so once again.

We have done a lot; but we have much, much more to do. Our success will ultimately be measured not by how many programs we pass but by how many lives we improve. Not simply by what we do for people but by what we help people do for themselves. For none of the changes we have accomplished as a nation will matter much unless every American strives to make even greater changes from the inside out.

We have to reach deep inside ourselves to the values we learned in our homes and in houses of worship, the soul of our civilization and the spirit of our nation, to make the changes we need to make. That is what I meant when I said, one year ago today: "There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America."

I am working hard to keep the covenant I made with the American people. And I'm going to keep challenging you -- and challenging every citizen -- to keep the covenant we all have with our future.

We say to every American: we will offer you lifelong learning, so you can keep your skills at the cutting edge of change. But you must seize these opportunities.

We say to every family: we will offer you health security -- health care that's always there -- but you must take more responsibility for your own and your children's health.

We say to people on welfare: We'll provide training and education and child care. But, if you can work, you must go to work, because you can no longer stay on welfare forever.

We say to millions of Americans who live in fear: We'll keep violent criminals behind bars and put more police on the street in community policing. But you've got to be their partners in fighting crime by working with your neighbors to keep your community safe. You've got to lay down the law to your children to stay off drugs, stay away from gangs, and carry books, not guns, to school. And remember that, though your children may not follow what you say, they will follow what you do.

And we say to people in public service: We have made a good start. But we have a solemn responsibility to continue to honor the values and promote the interests of the people who pay the way.

As a student here at Georgetown, I learned in Professor Carroll Quigley's class on western civilization that the defining idea of our country and our culture is "future preference" -- the belief that tomorrow can be better than today and that each of us has a personal moral responsibility to make it so.

If we remember that lesson, if we confront our challenges with courage and confidence, then tomorrow will be better than today. And, thirty years from now, you will look back on this moment in history as the time when the American people freed their government from the ice of its indifference, forced the spring, and began a season of American renewal.

File:  
New Covenant

MEMORANDUM TO ALL DPC STAFF

FROM JEREMY BEN-AMI  
SUBJECT FYI - PRESIDENT'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND VISION  
DATE APRIL 26

Attached is a summary of *Rebuilding America for a New Era: Clinton Administration Accomplishments* (Stump Speech) with visuals.

Topics include The Middle Class Bill of Rights, Welfare Reform, The President's Economic Program, Education & Job Training, Crime, National Security, and Government restructuring.

The summary was edited by the President and will be sent to all cabinet officials.

These documents also are available on disk, however, they are not accessible through the network because both were created on Mackintosh. Please call Dorothy at 65571 if you'd like the disk.

## The President's Vision

"We need a New Covenant to rebuild America,  
a solemn agreement  
between the people and their government.  
Government's responsibility is to create more  
opportunity for everybody, and our  
responsibility is to make the most of it."

### Rebuilding America for a New Era: Clinton Administration Accomplishments Stump Speech

#### Introduction

Two years ago, President Clinton entered office with a vision for keeping the American dream alive as we prepare our nation for the challenges of a new century.

The end of the Cold War radically changed the way we must think about our national security. A new global economy has emerged, where goods, services, and information speed around the globe.

Here at home, Americans were struggling in this new economy. A harsh recession thwarted growth, pushing unemployment up and wages down. Middle class American families, playing by the rules, were working harder just to stay in place. Education costs were rising out of control, at a time when the need for an education was more important than ever to raise standards of living. The difficulty of saving for retirement increased the financial pressures on working families. Americans knew that they were always one financial emergency -- perhaps a sick relative, or the loss of a job -- away from disaster. It seemed ordinary, middle class Americans were always the ones asked to make sacrifices in this new economy.

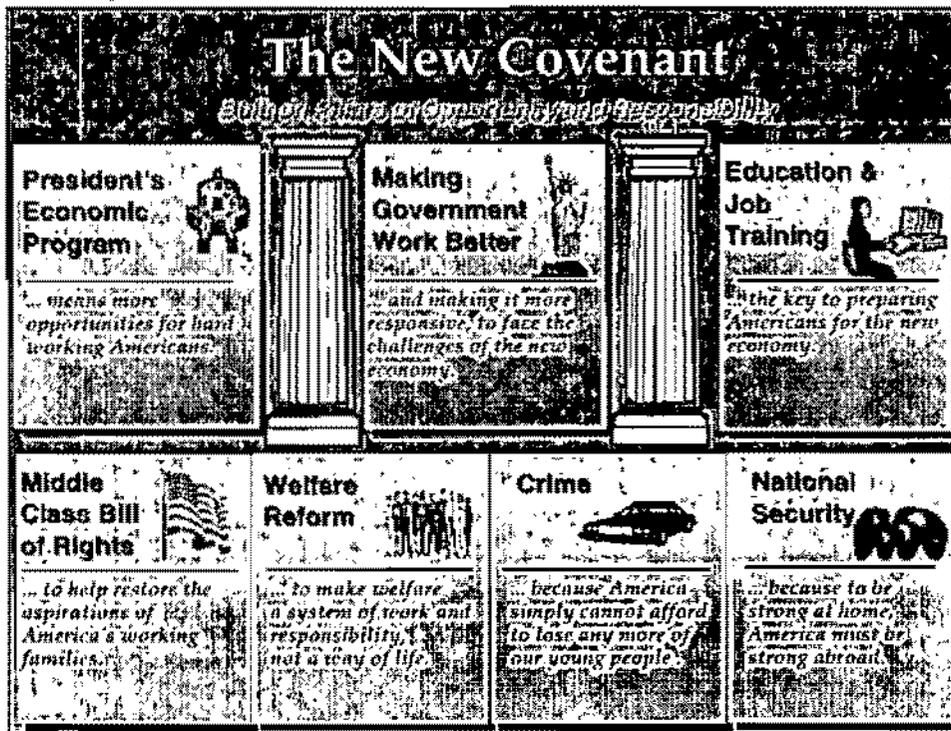
Yet a bloated government in Washington, trapped in yesterday's problems, could do little to help, and worked more for the special interests than the public interest. The budget was out of control, with deficits projected to top \$300 billion and head higher into the next century, limiting our ability to invest in the future.

### **The President's Vision: A New Covenant**

President Clinton offered a new vision for America in his speech announcing his candidacy for president. He said, "We need a New Covenant to rebuild America, a solemn agreement between the people and their government. Government's responsibility is to create more opportunity for everybody, and our responsibility is to make the most of it."

One side of the old partisan debate in Washington said that big government could fix every problem. The other side said that the federal government was the cause of every problem.

President Clinton believes the purpose of government is to expand opportunity, not bureaucracy, while demanding responsibility from all of us. He believes in government that is not a savior, but not on the sidelines either, working instead as a partner as we fight to restore the American Dream.



In a world of great opportunity, with a new economy, we must dedicate ourselves to giving hardworking middle class Americans the tools to succeed and prosper. We must create a leaner, more responsive government that expands opportunity, not bureaucracy. At the same time, all Americans must use their education and skills to find good jobs, work hard, and support their families and make the most of these opportunities.

Values are what have always made our country strong. The New Covenant is rooted in age-old American values, like individual responsibility, family, work, tolerance, and community. It looks to the future by laying the groundwork for prosperity in a changing world.

The New Covenant is a lot like the compact our country offered to returning veterans after World War II. Through the GI Bill, they could get loans for education, or a house, but then it was their responsibility to complete the education, get jobs and build good lives. The result was an explosion of the middle class, and decades of strong economic growth. Our job is to recreate that vision and sense of purpose as we approach a new millennium.

## The President's Economic Program

*...means a stronger economy and more opportunities for hard working Americans*

Investment in People	Deficit Reduction	Open Markets
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tax relief for small business &amp; working families</li> <li>• Worker training</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deficit reduction through smart budget cuts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NAFTA</li> <li>• GATT</li> <li>• Latin America</li> <li>• Asia</li> </ul>

- Over 6 million new jobs
- 3 straight years of deficit reduction
- Lowest core inflation since 1965

### Fulfilling the New Covenant: The President's Economic Program

Everything President Clinton and his Administration have done has been based on the New Covenant equation of more opportunity linked with more responsibility.

After 12 years of trickle down economics which had quadrupled the deficit and ignored investment in our future, we needed to create more opportunity and demand more responsibility. Middle class Americans, working harder for less, understand that large, out of control budgets have been thwarting new opportunities for growth. They see more and more of their tax dollars just going to pay for interest on the debt. They know that means fewer opportunities for investing in education and building a foundation for the future.

That's why President Clinton took on the special interests and fought to enact the largest deficit reduction package in history, which has reduced the deficit three straight years in a row, by over \$600 billion.

Republicans say they want to cut spending and balance the budget, but what did they do when they were in the White House? They ran up trillions of dollars in debt. Our budget would be in surplus now, if not for the interest from the deficit we built up under Reagan and Bush. Now their approach is to cut government blindly. But that will cost us even more in the long run by cutting off avenues of opportunity for our people.

President Clinton's approach to cutting the deficit is smart, tough and responsible. For example, he targeted such obsolete government agencies as the Interstate Commerce Commission for elimination. His guide for deciding whether to cut a government program is simple: does it help prepare our nation for the challenges of the next century?

The President did more than cut the deficit, however. By expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit, the President provided a tax cut averaging \$1,000 a year for families with income under \$25,000 to 15 million working American families, and provided important tax relief to small businesses.

Because export-related jobs tend to pay better than others, the President also aggressively opened world markets for American goods and services. He passed the North American Free Trade Agreement, opening a huge market to U.S. exports in Mexico, completed a new round of negotiations to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which will expand U.S. exports and help create millions of jobs, and set the stage for expanded trade with the big emerging markets in Latin America and Asia.

In just over two years, we have begun to turn things around. President Clinton's economic strategy has triggered the best combination of unemployment and low inflation in 25 years.

The President said as a candidate that the economy would create 8 million new jobs under his presidency: in the last 2 years alone, the economy has created over 6 million new jobs, more than twice as many as in the previous four years. Ninety-three percent of that job growth has come from the private sector and many of the jobs are high wage. Unemployment is below 6 percent, down from over 7 percent when the President took office. Core inflation in 1994 was the lowest it has been since 1965.

Now we plan to go further. In his fiscal year 1996 budget, the President has proposed another \$81 billion in deficit savings for the next five years, bringing his total deficit reduction to about \$700 billion since 1993. That means a stronger economy and more opportunities for hard working Americans.

**Making Government Work Better** 

*and making it more responsive to face the challenges of the new economy*

- **Government should be a partner**
  - offering new opportunities
  - demanding more responsibility
- **Government should be more efficient**
  - "leaner, not meaner"
  - soon to be the smallest since the Kennedy Administration
- **Government should expand opportunity**
  - not bureaucracy

### **Fulfilling the New Covenant: Making Government Work Better**

Middle class Americans are upset when their government does what it shouldn't be doing, and does poorly what it should be doing. President Clinton understands we have to get rid of yesterday's government in order to face tomorrow's challenges.

The old, big-government Washington view is that government should be a savior. The Republican contract view is that government should just step out of the way. President Clinton believes government should be a partner, one that offers new opportunities, yet demands more responsibility.

We have begun a massive effort to cut government and make it more efficient. As President Clinton says, "we need a leaner, not meaner government." Under the leadership of Vice President Gore, we have eliminated 100,000 positions from the federal bureaucracy. We're on the way to reducing it by 272,900 positions, making the government the smallest since the Presidency of John Kennedy.

President Clinton is preparing our government for the challenges of the 21st century. He has taken the ax to more than 300 wasteful government programs, and consolidated hundreds of others. He closed 1,200 regional offices of the Department of Agriculture that were located in areas that no longer contain farms. These reinventing government initiatives have already saved taxpayers \$63 billion.

He has proposed restructuring the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Energy, Transportation, the General Services Administration, and the Office of Personnel Management. Those restructurings not only will make the five agencies work better, they will save \$23 billion. In the coming months, through Phase II of the National Performance Review, he will continue to cut red tape and eliminate ridiculous regulations.

The Republicans just want to blindly cut government. President Clinton wants to streamline the government to make it more responsive as we face the challenges of the new economy.

## Education and Job Training



*the key to preparing Americans for the new economy.*

*Now more than ever, lifelong education and retraining is critical to success in the new economy.*

- Reformed and expanded Head Start
- Fought successfully for Goals 2000
- Expanded apprenticeship programs
- Started the National Service program
- Provided direct lending for student loans

### Fulfilling the New Covenant: Education and Job Training

Education is the key to preparing Americans for the new economy. It embodies the New Covenant: Helping people help themselves. President Clinton believes educating Americans is the way to replace fear with hope; it is the way to replace anxiety about the future with new opportunities and the means to harvest those opportunities.

Unlike the old Washington view that just offered handouts with no responsibility, or the Republican Contract view that wants to just cut people off, President Clinton believes in creating opportunities for people to get the tools they need to prosper in the new economy, while requiring that they make the most of it by working hard and staying in school.

Now more than ever, lifelong education and retraining is critical to succeeding in the new economy.

- That's why President Clinton reformed and expanded Head Start, which begins education for low-income, pre-school children at an early age.
- That's why he fought successfully for Goals 2000, which sets world-class standards for our schools, yet gives to educators and parents much more say than the federal government about how to meet these standards.

- That's why he sought to expand educational and career opportunities for the non-college bound through youth apprenticeship programs.
- That's why he expanded opportunities and revived a spirit of citizenship through the National Service program, where citizens work in public service positions and receive a stipend for post-secondary education.
- And that's why he provided direct lending for student loans, making it easier to pay for higher education, and saving students and taxpayers billions of dollars.

Some in Washington want to eliminate the National Service program, but it is one of the smartest things we are doing right now. It helps young people get an education, while they give something back to the country. It is about opportunity and responsibility.

At a time when education is more important than ever to succeed and prosper, cutting education or National Service is like cutting defense spending in the middle of the Cold War.

From pre-school training to training for a new job in mid-career, education needs to be lifelong. By investing in education, President Clinton is placing a down payment on America's future.

## The Middle Class Bill of Rights



...to help restore the aspirations of America's working families

- A tax deduction for all education and training after high school
- A \$500 tax cut for each child under 13
- Tax breaks for families to save for education, the purchase of a first home, or retirement
- Skill grants given directly to workers

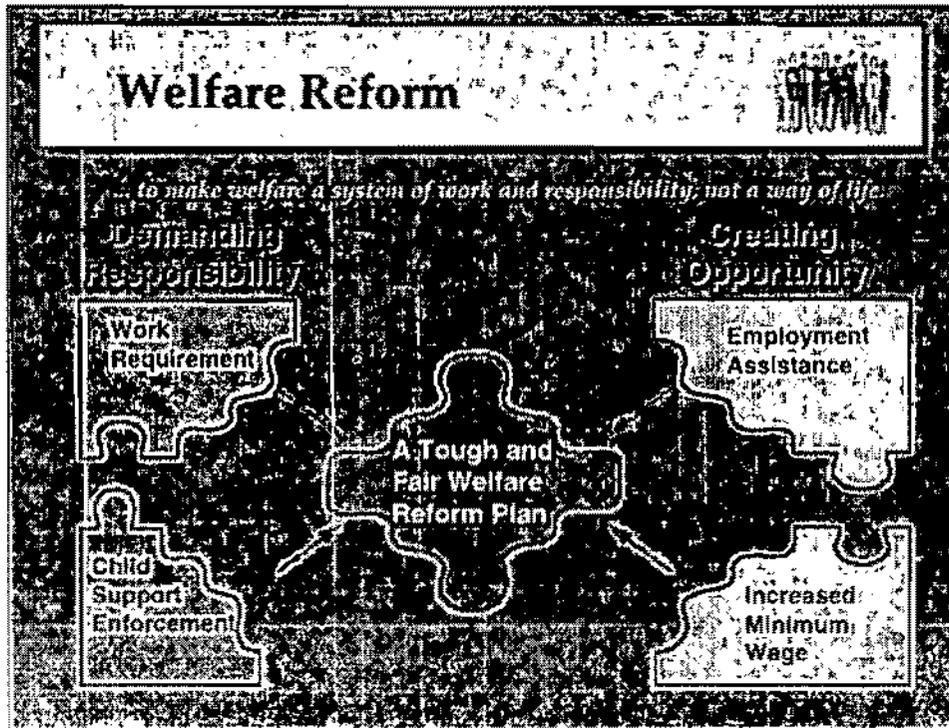
### Fulfilling the New Covenant: The Middle Class Bill of Rights

Despite the advances the Clinton Administration has made, too many families are still working harder for less and are concerned about their future. Too many families are unable to seize the opportunities of this new economy.

President Clinton has proposed the Middle Class Bill of Rights to help restore the aspirations of America's working families. It includes a tax deduction for all education and training after high school. With the President's streamlined college loan process, which eliminates the middle man, college becomes today's reality, not tomorrow's dream. The Middle Class Bill of Rights also includes a \$500 tax cut for each child under age 13; tax breaks for families that save for education, the purchase of a first home, or retirement; and Skill Grants given directly to workers, paid for by consolidating federal programs.

The Middle Class Bill of Rights puts government back on the side of middle class Americans. Unlike the Republican Contract, it benefits ordinary working Americans, who are willing to take responsibility to make the most of the cuts, not the wealthy few who are already flourishing. Unlike Republican proposals, every penny in tax cuts is paid for by specific spending cuts -- with billions left over for deficit reduction.

The Middle Class Bill of Rights creates opportunities for working American families to benefit from this new economy. But it's up to all of us to make the most of those opportunities.



### Fulfilling the New Covenant: Welfare Reform

The President is fighting to make welfare a system of work and responsibility, not a way of life. He wants to create opportunities for people on welfare to help them get off, while demanding more responsibility, through responsible parenting, the requirement that to receive benefits, young people should be in school or working toward going to work, and tougher child support enforcement. If every deadbeat parent paid the child support they should, 800,000 mothers and children could move off welfare immediately.

He has proposed a tough and fair welfare reform plan that will help welfare recipients in getting a job, and prevent people from abusing the system. He has proposed raising the minimum wage to reward work and make it easier to move from welfare to work.

The old Washington view to reform welfare is to just create more bureaucracy. The Republican Contract view is more interested in punishment than creating new opportunities. It would simply punish children without offering real opportunities for work for those on welfare. The essence of President Clinton's plan is to link opportunity and responsibility.

President Clinton has been working on reforming the welfare system for fifteen years, first as Governor, and now as President. He understands no one wants to reform welfare more than the people who are on it. He understands the heart of the effort must be to reestablish American values by creating new opportunities for those who are caught in a cycle of poverty and despair and demanding more responsibility.

## Crime



because America simply cannot afford to lose anymore of our young people to drugs, violence and crime.

- Puts 100,000 police on the streets
- Bans deadly assault weapons
- Expands the death penalty
- Supports crime prevention

### Fulfilling the New Covenant: Crime

An important part of the New Covenant is to make Americans more secure at home. We can no longer tolerate a society where kids kill kids, parents fear for the safety of their children -- when they are at school -- and the elderly can not leave their homes. That's why President Clinton fought the special interests to enact a tough Crime Bill last year.

It puts 100,000 police on the streets, bans deadly assault weapons, expand the death penalty, and supports smarter prevention efforts which offer opportunities to young people to find a way out of the cycle of drugs and violence. We have already released funds since just last fall for 17,000 new law enforcement officers.

President Clinton believes fighting crime shouldn't be a partisan issue. Yet the Republican Contract calls for slashing our anti-crime efforts. But President Clinton believes it is a serious mistake to sacrifice our safety as we cut the deficit. And America simply cannot afford to lose any more of our young people to drugs, violence and crime.

<h1>National Security</h1> 	
<p><i>because to be strong at home, America must be strong abroad. Only by being actively engaged in world affairs can America promote its highest interests -- maintaining security, promoting prosperity.</i></p>	
<p><i>The Clinton Administration's commitment to global peace, security, prosperity and freedom is demonstrated by:</i></p>	
<p><b>Seizing opportunities to make us safer</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Combating terrorism</li> <li>• START</li> </ul>	<p><b>Working to halt the spread of weapons</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Non-Proliferation Treaty</li> <li>• North Korea</li> </ul>
<p><b>Preserving the strength of our armed forces</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• \$25B increase in defense spending</li> </ul>	<p><b>Promoting peace in troubled regions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South Africa</li> <li>• Ireland</li> <li>• Haiti</li> <li>• Middle East</li> </ul>

### Fulfilling the New Covenant: National Security

President Clinton believes that for America to be strong at home, it must be strong abroad. He has fought to preserve the tradition of American leadership in the world against a growing tide of isolationism. Only by being actively engaged in world affairs can America promote its highest interests -- maintaining security, promoting prosperity.

The end of the Cold War has brought tremendous opportunities to make America safer, and President Clinton is seizing those opportunities. He has made great strides to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons. Thanks to the Administration's efforts, the START I treaty was put into force. It will eliminate delivery systems that carry 9,000 nuclear warheads. Because of our diplomacy, three of the Newly Independent States that emerged from the Soviet Union gave up their nuclear weapons entirely and signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The ratification process for the START II treaty is under way in the Senate, and when that treaty goes into effect, another 5,000 nuclear weapons will be eliminated. President Clinton also reached a landmark agreement to have our nuclear forces stop targeting each other's cities and citizens. So today, our families can turn out the lights at night and sleep in greater safety than at any time since the dawn of the nuclear age.

The Clinton Administration is also working to halt the spread of weapons for mass destruction -- including biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. We have confronted the North Korean nuclear threat and stopped it. The agreement we reached will freeze and, if fully implemented, dismantle their nuclear program -- with international monitoring.

Our national security depends on preserving the strength of our armed forces. President Clinton vowed to keep our troops the best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared in the world. And he kept that pledge, adding a \$25 billion increase in defense spending over six years. That way our military can maintain its readiness and fulfill its missions with the skill and professionalism it demonstrated last year when it helped restore democracy in Haiti; and in the Persian Gulf, where our armed forces' rapid deployment convinced Saddam Hussien not to make the same mistake twice.

Promoting peace in the troubled regions of the world also serves the United States' security interests and fulfills the hopes of so many Americans. The Clinton Administration's vigorous diplomacy has helped further the cause of peace in such areas as South Africa, Northern Ireland, and the Middle East. In his time in office, President Clinton has played a key role in the historic agreements Isreal has signed with the PLO and Jordan -- agreements that have paved the way for a new era in the Middle East.

President Clinton has sent Congress comprehensive legislation to strengthen our hand in combatting terrorists -- whether they strike at home or abroad. As the cowards who bombed the World Trade Center found out, this country will hunt down terrorists and bring them to justice. Terrorists represent the past, not the future. We cannot permit the future to be marred by terror and fear and paralysis.

## A New Time, a New Vision



"These are times like no other in American history. The changes that we face dominate our everyday life. We don't have the luxury to move left or right; we must move forward; and we must work hard, together, to restore the American Dream for all Americans. That is my vision for America. That is what I work on every day."

- President Bill Clinton  
March 1995

### Conclusion

President Clinton has dedicated his presidency to a simple, yet profound idea: to keep the American dream alive as we enter the 21st century. He wants to offer more opportunities for ordinary hardworking American families and demand more responsibility. That may seem like common sense to you, but it's practically heresy in Washington, where too many people put what's good for them ahead of what's good for everybody. He came to Washington because he understood how to help Americans make the most of the opportunities in a changing world.

That's why President Clinton has taken on the special interests. He is breaking through the stale partisan debates that have gridlocked our country. He will work with anyone -- Republican or Democrat -- who has a good idea for moving America forward.

So, as you leave here today, I want you to remember one thing: President Clinton is fighting for what's good for ordinary working American's every day. He is fighting to expand opportunity for all, and to infuse a new sense of responsibility in the country. He is fighting to put the American community on a path of restored hope and opportunity. But he needs your help. We will only succeed in making our nation stronger by working together.

# The President's Vision

"We need a New Covenant to rebuild America,  
a solemn agreement  
between the people and their government.  
Government's responsibility is to create more  
opportunity for everybody, and our  
responsibility is to make the most of it."

# The New Covenant

## President's Economic Program



... means more opportunities for hard working Americans.

## Making Government Work Better



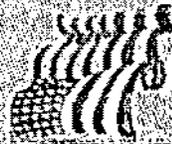
... and making it more responsive, to face the challenges of the new economy.

## Education & Job Training



... the key to preparing Americans for the new economy.

## Middle Class Bill of Rights



... to help restore the aspirations of America's working families.

## Welfare Reform



... to make welfare a system of work and responsibility, not a way of life.

## Crime



... because America simply cannot afford to lose any more of our young people.

## National Security



... because to be strong at home, America must be strong abroad.

# The President's Economic Program



*...means a stronger economy and more opportunities for hard-working Americans.*

## Investment in People



- Tax relief for small business & working families
- Worker training

## Deficit Reduction



- Deficit reduction through smart budget cuts

## Open Markets



- NAFTA
- GATT
- Latin America, Asia

• Over 6 million

new jobs

• 3 straight

years of deficit

reduction

• Lowest core

inflation since

1965

# Making Government Work Better



*... and making it more responsive to face the challenges of the new economy.*

- **Government should be a partner**
  - offering new opportunities
  - demanding more responsibility
- **Government should be more efficient**
  - “leaner, not meaner”
  - soon to be the smallest since the Kennedy Administration
- **Government should expand opportunity**
  - not bureaucracy

# Education and Job Training



*The key to preparing Americans for the new economy.*

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, BUSINESS LEADERS ARE CALLING FOR A REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION.

- Reformed and expanded Head Start
- Fought successfully for Goals 2000
- Expanded apprenticeship programs
- Started the National Service program
- Provided direct lending for student loans

# The Middle Class Bill of Rights



... to help restore the aspirations of America's working families

President Clinton has proposed the Middle Class Bill of Rights to create opportunities for working American families to benefit from this new economy. It includes...

- A tax deduction for all education and training after high school
- A \$500 tax cut for each child under 13
- Tax breaks for families to save for education, the purchase of a first home, or retirement
- Skill grants given directly to workers

# Welfare Reform



*to make welfare a system of work and responsibility, not a way of life.*

**Demanding  
Responsibility**

Work  
Requirement

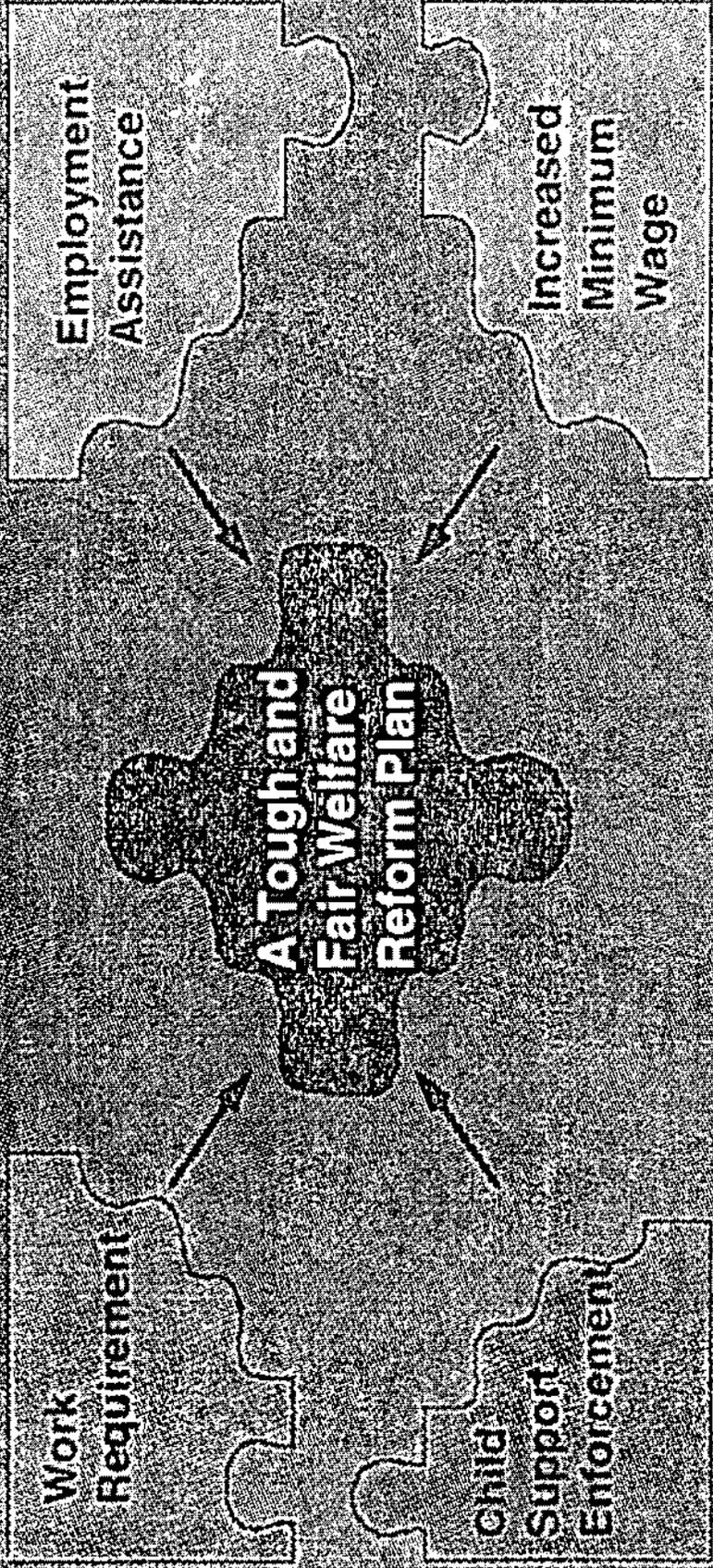
Child  
Support  
Enforcement

**Creating  
Opportunity**

Employment  
Assistance

Increased  
Minimum  
Wage

**A Tough and  
Fair Welfare  
Reform Plan**



# Crime



*...because America simply cannot afford to lose anymore of our young people to drugs, violence and crime.*

President Clinton's tough crime bill

- Puts 100,000 police on the streets
- Bans deadly assault weapons
- Expands the death penalty
- Supports crime prevention

# National Security



*... because to be strong at home, America must be strong abroad. Only by being actively engaged in world affairs can America promote its highest interests -- maintaining security, promoting prosperity.*

The Clinton Administration has maintained security and promoted prosperity at home and abroad by...

*Seizing opportunities to make us safer*

- Combating terrorism
- START

*Working to halt the spread of weapons*

- Non-Proliferation Treaty
- North Korea

*Preserving the strength of our armed forces*

- \$25B increase in defense spending

*Promoting peace in troubled regions*

- South Africa
- Ireland
- Haiti
- Middle East

# A New Time, a New Vision

"These are times like no other in American history. The changes that we face dominate our everyday life. We don't have the luxury to move left or right, we must move forward, and we must work hard together, to restore the American Dream for all Americans. That is my vision for America. That is what I work on every day."

-President Bill Clinton

March 1995





**The Deputy Secretary of Energy**

1000 Independence Avenue, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20585  
(202) 586-5500 • FAX (202) 586-0148

*New  
Covenant*

March 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON  
THE FIRST LADY  
THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM: BILL WHITE *BW*

SUBJECT: CITIZENSHIP AND THE NEW COVENANT

I attended a meeting of the Domestic Policy Council two weeks ago during which we discussed how our Administration can best share with the public a vision of the New Covenant and citizenship. Success in sharing this vision will help the public perceive the President as the leader of America and not simply as the leader of the federal government. Nothing is more important to our success. With great respect, I believe you can play a critical role in that transformation by recognizing and associating with true civic leaders at every opportunity. Many others share this view.

The State of the Union address had the right tone, but we must try to follow it up effectively. The concepts of citizenship and responsibility exemplified by the phrase "New Covenant" cannot be communicated effectively by speeches sounding like political science lectures, no matter how bully the pulpit. Identification with our civic culture will not occur because of some catchy new slogan or packaging of themes.

Americans recognize our best citizens – our civic heroes – when they see them. They are teachers and policeman and people who volunteer their time at church. They are selfless people who usually give more credit than they take. In every neighborhood and community people recognize the unheralded leaders of our civic culture.

So how do we communicate our devotion to the civic culture? I believe that Mahatma Gandhi and Eleanor Roosevelt would have communicated about citizenship by seeking out selfless citizens, staying at their houses, recognizing their work, and working beside them. You might consider building large parts of your schedule – what most folks call their "lives" – around the real community leaders. In that way you can communicate the significance of the New Covenant and citizenship by association and example.



Memorandum to Hillary Rodham Clinton  
March 27, 1995

This message suits you well. I do not know your personal, strategic plan for the next two years, but you might be in a unique position to communicate what we mean by citizenship and the civic responsibility of the New Covenant. Frankly, the idealism and faith underlining your own citizenship always has seemed to me to be who you really are. Do not let that voice be muzzled, and it will sing.

cc: Erskine Bowles  
Deputy Chief of Staff to the President  
(per our conversation)

Carol Rasco  
Assistant to the President  
Domestic Policy Council  
(per my discussion at the Domestic Policy Council)

Roy Spence  
GSD&M  
Austin, Texas

# THE NEW COVENANT: RESPONSIBILITY AND REBUILDING THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

OCTOBER 23, 1991

Thank you all for being here today. You are living in revolutionary times. When I was here, America sought to contain communism, not roll it back. Most respected academics held that once a country "went Communist" the loss of freedom was permanent and irreversible. Yet in the last three years, we've seen the Berlin Wall come down, Germany reunified, all of Eastern Europe abandon communism, a coup in the Soviet Union fail and the Soviet Union itself disintegrate, liberating the Baltics and other republics. Now the Soviet Foreign Minister is trying to help our Secretary of State make peace in the Middle East. And in the space of one year, Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel both came to this city to thank America for supporting their quest for freedom. Nelson Mandela walked out of a jail in South Africa he entered before I entered Georgetown in 1964. He now wants a Bill of Rights like ours for his country.

We should be celebrating. All around the world, the American Dream — political freedom, market economics, national independence — is ascendant. Everything your parents and grandparents stood for from World War II on has been rewarded.

Yet we're not celebrating. Why? Because our people fear that while the American Dream reigns supreme abroad, it is dying here at home. We're losing jobs and wasting opportunities. The very fiber of our nation is breaking down.

Families are coming apart, kids are dropping out of school, drugs and crime dominate our streets. And our leaders here in Washington are doing nothing to turn America around. Our political system rotates between being the butt of jokes and the object of scorn. Frustration produces calls for term limits from voters who think they can't vote incumbents out, resentment produces votes for David Duke — not just from racists, but from voters so desperate for change, they'll support the most anti-establishment message, even from an ex-Klansman who was inspired by Adolf Hitler. We've got to rebuild our political life together before demagogues and racists and those who pander to the worst in us bring this country down.

People once looked to our President and Congress to bring us together, solve problems, and make progress. Now, in the face of massive challenges, our government stands discredited, our people disillusioned. There's a hole in our politics where a sense of common purpose used to be.

The Reagan-Bush years have exalted private gain over public obligations, special interests over the common good, wealth and fame over work and family. The 1980s ushered in a gilded age of greed, selfishness, irresponsibility, excess and neglect.

Savings and loan crooks stole billions of dollars in other people's money. Pentagon contractors and HUD consultants stole from the taxpayers. Many big corporate executives raised their own salaries when their companies were losing money and their workers were losing their jobs. Middle-class families worked longer hours for less money and spent more on health care, housing, education and taxes. Poverty rose. Many inner-city streets were taken over by crime and drugs, welfare and despair. Family responsibility became an oxymoron for deadbeat fathers who were more likely to make their car payments than pay their child support.

And government, which should have been setting an example, was even worse. Congress raised its pay and guarded its perks while most Americans were

working harder for less money. Two Republican presidents elected on a promise of fiscal responsibility advanced budget policies that more than tripled the national debt. Congress went along with that, too. Taxes were lowered on the wealthiest people whose incomes rose, and raised on middle-class people whose incomes fell.

And through it all, millions of decent, ordinary people who worked hard, played by the rules and took responsibility for their own actions were falling behind, living a life of struggle without reward or security. For 12 years, the forgotten middle class watched their economic interests ignored and their values run into the ground. In the 1980s, nothing illustrates this more clearly than the fact that charitable giving by middle-class families went up as their incomes went down, while charitable giving by the wealthiest Americans went down as their incomes went up. Responsibility went unrewarded and so did hard work. It's no wonder so many kids growing up on the street think it makes more sense to join a gang and deal drugs than to stay in school and go to work. The fast buck was glorified from Wall Street to Main Street to Mean Street.

To turn America around, we need a new approach founded on our most sacred principles as a nation, with a vision for the future. We need a New Covenant, a solemn agreement between the people and their government, to provide opportunity for everybody, inspire responsibility throughout our society and restore a sense of community to this great nation. A New Covenant to take government back from the powerful interests and the bureaucracy and give this country back to ordinary people.

More than two hundred years ago, our founders outlined our first social compact between government and the people, not just between lords and kings. More than a century ago, Abraham Lincoln gave his life to maintain the Union that compact created. Sixty years ago, Franklin Roosevelt renewed that promise with a New Deal that offered opportunity in return for hard work.

Today we need to forge a New Covenant that will repair the damaged bond between the people and their government and restore our basic values — the notion that our country has a responsibility to help people get ahead. That citizens have not only the right but a responsibility to rise as far and as high as their talents and determination can take them, and that we're all in this together. We must make good on the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said, "A debt of service is due from every man to his country proportional to the bounties which nature and fortune have measured to him."

Make no mistake — this New Covenant means change ... change in our party, change in our national leadership and change in our country. Far away from Washington, in your hometowns and mine, people have lost faith in the ability of government to change their lives for the better. Out there, you can hear the quiet, troubled voice of the forgotten middle class, lamenting that government no longer looks out for their interests or honors their values — like individual responsibility, hard work, family, community. They think their government takes more from them than it gives back, and looks the other way when special interests only take from this country and give nothing back. And they're right.

This New Covenant can't be between the politicians and the established interests. It can't be just another back-room deal between the people in power and the people who keep them there. This New Covenant can only be ratified by the people in the 1992 election. That is why I'm running for President.

Some people think it's old-fashioned to talk like this. Some people even think I am naïve to suggest that we can restore the American Dream through a covenant between people and their government. But I believe with all my heart after

11 years of work as Governor, working every day to create opportunity and jobs and improve education and deal with all the problems that we all know so much about — I believe that the only way we can hold this country together, and move boldly forward into the future, is to do it together with a New Covenant.

Over 25 years ago, Professor Carroll Quigley taught in his Western Civilization class here at Georgetown that the defining idea of our culture in general and our country in particular is "future preference," the idea that the future can be better than the present, and that each of us has a personal, moral responsibility to make it so.

I hope they still teach that lesson here, and I hope you believe it, because I don't think we can save America without it.

In the weeks to come, I will come back to Georgetown and outline my plans to rebuild our economy, regain our competitive leadership in the world, restore the forgotten middle class, and reclaim the future for the next generation. I will put forth my views on how to promote our national security and foreign policy interests after the Cold War. And I will tell you in clear terms what I believe the President and the Congress owe the people in this New Covenant for change.

But I can tell you, based on my long experience in public life, there will never be a government program for every problem. Much of what holds us together and moves us ahead is the daily assumption of personal responsibility by millions of Americans from all walks of life. I can promise to do a hundred different things for you as President. But none of them will make any difference unless we all do more as citizens. And today, I want to talk about the responsibilities we owe to ourselves, to one another, and to our nation.

It's been 30 years since a Democrat ran for President and asked something of all the American people. I intend to challenge you to do more and to do better.

We must go beyond the competing ideas of the old political establishment: beyond every man for himself on the one hand, and the right to something for nothing on the other.

We need a New Covenant that will challenge all our citizens to be responsible. The New Covenant will say to our corporate leaders at the top of the ladder: We'll promote economic growth and the free market, but we're not going to help you diminish the middle class and weaken the economy. We'll support your efforts to increase profits and jobs through quality products and services, but we're going to hold you responsible to be good corporate citizens, too.

The New Covenant will say to people on welfare: We're going to provide the training and education and health care you need, but if you can work, you've got to go to work, because you can no longer stay on welfare forever.

The New Covenant will say to the hard-working middle class and those who aspire to it: We're going to guarantee you access to a college education, but if you get that help, you've got to give something back to your country.

And the New Covenant will challenge all of us in public service. We have a solemn responsibility to honor the values and promote the interests of the people who elected us, and if we don't, we don't belong in government anymore.

This New Covenant must begin here in Washington. The New Covenant will literally revolutionize government and fundamentally change its relationship to people. People don't want some top-down bureaucracy telling them what to do anymore. That's one reason they tore down the Berlin Wall and threw out the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and Russia. Now, the New Covenant will challenge our government to change its way of doing business, too. The American

"Much of what holds us together and moves us ahead is the daily assumption of personal responsibility by millions of Americans from all walks of life. I can promise to do a hundred different things for you as President. But none of them will make any difference unless we all do more as citizens."

people need a government that works at a price they can afford.

The Republicans have been in charge of the government for 12 years. They've brought the country to the brink of bankruptcy. Democrats who want the government to do more — and I'm one of them — have a heavy responsibility to show that we're going to spend the taxpayer's money wisely and with discipline.

I want to make government more efficient and more effective by eliminating unnecessary layers of bureaucracy and cutting administrative costs, and by giving people more choices in the services they get, and empowering them to make those choices. That's what we've tried to do in Arkansas — balancing our budget every year, improving services, and treating taxpayers like our customers and our bosses, giving them more choices in public schools, child care centers and services for the elderly.

The New Covenant must challenge Congress to act responsibly. And here again, Democrats must lead the way. Because they want to use government to help people, Democrats have to put Congress in order. Congress must live by the laws it applies to other workplaces. No more midnight pay raises. Congressional pay shouldn't go up while the pay of working Americans is going down. Let's clamp down on campaign spending and open the airwaves to encourage real political debate instead of paid political assassination. No more bounced checks. No more bad restaurant debts. No more fixed tickets. Service in Congress is privilege enough.

We can't go on like this. We have to honor, reward and reflect the work ethic, not the power grab. Responsibility is for everybody, and it begins here in the nation's capital.

The New Covenant will also challenge the private sector. The most irresponsible people in the 1980s were those in business who abused their position at the top of the totem pole. This is my message to the business community: As President, I'm going to do everything I can to make it easier for your company to compete in the world, with a better trained workforce, cooperation between labor and management, fair and strong trade policies and incentives to invest in America's economic growth. But I want the jetsetters and the feather bedders of corporate America to know that if you sell your companies and your workers and your country down the river, you'll get called on the carpet. That's what the President's bully pulpit is for.

All of you who are going into business, it is a noble endeavor. It is the thing that makes this country run. The private sector creates jobs, not the public sector. But you have to know that the people with the responsibility in the private sector should think it's simply not enough to obey the letter of the law and make as much money as you can. It's wrong for executives to do what so many did in the 1980s. The biggest companies raised their pay by four times the percentage their workers' pay went up and three times the percentage their profits went up. It's wrong to drive a company into the ground and have the chief executive bail out with a golden parachute to a cushy life.

The average CEO at a major American corporation is paid about 100 times as much as the average worker. Compare that to two countries doing much better than we are in the world economy. In Germany it's 23 to 1, and in Japan, which just completed 58 months of untrammled economic growth, it's 17 to 1. Our government today rewards that excess with a tax break for executive pay, no matter how high it is. That's wrong. If a company wants to overpay its executives and underinvest in the future, it shouldn't get any special treatment from Uncle Sam. If a company wants to transfer jobs abroad and cut the security of working people, it shouldn't get special treatment from the Treasury. In the 1980s, we didn't do enough

to help our companies to compete and win in a global economy. We did too much to transfer wealth away from hard-working middle-class people to the rich without good reason. That's got to stop. There should be no more deductibility for irresponsibility.

The New Covenant will also challenge the hard-working middle-class families of America. Their challenge centers around work and education. I know Americans worry about the quality of education in this country and want the best for their children. The Clinton Administration will set high national standards based on international competition for what everybody ought to know, and a national examination system to measure whether they're learning it. It's not enough to put money into schools. We need to challenge the schools to produce, and we've got to insist on results.

I just came from Thomas Jefferson Junior High School here in Washington, and the principal of that school, Vera White, I think is here with me today. I've been to that school three times in the last five years. That school is in a building that was built when Grant was President. They have the plaster models of the Jefferson Memorial in the school auditorium. But every time I've been in that school, you could eat lunch off every floor in the school. There is a spirit of learning that pervades the atmosphere. Almost everyone in the school comes from an ordinary family in Washington — it's almost 100 percent minority. In several years that school has won the National Math Council's competition, going all the way to the finals for junior high school performance in math. Every time I go there I'm just overwhelmed by the spirit that exists at Thomas Jefferson Junior High School. The teachers and the principal don't make excuses for the problems that the kids bring to the classroom; they open those kids to a brighter world. We need more of that.

But we also have to recognize that teachers can't do it all. We must challenge all parents and children to believe all children can learn. And here is the biggest challenge of all: Too many American parents raise their kids to believe that how much they learn depends on the IQ that God gave them and how much money their family makes. Yet in the countries we are competing against for the future, children are raised to believe that how much they learn depends on how hard they work, and how much their parents encourage them to learn.

The New Covenant will challenge students of America to stay in school. Students who drop out of school or fail to learn as much as they can are not just letting down themselves and their families. They're failing their communities, because from that point on, chances are they're subtracting from society, not adding to it. In Arkansas, we've tried to enhance responsibility for students by saying that if they drop out for no good reason, they lose the privilege of a driver's license.

The New Covenant means new challenges for every young person. I want to establish a system of voluntary national service for all Americans. In a Clinton Administration, we'll put forth a domestic GI Bill that will say to the middle class as well as low-income people: We want you to go to college, we'll pay for it, it will be the best money we ever spent, but you've got to give something back to your country in return. As President, I'll set up a trust fund out of which any American can borrow money for a college education, so long as they pay it back either as a small percentage of their income over time or with a couple of years of national service as teachers, police officers, child care workers — doing work our country desperately needs.

And education doesn't stop in school. Adults have a responsibility to keep learning so they can stay ahead of the competition, too. All of us are going to have to work smarter in the years to come. That will require new forms of cooperation in the workplace between management and workers, and a continuing effort to move toward high-performance work organizations.

"In a Clinton Administration, we'll do everything we can to break the cycle of dependency and help the poor climb out of poverty."

There's a special challenge in the New Covenant for the young men and women who live in America's most troubled urban neighborhoods. There are children, like those I met in Chicago and Los Angeles, who live in fear of being forced to join a gang or getting shot going to and from school.

Many of these young people believe this country has ignored them for too long, and they're right. Many of them think America unfairly blames them for every wrong in our society — for drugs, crime, poverty, the breakup of the family and the breakdown of the schools — and they're right. They worry that because their face is of a different color, their only choice in life is jail or welfare or a dead-end job, that being a minority in an inner city is a guarantee of failure. But they're wrong — and when I'm President, I'm going to do my best to prove they're wrong.

I know these young people can overcome anything they set their mind to. I believe America needs their strength, their intelligence, and their humanity. And because I believe in them and what they can contribute to our society, they must not be let off the hook. All society can offer them is a chance to develop their God-given abilities. They have to do the rest. Anybody who tells them otherwise is lying — and they know it.

As President, I'll see that they get the same deal as everyone else: They've got to play by the rules, stay off drugs, stay in school and keep out of the streets. They've got to stop having children if they're not prepared to support them. Governments don't raise children. People do. And for those young people who do get into trouble, we'll give them one chance to avoid prison, by setting up community boot camps for first-time non-violent offenders — where they can learn discipline, get drug treatment if necessary, continue their education, and do useful work for their community. A second chance to be a first-rate citizen.

The New Covenant must be pro-work. That means people who work shouldn't be poor. In a Clinton Administration, we'll do everything we can to break the cycle of dependency and help the poor climb out of poverty. First, we need to make work pay by expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit for the working poor, creating savings accounts that make it easier for poor people even on welfare to save. I support micro-enterprise grants for those who want to start a small business. At the same time, we need to assure all Americans that they'll have access to health care when they go to work.

The New Covenant can break the cycle of welfare. Welfare should be a second chance, not a way of life. In a Clinton Administration, we're going to put an end to welfare as we know it. I want to erase the stigma of welfare for good by restoring a simple, dignified principle: no one who can work can stay on welfare forever.

We'll still help people who can't help themselves, and those who need education and training and child care. But if people can work, they'll have to do so. We'll give them all the help they need for up to two years. But after that, if they're able to work, they'll have to take a job in the private sector, or start earning their way through community service. That way, we'll restore the covenant that welfare was first meant to be: to give temporary help to people who've fallen on hard times.

If the New Covenant is pro-work, it must also be pro-family. That means we must demand the toughest possible child support enforcement. We need an administration that will give state agencies that collect child support full law enforcement authority, and find new ways of catching deadbeats. In Arkansas, we passed a law this year that says if you owe more than a thousand dollars in child support, we're going to report you to every credit agency in the state. People shouldn't be able to borrow money before they take care of their children.

"Today we need to forge a New Covenant that will repair the damaged bond between the people and their government and restore our basic values."

Finally, the President has the greatest responsibility of all — to bring us together, not drive us apart. For 12 years, this President and his predecessor have divided us against each other — pitting rich against poor, black against white, women against men — creating a country where we no longer recognize that we're all in this together. They have profited by fostering an atmosphere of blame and denial instead of building an ethic of responsibility. They had a chance to bring out the best in us and instead they appealed to the worst in us.

Nothing exemplifies this more clearly than the battle over the Civil Rights Act of 1991. You know from what I've already said today that I can't be for quotas. I'm for responsibility at every turn. That bill is not a quota bill. When the Civil Rights Act was in place from 1964 to 1987, I never had a single employer in my state say, "It's a quota bill." We need rules of workplace fairness for the 70 percent of new entrants in our workforce who will be women and minorities in the decade of the '90s. That's what that bill is for.

Why does the President refuse to let a civil rights bill pass? Because he knows that the people he is dependent on for his electoral majority — white, working-class men and women, mostly men — have had their incomes decline in the 1980s and they may return to their natural home, to someone who offers them real opportunity. And so he is dredging up the same old tactic that the Hard Right has employed in my part of the country, in the South, since I was a child. When everything gets tight, and you think you're going to lose those people, you find the most economically insecure white people, and you scare the living daylights out of them.

That is wrong. This President turned away John Danforth, who shepherded Clarence Thomas' nomination through the Senate. John Danforth begged him for a civil rights bill. He said no. He turned away the Business Roundtable, an organization of corporate executives, largely Republican, who said we need a civil rights bill. He said no. And today in the press it's reported that he turned away his own minority leader in the United States Senate, Senator Bob Dole, who wanted a civil rights bill.

This man does not want a bill. He wants an issue to drive a stake into the heart of America, and it's wrong. And I won't let him get away with it.

I pledge to you that I'm not going to let the Republicans get away with this cynical scam anymore. A New Covenant means it's my responsibility and the responsibility of every American in this country to fight back against the politics of division and bring this country together.

After all, that is what's special about America. We want to be part of a nation that's coming together, not coming apart. We want to be part of a community where people look out for each other, not just for themselves. We want to be part of a nation that brings out the best in us, not the worst. And we believe that the only limit to what we can do is what our leaders are willing to ask of us and what we are willing to expect of ourselves.

Nearly sixty years ago, in a famous speech to the Commonwealth Club in the final months of his 1932 campaign, Franklin Roosevelt outlined a new compact that gave hope to a nation mired in the Great Depression. The role of government, he said, was to promise every American the right to make a living. The people's role was to do their best to make the most of it. He said: "Faith in America demands that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. In the strength of great hope we must all shoulder our common load."

That's what our hope is today: A New Covenant to shoulder our common load. When people assume responsibility and shoulder that common load, they acquire a dignity they never knew before. When people go to work, they

"If a company wants to overpay its executives and under-invest in the future, it shouldn't get any special treatment from Uncle Sam."

connection that they and their children need. When students work harder, they find out they all can learn and do as well as anyone else on Earth. When corporate managers put their workers and their long-term profits ahead of their own paychecks, their companies do well, and so do they. When the privilege of serving is enough of a perk for people in Congress, and the President finally assumes responsibility for America's problems, we'll not only stop doing wrong, we'll begin to do what is right to move America forward.

And that is what this election is really all about — forging a New Covenant of change that will honor middle-class values, restore the public trust, create a new sense of community, and make America work again. Thank you.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

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001. minutes	New Covenant (1 page)	ca. 1995	P5

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
Domestic Policy Council  
Bruce Reed (Subject File)  
OA/Box Number: 21207

**FOLDER TITLE:**

New Covenant

cs65

### 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 advise 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).

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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- 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]

Bruce Reed

File:  
New Covenant

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: Carol Rasco *CR*  
SUBJECT: Suggestions for Scheduling and Rollout

I am very pleased that you are attempting to establish a structure and process to maximize our efforts to get out the President's message. I fully support establishing a coordinated process to communicate the policies we develop to the widest possible audience using all the resources and tools at the White House's disposal.

You asked that we provide you with a summary of how DPC could play a role in this structure. I would like to take the chance to present thoughts in four areas: (1) the central role the New Covenant can play in defining our message and our events; (2) the issues we see as priorities in furthering the President's agenda; (3) the events over the next two-three weeks that we see advancing the President's policy initiatives; and (4) the process by which we can best feed into the planning and scheduling of events.

(1) Central Role of the New Covenant

I wanted to try framing how the New Covenant could be a useful guiding principle in structuring the administration's message and schedule before presenting my ideas for improving our process.

As you know, the New Covenant is a theme that has been important to the President for a very long time. It is based on the simple notion that citizens have responsibilities as well as rights. Government's role is to expand opportunity, but individuals have a responsibility to make the most of it, and to give something back to their communities and their country.

- People must take more personal responsibility - for their lives and the problems they confront. They must take personal responsibility - i.e., work to support their families if they can, accept responsibility for the children they bring into this world, and take the opportunities that are available to them to better themselves.

- Government's role is to provide opportunity - so people can make the most of their lives. The whole Middle Class Bill of Rights, and the call to help people prepare for the "New Economy" fits squarely within a New Covenant philosophy.
- Responsibility begins here in Washington. We can't ask people to be better citizens unless we are better servants. Reinventing Government is about taking power away from bureaucracies and giving it directly to individuals, and empowering them to take responsibility for their own lives. Political Reform is about insisting that politicians in Washington live up to their responsibilities, instead of playing politics and shifting blame.
- People must take more responsibility for common problems. The only way we will rebuild a sense of community is if people take more responsibility for their own lives and for one another. The New Covenant challenges citizens to do the hard job of citizenship that government cannot do -- to teach their children right from wrong, to look out for their neighbor, to give something back to their community and their country. This theme should be a guiding light in how we approach the types of events the President does: focusing on having the President meet real people, in real communities, taking responsibility to solve real problems

The New Covenant is an overall framework which defines our approach to governing and to our policies. It is not a limiting principle that narrowly defines issues on which we should focus. We can still focus on priority issues - the Middle Class Bill of Rights, reform, welfare, and crime - but how we approach the issues, how we frame them, and how we sell them should all be defined by this philosophy.

## (2) Priority Issues

From the DPC's perspective, there are five major policy areas where we would like the President's time to be focused to highlight the New Covenant and his commitment to the Middle Class:

*Political and Government Reform* - We should do events that highlight our efforts to make the government leaner not meaner, and to restore the faith of the people by cleaning up politics through campaign finance reform, lobbying reform, etc. This set of issues is consistent with the New Covenant and is one of the three "baskets" discussed prior to the State of the Union. The President should both do more REGO events and events that highlight his commitment to political reform.

*Welfare Reform* - The issue continues to be the single most popular item on the President's agenda. We should be regularly reinforcing the President's commitment to reform and leadership on the issue. Our policy is in line with the views of 80+ percent of the public, and the values it embodies are the very heart of the New Covenant: People in need should be given the opportunity to help themselves, and must ultimately take responsibility for their lives and work to support their families if they can, and provide support for the children that they parent. The Campaign against Teen Pregnancy is one important component of our welfare reform agenda - and the announcement of its structure should be done in the not too distant future.

*Education* - Education is a responsibility issue -- parents taking responsibility to help their children learn, individuals taking responsibility to make the most of themselves. It is the key to "preparing people for the New Economy" and the centerpiece of the Middle Class Bill of Rights. Regular events that get the President out talking to people in schools, training programs, to participants in National Service, to parents struggling with education costs - all will reinforce the New Covenant philosophy driving these programs: Our goal is to give people the opportunity to get the skills, education and training - but they do it themselves.

*Crime* - The first responsibility of government is to keep its citizens safe. But citizens have a responsibility, too. We could put five million police on the street and it won't make a difference unless people look out their windows and help the police do their job, if parents don't teach their kids to stay off drugs, etc. The President should do crime events where he meets with citizens who are taking their neighborhoods back.

*Immigration* - This is a responsibility issue, too. People who work hard and play by the rules shouldn't have to carry the burden for those who don't. We need to emphasize our dramatic improvements to border control efforts, increases in the number of illegals deported and the efforts we are making to enforce laws at the workplace.

(3) Specific Events in the Next Few Weeks

The specific follow-up to the State of the Union over the next few weeks highlights all five of these issues - to the extent that we can package them all as evidence of our commitment to the New Covenant we will be delivering the strongest and most coherent message possible.

*Political and Government Reform* - The REGO speech to the NGA plenary and the subsequent Cabinet rollout highlight the government reform theme. [We would urge serious consideration of a political reform event as well.]

*Welfare Reform/Teen Pregnancy* - The entire coming weekend highlights this priority. We should consider how best to follow up on the teen pregnancy announcement in the next few weeks.

*Crime* - The release of the drug strategy on February 8th provides one opportunity to highlight this issue. We recommend serious consideration of some of the additional ideas that have been put forth separately by Rahm Emanuel and the Justice Department.

*Education* - The President's immediate follow-up to the State of the Union was the visit to Kutzburg and the meeting with University and other post-secondary institution Presidents. The President is also scheduled to attend the graduation of the Siemens apprenticeship program next Friday.

*Immigration* - The President will unveil his illegal immigration initiative on February 7th.

#### (4) Process Suggestions

We suggest establishing three simple rules for the up-front development of events:

1. Agree on the Message of Each Event BEFORE Accepting It
  - Scheduling requests for open-media events should clearly state the intended "message of the event."
  - The request should explain the relationship of that message to the New Covenant through one of the Administration's themes.
  - The message should be discussed and agreed on at the Short Term Scheduling meeting before the event is approved.
  
2. Place Responsibility for Coordinating Rollout on the Requesting Office
  - Once approved, the office submitting the request should be responsible for calling a meeting no later than one week before the event to coordinate rollout.
  - Invitees would include at least Scheduling and Advance, Communications, Legislative Affairs, Intergovernmental, Political, Public Liaison, Cabinet Affairs, and the relevant policy council.
  - At the meeting, the message of the event would be discussed and explained to staff from other offices.

and all offices would report on their planned component of the rollout.

3. Requesting Office responsible for providing fact sheets and talking points at least 48 hours in advance

- The requesting office would work with the relevant policy council, communications, and affected agencies to develop appropriate facts and talking points for internal and external use.
- All such paper should be provided to the offices listed above no less than 48 hours before the event.
- Each office would then disseminate appropriate information to ensure that surrogates, other agencies, supporters, advocacy groups, etc. received notification according to the agreed-upon rollout strategy.

I hope these ideas are helpful. All of us at DPC are very committed to working with you to make our follow-through to the State of the Union as effective as possible. We would be happy to discuss this with you in more detail.

cc: Leon Panetta  
Mark Gearan  
Mike McCurry  
George Stephanopolous  
Rahm Emanuel  
Don Baer

Bruce Reed - yji  
File:  
New Covenant

February 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: Carol H. Rasco *CHR*  
SUBJECT: Scheduling and Rollout Issues

In response to your February 2 memorandum, DPC is submitting the following materials:

- (1) An issue-by-issue report on where we stand in policy development on the topics identified as a priority in the State of the Union and in my previous memo
- (2) A summary of some ideas (some from my previous memo, others new) on better coordination and management of our scheduling and rollout process
- (3) Some ideas from Bruce, Jeremy and Don Baer on how to use the New Covenant as an organizing vehicle for the schedule over the next few months.

All of us at DPC are anxious to be helpful in whatever way we can. I would be happy to discuss these ideas further, as would other members of the staff.

cc: Billy Webster

**Attachment I**  
**Status of Policy Development on Priority Issues**  
**February 6, 1995**

In the January 26 memorandum, we identified several key issues as priorities within the New Covenant. The following briefly updates the status of policy development in each area:

**Welfare Reform** -- It appears unlikely that the administration will develop a new policy proposal of its own for release in the near future, choosing instead to focus on principles, a commitment to reform, and promotion of a process for reaching a new proposal. We will be producing a series of proposals for Presidential events highlighting his ongoing commitment to reform, and we will be able to produce talking points and briefing materials at least 48 hours in advance of any event.

**Teen Pregnancy** -- Details of the teen pregnancy campaign are being developed currently. We have some components in our legislation from last year, and should have further details within a few weeks. We hope to follow the Surgeon General announcement with further information on the National Campaign. Again, we would be able to provide talking points and briefing papers at that time.

**Political Reform** -- Michael Waldman has developed and circulated a short paper summarizing the President's political reform agenda. We urge an announcement of this agenda, and can produce further talking points, briefing papers, etc. quickly.

**Government reform** -- A broad catch-all that encompasses the Vice President's reinventing government initiative as well as issues like unfunded mandates and the line item veto. The second round of "REGO" will provide a steady stream of opportunities for Presidential announcements, visits, etc. in the Spring. Other reform initiatives are mostly moving rapidly on the Hill, and we have ongoing processes for producing rapid responses as the issues develop.

**Education** - the policy, briefing materials and talking points relating to the Middle Class Bill of Rights have been in use for a while now. They can be easily updated and revised to fit the need for any event on this issue.

**Crime** - Our strategy generally is to defend the program passed last year. We may develop some minor new initiatives, but we are generally going to be defending against Republican attacks. We are able to produce whatever materials are needed in conjunction with the Justice Department and Communications quite quickly.

**Immigration** - An entire package of information on the initiative against illegal immigration has been produced. They are available for ongoing use.

February 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO ERSKINE BOWLES

From: Bruce Reed  
Jeremy Ben-Ami

Subject: Suggestions for Improving Coordination

We are enthusiastic about improving coordination and marketing of the administration's message and support many of the ideas outlined in your memo. The following thoughts flesh out those ideas and answer questions posed in last Wednesday's meeting and in your memo.

The process you outlined really has three key steps:

1. The Decision whether to include an event on the schedule and what its message should be.
2. The Development of appropriate materials (speech, talking points, fact sheets, and briefing papers) to support the event and of a rollout of supporting activities (Hill briefings, constituency briefings, notifications, etc.)
3. The Distribution of materials and information to supporters and other audiences.

Making steps two and three work is, as you suggest, a matter of management and coordination -- assigning responsibilities, setting deadlines, establishing standard procedures, and then holding people accountable for following them. We believe a lot of the suggestions already made can improve the process in those areas - and we summarize some of them later in this memo.

However, the real challenge and problem relates to step one so we focus first on the decision process for scheduling events.

## Improving the Decision Process

We all see the need for a more structured, sensible and proactive approach to our scheduling and communications strategy. Here's one set of suggestions:

- \* Clearly identify a small team of people (including the NEC, DPC, Communications/Planning, and Speechwriting) who are responsible for, and have the authority to, shape the message and policy priorities for the President's time.
- \* This "Message Team" would lay out, on an ongoing basis, a 4-6 week medium-term strategy for the schedule, highlighting major events, messages and themes around which the schedule (and the administration's communications strategy) would be centered.
- \* The team would serve as the filter for all scheduling requests for "message" events. Before a request could be submitted to Scheduling, this team would have to approve the idea and submit, along with the request, an explanation of what the message would be and how it relates to our broader themes.
- \* The team would also proactively develop ideas for events that promote the President's message, not just respond to requests and consider pre-set events.
- \* At short term scheduling meetings, the team would present an overview of the priorities and overall strategy for the coming four to six weeks for discussion and approval.
- \* Particular events would be approved or disapproved at that meeting at least one week ahead of time, with again a full discussion of the message and purpose.

Based on decisions at the short term meeting, the next phases of the process would kick in.

## Developing Materials/Coordinating Supporting Activities

- \* One person or one office needs to be responsible for coordinating all aspects of a rollout/event. This could be the office that makes the request, or it could be centralized in one of the White House offices such as planning or scheduling. Whoever it is, though, needs to follow the same basic drill whether we are announcing a new teen pregnancy program, a political reform agenda, or an immigration strategy.

- \* That office/person should call a meeting one week in advance to coordinate all aspects of a rollout. At this meeting, the message gets explained, responsibilities get assigned, and all offices get the opportunity for full involvement in the planning.
- \* All materials related to the event - talking points, fact sheets, q and a, etc. - should be ready 48 hours in advance. The office responsible for the event should be responsible for coordinating the production of these materials.

#### **Disseminating Information**

- \* We need a simple distribution plan for information: a single sheet listing the names, phones and fax numbers of everyone who needs copies of event-related materials. Each office taking the lead on an event would then simply get materials to everyone on the list.
- \* Each office that gets materials would then distribute as appropriate to its constituencies. We will leave it to those people to figure out their own systems.

Please let us know if you would like to discuss these ideas in more detail.

February 7, 1995

**MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES**

**FROM:** Don Baer  
Bruce Reed  
Jeremy Ben-Ami

**CC:** Mark Gearan  
Billy Webster

**SUBJECT:** New Covenant Scheduling

This memorandum provides a strategic framework for the President's schedule consistent with his vision in the State of the Union Address.

**FOCUS OF THE NEW COVENANT**

Some people are concerned that the New Covenant is too inclusive to guide scheduling decisions. In fact, as an overall theme, it can be used both to narrow the focus of the President's schedule and to sharpen the public's view of him. The New Covenant underscores three important strengths:

1. **Consistent purpose.** The American people want to know what the President believes in. Nearly everything he has done and proposes to do has been developed as part of the basic bargain of the New Covenant: Expand opportunity, but only for those who accept responsibility to make the most of their lives, their communities and their futures. The ideas the President advocates -- Middle Class Bill of Rights, education and training, welfare reform, crime, government and political reform, teen pregnancy, and others -- are based on the idea that America's strength depends on expanding opportunity and demanding responsibility in return.
2. **Optimistic vision.** At a time when Americans are giving up on their government, are troubled by moral decline and are losing faith in the future, the President's job is to show how the terms of the old social contract -- opportunity and responsibility -- still apply. The New Covenant shows Americans that government can reflect their values and that they are not helpless; indeed, they have an active role in solving the country's problems.
3. **Strong character.** The New Covenant is an assertion of principle: Government has a role -- to expand opportunity; citizens have a role -- to accept responsibility. The President's principles are in contrast to positions on the Right ("every-man-for-himself") and the Left ("something-for-nothing"). The contrasts enable the President to stand up for what he believes in, fight against what he opposes and challenge citizens to fulfill their end of the bargain.

## **SCHEDULING GUIDELINES**

Every event should provide the President the chance to promote his vision of more opportunity in return for more responsibility. We suggest a few simple guidelines:

- Break free of the idea that a successful event must involve a traditional Presidential speech. Events can include: 1) occasional important speeches with a special purpose; 2) roundtable discussions with citizens; 3) visits to success stories -- citizens, communities and businesses taking responsibility.
- Let the President highlight what works in America, especially when it results from his efforts. Presidential success is more than legislative success.
- Put the President in touch with real people. Ideas at work in the lives of real people are more powerful than pandering to separate constituencies.
- Show Presidential strength:
  - Take action, without Congress
  - Deliver consistent message to a hostile audience (Hollywood on violence)
  - Deliver consistent message to two separate and seemingly divergent audiences (blacks and whites on welfare reform)
  - Challenge individuals, communities and institutions to take responsibility for their problems, emphasizing that the New Covenant is not about government action alone, but requires citizens to take responsibility (Memphis).
  - Draw the right lines against Republicans (and some Democrats), to contrast the President's agenda with theirs.

## **MODEL SCHEDULES**

Here is what one week might look like under this approach:

Week of Feb. 12th:

- Visit Lincoln Memorial on Lincoln's Birthday with young people who have given something back to their country; return to White House to kick-off series of roundtables on civic responsibility.
- Major speech, American Council on Education: assert national role in education; promote Middle Class Bill of Rights; draw lines with the Republicans over gutting

education agenda; challenge higher education to hold costs to the rate of inflation.

- Visit business helping workers retrain for new economy; or roundtable with high school students to challenge them to go on for more education (following ACE speech).

This approach can be applied to other major policy areas:

#### **Middle Class Bill of Rights/New Economy**

- "Challenge" speech to Wall Street (or some other business venue): We cut deficit and lowered trade barriers, but business has responsibility to invest in workers.
- Comparable challenge speech to labor: We help workers in new economy, but they have responsibility to work with management not to retreat.
- Visit to factory/community college that is model of retraining and cooperation

#### **Welfare Reform**

- Challenge speech to black group: Be tough about values of work, responsibility and family, but do not punish children for parents' mistakes.
- Challenge speech to white group on the same day (or vice versa): The message is exactly the same.
- Visit to model welfare-to-work project
- Roundtable with dead-beat dads: challenge them to pay up and to get involved in their children's lives

#### **Crime**

- Visit precinct house in community that has received police under crime bill
- Roundtable with citizens in successful Neighborhood Watch setting to challenge more to do same
- Meet prosecutors about domestic abuse

#### **Parents**

- Challenge speech to National PTA, March 14: Governments don't raise children; parents do.
- Roundtable with parents at charter school where they have become more active in education

#### **Civic responsibility**

- Roundtable series with young Americans (see Lincoln Memorial above)
- Challenge speech on entertainment industry, Stanford University, March 2
- Month-long series of radio addresses announcing initiatives on civic responsibility
- Return to Georgetown University for new New Covenant speech: What the President has learned around America.

New Covenant

September 27, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO CAROL RASCO

From: Rahm Emanuel  
Bruce Reed  
Gene Sperling

Subject: Media Events

cc: Harold Ickes  
George Stephanopoulos  
Mark Gearan

We have been asked to develop several events which communicate the President's theme of fighting for the middle class. What follows is an outline of eight up-beat events that will present the President in an optimistic mode, fighting for the middle-class.

**I. AUTO-INDUSTRY "COMEBACK" EVENT**

The President will go to the Mustang auto factory in Michigan, drive a Mustang off the production line, and address a rally of auto-workers. He will give a speech that attributes the industry's comeback to the auto-workers who didn't throw in the towel and fought back instead. The President will use the comeback of the auto-industry as a metaphor for the comeback of the American economy.

*Message: The "comeback" theme resonates as it relates to the auto-industry, the American economy and Bill Clinton.*

**II. STUDENT LOAN EVENT**

The most far-reaching Clinton initiative that touches every working family is the Direct Student Loan program.

The President should go to a school in Colorado, Michigan, or, if need be, American University here in town and kick-off the student loan program. He will officially announce the program and unveil the ad campaign to promote it.

Following the President's speech, there could be a background briefing with Secretary Riley, Secretary Reich, and Bob Rubin.

*Message: Fighting to improve the lives of ordinary Americans and their children.*

### **III. DEFICIT EVENT**

The week of October 20th, OMB will announce the official deficit numbers for the year and the official account of how much the deficit has decreased.

The President should speak on the same day to a business group. He should deliver the Administration's record on deficit reduction and announce our projection for the next year.

*Message: Putting our fiscal house in order and making the tough choices.*

### **IV. MANUFACTURING CENTER EVENT**

The President will go to an opening of a new manufacturing center to highlight the comeback of American manufacturing and the new, successful partnership between the private sector and the public investments.

He will announce the 1995 target for new manufacturing centers.

*Message: For the first time, the trend of losing manufacturing jobs is reversing. American manufacturing is having a comeback, with the addition of 100,000 new manufacturing jobs.*

### **V. NAFTA EVENT**

The President would go to the Grand Cherokee plant in Ohio, a factory whose exports increased from 100 to 4,000 as a result of NAFTA.

The President will release a NAFTA report which highlights the successes in jobs and trade that we have sustained due to NAFTA.

*Message: NAFTA (ie. our whole economic program) gives us new markets and better jobs.*

### **VI. GATT EVENT**

Assuming we have the opportunity to sign GATT, the signing should be a major media event. Since signings rarely receive a lot of news coverage, the President needs to stress the enormity of this agreement to assure its coverage.

Message:

1. **Big Deal** - This is the largest trade agreement in world history.
2. **U.S./Clinton leadership** - Not only did we lead the effort to promote GATT, but we are also the first industrialized nation to sign it.
2. **Bipartisanship** - The President should emphasize that we had bipartisan support for GATT and NAFTA; they were bipartisan efforts.
3. **"Decade of free trade"** - The President should call the 1990's a "decade of free trade," highlighting GATT and NAFTA. Now he's taking this battle to Asia and the rest of our hemisphere through APEC, and the Conference of the Americas.

**VII. POLITICAL REFORM EVENT**

If we pass a political reform bill, the signing ceremony should target the special interests but also bring this issue back to the individual taxpayer. No longer will the individual taxpayer foot the bill for the special interests. The President will make a commitment to continuing his fight against the special interests by announcing his next year's political reform agenda.

Message:

1. **Moving forward**- we will continue to challenge the special interests in favor of the national interest.
2. We have been standing up to special interests on every initiative not just political reform, ie) because we stood up to the NRA we were able to pass a crime bill that was held hostage for six years.

**VIII. CRIME EVENT**

On October 17, the President will announce the Top Cop who will be the Administrator for the 100,000 new police officers planned for in the Crime Bill. The President will also announce the police grants given to municipalities as a result of the Crime Bill.

Message: The President is continuing his war on crime.

## Memorandum

To: Bruce Reed

From: Marc Brailov *MB*

Re: Shaking Up Electoral Dynamic

Date: September 11, 1994

The ideas below are now your property. I have also sent this to Paul Begala and Margaret Williams.

The Democrats must do everything they can between now and November to shake up the current electoral dynamic -- which is obviously now cutting very sharply against them. *This nation's widespread political disaffection must be confronted head-on.* It was certainly on vivid display last month. The passage of the crime bill should have boosted the Party's standing in the polls. And despite the fact that a virtual majority of voters now support the final bill, both the President's and the Party's poll numbers have dropped. Perhaps this is because of the GOP's attacks. But if their attacks were so effective, then why didn't support for the crime bill, which most of the GOP was so fiercely attacking, also drop? The answer, I believe, is that many voters perceived the battle over the crime bill as not more evidence that the national government was working, but that it is still very dysfunctional. And, of course, they placed more of the blame with the perceived majority party, the Democrats.

In the weeks prior to the passage of the bill, the words "partisan bickering" must have been heard dozens of times on the electronic media.

President Clinton and his allies said the *right* words to try to end this bickering or, at least, to distance themselves from it. But, alas, the President's very sensible words usually did not make the headlines -- which are often all that register with most voters. Once again, we saw the difference between speaking out and *being heard.* In this age of the interactive, hyperactive electronic media, of hundreds of TV channels -- where every damn fool seems to have several chances to get his two cents in -- the threshold for presidential *underexposure* seems lower than for overexposure.

This past month's experience demonstrates two critical facts. First, today's political disaffection is your crucible. You'll have a very hard time engendering broad, lasting support for the President's domestic policies unless you get people to start believing that you are really changing the very nature of Washington -- the legislative process, the policymaking process and the electoral process. And, sadly, this *great* President, whom history will no doubt praise, may be denied a second term as well.

It is important to remember that people are mostly disaffected with Washington because they have lost faith in the *institutions of government and everything related to them* -- not in the nature or number of laws being passed. *It's not the products of the machine but the machine itself.*

The second critical fact is that when you emphasize a theme or a message, as the President appeared to do this past month regarding changing the ways of Washington, you have to give it several weeks or even months before most people will be even aware that you're conveying such a message. Again, most voters don't follow your pronouncements in great deal. Consequently, you must be *consistent* in the use of your theme to maximize its exposure and to give it time to reach the mass of voters. This is also why a theme must be both concise and coherent so voters can absorb it relatively easily. And last, this is why you should utilize a single rubric for your theme -- such as New Covenant or New Direction. Through frequent use of such a rubric, *voters will at least remember the rubric*, if not some of the theme's fine print. And that is far from unimportant: They'll be more likely to believe that, at least, you have a coherent agenda, a clear vision for change -- as opposed to a set of scattershot proposals.

I now believe that the Clinton-Gore campaign was probably the best run Democratic presidential campaign since 1948. But nobody is perfect. And I think the campaign erred by jettisoning the New Covenant rubric, focus groups or no focus groups. That was the glue that connected the President's policy proposals with his own basic philosophy. And, in particular, I believe it would have helped him sell his program last year -- and enhance his own appeal by reinforcing his *deserved* image as a New Democrat.

### **Recommended Actions:**

#### **o Bipartisan Debates & Negative TV & Radio Ad Ban**

Pointing to the country's widespread unhappiness with the political process, the Democratic Party should now present itself as being at the vanguard of efforts to alter this process (see *Positive Politics*). It should make campaign finance and lobbying reform among its highest priorities. It should admit that negativism in political campaigning often spills over to the legislative process to create the seemingly mindless partisan bickering that was manifested over the crime bill. And it should point out that the same thing happens in reverse.

To put an end to this vicious cycle, the Democrats should propose not only a voluntary ban on negative TV and radio ads for this fall, but a series of three nationally televised debates between top representatives of the two parties. The debates will have a unique format: the first half will involve normal debates between four representatives of each of the parties. But the second half will involve a town-meeting format during which both sides will agree to try to refrain from

intense arguments, listen to suggestions from the audience, and try, with the help of an independent moderator, to find common ground in their positions.

o Bring Back New Covenant Theme -- With A Broader Focus

The President should resurrect the New Covenant theme. And he should put a new twist on it -- to try to mitigate political disaffection. He should speak, as he has done so eloquently before, about restoring the traditional values of responsibility, opportunity and community to this nation. *But as he does so, he should stress that he wants to ensure that the values of responsibility and community are honored in the national government as well.* Many voters probably wonder why they should concern themselves with acting more responsibly and thinking of themselves as members of a larger community when they see too many members of Congress seemingly doing just the opposite --- by selling their souls to special interest groups and bickering like little children.

*I do wish you the very best.*

New Covenant

**Clinton's case for New Democratic activism**  
**By Thomas Oliphant Boston Globe**

NEW YORK Democrats with their jobs on the line next month should note President Clinton's careful choice of the following words:

"We've got to make people think that the society can work again at the grass-roots level, where they live."

They should even note his instinctive impulse to correct himself in the following additional sentence:

"We can figure out a way to really make free enterprise make is the wrong word attractive in some of the inner-city areas."

The point that a Kennedy or a Cuomo or a Foley should note is that the president talks about "society," not merely about "government"; that he uses "make" in the sense of demonstration, not direction.

"My mission in that is to make the federal government smaller but more effective. So we're downsizing it, but it's more active in trying to be a kind of catalyst for things happening at the lower level."

In an interview as his well-shocked limousine ignored Manhattan's potholes, the president made a case for New Democratic activism that puts change in Washington (250,000 fewer middle managers and three straight drops in the budget deficit for the first time in two generations) squarely in the context of the often-unsettling changes that have swept over private economic life in the last decade.

"I think something profound has happened to us because of the changes we've all undertaken as a people the private sector becoming more competitive, attitudes changing in America in the last couple of years, the change in the government policy so that we're now a genuine partner with America."

Clinton sees the private and governmental changes as complementary, intentionally so on his part.

"I mean a big part of my whole economic strategy was to set up a system in which we would develop a partnership to keep this economy going and growing and strong in a more consistent way; knowing, of course that there will always be times that are slower and times that are faster."

On the surface, nitpicking might detect irony in such a message from a president preparing to make two days of powerfully resonant appearances on behalf of two supposed dinosaurs of liberalism, Mario Cuomo and Edward Kennedy.

Clinton knows better. A big part of his Massachusetts message a cliché in Washington is that no modern senator has matched Kennedy's relentless assaults on status quo dogmas, from proposing fixed sentences for criminals to deregulation of major business sectors to local empowerment in education and law enforcement.

And his New York message contained a huge dose of reminder that no individual better exemplifies the insistence on individual responsibility that punctuates Mario Cuomo's life.

The metaphor of the day here was a local story about a group of citizens who came to the aid of a stabbing victim at a midtown ATM machine and subdued his attacker until the cops arrived. Cuomo himself had chased a crook down the street a few years ago, and Clinton's message to the governor's still-dispirited supporters was that "he would walk through a wall to do the right thing."

Clinton's larger point, drawing on Cuomo's famous minor league baseball career, is that hardly any of us can aspire to Joe DiMaggio's mix of graceful fluidity and pure power. But each of us, he said, should be expected to act like the guys outside the ATM machine.

He had the same point about the legislative victories he has won in Congress this year on crime-fighting and education. In each case, Clinton said what is significant

about each multiyear program is not the spending it authorizes but the local initiative it both requires and fosters.

Down the stretch of a pivotal off-year campaign, well-earned good fortune abroad and the still-spreading benefits of a stronger economy have given Clinton enough of a boost so he is now being listened to more.

He agreed that it is now vital that he do more than bang vacuous right-wingers or ridicule Newt Gingrich's profligate "Contract"; that he give working families something to expect. He cited three goals: a brighter economic future, stronger communities and a more secure and democratic world.

The potholes are as obvious as the ones we hit here. But the fact is that Clinton is not merely leading his hard-pressed Democrats and his GOP antagonists right now. He is starting to lead a country that, however it votes next month, wants something better than partisanship.

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## Clinton Takes Plunge Into

### Explosive Diplomacy of Mideast (Clinton)

By Saul Friedlander (a) 1994, *Newsday*

WASHINGTON With little personal effort or risk, President Clinton has basked in the glow of Middle East peace agreements signed in Washington between Israel and the Palestinians and Jordan.

But Tuesday, as he sets out on the most extensive presidential journey to the Middle East in 20 years, Clinton is taking a personal plunge into the explosive diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli conflict, with all its physical and political dangers.

"The president has left the issue to the leaders in the region and his secretary of state until now," said a State Department policy-maker. "But there comes a time when only the president's personal involvement can make a difference. This is such a time. He couldn't not go."

And the president insisted on including the most politically sensitive stop Damascus, Syria because U.S. officials have high hopes that Clinton's personal call on Syrian President Hafez Assad could move Assad toward a breakthrough in stalled peace talks with Israel before the end of this year.

On the record, senior administration officials cautioned reporters against expecting any dramatic development during the president's stop in Damascus. But Middle East expert William Quandt, a former diplomat now with the non-partisan Brookings Institution here, said that without the visit to Syria, Clinton's trip would have been little more than "a great photo opportunity. The Middle East would have looked no different for his coming. But going to Syria could make a difference."

Against the bloody backdrop of terrorism by the military wing of Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, Brookings scholar Yahya Sadowski said, "The president could not easily cancel plans to go. It would have seemed as if the United States was not willing to take the risks it was asking of the leaders in the Middle East."

The president is making the trip primarily to participate in the signing Wednesday of the new Israel-Jordan peace treaty, the framework for which was signed at a White House ceremony in July. As for suggestions that Clinton is making the trip in part for domestic political reasons, one State Department official said, "He would have lost politically if he backed away from the trip because of the violence there. He would have been seen as a wimp."

Indeed, security officials here and in the Middle East were especially nervous about the president's scheduled visit to Jerusalem. But in July, Clinton promised Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Jordan's King Hussein that if and when they took the risks and made peace, he would go to the region, attend the signing and visit Jerusalem.

As the senior administration official pointed out, the Israeli-Jordanian agreement which is to be signed beneath a Bedouin tent of black goat-hair, at the recently opened border crossing between Aqaba, Jordan, and Eilat, Israel will mark the first such peace treaty to be concluded in the region. The only other Arab-Israeli treaty, the 1979 agreement between Egypt and Israel, was signed on the White House lawn.

But once Clinton committed to attending the ceremony, virtually every Arab leader in the region invited him to stop by. And as Clinton chose his itinerary, the senior administration official said, "The president made the decision that it was important to focus on the future as well as on the present."

Even amid the ceremonies and celebrations, the present is fraught with danger. In what could be a metaphor for the Middle East, visitors will be warned that not far from the paved patch of desert at the site of the signing

ceremony, the sands still contain mines hidden during 46 years of hostility between Israel and Jordan.

Clinton, on his stop in Cairo, Egypt, Wednesday, is scheduled to meet with Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, along with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, the official said. Arafat has rejected participation in the treaty-signing ceremonies, in part because of competition with Jordan regarding jurisdiction over Islamic holy sites in Jerusalem, which the PLO claims as its capital.

After the signing ceremony, Clinton is to speak Wednesday night to the Jordanian Parliament and the following day to the Israeli Knesset, to stress continued U.S. support for their efforts to end the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Between his stops in Amman and Jerusalem, Clinton is to spend a few important hours with Assad, holding out to the Syrian leader the possibility of closer political and economic ties with the U.S. should he make peace with Israel.

Clinton is expected to raise with Syria a repeated U.S. demand that it crack down on terrorist groups in Damascus and Lebanon, which is under its control. Some of the groups are linked to Iran and to the terrorists of Hamas.

Clinton ends his trip Friday with quick visits to Kuwait, where he'll talk with the emir of the oil-rich kingdom and speak to U.S. troops deployed there. Later the president will visit a desert military base in Saudi Arabia for a chat with King Fahd, the closest U.S. ally in the Persian Gulf.

The Persian Gulf visit is expected to convey a threat that the United States will take action if Iraq's Saddam Hussein makes any more aggressive moves.

## Battle Lines Drawn Between PLO, King Hussein (Jerusalem)

By Susan Sachs (c) 1994, *Newsday*

JERUSALEM On the two banks of the Jordan River, a marriage shaped by necessity and principle is falling apart.

King Hussein's bid to retain control over Islamic sites in Jerusalem, to be enshrined Wednesday in the Jordan-Israeli peace treaty with President Clinton as witness, has opened a vast political gulf between Hussein and the Palestinians who claim the city as their national birthright.

"The only rights the king has in Jerusalem are to the bones of his grandfather, who is buried here," Jibril Rajoub, a close aide to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and security chief in the Jericho self-rule area, said this week. "And we'll send him the bones by Federal Express."

The Jordanian monarch is more poetic but just as blunt. In a speech to the Parliament Saturday, he drew the battle lines, leaving no doubt that his stern warning was meant for the Palestine Liberation Organization leader.

"Our relationship with Jerusalem will continue to be larger than is imagined by those who do not know our history in the holy city," the king declared. "It is a relationship based on the faith, prophecy, history and martyrdom."

To be sure, personal relations between the stiffly formal monarch and the melodramatic Arafat have been strained for years. Not only are they disparate personalities, but each worked tirelessly to undercut the other's influence in the occupied West Bank that Jordan lost to Israel in 1967.

The past year sharpened the differences even more, elevating a largely personal competition to a political conflict that could affect the future of people on both sides of the river.

With each leader pursuing a separate peace with Israel, all pretense of cooperation has vanished.