

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Brian Johnson to Julia R. Green at 19:07:10.84. Subject: Questions and answers on envt. (6 pages)	10/06/1995	COPY P5
002. email	revelled2ucsu.colorado.edu to Actor Troy McClure fan club, etc. at 00:35:00.00. Subject: Get-a-married (sheesh!) (3 pages)	12/20/1995	P6/b(6)
003. email	Margaret M. Suntum to Gabrielle M. Bushman and Kristin Leight at 20:49:26.12. Subject: 2nd Transcript -- Speech Prep. (7 pages)	01/22/1996	P5 6021
004. email	Margaret M. Suntum to Gabrielle M. Bushman and Kristin Leight at 17:26:58.51. Subject: Tapes three and four of speech prep. (19 pages)	01/23/1996	P5 6022
005. email	Julia Moffett to Kristen Leight at 10:03:48.63. Subject: Pls. Deliver to Don. (3 pages)	01/23/1996	P6/b(6)
006. email	Margaret M. Suntum to Gabrielle M. Bushman and Kristin Leight at 18:00:59.95. Subject: Speech Prep -- Transcript #5. (6 pages)	01/23/1996	P5 6023
007. email	Margaret M. Suntum to Gabrielle M. Bushman and Kristin Leight at 17:51:05.26. Subject: Speech Prep -- Transcript #6. (3 pages)	01/23/1996	P5 6024

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Automated Records Management System [Email]
 WHO ([Oklahoma Bombing])
 OA/Box Number: 500000

FOLDER TITLE:

[09/15/1995 - 01/23/1996]

Adam Bergfeld
 2006-0326-F
 ab690

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- 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]
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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

6021

CREATOR: Margaret M. Suntum (SUNTUM_M) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 22-JAN-1996 20:49:26.12

SUBJECT: 2ND TRANSCRIPT -- SPEECH PREP

COPY

TO: Gabrielle M. Bushman (BUSHMAN_G) (WHO)
READ: 22-JAN-1996 20:50:11.05

TO: Kristin Leight (LEIGHT_K) (WHO)
READ: 23-JAN-1996 08:11:45.74

TEXT:
PRINTER FONT 12 POINT COURIER
TAPE TWO TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH PREP

THE PRESIDENT: Doesn't the START II treaty cut nuclear stockpiles by another 25 percent? Is that true? You say the START II treaty -- we must work to cut the world's nuclear stockpile by another 25 percent. I urge the Senate to ratify the START II Treaty.

No, I would just say, the START II Treaty will cut world's nuclear stockpiles by another 25 percent. I urge the Senate to ratify it no. It's quicker.

And the other thing I'd say: The Congress gives us the resources. I'd say the means. We must take the fight to terrorists and organized criminals at home and abroad.

And at the end we've got to figure out where to put all this family stuff. But I think that's what we ought to do.

Families, the government, whatever works best. Putting children first. I think this is a little too overly dramatic here about the fathers go back home and don't raise your hand against a woman and all that. I've already said it.

(G.S.: Only do it if you feel comfortable.)

THE PRESIDENT: I also think we ought to say when we're talking about the government can't do this. Government can do some things. Government can't do this. On the welfare thing you ought to say, I don't -- we've got to think about -- we probably ought to say that we've increased child support collections by 40 percent. That's not in there. That's good.

Then you've got all this good government stuff here.

(M.W.: Linda Smith doesn't want her name mentioned.)

THE PRESIDENT: I don't want to mention that, too. Because also that requires them to raise six percent of the money within their district, right?

(D.B.: Talk about race relations and people coming together.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Okay.

(D.B.: Add something on veterans and on farms.)

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THE PRESIDENT: I've got a farm statement here.

(L.P.: Racism and cops. I think that's a bad thing.)

THE PRESIDENT: Challenge every American to continue our unfinished journey toward racial harmony. We have come a long way. We have still not fully overcome. One hate crime is one too many. One incident of discrimination is one too many. Racism is un

□

-American.

We must do better.

(Section with direct challenge for police of America to clean up your houses.)

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think we should see every police department through the prism of the L.A. Police Department. A lot of police departments, corruption's the biggest problem. And I just don't think --

(Saying racism is un

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-American is good.)

THE PRESIDENT: I took some stuff out and added some stuff in on the introduction. And we'll go back over that later. We don't have to worry about that

I'd like to go through the budget section. Now, I think I've probably gone too far the other way and am saying too much. But with all this B.S. in the air, we can't -- and we've got to have a line on the debt ceiling, too, by the way, somewhere.

We've got the CR. Do we have the debt ceiling?

(V.P.: On citizens. Want to raise idea of having guy from Oklahoma City. Guy who worked for Social Security for 22 years. During bombing he re

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-entered the building four times and saved lives of three women. We will never forget brave people who serve us daily. I want to recognize him and tell story of heroism. This year, forced out of his office when government shut down. The second time, he continued working without pay. Let us promise never to shut down government again.)

THE PRESIDENT: Not bad, is it?

And we're going to do this, hopefully, after we just said, we have downsized the government by 205,000 people. You've got the smallest government you've had in 30 years. But they're doing a better job.

(D.B.: Hope it doesn't look like we're being overly exploitative the Oklahoma City stuff too much.)

(Have an ending that works beautifully.)

THE PRESIDENT: Let me see it. One thing is, this is all nice this ending. But it doesn't go back to the -- I'll say again, what is the test? What are the Democrats about? What is the President about? What is his theory? It's wonderful rhetoric. What is the difference between the President's theory and the Republicans theory about

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government, about what we're doing and what we're standing for?

Well, we had it in the beginning, but if you don't say it over and over -- how does all this illustrate that? We don't repeat it. We don't repeat it. We ought to say it ten times in here. Not people out there on their own. People working together. Everybody doing their part.

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This paragraph is great. This, we Americans -- forged our identity, every union, every point of view. That's great.

Do you think the halls of Congress are our democracy's most sacred place?

(D.B.: Do you like the three

-part thing -- end of era of big government, end of era everyone's --)

THE PRESIDENT: I want to say. Blumenthal had a great idea. Thank you and God bless the United States of America. That's a great idea. Old Sidney's always thinking.

I want to talk about some other stuff. I redid the beginning and I took out a bunch of stuff and put in a bunch of stuff.

This is too much probably, but I want you to -- just let me read it all through. I can see it's too many words, but I think we have way underdone it the way it is. There is now broad bipartisan agreement -- I wouldn't say unshakable; they're pretty shaky. There is now broad bipartisan agreement that years of permanent deficit spending will come to an end.

I compliment the Republicans for their determination to achieve this goal and the new ideas they have brought to the debate. And I thank the Democrats. First, for passing the Deficit Reduction Act of 1993 which brought the deficit down three years in a row for the first time since Harry Truman and cut it nearly in half; and for working to eliminate it completely while protecting our obligations to our parents, our children and our family through our investments in education, the environment, Medicare and Medicaid.

Our budget would have a surplus today but for the interest payments we make on the deficits run up in the 12 years before 1993. We have seen the benefit in bringing the deficit down and lower interest rates which reduced the cost of creating jobs to business and the cost of home mortgages, car and credit card payments to citizens. Now we have to finish the job. -- I think it's worth pointing out what it did, why the government action -- There is good news. In our budget talks, about \$700 billion in agreed

-on savings have been identified.

That is more than enough to balance the budget in seven years and provide a tax cut. The Congressional Budget Office, your own economists agree these savings are enough to wipe out the deficit. We have not reached a final agreement. There are real differences in policy over Medicare, Medicaid, and the level and kind of investments necessary to protect the environment, advance education and promote economic growth -- and I had something about agriculture in there, but we could do through research, technology and a good program for agriculture which is still the largest winner for America in

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international trade. Tonight I reaffirm my determination to work with you to reach a balanced budget agreement. I know you do not agree with me on what it takes to protect Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment, but since we do agree on enough budget savings to balance a budget in seven years by your scoring and give a tax cut, I ask you to at least enact these agreed

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-upon savings so we can give the American people their balanced budget, lower interest rates and a brighter future.

We just said there's two to one agreement with that characterization. If the President and Congress have agreed on enough savings to do all this stuff and protect and give a modest tax cut, should they do it now or not.

(G.S.: The danger is the right way to say it. A statement like that in the State of the Union, they can dispute its truthfulness, then you're in trouble.)

THE PRESIDENT: How can they dispute whether it's true or not?

(G.S. Find a different way to say it. The "agreed upon savings.")

THE PRESIDENT: Well, just reword it. Okay. If you take the minimum amount of savings in each budget category -- if you take the smaller number of savings in each budget category both sides have agreed on, it adds up.

Then you could say --

(G.S. You just praised Republicans for determination and new ideas. I think you should praise them for their determination and energy instead.)

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I stick them so much in the sentence.

(L.P. Want to raise next sentence. Do we want to say that Democrats are the only ones who care about our obligations to --)

THE PRESIDENT: No. If I put it up there later, maybe it's enough I put it up there later. I know we disagree on --

(V.P.: Worry about disconnect between dialogue in press conferences, etc, and State of Union. Got to address it, but language in State of Union should not be redolent of the back and forth in the fight. Then you're using State of Union to get in more licks on them.)

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just say this. At least we have to say -- but we can't we say, I know we have honest disagreements on what it takes. We have honest disagreements on what it takes to -- all I'm saying is, we can do this in fewer words. And I agree that we should have as few digs at them as possible. I'd rather brag on the Democrats, what they did in '93. But I think in the end we know that it is a very powerful formulation. Once they realize that at a minimum these people have agreed on enough to balance a budget, why are they still fighting. Why don't they just do that and then have this other fight over here. Let us referee this other fight. We'll decide with this other thing comes out. We know that it's two to one victory. It's huge, massive numbers in our favor on this.

(V.P. This has been polled? Well, that overcomes my objections.)

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THE PRESIDENT: I don't mean the rhetoric. I mean the idea of, if you've got enough money to do it, go on and do it. All I want to do is find some way to say, if you've got enough money to do it, go on and do it.

I want to do it in a big embracing way.

Anyway, I wanted to say, that is what I believe we will do. We will balance the budget. The deficit is yesterday's legacy. Soon it will be history. Now it is time to look beyond the battles of the hour to the challenges of the future, the challenges for the American people.

(G.S.: Add to that -- we will balance the budget and balance it in a way that's fair to everyone. That's yesterday's legacy.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's what I think all of you came here today.

(V.P.: Suggest this phrase: We will balance the budget and we will balance the burden of balancing the budget.)

THE PRESIDENT: The reason I'm scare of that is, under any conceivable scenario, including ours, this budget balancing is unfair to downscale voters. And the only way you can say it comes out fair is to look at how much of the burden upscale voters bore in '93. And that's why I asked Gene Sperling two weeks ago to do this. I guess they just can't do it. And I asked Greenspan to do it, too. To look at the distributional impacts of balancing the budget adding '93 and '95 together and see if it doesn't look pretty good. Because I would imagine that looks pretty good. Will you see if Gene's done any work on that?

Okay, I guess we don't need to stay in here anymore. You've got to put that V

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-chip language in. So I'm going to keep trying to take stuff out.

Now, let me read you the beginning, what I did. Since you took all the other economic stuff out, which I'm fine on, in the economic section, I kind of wanted to -- and I think this is awkward, by the way, this state of our union, not the state of our government or even the state of individual -- I speak to civic groups, religious and -- (Ann Lewis wants to take out man.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I've got a problem with that, too. But I would say, our economy is the healthiest it's been in three decades. We have the lowest rate of unemployment and inflation in 27 years. We have created over 7.8 million new American jobs, including over a million in basic industries like construction and automobiles. We've increased our exports of American products by 25 percent in three years, and in each of those years we had a record number of new businesses started.

Detroit is selling more cars than Japan for the first time since the 1970s. America is building hope for peace and freedom across the world, while increasing our national security. Perhaps most important, all across America we are finding common ground in advancing our fundamental values of family, work and community. The crime rate, the welfare and food stamp rate, the poverty rate, the teen pregnancy rate are all down. As they go down, prospects for America's future go up.

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(Mark Penn argued those statistics are not believed by the public. That's why they're not at beginning.)

THE PRESIDENT: This is an age of possibility; a time of challenge and change. A hundred years ago we moved from farm to factory. Now we move to an age of technology, information, global competition. Americans are living better lives, but many of our fellow citizens are paying a high price in harder work and greater uncertainty about their family's future.

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In this time, our mission is clear. Just listen -- we must seize the opportunities of the new age. We must see that the American Dream remains alive for all our people who are willing to assume responsibility for achieving it. We must remain the world's leader for peace. We must continue to come together as a people, for we can only meet these challenges together. And each of us has a role to play.

We cannot look to big government for all the answers. In the information age, we don't need the kind of big, centralized government bureaucracies that were designed for an earlier time. Many of our problems must be solved not in Washington, but in communities across the land, by Americans working together.

Finally, there is not a program for every problem. We should not ask government to do for people what they ought to be doing for themselves. Still, we know government has fundamental responsibilities in this new era -- to protect our security and our environment, to advance our economy, to maintain a decent social safety net, and above all, to meet the common challenges we face as Americans by helping Americans make the most of their own lives in our homes, our businesses, our schools and our communities.

That's longer, but I think it's a better explanation of what we're doing. Then I cut out a lot. I say, "We must ask more of ourselves and we must expect more of one another. The era of big government is over. But we cannot go back to the time when our citizens were on their own. Instead, we must go forward to an era of one America; a nation that works together as a community, as a team, to meet the challenges we face together."

That other one -- every man for himself -- the problem is you get into all that gender pc business, so you've got every one for themselves, which is grammatically incorrect.

(go back to everyone stranded on their own)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, you don't want to undermine self

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-reliance. Well, I like every man for himself, but I couldn't figure out how to get around --

In Washington, we need to work together to balance the budget. Many of you are impatient to reach an agreement; so am I. Then I go down here to "now there is broad bipartisan agreement." And then I'll clean this other up. We save some lines there. Now, I just need to go through this thing and try to find a way to save some more. We've got to put that V chip line in again. That's gangbuster stuff.

This language on this technology thing is weak. It needs to be shorter and zippy. It should say, "we are determined to make every student technologically literate by the year 2000."

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(VP: Connect every classroom in the country to the information superhighway.)

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure you have to explain it much more than that. I'm going to go through and see what we can do by just declaration and not explanation, and what we need to do by explanation.

END

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6022

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

CREATOR: Margaret M. Suntum (SUNTUM_M) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 23-JAN-1996 17:26:58.51

SUBJECT: Tapes three and four of speech prep

COPY

TO: Kristin Leight (LEIGHT_K) (WHO)

READ: 23-JAN-1996 17:28:43.79

TO: Gabrielle M. Bushman (BUSHMAN_G) (WHO)

READ: 24-JAN-1996 15:15:41.62

TEXT:

PRINTER FONT 12_POINT_COURIER

TAPE 3

THE PRESIDENT: "I support Congress's efforts to provide a child tax credit for working families with children." It should -- I just say leave that. "It should be part of the final budget agreement.

You got to say something like that, and I don't want to get into 13, 17, 500, phased

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-in -- we want to leave ourselves some flexibility.

How about: "We need a child tax credit for working families with children. That's one thing most of us agree on. And it should be part of the final agreement."

"I challenge every business that can possibly afford it to provide pensions for their employees. And I challenge Congress to pass a proposal to make it easier for small businesses and farmers to establish pension plans."

Why is it one of the top priorities instead of the top priority?

(Because it wasn't the top priority.)

THE PRESIDENT: What was the top priority?

(I don't know.)

THE PRESIDENT: We already said -- we don't need that line. How about this? It will save a few words, and it will allow us to go on.

"I challenge to pass a proposal recommended by the White House Conference on Small Business to make it easier for small businesses and farmers to establish pension planning."

"We should also protect --" you can get rid of that last sentence.

"We should also protect existing pension plans. Two years ago, with bipartisan support, we protected the pensions of eight million working people and stabilized the pensions of 32 million more. After the awful experiences of just a few years ago, Congress should not let companies endanger their workers' pension funds. I cannot accept that."

Is that okay? What do you say? "In the budget bill I vetoed --"

(This is too indirect.)

How do you think we ought to say it, Al?

(VP: offers a suggestion)

(Go farther back than just a couple of years)

THE PRESIDENT: We don't need that. We can just say -- what I'd like to say -- I'd like to tell the American people: "One of the reasons I vetoed last year's budget is that it contained a

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provision.--" how would you say it?

(VP: Diverts people when you get into budget veto.)

THE PRESIDENT: "-- and I would do so again." I don't want to be too in their face. I would say, "I vetoed such a proposal last year, and I would do so again."

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(That's better.)

THE PRESIDENT: "Congress (inaudible) companies invaded their workers' pension funds. I vetoed such a proposal last year, and I will do so again."

"Finally, if working families are going to succeed in the new economy, they must be able to buy health insurance policies they don't lose when they change jobs or when someone in the family gets sick. In the past year over one million Americans in working families lost their health insurance. The last Congress took no action on health reform. We need to do more to guarantee --"

Why don't we put it in like this. Why shouldn't say, "We must at least."

(VP: Dangerous to use line: The last Congress took no action.)

THE PRESIDENT: Somebody said I had to reference what happened last year.

"We must do more to make health care available to every American -- accessible to every American." Anybody got an idea here? (Suggestions to note Congress's inaction.)

THE PRESIDENT: Why do we have to get in their face on every line? Why can't we just say, "We must do more to make health care available to every American"? Take this sentence out.

"-- lost their health insurance. We must do more to make health care available."

(Last two years, 1 million have lost health insurance.)

THE PRESIDENT: It's more than that. It's a hundred thousand a month. I'm almost positive. That's the number we use. We used that number all during '94. We're we lying?

(No, October '95 census had not losing compared to last year.)

THE PRESIDENT: Had none losing? You mean it stabilized because the economy was so good? Damn that economy.

In the past two years -- you want me to say two years?

(Yes)

THE PRESIDENT: "We must do more to make health care available to every American. Congress should start by passing the bipartisan bill offered by Senators Kassebaum and Kennedy to require insurance companies to stop dropping people" -- not dropping people for switching jobs, when they switch jobs. That's not the reason they do it, it just gives them a pretext. When they switch jobs -- "or denying coverage for preexisting conditions."

Now, do we want this Medicare and Medicaid thing in here? Do we need this here in this place?

(Haven't talked about it anywhere else except one word at top)

(Another reason -- a lot of different groups and interests mentioned and it gets it out of the way.)

(Keep first sentence and lose the rest of that)

THE PRESIDENT: "We must
preserve the basic

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protections Medicare and Medicaid give not just to the poor, but to the children, the disabled, people with AIDS, and senior citizens in working families." "But to people in working families, including children, the disabled, people with AIDS and senior citizens." How about that? That's clearer.

Not just to the poor, but to people in working families, including children, people with disabilities, people with AIDS, and senior citizens.

(makes it sound like poor people's programs)

THE PRESIDENT: Senior citizens and nursing homes. Do we need to do that?

(Could say, American cannot be stronger if they are weaker.)

THE PRESIDENT: I think this is worth saying. How about if we say, "In the past three years we have saved \$15 billion just by fighting health care fraud and abuse. We can save more. But we cannot abandon our fundamental obligations."

And then what's the other thing you said?

(American cannot be stronger if Medicare and Medicaid are weaker.)

THE PRESIDENT: That

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as just a soft to the Republicans here, to the goo

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-goos.

I was going to explain to the goo

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-goos that we're already down. We don't think we're doing enough in Medicare and Medicaid, that we're already below medical inflation in Medicaid, and slightly below it in Medicare with the budget we put on the table.

Isn't that right, Gene? That's what they told me.

What's Michael say?

(America cannot become stronger if they, either referencing the people, or if Medicare becomes weaker.)

(one sentence where you say after that, that's why I will not raise Medicare premiums --)

THE PRESIDENT: No. We're probably in the hole we're in today because of the way we've played this. We're always squeezing the last extra drop out of it. "We cannot abandon our fundamental obligations to them, we need Medicare and Medicaid." Go ahead. Now, we'll do Michael's sentence. What's your sentence?

(America cannot become stronger if they become weaker.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's it. Great. That's the applause line.

(From both sides.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, we're going to do something they almost have to stand up for, or they look bad. How about -- here's

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the way -- "In the past three years, we have saved \$15 billion just by fighting health care fraud and abuse. We can save more. But we cannot abandon our fundamental obligations to those who need Medicare and Medicaid. America cannot become stronger if they become weaker."

How's that?

(GEORGE: I'd say Medicare and Medicaid --)

THE PRESIDENT: No, it's the people -- you're worried about the people becoming weaker, isn't it, Michael?

(MIKE: Right.)

THE PRESIDENT: This is about the people, not government. That's the whole theory in this whole speech. "We have saved \$15 billion just by fighting health care fraud and abuse. We could save more, but we cannot abandon our fundamental obligations to those who need Medicare and Medicaid. America cannot become stronger if they become weaker." Is that all right?

(Nice.)

(Would you still do --)

THE PRESIDENT: No. Well, yes. What we saved was, we slashed through managed care incentives, blah, blah. We took that out, and then we changed the last sentence.

(The only place --

THE PRESIDENT: That's all right, yes. Leave it in. That's what's the matter with the State of the Union address. That's why people don't listen to them, because you've to push every damn little button. It's a weakness -- I think. Somebody ought to give a five

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-minute state of the union -- (laughter) -- really, this is crazy. It's too damn long. We're cutting it some.

"Now, the G.I. Bill for Workers, tax relief for education and child

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-rearing, pension availability and protection, access to health care, preservation of Medicare and Medicaid -- these things, along with the Family and Medical Leave Act passed in 1993, will help responsible, hard

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-working American families to make the most of their own lives. But employers and employees must do their part as they are in so many of our finest companies, working together, putting long

□
-term prosperity ahead of short

□
-term gains. As workers increase their hours and their productivity, employers should make sure they get the skills they need, and share the benefits of the good years as well as the burdens of the bad ones.

When companies and workers work as a team, they do better, and so does America.

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(GEORGE: You can save 50 words if you just say all of these initiatives, all of these government initiatives --)

THE PRESIDENT: I'll call them government initiatives.

(GEORGE: Make the most of their own lives, but employers and employees must do their part.)

(VP: I think you could drop those two paragraphs entirely.)

(We're going to keep the last one.)

(GEORGE: Summarize whole paragraph in one phrase --)

THE PRESIDENT: Don't call them government initiatives

(GEORGE: Okay, all of these initiatives will help hard

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-working American families make the most of their own lives. But employers and employees must do their part.)

THE PRESIDENT: You want to do that?

(All of these efforts.)

(You're only at 16 minutes -- watch what we take out -- let's see how long it is)

THE PRESIDENT: All right, all right. It's just too long. It's still too long. It ought to be 30 minutes long. It's too damn long. "Our fourth great challenge is to take back our streets from crime, gangs and drugs." Billy Graham never talked more than 20 minutes. He's more effective than I am.

(Amen. (Laughter.))

THE PRESIDENT: "At last we have begun to find a way to reduce crime. Community partnerships with local police forces, catch criminals and prevent -- forming community partnerships with local police forces to catch criminals and to prevent crime with neighborhood patrols."

(Can we just say --)

THE PRESIDENT: That's the duplicate. "This strategy, called community policing, has begun to work. Violent crime is coming down all across America. In New York City, murders are down 25 percent. In St. Louis, 18 percent. In Seattle 32 percent. But we have a long way to go before our streets are safe and our people are free of fear."

(Make it shorter by just saying our people are free of fear.)

THE PRESIDENT: "Tonight, our streets are safe and our people are free -- but we still have a long way to go before our streets are safe and our people are free of fear. The Crime Bill of 1994 is critical to the success of community policing. It provides funds for 100,000 new police in communities of all sizes."

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Gene, over how many years does this happen -- the Crime Bill? Over five years? Six years?

(GS: Six.)

THE PRESIDENT: Six years? Why don't you go back to a third of the way there?

(GS: Because we can't say a third or higher. The money's gone out for a third of them. But some communities haven't hired them yet, they haven't trained them yet, they're not on the street yet.)

THE PRESIDENT: But we're ahead of schedule, in other words?

(Yes.)

THE PRESIDENT: Is it worth saying six years?

(Not worth it.)

THE PRESIDENT: "We're already a third of the way there. I challenge the Congress to finish the job." Now, why did you take the strategy -- the whole point is that the strategy works. They have reversed -- they are trying to repeal a strategy that works just because we passed it.

(Finish the job with a strategy that's working?)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, how did I have it written before?

How did I have it before, Don? I think I had "let's stick with a strategy that works and keep the crime rate coming down." I know it's more work, but -- we have to say, the first rule of this Congress ought to be "do no harm." I mean, they've taken a laundry list, and everything we did, if it's really working, they really want to get rid of it. I mean, the reason they want to get rid of the Department of Commerce is, they are foaming at the mouth that Ron Brown is better than all of those Republican corporate executives who got those cheeky jobs because they gave big money to Republican presidential candidates. And here is this black guy who is a better Secretary of Commerce than anybody since Herbert Hoover, which he was a success at. (Laughter.)

I mean, that's true, they just can't stand it. They just go crazy, it just drives them nuts. So they will get rid -- they're like a kid that's mad in a room, you know, a two

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-they will get rid of the Department of Commerce so they'll never have to remember that Ron Brown, a black Democrat, was better than all their big, corporate muckety

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-mucks that make American jobs. I mean, it's crazy, it's unbelievable.

(Are we putting this in the speech? (Laughter.))

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THE PRESIDENT: No, but I mean, they need a rabies shot.

(The language you just had was perfect.)

THE PRESIDENT: What?

(The strategy that's working.)

THE PRESIDENT: "Let's stick with a strategy that's working.

(Keep crime rate coming down.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, you want to say finish the job.

(I like keep the crime rate going down. It's real.)

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. "Community policing requires bonds of trust between our citizens and our police. I ask all Americans to respect and support our police. To our police I say, our children need you as role models and heroes. Don't let them down." That's pretty good, I think, in light of the O.J. trial.

"The Brady Bill has already stopped 44,000 people with federal records from buying guns." Is that all it is now?

(Sounds like --)

(That's the most recent count.)

THE PRESIDENT: So we haven't had an updated count, because we had that after a year. "The assault weapons ban is keeping 19 kinds of assault weapons out of the hands of violent gangs. I challenge Congress to keep those laws on the books."

This is kind of an awkward transition, isn't it? Now we must take on gangs the way we took on the mob? Huh?

(You had said --)

THE PRESIDENT: Speaking of gangs. (Laughter.) That was terrible, that was worse. I blew it. What's the transition?

(We must do more.)

(Our children are the ones who are at the greatest risk.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, so we're going to throw them all in jail.

(They won't be on the streets anymore.)

THE PRESIDENT: This is a Raun Emmanuel --

(VP: Fighting crime successfully also means dismantling gangs.)

THE PRESIDENT: I see.

(The point is, we haven't licked the problem.)

(VP: Finally winning the war on crime also means --)

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THE PRESIDENT: One good thing that was in Robert Samuelson's excerpt of his book, one very good thing was that he pointed out that if you talk about permanent conditions as if they are problems that have a beginning, middle and an end, people are always going to be dissatisfied. So you have to talk about improving, lowering, raising, whatever. You can't talk about --)

(Making progress.)

THE PRESIDENT: Huh? Fighting against, not winning, a war. It's a really smart --

(VP: What about our next step in the fight against crime? It's to take on gangs)

THE PRESIDENT: That's good. "Our next step -- our next step in the fight against crime is to take on gangs the way we took on the mob. I'm directing the FBI and other investigative agencies to wage a coordinated war on gangs" -- I hate that war.

(Coordinated effort against gangs.)

THE PRESIDENT: Don't like that, either.

(Target gang.)

THE PRESIDENT: Target -- that's better, saves words -- "to target gangs that involve juveniles in violent crime and to seek authority to prosecute as adults teenagers who kill and maim like adults. Prosecute as adults teenagers who kill and maim like adults. And I challenge local housing authorities and tenant associations. Criminal gang members and drug dealers are destroying the lives of decent people."

Decent tenants, right? I think we ought to say decent tenants.

"From now on, residents who commit crimes and peddle drugs -- from now on, the rule for residents who commit crime and peddle drugs should be one strike and you're out." Now, why are we throwing uniforms in there?

(We don't have to. Take it out.)

THE PRESIDENT: I like that up there in the character education. If you want -- you want to put this line up there with character education? Just like that -- you could look at it, and I like the school uniform deal. We've been very supportive of that. But it doesn't go there -- you've got one strike and you're out. "I challenge every state to match federal policy to assure that serious violent criminals" -- I want to be very careful on this -- I think it's ridiculous. State sentencing laws have a lot more vagaries in federal -- most of them have to shut down at 85 percent rules under their present sentencing structure.

Do you agree with that, Ron?

(Absolutely. It's got to be violent --)

THE PRESIDENT: "Serious violent criminals serve at least 85 percent of their sentence." We don't need to use our crime bill to close a revolving door. We don't have to tell people who put

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that money up there. States know it.

"More police and punishment are important, but not enough. We must keep more of our young people out of trouble with prevention strategies not dictated by Washington, but developed in communities." That's a good line, I think. "Houston has the fewest murders in 15 years -- 19 years." Why did we do that? Why do we put that in there? I read the article in The Houston Post that says 19 years. Did Gene give you the 15 years?

(We'll check it.)

THE PRESIDENT: "has the lowest murder rate or something in 19 years, and juvenile crime has leveled off, because it both expanded community policing and got thousands of young people into sports leagues and other projects where they get good values, see good role models, and learn the right kind of teamwork. I challenge all communities and adults to give these children futures to say yes to, and I challenge Congress not to abandon the Crime Bill support of these grass

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-roots efforts.

Finally, to reduce crime and violence, we must reduce the drug problem. The challenge begins at home with parents talking to their children openly and firmly. It embraces our churches, youth groups, and our schools. I challenge Congress not to cut our support for drug

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-free schools. All over America, antidrug efforts in our schools are changing the lives of our children. People like the DARE officers are making an impression on grade school children that will give them the strength to say "no" when the time comes.

Meanwhile, we continue our efforts to cut the flow of drugs into America." I don't know if this works here -- just like, I mean, that sentence works. I'll read it and you all see. Has Barry given us a sentence? Did we ask McCaffrey to characterize what it is he's done down there?

(Yes. Worked with DEA and Colombian government to take on the Cali cartel, which is now in disarray, most of its leaders in jail or on the run.)

THE PRESIDENT: They also have used military surveillance equipment to identify drugs on boats. They have done a lot more stuff than was done -- in my first year, he wasn't down there. They have done a lot more stuff than they were doing before. We need to find some way -- we'll see -- "tonight, I am nominating a hero of the Persian Gulf War and Commander of our U.S. forces south of our border." Commander of our forces -- our military forces. I don't know if "south of our border" is the way to say it, but --

(Down Mexico way. (Laughter.))

(Our forces in Latin America.)

THE PRESIDENT: No, they're not in Latin America; they're in the Caribbean, they're in the Pacific. They're in the Atlantic. They're in Central America, they're everywhere. It's the Southern Command, it's south of our border. How am I going to say it? Any of the military guys here got a better idea?

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(Southern Command sounds very impressive.)

THE PRESIDENT: The Commander of the Southern Command?

(Head of the Southern Command)

(VP: Or you could say our U.S. forces in South and Central America.)

(Southern Command sounds--)

THE PRESIDENT: That sounds better? The proper thing is Commander

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-Chief of the Southern Command. That's the proper title.

Commander

-In

-Chief of U.S. Forces, Southern Command, General Barry McCaffrey as America's new Drug Czar. In the last two years, he has made unprecedented use of the military to stop -- to protect us from drugs.

(VP: I think it's a little awkward to say he has made unprecedented use of the military.)

THE PRESIDENT: So what shall I say.

(GEORGE: I think you can take it out. General Barry McCaffrey is America's new drug czar. General McCaffrey has won three purple hearts --)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but you don't -- it's important that the American people know that he spent a major part of the last two years using the military to fight the drug war.

(Why not say that?)

THE PRESIDENT: He has skillfully deployed our military resources, and --

(To help our allies.)

(VP: He has played the key role in our unprecedented use of the military.)

TAPE 4

THE PRESIDENT: How about this? This is a little longer, but I think it's fair. See if this -- "He has skillfully deployed our military resources in support of efforts to break the Cali cartel and to identify and confiscate illegal drugs headed to the United States today."

(VP: That's fine. The only problem I have with that is that you're the one who deploys our military. That's -- it just rubs me a little the wrong way."

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THE PRESIDENT: Employed. Employed, used. Commanded. "Our military's efforts in support of efforts to help break the Cali cartel, and to identify and confiscate illegal drugs headed for the United States."

(: Good.)

THE PRESIDENT: We know that they are a threat to our national security.

(GS: Shorten it up to say "confiscate.")

THE PRESIDENT: "Confiscate." "He knows they are a threat to our national security."

(: You don't need that.)

THE PRESIDENT: You don't want to say that?

(: I just don't think you need it.)

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. "General McCaffrey has won three purple hearts fighting for America."

(: Can I change that a little bit? "General McCaffrey has earned three purple hearts and four gold stars fighting for America.")

THE PRESIDENT: Is that right?

(: He's a four
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-star general, right?)

(: That's his rank, four stars. He's a four
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-star general.)

THE PRESIDENT: He won two silver stars didn't he?

(: Yeah.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's a bigger deal.

(: I just wanted to make it that he's a four
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-star general.)

THE PRESIDENT: What should I say, guys? What would be the most impressive thing?

(: The gold stars I would shy away from.)

THE PRESIDENT: The gold stars, that's a -- you can't say -- that's not military. Should I say he won two silver stars? That's a big deal.

(: How about three purple hearts and two silver stars fighting for America?)

THE PRESIDENT: That's a big deal, the silver star. How many military people do you think have won? What percentage of the people in combat do you think have won two silver stars?

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(: I would say it's a very small percent.)

THE PRESIDENT: You know, I read the records of every person I appoint to three

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-star or four

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-star general. There's almost nobody who has won three silver stars. McCaffrey's arm looked like it went through the meat grinder. That's where he got most of his wounds.

"He has won three purple hearts and two silver stars fighting for America." Do you know that two silver stars is right?

(: I'm checking it.)

THE PRESIDENT: I can't remember. "Tonight I ask that he lead our nation's battle against drugs at home and abroad. To succeed he needs a force larger than he has ever commanded. He needs all of us. We all have a role to play on this team. Thank you, General McCaffrey for agreeing to serve your country one more time."

That's pretty good, don't you think?

(: That's really good.)

THE PRESIDENT: Then he's going to salute and I'm going to salute.

(: And it is two silver stars.)

THE PRESIDENT: "Our fifth challenge is to leave our environment safe and clean for the next generation. Because of a generation of bipartisan-effort we have cleaner air and water; lead levels in children's blood has been cut by 70 percent; and toxic emissions from factories cut in half. Lake Erie was dead, now it lives."

(Laughter.)

(VP: "Now it is a thriving resource.")

THE PRESIDENT: "Now it's a thriving resource." Is it better to identify Lake Erie, or to say that all over America lakes and rivers that were dead are now --

(GS: Actually, I would say --)

(VP: I think Lake Erie is a good, specific example.)

(GS: Mr. President, "Lake Erie was dead, now you can swim and fish in it.")

THE PRESIDENT: How about that?

(VP: What's wrong with it just the way it is? "Now it's a thriving resource.")

THE PRESIDENT: It's all right. It's all right. "But 10 million children under 12 still will live within four miles of a toxic waste dump. A third of us breathe air which endangers our health." Is that true?

(VP: Yes.)

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THE PRESIDENT: I thought it was 20 percent. Okay. "And in too many communities, water is not safe to drink. We still have much to do. Yet, Congress has voted to cut environmental enforcement by 25 percent. That means more toxic chemicals in our water; more smoke from smog, choking our air; more pesticides in our food. Lobbyists for the polluters have been allowed to write their own loopholes into bills, to weaken laws that protect the health and safety of our children. I challenge Congress to reverse those priorities. We can expand the economy without hurting the environment. In fact, we can create more jobs over the long run by cleaning it up."

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Is that all right?

(VP: Yeah, it's great.)

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think that's too tough, do you?

(VP: They deserve it.)

THE PRESIDENT: Some of these people are trying to eviscerate me every day.

"We must challenge businesses and communities to take more initiative and make it easier for them to do so. But businesses were saying, 'If you could find a cheaper, more efficient way than government regulations to meet tough pollution standards, do it; as long as you do it right.'"

Now, this is awkward here. I think this is --

(GS: You know where that should go? That should go up in the upper paragraph --)

(VP: Yeah, I think that's right.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah.

(GS: -- loopholes in the bills." And then right after that say, "And some in Congress want to make taxpayers pick up the tab for toxic waste and let polluters off the hook. I say the polluters should pay. Challenge" --)

(VP: No, no -- "I challenge Congress to reverse those priorities. I say the polluters should pay. We can expand the economy without hurting the environment.")

(GS: Yeah. Fine. Good.)

THE PRESIDENT: Good. Okay. "So say to your children, 'Some in Congress want to make taxpayers pick up the tab for toxic waste and let polluters off the hook.' I challenge Congress to reverse those priorities."

(: You know, that sounds like the polluters -- the priorities are pick up the tab and let polluters off the hook.)

(VP: Well, if you reverse the priorities you make the polluters pick up the tab. Let the taxpayers off the hook.)

THE PRESIDENT: See, "I challenge Congress to reverse those priorities. I say the polluters should pay. We can expand the economy without hurting the environment. In fact, we can create more

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jobs over the long run by cleaning it up." Okay?

(VP: Yeah.)

THE PRESIDENT: All right. Then you say, "To business (inaudible) you can find" --

(VP: "As long as you do it right." And then you go down to the --

THE PRESIDENT: And then you say, "To communities we say we'll expand right

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-know laws, requiring polluters to disclose their emissions. But you must use the information to work with business to cut pollution." Okay?

(VP: Yeah. I actually think it's better the way it is.)

THE PRESIDENT: You do?

(VP: Yeah.)

THE PRESIDENT: All right. Okay. "Our sixth challenge is to maintain America's leadership in the fight for freedom and peace. Because of American leadership, more people than ever before live free and in peace. And Americans have known 50 years of prosperity and security. We owe thanks especially to our veterans and to the people on freedom's home front, who kept the flame burning." What's that about?

(: Veterans.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what's that last phrase about?

(VP: During the 50th commemorations there have been special commemorations for all the people who stayed at home and recycled and, you know, collected tires and, you know -- it was --)

THE PRESIDENT: "During our wars," how about that? Because this doesn't reference World War II. This references 50 years.

(VP: I think it's implied, but -- you could just --)

THE PRESIDENT: All right. "All over the world people still look to us." Since you're going to do that, you've got to do that.

"People still look to us and trust us to help them seek the blessings of peace and freedom. But as the Cold War fades, voices of isolation say America should retreat from its responsibility. I say they are wrong. The threats we Americans face respect no nation's borders: terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, drug trafficking, ethnic and religious hatred, aggression by rogue states, environmental degradation.

"If we fail to address these threats today, we will suffer the consequences of our neglect tomorrow. We can't be everywhere, we can't do everything. But where our interests and our values are at stake, and where we can make a difference, America must lead. We must not be isolationists or the world's policeman. But we can be its best peace maker by keeping our military strong, by using diplomacy where we can and force where we must."

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Do we need all that in there?

(: They say so.)

THE PRESIDENT: They say so, but if it was up to them, we'd have 30 more pages in this thing.

(: We tried -- we've taken it out before.)

THE PRESIDENT: "While working with others who share the risk and cost of our efforts, America is making a difference for people around the world."

(GS: I think we need it.)

THE PRESIDENT: You do?

(GS: Yeah.)

THE PRESIDENT: Sounds great. (Laughter.) It all sounds great. "For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age" -- what?

(GS: Well, it's a little farther up, but in this section. I just -- I can understand if you don't want to do it, but there's some reasons to think about it. When you thank the veterans, including those in [inaudible] chamber, like Majority Leader Dole who was a hero to his country 50 years ago --)

THE PRESIDENT: Why should I single him out?

(GS: He's going on after you. He's the Majority Leader. You've got the Speaker there. He comes on after you. I think it will make any attack he does after that look very, very small.)

(VP: It makes you look -- you know, I think you ought to get advice from others who have thoughts on this, because it's a very delicate point. But my own sense is it makes you look big by -- everybody thinks he's the nominee, and you're not a veteran, he is. If you're big enough to say to him, you know, "We admire what you did. You're a symbol of this," he's going to get that chip anyway and if you give it to him it discounts it for him.)

(GS: I've been watching him closely and he has nothing to say. And all the time he just gets more negative. And if you all year long are going to be able to say, in front of the whole country, "I saluted your service," I think it's a great thing to have in your back pocket.)

(VP: Yeah.)

(GS: Think about it.)

(VP: When I presided over the Congress 50th commemoration, I really larded it on and said, "Anybody who knows the story of Bob Dole knows something about the meaning of true courage," and blah, blah, blah. And he really appreciated it, got a good response. And people think that about him anyway, you know? Anybody disagree with these sentiments?)

THE PRESIDENT: I'm just wondering whether if I do it --

(GS: [Inaudible] idea.)

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THE PRESIDENT: Here's what I'm worried about -- I'm not worried about that. You know, I bend over too much that way. I more worried about, you know, what's it going to make all those people who are sticking up for us? Like Bob Kerrey and --

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(GS: Well, Michael just said, you know, both of them lost a limb, essentially. Bob Kerrey and Bob Dole, including those in this chamber who have sacrificed so much." You could say McCain was a person of wary, Kerrey and Dole.)

(: Then you'll leave somebody out --)

(VP: You've got Inouye, the POWs --)

(GS: I think you ought to think about it. I think it's a big deal if you can say something nice about them in a throw

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-away that you'll
be able to use a lot.)

THE PRESIDENT: You think I should single him out?

(GS: Yes.)

THE PRESIDENT: Even over Inouye?

(VP: I think you ought to try it on for size and see how it feels, and think about it.)

(GS: Think about it.)

THE PRESIDENT: Back up to where we were, right? Okay. "America is making a difference for people here and around the world. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, there are no Russian missiles pointed at America's children. North Korea has now frozen its dangerous nuclear weapons program. In Haiti, the dictators are gone, democracy has a new day, and the flow of desperate refugees to our shores has ended. Through tougher trade deals for America, over 80 of them, we have opened markets abroad and now exports are at an all

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-time high, growing faster than imports and creating American jobs."

"We stood with those taking risks for peace in Northern Ireland, where Catholic and Protestant children now tell their parents violence can return. And in the Middle East, where Arabs and Jews, once seemed destined to fight forever, share knowledge, resources and dreams." Now share.

(-- the same destiny.)

(Yes, that's it.)

THE PRESIDENT: "Where children now tell their parents where" -- and then now share. "And we stood up for peace in Bosnia. Remember, the skeletal prisoners, young men in mass graves, the campaigns of rape and torture, endless of lines of refugees, the threat of a spreading war, all these have now given way to hope for peace."

Now our troops and a strong NATO, together with its new partners from Central Europe" -- they're not just from Central Europe, they're from all over.

(From the East --)

THE PRESIDENT: They're from -- well, they're from Turkey, they're from Bangladesh, they're from -- you know. I mean, Turkey, broadly

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defined, I guess you say Turkey is Central Europe, but it's --
(Or you could say from the East. The NSC just wanted to reach out to --)

(VP: They're not just from the East.)
(So from all over the world.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

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(VP: From Eastern Europe and from all over the world.)

THE PRESIDENT: I know what they want. They want me to pump the Partnership for Peace.

(VP: Right --)

THE PRESIDENT: It would be good if -- you know, the Governor of Arkansas used to have to give two inaugural speeches, one in the chamber of the legislature and then one on the steps of the capital. That's what we ought to do with the State of the Union. We ought to be able to go up there in the afternoon and talk for three hours and 15 minutes and mention every interest group and every -- (laughter) -- and then go out -- go back and night and speak for 15 minutes and tell the country what you want to say.

(VP: Well, these countries don't have that many electoral votes --)
(Next year.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that's all right. There's new partners from Central Europe and elsewhere.

(Now, do you want to -- you were just there with the troops. Do you want to say something else here, or I guess we've said it already at the top.)

THE PRESIDENT: You might make a reference to --
(Didn't anybody say anything to you about how that they were -- he or she was proud of what they were doing --)

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely.

(Just say something like that right there. -- write it in, but that's exactly the place to put it.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. "Through these efforts we have enhanced the security of the American people. But important challenges remain. The START II Treaty with Russia will cut out nuclear stockpiles by another 25 percent. I urge the Senate to ratify it now. We must end the race to create new nuclear weapons by signing a truly comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty this year."

"We can outlaw poison gas forever if the Senate approves the chemical weapons convention this year. We can help more people move from hatred to hope if Congress gives us the means to remain leaders for peace. We must take the fight to terrorists and organized criminals at home and abroad. I challenge Congress to pass legislation --" I think finally pass, I sound a little -- there. I've been hitting them on the substance, you know, and I don't --
(Okay.)

THE PRESIDENT: You know, I don't -- throughout this whole speech to Congress. Besides I got that awful habeas corpus provision in there.

(We don't have the next part.)

THE PRESIDENT: Congress should -- you think I ought to leave this in here, Al?

(VP: Which part?)

THE PRESIDENT: The anti

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-terrorism bill?

(VP: Uhhh, well, if we're going to refer to the bombing a little bit later on, I think it's fine. Truthfully, I don't think it has much traction, because I don't think the people -- you know, I just -- I don't think -- it's okay in or out. I would leave it in. But it does jar a little bit coming at the end of a foreign policy --.)

THE PRESIDENT: I just think we ought to -- how about this: "We must

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take the fight to terrorists and organized criminals at home and abroad. Congress should pass the anti

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-terrorism legislation I

proposed after the Oklahoma City bombing now." That's not bad.
(VP: It's not bad. It does jar a little bit. The line ahead of it gives us the means to remain leaders for peace is a nice conclusory phrase.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you know what else? Why don't we put it up there with the list of things? Why don't we put it there?

(GS: We can outlaw poison gas forever -- this year. And we must take the fight to terrorists and organized criminals at home and abroad by passing the terrorist act this year.)

THE PRESIDENT: How about this: "We can take the fight to terrorists and organized criminals at home and abroad." We don't want to say we're not doing it; we're going to say, we can -- this is not the right word, but in the parallelism of that litany, you want to say, "we can increase the fight against terrorists and organized criminals at home and abroad if Congress will pass the anti

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-terrorism

legislation I proposed after the Oklahoma City bombing."

(GS: Intensify.)

(Expand.)

THE PRESIDENT: "We can intensify our fight" -- "intensify our fight against terrorism and organized criminals at home and abroad if Congress passes" -- that the way -- "Congress passes the antiterrorism legislation I proposed after the Oklahoma City bombing now." Okay.

"We can help more people move from hatred to hope if Congress gives us the means to remain leaders for peace."

(Good.)

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, that's better.

"The last challenge to all of us here --

(What do people have? They don't have this --)

(You see the thought was -- these challenges. What remains is political reform and then him going into the ending --)

THE PRESIDENT: And REGO. We're going to talk about REGO.

(Political reform, government reform, REGO, and then going into the ending, which is really what Americans have to do together, right?

So the question is whether we come out of the -- enumerated challenges and go to something like this, and then you have --)

THE PRESIDENT: But it's wrong, because then we go -- we're going to meet these challenges through government. That is the whole point we don't want to make. I mean, I don't how -- I don't know what the answer of that is, but I'm just telling you that -- if our point is that the -- yes, the American people have to be more personally responsible, but they have to solve these problems together. And yes, the government has to be smaller, but the government has a role to play to empower people to make the most of their own lives -- to maintain the social safety net and to set certain standards for a clean environment and national security and all that. That's the point. So that we -- we say we support --

(Let's just make it a challenge then.)

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know that that's the right way to do it. I'm just saying that you can't say how are we going to do this, and you go right into saying -- what I think you want to say is that if we in Washington are going to fulfill our responsibilities to help the American people meet these challenges, it will require a different, a very different kind of government. It will have to be smaller and less bureaucratic; it will have to focus more on results than rules; it will have to give more flexibility to state and local governments and

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empower them to figure out how to solve problems and -- have to work in partnership with community groups; work more in partnership with state and local governments and community groups. And it will have to be able to earn the respect and trust of the American people. And then what I thought we could do is say "last year" -- we need to say, "let's start" -- somebody -- you're typing this -- you're taping this, aren't you? Let's start with the last point first. "Last year Congress applied to itself the laws that apply to America" -- America, that's crazy.

(Laws that apply to everyone else.)

THE PRESIDENT: "that apply to everybody else." "Applied to itself the laws they apply to everyone else, banned gifts of meals from lobbyists, and forced lobbyists to disclose who pays them and what legislation they are trying to pass or kill. I applaud that. I applaud that."

"Last year, this Congress, -- I applaud that. Now, I challenge Congress to go further. Curb special interest influence in politics by passing the first truly bipartisan campaign finance reform bill in a generation." Do I have to say Thompson is up next time. Can I just say McCain and Feingold?

(Yes.)

THE PRESIDENT: I don't have to say Thompson, too, do I? Al, you want me to do that?

(VP: He does not have an opponent. I don't know how prominent he is in the sponsorship of this thing.)

(GS: Everybody knows it was McCain and Feingold.)

(VP: McCain and Feingold, yes --)

(-- more to have two Republicans, but it's fine --)

THE PRESIDENT: "Introduced by Senators McCain and Feingold." Are there more than three names on the bill?

(It's known as the McCain

□

-Feingold --)

(It's known as McCain

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-Feingold. You're okay.)

THE PRESIDENT: "Show the American people we can limit spending and open the airwaves to all candidates. And I appeal to Congress to give me the line item veto you promised to give me in your Contract." You think I ought to say the Contract? No. I don't like saying we must change the entire --. "Beyond that we must continue our efforts to change the way government works, to make it more flexible" -- "thanks to the work of Vice President Gore and the" -- whatever, reinventing government thing -- "we are eliminating 16,000 pages of unnecessary rules and regulations, shifting responsibility out of Washington back to states and communities."

(VP: You know, you've -- the single most -- okay, go ahead.)

THE PRESIDENT: "And working in partnership and doing more -- doing more -- to enable individuals and community groups

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6023

CREATOR: Margaret M. Suntum (SUNTUM_M) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 23-JAN-1996 18:00:59.95

SUBJECT: SPEECH PREP -- TRANSCRIPT #5

COPY

TO: Gabrielle M. Bushman (BUSHMAN_G) (WHO)

READ: 24-JAN-1996 15:17:05.72

TO: Kristin Leight (LEIGHT_K) (WHO)

READ: 23-JAN-1996 18:03:59.90

TEXT:

PRINTER FONT 12_POINT_COURIER

TAPE 5

THE PRESIDENT: -- shifting more decision

-making, not
responsibility -- "decision"

-making out of Washington back to states
and communities and doing more in partnership with individuals and
community groups."

And then I would say -- Al, do you like the way this is worded?

(That paragraph you just finished?)

THE PRESIDENT: That was all right, but the next one I'm worried about.

(VP: I have a suggestion, but the last one -- "we are creating a government that works better and costs less" -- that's the one that gets the most resonance.)

THE PRESIDENT: We must continue our efforts to

create a government --

we are creating a government that works better and costs less. We must continue this effort. Thanks to the work of Vice President Gore we are eliminating 16,000 pages of unnecessary rules and regulations, shifting decision

-making out of Washington back to states and
developing more partnerships with individuals and community groups.

America's communities don't need more bureaucracy.

(next sentence "our government must work in new ways" -- I would consider prefacing that by saying "as we move inevitably into the era of smaller government and balanced budgets, our government must work in new ways to honor old values. Then "we're helping America's communities not with bureaucracy, but by enabling the people who live there to make the most of their own lives."

The comment I was going to make about this paragraph, if we reference community development banks -- we've got to have a reference to empowerment zones)

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THE PRESIDENT: That's right. Did Henry ask for this build houses and start businesses, or did somebody else insist on putting it in?

(just mention community development banks, that's all that matters.

THE PRESIDENT: How about this? "As we move into an era of balanced budgets and smaller government, we must work in new ways to honor old values. Not with bureaucracies, but by enabling the people -- We must work in new ways to honor old values. Helping America's communities, not with bureaucracy, but by enabling the people who live there to make the most of their own lives through the successful empowerment zones, enterprise communities and community development banks that enable people in poor areas to get jobs and start businesses; and new incentives to companies to clean up abandoned industrial property and bring jobs back to urban and rural areas that desperately need them.

How's that?

(And you could say "not with bureaucracy, but with opportunity.")

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. "We are helping America's communities not with bureaucracy, but with opportunity, enabling people who live in them to make the most of their own lives through our successful empowerment zones and community development banks, to help people in poor areas to get jobs and start businesses; and new incentives for companies to clean up abandoned industrial property, bringing jobs back to areas that desperately need them."

Then in the next one on the immigration thing, I think we need another connector there where we say, but there are some areas that the federal government must address directly and strongly. One of these is the problem of illegal immigration. We are increasing border patrols by 50 percent. We are increasing inspections to find illegal immigrants in the workplace. And tonight I announce that I will sign --

I wish we could have one sentence in here that reflects the summary of all that great press we got a couple of weeks ago, that we're actually slowing the flow of illegal immigrants. We had that great press on television. It was like paid political ads on all the networks of our illegal immigration initiative. And this doesn't reference any achievement there.

(we are stopping illegal immigrants from crossing the border --)

THE PRESIDENT: No, I want to know what the television consensus was. "After years and years of neglect, this administration has taken a strong stand to protect our borders, to increase efforts to inspect workplaces for illegal immigrants. And tonight I will sign an executive order to deny federal contracts to businesses that hire illegal immigrants.

"Let me be clear, we are still a nation of immigrants, and we honor all those immigrants who are working hard to become new citizens. But we must also be a nation of laws." We want to end it right there.

(says, "five challenges I've discussed thus far are for all America, but the sixth challenge is America's challenge to us, here in this Chamber tonight.)

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THE PRESIDENT: On that welfare thing, instead of just challenging people on welfare and businesses, I think that's one place to say that we applaud the work of church groups and other community groups who care for the poor and work for the poor. We applaud them. We want to do more with them because we know that they, more than any press, more than any other group in America, understand the difficulty of this task and are in a position to succeed.

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We need to really lay it on and really compliment them. That's localism on social problems. Okay?

I like that. "We've talked about the challenge to America and what we all have to do. I'd like to close with a special challenge that you have for the federal government --

(not closing -- use what he wrote.)

THE PRESIDENT: "The five challenges I've discussed this far are for all America. But our sixth challenge is America's challenge to us here tonight."

(Just say the last one is my challenge from the American people.)

THE PRESIDENT: Then before we get into the federal work force, I think I ought to say, "I want to say a special word about those who work for the federal government. Today the federal work force is 205,000 employees smaller than it was the day I took office. It's the smallest federal government we have had in 30 years."

People gasp when I say that as a percentage of the civilian work force, it's the smallest federal government since 1933. Do you think that's worth saying, Michael, or not? It's almost hard to believe.

The federal government is the smallest it has been in 30 years, and it's getting smaller every day. And the workers who remain with us are working harder.

(something about that phrase, "working harder" that --)

THE PRESIDENT: I like the way I say it colloquially -

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mean I know we don't need any more words, but the way I've been saying it colloquially is "most of you probably didn't know that, and there are two good reasons. First of all, for the jobs that were eliminated, we had a humane package of early retirement and severance benefits to give those people a chance to start another successful life. Secondly, the federal workers who are left behind are working harder and working smarter. The American people have not suffered from the downsizing of the federal work force."

(Last part is fine, first part too many words in a speech that has a length problem. working harder and working smarter --)

THE PRESIDENT: I think saying, "most of you probably didn't know that and there's a good reason. The remaining federal work force is composed of Americans who are working harder and working smarter to make sure that the quality of our services has not declined."

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Take Richard Dean. He's worked for Social Security for 22 years. During the Oklahoma City bombing --

(VP: If I could interrupt there, it seems to me you can milk that phrase a little bit more with some reference to the fact he was inside the building in Oklahoma -- the federal building in Oklahoma City when the blast that killed so many Americans brought rubble down all around him. He went back into the building four times and saved the lives of three women. I think you can milk this.)

THE PRESIDENT: "Last year, he worked in the federal building in Oklahoma City." "He was working in the federal building in Oklahoma City."

(VP: He was hard at work in the federal building in Oklahoma City when the terrorists last killed x number of people and brought the rubble down all around him.)

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, after the bomb exploded he reentered the destroyed building four times, saved the lives of three women." This doesn't make any sense -- we never forget the brave people who served us --

(VP: Yes, that line doesn't work. He's here with us this evening. I want to recognize Richard and applaud his heroism -- his public service and his heroism.)

THE PRESIDENT: Do you think I should recognize him first --

(VP: Yes, recognize him -- I want to recognize -- he is here with us this evening, and I want to recognize Richard and applaud both his public service and his extraordinary heroism, and then have him -- have him stand up, have the applause, you know, standing ovation; then he sits down; then you say, but his story doesn't end there.)

THE PRESIDENT: All right, all right. "In November he was forced out of his office when the government shut down. The second time the government shut down, he continued working -- this time, without pay. Let us promise Richard, Congress should never" -- this default thing doesn't work.

(VP: No, it doesn't. Take out the line that says threaten the United States with default and never ever -- let's move that down. I think it should be, "the second time the government shut down, he continued helping Social Security recipients, working without pay. Let us promise -- let us make this commitment to Richard and his family. Congress should never shut the federal government down again."

(GS: "Richard did his duty; we should do ours. So I challenge Congress to never shut down the government again. And I -- challenge Congress" --. "Richard and all his colleagues do their duty every day." I just think it's wrong in a speech that you've had 50 challenges to all of a sudden not challenge them to do two of the most central things in the speech and to make it --.)

THE PRESIDENT: "Let us make this commitment to Richard and all of his other colleagues that" -- "let us accept the challenge" -- "let Congress accept the challenge to never ever to shut the federal government" --. You see, if I promise Richard, it makes it look like I shut the government down. I didn't shut the government down. I don't want to get --

(GS: I agree with that, but I don't like we or us --)
(-- I challenge Congress.)

(GS: No, that's why I'm saying Richard did his duty --)
(Or how about I challenge you to join me in this --)

(VP: On behalf of Richard and his family, I challenge all of you here in this chamber.)

(GS: You shouldn't accept any responsibility for this at all.)

(VP: I challenge all of you here in this chamber -- never ever shut the federal government down.)

THE PRESIDENT: -- really going to end on a downer for the

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Republicans. I mean, I guess it's all right being on a downer for the Republicans, but it's going to --

(VP: Well, no, -- speaking of downers --)

(You're coming back to the --)

(VP: Speaking of downers, I think that immediately after that, you need to do something on the default. And then, then after that, you pick it back up at the end.)

(GS: Yes, you have three more minutes after this.)

THE PRESIDENT: Gee, this is going on forever. I'm bored with it.

(VP: I don't think -- I don't think they'll be bored with this part.)

THE PRESIDENT: Okay, now -- "and I challenge Congress --

(VP: And let me add --)

(I was going to say, and on behalf of all of those -- some reference to Social Security.)

(GS: Yes. I challenge Congress to preserve the full faith and credit of the United States and pass a clean --)

(On behalf of all Americans.)

(GS: And on behalf of all Americans, pass a clean -- and prevent the country from going into default.)

(VP: You know, my instinct is that the transition, having done this, the transition to the default sentence ought to be something that says that, you know, let's be clear that the damage which would come from a default is infinitely greater than the damage that comes from a government shutdown. And we can't afford to do that even once. And something like that.)

(If you go from Richard and his family to on behalf of all Americans by telling Congress to never -- right? -- default on the full faith and credit of the -- you've escalated it to something that impacts everybody.)

(GS: -- all Americans, I challenge Congress to preserve the full faith and credit of the United States and to pass a clean debt limit to prevent the United States from --)

THE PRESIDENT: And we should be -- yes, I think we --. "On behalf of all Americans, I challenge Congress to preserve the full faith and credit of the United States to honor our obligations as we have for 220 years to pass an extension of the debt limit."

(VP: And we must rise above partisanship and resolve to pay our debts. Failing to do so even once would be a national --)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, say a clean extension or unincumbered extension?

(VP: I think that's inside the Beltway stuff -- clean extension stuff.)

(-- think we need one clean shot at --)

(VP: Avoid -- bankruptcy is the word that people understand.)

(We don't need more than one --)

(-- need to say something, otherwise it's going to come right back and hit you in the face. -- want to use clean, but you've got to say something --)

(VP: Oh, I see what you mean. I see what you mean.)

(Straightforward.)

THE PRESIDENT: Unincumbered, straightforward?

(GS: Without any threats, without --)

(VP: Or political triggering.)

THE PRESIDENT: What do you think we should use?

(I would say something that is just one or two words.)

THE PRESIDENT: Straightforward. They'll know what I mean.

(-- straightforward debt --)

(Without any catches)

(But straightforward to us --)

THE PRESIDENT: Straightforward is good, yes.

"And on behalf of all Americans, I challenge Congress to preserve the full faith and credit of the United States to honor our obligations as we have for 220 years, to rise above partisanship and pass an

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straightforward extension of the debt limit."

I don't know about this. It just goes on and on and on.

(VP: What part are you up to?)

THE PRESIDENT: And I like the ending.

(GS: I think we're almost there.)

THE PRESIDENT: All right. "I have asked a lot of America this evening, but I am confident when Americans gather in their homes, their schools, their churches or at work, they have far greater power to shape our nation's destiny than do any of us in this august chamber."

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (ALL-IN-1 MAIL)

6024

CREATOR: Margaret M. Suntum (SUNTUM_M) (WHO)

CREATION DATE/TIME: 23-JAN-1996 17:51:05.26

SUBJECT: SPEECH PREP -- TRANSCRIPT #6

COPY

TO: Gabrielle M. Bushman (BUSHMAN_G) (WHO)

READ: 24-JAN-1996 15:16:24.90

TO: Kristin Leight (LEIGHT_K) (WHO)

READ: 23-JAN-1996 17:51:14.10

TEXT:

PRINTER FONT 12_POINT_COURIER

(G.S.: Say era of big government is over.)

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I don't know. It just doesn't make sense here.

This "august" chamber. I mean, why down this -- just say, Americans, not "gather."

When Americans work together in their homes, their schools, their churches --

"They can meet any challenge. I have asked a lot of Americans tonight, but I am confident, when Americans work together in their homes, their schools, their churches, with civic groups or at work, they can meet any challenge. So I say again: The era of big government is over. The era of" -- we can't use this. This is not politically correct.

The era of you're

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-out

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-there

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-on

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-your

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-own.

(D.B.: Era of fending for yourself is over.)

THE PRESIDENT: Can't we say we can't go back to fending for yourself? We want to make it look like they're trying to take the country back, not forward. This theory of theirs, to destroy the federal government is going back. We can't go back.

"We can't go back to the era of fending for yourself. We must go forward. The era of working together, as a community, as a team, as one America --

I still don't think that we've quite got it. But, anyway: "I want you to meet two people tonight who show us what all this means. Dr. Lucius Wright is a teacher in the Jackson, Mississippi public school system. A Vietnam veteran, he has created groups that help inner city children turn away from gangs and build futures they can believe in. And Sergeant Jennifer Rogers is a police officer in Oklahoma City. Last April 19, after the bombing occurred," -- that's all that I have to say now that I've done it already --

"She reminds us that in their response to this tragedy" -- not to say they, she -- "the people of Oklahoma City lifted us all with their basic sense of values and community. Lucius Wright and Jennifer Rogers" -- said that in the beginning -- "are special Americans."

"I have the honor tonight to announce that they are the first of several thousands Americans" -- have they all already been chosen?

D.B.: No. These are the very first two.

THE PRESIDENT: Who will be chosen.

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"I have the honor tonight to announce that they are the first of several thousand Americans who will be chosen to carry the Olympic torch on its long journey from Los Angeles to the centennial of the modern Olympics in Atlanta this summer. They are not star athletes. They are star citizens -- selected because they are community heroes, meeting America's challenges. America's real champions."

(G.S.: Community heroes meeting America's challenges, America's real champions. Take out "the selected because they are." Just pause.)

THE PRESIDENT: But that leaves open the question that -- I mean, we want everybody to know that all one thousand of these people are going to be selected.

(You get the meaning of it.)

THE PRESIDENT: Okay. How about this? How about using the word citizens? The one thing I don't like about this -- I hate to say it, I know we don't have -- nowhere have we said, look, none of this is going to work unless all of you in your community reach across the lines that divide us and try to find common ground. Do not support -- do not support an atmosphere of division and rancor. You know -- (D.B.: Need atmosphere of cooperation.)

THE PRESIDENT: Here's the way I think we should -- Look -- "Lucius Wright and Jennifer Rogers are special Americans. I have the honor tonight to announce that they are the very first of several thousand citizens who will be chosen to carry the Olympic torch on this long journey from Los Angeles to the centennial of the modern Olympics in Atlanta this summer -- not because they are star athletes, but because they are star citizens -- community heroes meeting America's challenges. They are America's real champions. Each of us must hold high the torch of citizenship in our own lives. But none of us can finish the race alone. We can only achieve our destiny together -- one hand, one generation, one American connecting to another. There have always been things we could do together, dreams we have made real which we could have never done apart. We Americans have forged our identity, our very union from every point of view and every point on the planet. Bound by a faith more powerful than any doctrines that divide us, by our belief in progress, our love of liberty and our relentless search for common ground, America has always sought and risen to the challenge. America cannot wait for the future. Everywhere we turn" -- this doesn't make sense -- everywhere we turn it waits for us.

(It works without it. America cannot wait for the future -- we must seize it. See where that is?)

THE PRESIDENT: Nobody said that anyway. I mean, why would we end on a negative?

(G.S.: Now we must seize our next challenge.)

THE PRESIDENT: No.

"America must not wait for the future, we must seize it. Together" I think it's just better to say, "America must not wait for the future. We must seize it -- together. America is and always has been a great and good country."

No, no. Here.

(Try rhetorical questions.)

THE PRESIDENT: I got it.

(D.B.: Tuesday's draft.)

THE PRESIDENT: I like this. "Let us strive to be like these everyday champions. They show us a different kind of strength and endurance and a lot of heart. They show us we each do our part. We reach our destinations -- together. And when we do, we know the joy of a special victory where every American has a chance to win." How about this?

(G.S.: Take out the future lines. Seize the future is a cliché.)

THE PRESIDENT: How about, "Who is to say that having come so far together, we cannot go forward together now? Who is to say that this age of possibility is not for all Americans?"

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That's good, but it kind of screws up that age of possibility.

(Save age of possibility to the end.)

How about this, "America is and always has been a great and good country. But the best is yet to come -- if we all do our part."

(G.S.: That's good.)

THE PRESIDENT: I think that's better than nothing stops us. It sounds like there are people at war with us. We're at war with ourselves. That's what's the matter with this.

(Age of possibility at end.)

THE PRESIDENT: I just don't think it squares with the way people feel about things now. I think it sounds nice, but it's inconsistent with the way people are. I think they want to hear that if we all do our part, we can make the most of our own lives and --

(Could you go through ending so we could hear?)

THE PRESIDENT: I was going to say, "Bound by a faith more powerful than any doctrines that divide us, by our belief in progress, our love of liberty and our relentless search for common ground, America has always sought and risen to the challenge. Who is to say that, having come so far together, we cannot go forward together now? Who is to say that this age of possibility is not for all Americans? America is and always has been a great and good country. But the best is yet to come -- if we all do our part, together. Thank you, God bless you and God bless the United States."

(V.P. Let me suggest short insert before the last two phrases. I talk this evening not about guarantees, but about challenges. What happens now is up to us, and then you go right into your final.)

THE PRESIDENT: Can I get a printed copy of this and can we see if we can't take some of it out. It's so long. It's just too long.

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