

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

001-memo

John Holum to POTUS; re: Nixon Center Speech (1 page)

02/28/1995

P5

4308

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 423

FOLDER TITLE:

Nixon Center, 3/1/95 - Agency Comments

Jimmie Purvis

2006-0460-F

jp2589

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

- 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.

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

COPY

UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

Washington, D.C. 20451

THE DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

I've had an opportunity to review an early draft of your Nixon Center speech, and am delighted that you're doing it and with its direction. It is valid and important to separate the isolationist far right from the bipartisan internationalist tradition, and to posit arms control/nonproliferation as a prime example. This and related efforts will lift our chances on the NPT extension and propel other items on an ambitious agenda.

Several refinements might strengthen the speech, as follows:

-- The introduction should mention the NPT's 25th anniversary, to clearly identify that as the occasion for the speech.

-- You should recommit to the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons, perhaps recalling President Kennedy. In the NPT context, the nonaligned (and some friends, like the Japanese) want this done in a time-bound framework, which we cannot accept. But countries already leaning our way can be moved by a more general affirmation that we envision a nuclear-free world, even if we don't say when or under what conditions. A variant of your joint statement last May with Prime Minister Rao would suffice -- such as, "the United States goal is a nuclear weapon free world."

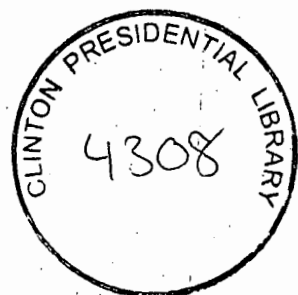
-- You should be bolder on the test ban. Your commitment to the negotiations and your decision to extend the testing moratorium together mean that in all likelihood we have already conducted our last nuclear test so long as other countries agree with us in Geneva. Such a statement will help on the NPT and also domestically (recent polls show 82 percent of Americans, including 80 percent of Republicans, favor a global test ban).

-- It would help a dicey Senate ratification effort if the Chemical Weapons Convention had higher billing, at the same level as START II. Senators of both parties have questioned whether it is an Administration priority.

-- Finally, the speech should confirm that arms control reflects strength -- it doesn't detract from defense but bolsters it, making it less likely that our troops will face poisonous gases, or that our cities will be subject to terrorist bombs. Arms control is defense by other means. We bargain hard for verifiable agreements that will make us safer. Then we insist that they be strictly fulfilled.

John Holum

John H.
COPY



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Stan Greenberg to POTUS et al; re: The Academic Retreat (5 pages)	01/04/1994	P5 4309
002. memo	Todd Stern to Gergen, Dreyer, Boorstin; re: State of the Union (2 pages)	01/06/1994	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 419

FOLDER TITLE:

SOTU 1994 - Theme Memos

Jimmie Purvis
2006-0460-F
ip1739

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

- 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.

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

COPY



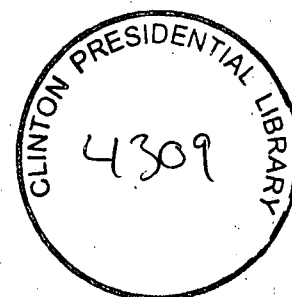
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 17 OF 17

Date: January 4, 1994

To: President Bill Clinton (1)
Vice President Al Gore (2)
Hillary Rodham Clinton (3)
Mack McLarty (4)
David Gergen (5)
George Stephanopoulos (6)

From: Stan Greenberg (7)

Re: THE ACADEMIC RETREAT



I used the Christmas break to study the transcript of the day-long meeting on the Clinton Presidency. You clearly enjoyed and benefitted from the dinner with the academics, but I thought you might want a fuller account of their discussions – particularly as you prepare for the State-of-the-Union.

To remind you, the academic participants included William Julius Wilson of the University of Chicago, Alan Brinkley and Charles Hamilton of Columbia University, David Mayhew of Yale University, Samuel Huntington, Theda Skocpol, Michael Sandel and Richard Neustadt of Harvard University, John Mollenkopf of City University of New York, Kristin Luker of Princeton, Samuel Popkin of the University of California, San Diego, Roger Noll of Stanford University, and Robert Kuttner of *American Prospect* magazine. The administration and DNC participants included Mack McLarty, George Stephanopoulos, David Gergen, Bob Rubin, Carol Rasco, David Wilhelm, Mandy Grunwald, Paul Begala and myself. Mandy, Paul and I met afterwards to compare notes and to outline this memorandum.

I should tell you that these were refreshing discussions – not negative, not cynical, just constructive and collegial. Participants were quite frank about our failings, but in a context that enabled us to build something. And to this date, everybody has honored the requirement of confidentiality.

COPY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: DB DATE: 11/2/12
2006-0460-F



The President as Educator

The group gravitated almost immediately to the president's role as educator -- as a purposeful, moral leader who can give people hope in the country's future. They longed for you to escape the "chief lobbyist" role and to challenge the American people and the establishment as a teacher. They longed for you to use the powers of the office to reframe the public debate -- again, as a teacher -- to create a new moral discourse.

The participants came to the educative role via two routes: first, they saw you as uniquely able to communicate with and educate the American people about the new challenges facing the country; and second, they believed that the voters are looking for a president who will be honest with them about the challenges, who will "explain" what is happening and point the way forward after decades of inexplicable decline and drift.

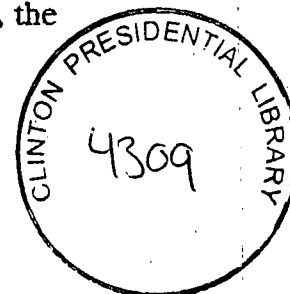
They came to this understanding before the end of NAFTA and before the Memphis speech. Indeed, many thought the health care speech was a model -- identifying and redefining a problem, creating a moral imperative (security) and pointing the way out if the country was willing to risk change.

In the educative role, the president may take a number of approaches that elevate the importance of the presidency in this era. First, the president can be the highest of social critics. In that, the president recalls not just Reagan, but Woodrow Wilson, Teddy Roosevelt, Andrew Jackson and Thomas Jefferson. The president can put the nation's spotlight on the dominant wrongs of the era. He can educate the public about new ways to look at the world and how to worry about them. The president, by pointing the spotlight, creates a moral discourse.

The President must decide where he wants to point the spotlight. What is the wrong that afflicts our age? Where the president points the spotlight must be central to his governing purpose. Most participants were willing to defer to the president here, but some, including the political advisors, talked about the struggles of middle class America -- working hard but facing declining incomes and community breakdown in a changing world. The State-of-the-Union provides an opportunity to point that spotlight and validate and ennoble the daily struggle of ordinary people.

Second, the teacher has an opportunity to set goals for the nation. The drift of recent years has left people feeling powerless. By showing people where you want to take the country, you give people a sense of mastery over events. In this role, the president allows people to wake-up to a new sense of purpose and control.

COPY





The President should be clear and explicit about his goals. (The NAFTA debate allowed the president to educate about the new global economy and the need to look forward and compete; the new jobs initiative should allow the president to educate about the need to uplift the skills of every American and provide basic security in this new world.) Whatever the focus, there needs to be a clarity of purpose, no matter how diverse the legislative agenda.

And third, the president must use certain events to educate the American people about what is wrong and right and to point the way to a better country. It may be a racial incident. It may be youth crime. It may be a company that forsakes its workers. The president should take the opportunity to educate the country about itself and to challenge it to seek a better way. These moments can capture the public imagination and elevate the president's role in shaping the consciousness of the age.

Transcending Cynicism

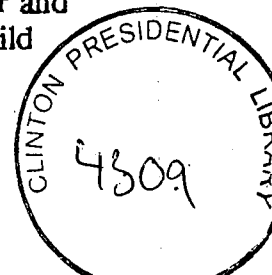
To play an educative role, the president must help the American people overcome their cynicism about government and politicians. The problem is not of the president's making, but the "crisis of political legitimacy" undercuts Clinton's governing purpose. People believe political life is dishonorable and morally bankrupt; political leaders are presumed to be lying and self-seeking. The press shares and contributes to the cynicism. This barrier of cynicism blocks the way for an administration that wants to change the direction of the country.

To break through the cynicism, the group suggested, as a start, communicating a clear, governing purpose, as suggested above; further, fighting for Clinton's principal initiatives, particularly health care. Persistence and clarity will help people see through the fog.

The coming years, beginning with the State-of-the-Union, provide an opportunity for three other approaches – achieving modest goals, foretelling the future, and demonstrating governmental competence.

After decades of public dishonesty, the president must describe the achievement of modest goals – without overstatement. After a year in office, the president has an opportunity to lay out intention, hard work and accomplishment – from deficit reduction, the wealthy contributing, national service, middle class access to college loans, a car and home. By highlighting promise, effort, and accomplishment, the president helps build public trust.

COPY





?

By foretelling what will happen in the future, the president also builds credibility which is cumulative. The story of deficit reduction, lower interest rates and economic recovery provides such an example. Reagan stuck with his tax cut program during the recession and when recovery came, he assumed a new stature. By foretelling the future, Reagan gained credibility and the country gained confidence. It is important for the president to lay out his vision for the future now so that future events, when confirming, allow the country to feel more confident that their leaders are both truthful and wise.

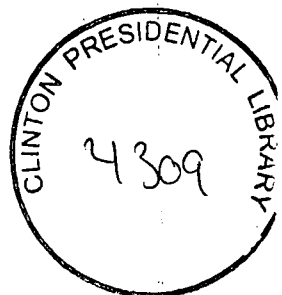
Finally, it is hard for the president to press his agenda when people are so skeptical about government competence – and with good reason. People are getting less from government, but paying higher taxes for more intrusive government. Re-inventing government remains a critical vehicle for talking about and reforming government. But ultimately, the president must show that the government can provide some services, competently delivered – more police on the streets, a real employment service, training and higher school standards, a better health care system, something. The New Deal delivered on a lot of small things, even as it unveiled social security. At some point, the administration must move from intention to tangible improvement in what the government does for ordinary citizens.

It would be easier to transcend this cynicism if the press and the administration had more realistic expectations about the possible and the standards for success. Historically, presidents ride waves that produce a surge of legislative accomplishment. Elected with 43 percent of the vote and weak majorities in the Congress, Clinton faces an extraordinary challenge. Democratic Congresses have helped Democratic presidents only during precious periods and almost never for two years running. The administration should foster more realistic expectations, even as it pursues its small and big agenda.

Restoring Moral Authority: The International Context

The role of commander-in-chief while the United States was engaged in the Cold War elevated the stature of previous presidents – even young ones. John Kennedy gained a gravitas by associating himself with the moral imperatives of the Cold War. It created a stage where "actors," like Ronald Reagan, could associate themselves with historic forces and show a kind of strength that reassured the ordinary citizen. Perhaps more important, the Cold War was predicated on a coincidence of our national security interests and our values as a nation. The Soviet bloc stood in complete opposition to our political, economic and moral values.

COPY





With the end of the Cold War, the presidency has lost some of the moral authority that in the past it assumed almost automatically. The citizenry is still looking for meaning and purpose and still looks to the president to lead and to secure the nation's interests. But the president has less automatic authority to play that role. He can no longer lead or secure the world as presidents have in the past. He can no longer associate himself with other world leaders of historic stature.

Moreover, the world economic context where security is now defined provides a more ambiguous setting for waging moral battle. Rather than winners and losers and friends and foes, all may gain by mutual engagement; the world economy may provide for mutual advantage – a concept that lacks the same kind of moral component as the Cold War. The public which now sees trade as economically disadvantageous, with winners and losers, must come to view the outside world in different terms.

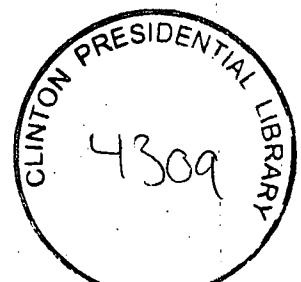
The president must use his educative role to shape people's understanding of this new world. If he can help people make sense of it and create new goals, new measures of success and security, then the office will regain some of its moral authority. But that requires not just an abstract discussion of the world economy. The president must help people make sense of the insecurities and changes taking place in the work place and what new things will be expected of them. He must show them what they can do to succeed and to be assured of a better future.

Restoring Community and Family

People are experiencing a breakdown of family and community; indeed, of all institutions – from the Congress, to the big company and union, to the neighborhood. There is little that people can depend on in this changing world. The president will gain moral authority and the citizenry will regain its morale, if the president shows he understands this dissolution. That was evident in the Memphis speech.

This is the context for the alienation of both the middle class and the poor – which goes beyond the material. The president can show his understanding and associate himself with the longing for a sense of safety, mutuality and individual responsibility, a respect for work and religion, and a commitment to family. The president should not allow the secularism of the Democratic Party to deter him from leading a national discourse on values. The president's religiosity is natural and integral to his role as president.

COPY



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

001. memo	David Gergen to POTUS and VPOTUS; re: Immigration (1 page)	07/24/1993	P5 4310
-----------	--	------------	---------

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Robert Boorstin (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 414

FOLDER TITLE:

Immigration - 7/19/93 Event

2006-0460-F
jp2554

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
July 24, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

From: David Gergen

Subj: Immigration

The initiatives the Vice President has recommended strike me as a major step forward in dealing with the entry of terrorists, drug smugglers and felons. I am especially pleased with the expedited exclusion and the pre-inspection initiatives. The press will probably question whether the visa issuance data will be enough to prevent a future Sheik Rahman from entering; by all accounts, there was also a good deal of human error in that case -- and probably in a number of others.

In announcing this package, I would suggest that the President also charge Doris Meissner with overhauling the INS. That agency has been one of the worst in government. But as this administration has proved with FEMA, it is possible to reform these institutions and make them work. Witt's leadership has made a great difference on the floods; now Meissner needs to give the President the same help at INS.

My major question about this package concerns border patrols. The material makes clear that we have major differences with Congress on border patrols that are not yet resolved and that if we go with a smaller package, as suggested, we will be attacked as doing too little, if not too late. Our friends in the Senate want to double what is suggested here, and the House wants to triple it. We run a serious risk that the very good work that has been done on one issue will be swept aside in the controversy over border patrols.

Suggestion: that this border patrol issue be more fully thrashed out with the President or that we go now with an anti-terrorism package only (that is the political flashpoint around the country) and give ourselves a little more time to resolve the border patrol issue. If Congress needs to move swiftly on border patrols, then I would recommend that a meeting of advisers on that subject be set up with the President on Tuesday, leaving ourselves some time that day before any public announcement is made on immigration.

Many thanks.

COPY

