

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Phone No. (Partial) (1 page)	08/11/1993	P6/b(6)
002. letter	Personal (Partial) (1 page)	09/14/1993	P6/b(6)
003. letter	Carter Wilkie to Mark (1 page)	09/07/1993	P5
004. letter	Carter Wilkie to David Dreyer (1 page)	09/16/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carter Wilkie
OA/Box Number: 4273

FOLDER TITLE:

Piece on JFK for Life Magazine

Jamie Metrailer
2008-0699-F
jm492

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

September 7, 1993

Mark,

I would not schedule the President for any events or interviews regarding the 30th anniversary of the assassination of President Kennedy.

The public mind is already stamped with images of Clinton at Kennedy's gravesite, and with Kennedy's family on a yacht off Martha's Vineyard. Anything more will tempt an irreverent press corps to charge overkill, hero worship, or worse. The *LIFE* magazine piece speaks for itself with a maturity that should resolve this problem.

Some writers, such as Richard Reeves, whose book on JFK will be out soon, will accuse both Presidents of sharing the same weaknesses (see excerpt in current edition of *American Heritage* magazine). We should not encourage a revisionists' debate by having some academic like Arthur Schlesinger Jr. speak about JFK at a White House event. And the last thing we need is a pompous headline, "You're No Jack Kennedy!"

The anniversary falls on a Monday, which should be scheduled as a routine work day here at the White House. The Kennedy family has always asked that President Kennedy be remembered for his life on his birthday, rather than for his death on November 22, so I can't imagine them holding a public memorial service of any kind. In the absence of such a service (I would stay away from a private family gathering), President Clinton may wish to attend a local Catholic church for Mass on Sunday, November 21 -- perhaps Holy Trinity, JFK's church, adjacent to Georgetown University. Still, I would reconsider my warnings above with care.

I will let you know if I come up with any other ideas. In the meantime, you might want to look at the attached memorandum.

THANKS,



CARTER WICKIE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: David Dreyer
FR: Carter Wilkie
RE: LIFE magazine's latest request

We are really caught in a pull and tug with the magazine. I agree with some of LIFE's comments, but strongly disagree on others.

I agree with their reordering of the text, and I think it comes close to my first draft: opening with the personal Boys Nation anecdote, moving to the timeless lessons to be drawn from Kennedy's administration.

My argument is not with the story they want, but the way they want the story told. The tone they seek from the President is so self-centered, it's actually solipsistic. Furthermore, the images of JFK are more LIFE-like than Clintonesque. The President does not need to idolize JFK, nor does he need to sound haunted by JFK's ghost around the White House just to keep readers interested. I think compromising on this point would suit LIFE's style, but would not serve the President's personal or political interests in any way. It may even be counterproductive, given the irreverence in the press anytime this President recalls JFK.

I understand LIFE's need for a personal, anecdotal piece. Perhaps that can be achieved to our mutual satisfaction, but I am uncomfortable with the voice the magazine is steering us toward.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Address (Partial); Phone No.'s (Partial) (1 page)	12/25/1993	P6/b(6)
002. memo	David Dreyer to President Clinton re: State of the Union (3 pages)	12/30/1993	P5
003. memo	Sherle R. Schwenninger to President Clinton re: State of the Union Address (7 pages)	12/29/1993	P5
004. memo	Walter Russell Mead to President Clinton re: Foreign Policy and the State of the Union Address (3 pages)	12/30/1993	P5
005. memo	John Holum to President Clinton re: State of the Union Address (4 pages)	12/28/1993	P5
006. letter	Alan Brinkley to David Dryer (4 pages)	12/30/1993	P5
007. memo	Secretary Robert B. Reich to President Clinton re: State of the Union (6 pages)	12/30/1993	P5
008. memo	Lloyd Bentsen to John Podesta re: State of the Union Address (4 pages)	12/30/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carter Wilkie
OA/Box Number: 4273

FOLDER TITLE:

State of the Union 1994 [1]

Jamie Metrailler
2008-0699-F
jm494

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]

Columbia University in the City of New York | New York, N. Y. 10027

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Fayerweather Hall

December 30, 1993

TO: David Dreyer
The White House
202-456-6527 (FAX)

FROM: Alan Brinkley
212-787-7596
212-769-9173 (FAX)

I'm pleased to have the opportunity to offer some reflections on the President's upcoming State of the Union Address. I have some comments on the long outline you sent me last week, which I gather represents your thinking about the basic themes of the speech; and I also have some more general thoughts of my own about what a State of the Union address can and, in my view, should accomplish.

I have only a few comments on the outline, which is in any case obviously very preliminary. It presents a good, straightforward account of the administration's accomplishments in its first year and suggests ways of fitting them into the broad theme of "security" that the President outlined in Chapel Hill. It also revives a theme familiar in Reagan State of the Union Addresses: the dismal state of the nation when President Clinton took office, the progress the nation has made since his presidency began. That was an effective device then, and it should be effective now (although there is at present nothing like the widespread popular ebullience of the mid-1980s, so it would be wise to make somewhat more muted claims here than Reagan did).

One theme the outline hits very hard is the administration's effort to target the middle class. This is obviously good politics and, in my view, good policy as well. And there are, of course, many reasons to want to reassure the middle class at this time. For example, there are still many people who do not understand that last year's income tax increase hits only the affluent, and there is, I suspect, a broad misimpression among middle-class people that the President has raised their taxes. It is worth reminding them that he did not (except, of course, for the very modest gasoline tax).

At the same time, I feel uneasy about the heavy and explicit use of the term "middle class" in this speech, which does not seem to me to have quite the inclusive meaning you intend. There

Page 2

are a great many people in the Democratic (and Clinton) constituencies who do not consider themselves truly "middle class" -- even if most aspire to become so. Workers, in particular, have a rather ambivalent relationship to the idea of the "middle class"; and given the strains in the administration's relationship with the labor movement after the NAFTA fight, I would suggest taking pains to use language that clearly includes them. The President has used such language often before, in referring to the "people who do the work," for example. I would suggest a relatively minimal use of "middle class" and the substitution of a more clearly inclusive term.

I realize that a State of the Union Address serves many different purposes and must satisfy many different constituencies, within the Administration itself and beyond. This speech, in particular, needs to present the case for the accomplishments of the first year more clearly than they have generally been conveyed in the press. It needs to try to restore momentum to the health-care battle. It needs to rebut in some way the perception that the administration's foreign policy is adrift. (If there are important new foreign-policy initiatives in the works, this would be a good occasion to unveil them.)

But I hope the President will be able, as he has in the past, to craft a theme for this speech that will encompass and, in some respects, transcend the many details it must include. In his recent speeches, he has done that very well -- in emphasizing the need for security in an increasingly insecure world. But as important as it is for the President to convey his awareness of problems and his empathy for those who are bewildered and frightened by the difficulties of the world, it is also important that he convey a sense of confidence in the nation's ability to deal with these problems and move successfully into the future. By that I do not mean simply offering specific programs and policies, although that is obviously important. I mean conveying the belief that we are still capable of bold and successful action as a society, that we can still marshal the will and the resources to accomplish great deeds. This is a theme that resonated through the speeches of Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and (for different purposes) Ronald Reagan. It needs to resonate again.

One way to revive this theme, it seems to me, is to refer to earlier moments in American history in which the nation felt bewildered and even overwhelmed by change and nevertheless found ways of dealing with its problems and anxieties. Perhaps the most vivid such moment was precisely a century ago -- when America was experiencing a radical transformation in the character of its economy, a serious depression, grave problems of crime and disorder, enormous anxieties associated with increasing cultural diversity, and some believed a crisis of the spirit as well. A broad group of politicians and social thinkers seized on

Page 3

the problems of that time as an opportunity for imagining a brilliant future, and they expressed those views in books, essays, speeches, and ultimately public policies. Herbert Croly, Walter Lippmann, Theodore Roosevelt, and many others managed to transform the anxiety of their time into a compelling image of the future.

I think in particular of Walter Lippmann's 1915 book Drift and Mastery, one of the extraordinary documents of that time, which conveyed brilliantly the way in which Americans were confronting a world changing so rapidly that most people could not comprehend it. "We are all immigrants spiritually," he wrote. "We are all of us immigrants in the industrial world, and we have no authority to lean upon. . . . We are blown hither and thither like litter before the wind." But Lippmann had an answer to the sense of helplessness and despair he detected. It was what he called "mastery," and it represented a determination by individuals, but also by society (through government) to awake from their torpor and seize control of the future. (There are in the book some extraordinary descriptions of what "mastery" meant to Lippmann, and I can supply you with some of them if you're interested.)

The 1990s are, of course, very different from the 1890s. That, in fact, is precisely the point of the analogy. The world that was born so painfully a century ago is disappearing, just as an old world was disappearing then. A new world that no one can yet fully imagine is appearing, just as one was then. The political leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had to make the case for a public response to the crises of their time; government had very little legitimacy then as an agent of change and reform. In the late twentieth century, leaders who believe that government has a role to play in leading us into the future must make the same case; for we too live in a time in which the popular legitimacy of government is shaky, in which cynicism about the possibility of successful change is widespread, and in which the potential of public action to make a difference needs a champion after twelve years of generally unanswered debunking.

The Clinton administration is clearly committed to using government to improve people's lives. But I'm not sure it has made an explicit case for the positive value of government as forcefully as it could. It is, of course, important to avoid sounding like an unrepentant liberal, to refrain from suggesting that government is the only, or even the principal, agent of productive change. But it's also important to articulate the belief that government can and must do some things, that without energetic and resourceful public action we cannot hope to unleash the countless private actions on which our future depends. We have become so overwhelmed with images of the things government

Page 4

the things it has done well, some of the ways government action has made the lives of ordinary people safer, easier, more comfortable.

On at least two occasions in the last year, the President has effectively presented bold new programs -- his economic package, and his health care reform proposal -- only to see the broad popular support he attracted dribble away in the face of countless niggling criticisms and questions over the following months. One reason for that erosion of support, in my opinion, is the underlying cynicism about politics and government -- the still powerful sense that government can't do anything very well -- that encourages many people to believe even criticisms of the president's proposals that have no basis in fact at all. Rather than undertake the hopeless task of answering every individual attack, it might be better to take on the cynicism itself -- to speak directly and forcefully of government's capacity to improve people's lives. The American renewal of which the President has often spoken refers to much more than government, of course. But as I understand the idea, an essential part of that renewal is a reinvigorated government -- able and willing to undertake important tasks at the same time as it repudiates some of its own failed ventures of the past.

Theodore Roosevelt once said that "a political speech is a poster, not an etching." It needs detail, but it needs bold themes that stand out from a distance above all. In the world of the sound-bite, the State of the Union Address is just about the only opportunity a president has to make a speech that large numbers of people will actually hear as a speech. It needs to reach beyond the details for a broader message -- for something that conveys a sense of the larger purposes behind the relentless tactical details of politics in Washington. The President has already laid the groundwork for such a message in his excellent speeches of the last several months. This is his best opportunity to clarify it and make it seem vivid to the millions of people who will be watching and listening to him with some cynicism, certainly, but also with considerable hope.

If I can be of any further help in the next few weeks, I hope you will let me know.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

93 DEC 30 P2:25

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

December 30, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: LLOYD BENTSEN *LB*
SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

Thank you for the opportunity to provide input on the State of the Union Address. Rather than suggest any single theme for the entire speech, let me outline a variety of ideas that might fit into a larger framework. Many of the examples are Treasury related, but I hope the themes and the examples have relevance for the entire government.

Specific Issues:

I have only two specific requests for inclusion in the Address. If we are going to pass legislation to consolidate the four banking regulators, we need to send a strong signal of the Administration's commitment. The proposal is good policy and good politics. I hope that the President would specifically mention this initiative -- perhaps as part of the NPR.

I also hope that the President might express his support for the multilateral development banks (World Bank, IMF, etc.). Congress traditionally cuts the Administration request for funding thus increasing the amount we owe these institutions and reducing our influence. These organizations play a crucial role in implementing Administration policies in Russia, the West Bank and developing nations. They have begun to respond to U.S. calls for reform, but we will only make progress if we meet our financial commitments.

General Themes:

The economic recovery has begun: The President should take credit for improving economic conditions. Deficit reduction has led to lower interest rates which have helped interest-sensitive industries like housing and autos. We're making crucial investments; we're addressing the credit crunch; we're opening markets. The economy is turning around.

The President was elected to implement change and he is fulfilling that promise: He's taking the country in a new direction and even if people don't agree with every one of his

policies, we are all benefitting from an end of gridlock and a flow of new initiatives.

The Balanced Budget Amendment: The vote on the Amendment will be looming. The President should use the Address as an opportunity to express his opposition and offer his alternative -- a goal, another mechanism, or a reiteration of what we have already accomplished. We need to remember that we can't beat something with nothing.

The President is willing to make tough choices: The President should take credit for his actions to date (deficit reduction, 252,000 Federal job reduction, push for NAFTA when many predicted failure) and for his continued commitment (FY 95 budget meets caps, campaign finance reform). We need to remind the Congress and the country that while the President has the ability to build a consensus, he also has the strength to fight for his beliefs.

Health Care: This issue is so fundamental that I assume it will be included. I hope the Address might highlight two facts: first, the debate is now about what kind of reform, not whether we should have reform; and, two, health care reform is essential to our long-term economic security.

The Administration is committed to reducing regulatory burden: The Republicans like to portray Democrats as the party of government regulation and red tape. We should fight this perception (which will only grow as the health care debate intensifies). Examples include what we have done already (credit crunch initiatives, Executive Order on reducing regulations by 50 percent) and what we propose to do (Superfund reform -- which the President mentioned in his first State of the Union, bank regulatory consolidation). Less regulation means more efficiency and lower costs to consumers.

The President has brought honesty back to government finances: For years the President's budgets were dead on arrival in Congress. Partly it was politics, but part of it was that they did not have any credibility: the only number that added up was the deficit which kept on growing. We have presented honest budgets with honest projections. This theme worked well in the first State of the Union and bears repetition.

The President takes the concerns of business seriously: You might consider the following rhetorical questions:

- o When was the last time you saw a Democrat stake his career over a free trade agreement the way this President did on NAFTA?
- o Who would have guessed that this President would become personally involved in helping U.S. businesses sell their

products overseas? Or how about the way we have tackled export controls to let more goods go abroad?

- o Which reporters would have thought that this Administration would come up with new Community Reinvestment Act regulations that bankers almost universally support?
- o Who would have thought that our first budget would earn the endorsement of major small business organizations? Who would have predicted that the President would meet each week with CEO's and small business leaders?

This Administration knows that the country can't grow without a healthy banking system: That's why our credit availability initiative stripped away needless regulations which hindered credit for small businesses and consumers. We reformed the Community Reinvestment Act to insure credit for undeveloped communities and small towns. And we will continue these efforts. We will urge Congress to pass the Community Development Bank legislation which has now passed the House, and consolidate our four banking agencies, in order to reduce the cost to taxpayers and the burden on banks.

Crime: I know that crime is under consideration for a major portion of the speech and hope that it might include some less glamorous but essential issues like reform of Federal Firearm Licensing (FFL) and computerization of gun records at ATF. An ATF/New York Police Department pilot project that checks the backgrounds of potential gun dealers has demonstrated the importance of licensing reform: before the project began, 90 percent of all dealer applications were granted; since the project began, 90 percent of all applications have been withdrawn or denied.

Promoting prosperity abroad helps underwrite our security and strengthen democracy. Supporting reform in Russia, the FSU and in Eastern Europe, assisting in the reconstruction of the West Bank and Gaza, and preparing the economic foundations of political reconciliation in South Africa are strategic imperatives as much as they are economic imperatives. The International Financial Institutions, now commemorating 50 years of development efforts, will play a critical role in the overall U.S. development assistance strategy to meet these challenges.

Expanding trade is the best engine of growth. With NAFTA, the Uruguay Round, and APEC, this Administration has had the most ambitious and successful trade agenda since World War II. We need to build on this momentum with new regional and multilateral initiatives -- in the rapidly growing regions of Latin America and Asia and in those sectors which represent our economic future -- like financial services, telecommunications, etc. We can only

compete if we continue to keep our markets open as we encourage other countries to open their markets to U.S. products.

Our economic future lies increasingly with the emerging markets. Just as we can no longer view our strategic interests through the prism of containment, our foreign policy must now reflect our economic stake in growth and access to the rapidly growing markets of the future. With the Seattle Conference of APEC Heads of State, the APEC Finance Minister's Meeting, and the upcoming Latin Summit, we are creating a new diplomatic architecture -- focussing on our economic interests -- to complement the structures created among the industrial countries of the West in the aftermath of World War II.

Security: The President might reemphasize his commitment to
security: health, safety and economic.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Marc Grossman to Anthony Lake re: State Department Input for President Clinton's State of the Union Message (8 pages)	12/1993	P5
002. memo	Bruce Babbitt to John Podesta re: State of the Union Address (2 pages)	12/27/1993	P5
003. memo	Carol M. Browner to President Clinton re: State of the Union Address (2 pages)	12/30/1993	P5
004. memo	Hazel R. O'Leary to President Clinton re: State of the Union Address (4 pages)	12/30/1993	P5
005. memo	Jesse Brown to John Podesta re: State of the Union Address (12 pages)	12/28/1993	P5
006. memo	Bill Galston to President Clinton re: State of the Union (3 pages)	12/28/1993	P5
007. memo	Gene Sperling to President Clinton re: State of the Union (10 pages)	12/30/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carter Wilkie
OA/Box Number: 4273

FOLDER TITLE:

State of the Union 1994 [2]

Dana Simmons
2008-0699-F
ds358

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]



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIEDMEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE
THE WHITE HOUSESUBJECT: State Department Input for President Clinton's
State of the Union Message

The attachment to this memorandum contains the Department of State's ideas and suggestions for the President's State of the Union message as requested in John Podesta et al's memorandum to Cabinet Secretaries dated December 22, 1993. It develops the theme of America "Strong at Home, Strong Abroad," and outlines the six tenets of foreign policy we would like to see included in the address.

I hope this will be of use to you in preparing the President's address to the nation.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Marc Grossman".

Marc Grossman
Executive Secretary

Attachment as stated

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

In response to the invitation for ideas and suggestions for the President's January 25 State of the Union Address we are pleased to forward the following proposal for a theme and the six tenets of U.S. foreign policy that we would like to see integrated into the President's message.

THEME: **Strong at Home, Strong Abroad. - Security for All Americans.**

The 1994 State of the Union message should break with the long tradition of dealing with foreign and domestic concerns in separate sections of the address.

RATIONALE:

- President Clinton was elected to address neglected domestic issues, and he has made them the Administration's highest priorities. But he has also repeatedly emphasized that this cannot be done by turning inward. Traditional distinctions between domestic and foreign affairs are losing relevance in dealing with job loss, health care, public safety, and the environment -- problems that concern all Americans. Good domestic policy and good foreign policy have become two sides of the same coin. We must be strong at home to be strong abroad and we must be strong abroad to be strong at home.
- "Security for All Americans" is not a doctrine but a strategy to deal with domestic and international realities. It continues to encourage local action and responsibility but offers additional federal help in dealing with the increasingly important international aspects of economic growth, narcotics trafficking and other criminal activity, migration and population issues, and environmental degradation. It also recognizes that regional conflicts, risks of proliferation, terrorism, and humanitarian suffering, are intruding to a much greater degree into our local politics, than the traditional abstractions of balance of power and secret diplomacy.
- This more comprehensive approach to national security entails a shift in the strategic focus of foreign policy from the zero-sum political-military goal of containment and deterrence to the positive-sum political-economic goal of shared growth and cooperation. U.S. economic expansion and the President's international activities in 1994 should remind the American people of the linkage between foreign policy and our economic well-being.

-2-

- A signature of President Clinton's first year has been his ability to achieve domestic and international synergy, most notably in the area of economic reform and revitalization; for example, linking success in deficit reduction with the successful U.S. role at the Tokyo G-7 Summit, or in the NAFTA, APEC, GATT "triple play," so vital to prosperity at home and abroad. The vast support for Russian reform, that he has raised from the Congress and our allies by offering a vision of safety from nuclear dangers, lower defense burdens, and trade expansion, is another example. In his speeches he has demonstrated a knack for weaving domestic and foreign issues together, whether speaking to the Urban League, the AFL-CIO, or the United Nations.
- Putting economic security and prosperity at the center of a new national security policy does not obviate the need for a strong and flexible defense; it recognizes that such a defense cannot be paid for if the nation is not prosperous. It also recognizes that shared economic expansion regionally and globally will promote stability and provide the resources to solve a host of other problems, such as the environment, that are high on the Clinton Administration's agenda and further reflect the growing synergy between economic security and national defense.
- Several important sub-themes that have featured in Presidential statements this year could help tie together foreign and domestic policy in the State of the Union:
 - bi-partisanship is important to effective problem solving at home and abroad;
 - it is important to have greater citizen engagement, responsibility, and partnership with government to solve problems, whether in dealing with the demand and supply problems of narcotics, making certain we have the skills and opportunity to compete through better trade policy and promotion; or the vital role that non-governmental, private business and other groups are playing in partnership with U.S. official assistance to Russia;
 - our commitment to strengthening multilateral institutions and greater burdensharing will enable us to make progress towards goals we share with other nations at reduced cost to ourselves, thereby freeing additional resources for investment at home;
 - the National Performance Review to reinvent government has improved domestic and foreign policy structures, enhanced their capacity to work more synergistically, and allowed budgets to be reduced and redirected to meet our national priorities;

-3-

- the importance of fundamental universal values to community building at home and abroad. As the President declared in Memphis, strong families are vital to secure jobs and secure streets. Human rights and democracy also must be at the core of our foreign policy because history shows that governments that abuse their own citizens are a threat to others as well.
- the broad concept of national security is consistent with the vision of Roosevelt and other American architects of the United Nations who, prior to the Cold War, envisioned a world sufficiently secure to allow people everywhere the opportunity to enjoy freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of worship and freedom of speech and expression. As the first post-Cold War President, after a year in office, President Clinton could speak again of those hopes and dreams that can now be the basis of action.
- In sum, a State of the Union address built around "Strong at Home, Strong Abroad" could serve at least six purposes: reaffirm the President's commitment to domestic reform; indicate how success in foreign affairs contributes to domestic renewal; show how domestic success enhances America internationally; establish economic progress as our new strategic means and goal for greater national security across a widening agenda of local, regional and global issues; generate public support for an active foreign policy to consolidate the gains of the Cold War; and, make the case for investing in preventive diplomacy to forestall future crises that could deflect us from the much larger investments that will be necessary to restructure our domestic economy to meet the challenges of the 21st Century.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND PRIORITIES OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE:

While we appreciate that space in the address is severely limited, we would like the Administration's accomplishments in meeting our major foreign policy priorities highlighted:

- **Economic Security:** More than ever, the quality of life in America depends on our engagement in the global economy. The President's injunction -- we must compete not retreat -- should be strongly reinforced. Our international economic strategy has seven inter-related components:
 - enhancing America's competitiveness through the President's budget deficit package passed this year and the other efforts we are making have already brought us international benefits, notably the renewed confidence and support that America was shown at the

-4-

Tokyo Economic Summit. We are following up our fiscal responsibility with a broader global competitiveness agenda to help raise the standard of living and security of Americans by incentives to develop civilian technology, assist defense conversion, improve the country's infrastructure (including information networks), help retain and upgrade the skills of workers, and reform health care to assist the competitive position of American firms by lowering costs and improving the mobility of labor;

- enhancing access to foreign markets -- fulfilling the President's pledge to make trade a priority element of American national security -- through major new trade agreements, NAFTA and the Uruguay Round of GATT, through the strengthening of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) at this year's first senior leaders meeting in Seattle, and the establishment of a new U.S. - Japan Framework arrangement to help redress the economic imbalances that plague our most important bilateral relationship;
- strengthening government partnership with business by creating an "advocacy network" and other measures to assist U.S. firms competing for major government contracts throughout the world, by streamlining export licensing and reducing U.S. barriers to the export of some of our most attractive products and services for tomorrow's markets, and upgrading the capacity of our embassies and other foreign missions to help American business penetrate local markets;
- improving macro-economic coordination with our major industrial partners to ensure that the lowering of U.S. deficits is complemented by necessary reforms in Europe and Japan so that the industrial democracies will continue to enjoy unparalleled prosperity and stability at home, while serving as the engine of growth for an increasingly interdependent global economy;
- improving open regional economic cooperation across Asia and the Pacific and throughout the Western Hemisphere will be much easier following the successes of the past year and the President's Western Hemisphere Summit later this Spring. Our expanding economic cooperation on these two fronts not only promises direct benefits for our domestic renewal but has the strategic value of discouraging protectionism elsewhere;
- extending U.S. leadership that was shown this year in amassing a multilateral economic assistance package for Russia and the newly independent states promises to develop major new markets for America over the long term and is of immediate value in promoting security that can lower defense and other costs;

-5-

-- reforming U.S. foreign assistance, begun in 1993, will ensure that broad based development bolsters political stability in key developing countries and that these countries will continue to be among America's most rapidly expanding and important new markets.

- **Support for Reform in Russia and the Newly Independent States:**

This was given special emphasis by the President in 1993, resulting in major accomplishments. It is our biggest foreign policy challenge, a point that presumably the President will want to reiterate following the January 12-15 Moscow Summit. In addition to highlighting those accomplishments, and their domestic and international implications for America, it will be important to recall the steadfast support for market reforms and democracy that this Administration has provided, as well as our success in mobilizing the support of others. Efforts to reduce the nuclear threat, through arms control, defense conversion, cooperation in counterterrorism and illegal exports of weapons material and technology, and other steps should be highlighted in terms of promoting peace and being able eventually to lower our defense expenditures. American engagement in Eurasia also extends to preventive diplomacy, helping to reduce the threat of regional instability and conflict, that could drain scarce resources from more productive uses and pose fresh international dangers.

- **Europe and NATO:** Will also be of special interest following the President's participation in summits with NATO and the European Union and his meeting with East European leaders. Presumably the State of the Union will address any progress and follow-up plans to advance the mutually reinforcing nature of the Administration's successful negotiation of the GATT with Europe and our leadership in advancing the new Partnership for Peace concept, as well as our engagement in building democracy and free markets in Eastern Europe. The potential benefits for American security and economic expansion of an increasingly open, free and integrated Europe have been greatly enhanced by the end of the Cold War, but at the same time ethnic strife, aggressive nationalism, stagnant economies, and trade protectionism are of growing concern.

- **Expanding cooperation across Asia and the Pacific, particularly improving relations with Japan and China:** Has been a distinct achievement of the Clinton Administration. This is not done at the expense of Europe or other regions; it reflects new domestic, regional and global realities. Sustaining the Asian economic miracle has become vital to U.S. prosperity, regional stability -- including internal reform and responsible external behavior by China -- and global growth. In 1993 the Administration has skillfully handled China, Japan and the risk of crisis on the Korean peninsula. Each deserve special mention as we look to 1994; Chinese progress in human rights will test our burgeoning economic partnership, the North Korean

-6-

threat to the non-proliferation regime must be resolved, and progress must be made in reducing our huge imbalances with Japan.

- Advancing peace in the Middle East: Has been a major accomplishment in 1993 and we are determined to consolidate and extend these gains in 1994. In addition we will pay special attention to advancing peaceful reconciliation in South Africa, Central America and the Caribbean that are of special concern to the American people.
- Leadership on global issues: America is uniquely positioned to think and act globally on a range of problems that will impact on the nature of an emerging post-Cold War world community and on the quality of life for all Americans. These are challenges we must meet for the sake of our children and generations to follow.

-- Arms control and non-proliferation will continue to arouse the public's deepest fears and hopes and be one of our top foreign policy priorities. Although the terrifying threat of U.S. nuclear annihilation has dramatically receded, huge nuclear stockpiles remain and as many as twenty countries have or are developing nuclear and other advanced weapons technology. Presumably the President will want to refer to any progress that he makes on arms control, including strategic arms reduction, as a result of his trip to Russia.

The Administration has made non-proliferation one of its highest priorities; we are actively seeking the indefinite extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty beyond 1995, a strengthening of the membership of the Missile Technology Control Regime, the replacement of the Cold War's COCOM with a new multilateral mechanism tailored to today's threats, the prompt entry into force of the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1995, the adoption of regional security and arms control measures in the Middle East and South Asia, compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention, and the safe and secure dismantlement of the thousands of nuclear weapons that remain in several states of the former Soviet Union.

If the address does cover non-proliferation, it would be important to signal our appreciation of the recent agreement by Brazil and Argentina to adopt full-scope safeguards, South Africa's abandonment of its nuclear weapons and missile programs, and accession to the NPT by Belarus and Kazakhstan. If we continue to make progress with North Korea, this could be reinforced by the President;

-- Protecting against environmental, population and public safety dangers raises a host of challenges that dramatically illustrate the imperatives of integrating domestic and foreign policy to achieve comprehensive

-7-

security. The President has taken on the major environmental issues that were raised at last year's Rio Summit -- climate change and biodiversity -- that were side-stepped by the previous administration. His commitment to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases in the U.S. to their 1990 level by the end of the decade, and to work with U.S. automakers to improve car fuel efficiency, are important steps locally and globally.

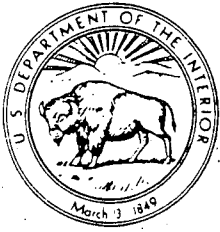
The President has also shown leadership in promoting a reduction in global population growth that so threatens the environment and economic progress in vast regions of the world. In 1994 we expect to be at the forefront of the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development.

Unrestrained immigration, narcotics trafficking, the spread of AIDS, and terrorism are all issues that threaten the personal security of our citizens and to which the Administration is developing comprehensive strategies that link economic incentives with law enforcement at home and abroad. The cruise missile strike against the headquarters of Iraq's intelligence service illustrates President Clinton's determination to deliver a firm proportional response to terrorist activities.

- Promotion of human rights and democracy will remain at the very heart of U.S. foreign policy as a reinforcement of our most abiding values and national identity. More than idealism motivates this commitment. The awful political truth of this century, the most violent in human history, is that governments that abuse power and deny the basic human rights of their own citizens threaten us all. Democracies, in contrast, are rarely aggressive, make more reliable partners, encourage free markets, and cooperate in managing the environment.

The advent of majority rule in South Africa will be a major event in 1994, where American engagement will be prominent. We will continue to be at the forefront of reinforcing these values across the newly independent states of Eurasia. While setbacks are inevitable, including in Haiti and the former Yugoslavia, the President should reiterate our determination to seize opportunities to enlarge political and economic freedom abroad, the best guarantees for our long-term security and prosperity at home.

- Strengthening the Capacity of the United Nations to prevent conflict and promote peace around the world reduces the risk of the U.S. being drawn into regional conflicts that we also cannot ignore. We have given special attention to promoting regional solutions for regional problems and will continue to exert leadership in helping to strengthen the OAS, OAU, AN, and other regional security arrangements.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON

93 DEC 28 A 9:53

MEMORANDUM

December 27, 1993

TO: John Podesta,
Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary

FROM: Bruce Babbitt *Bruce Babbitt*

RE: State of the Union Address

The State of the Union would be a good place to develop the theme of security and opportunity that you have touched upon in earlier speeches. You should focus on just the most important domestic themes -- health care, crime, welfare reform and the associated work training concepts, and the economy.

Health care is principally a security issue, but you have and should again characterize it as an opportunity issue -- guaranteed health care provides mobility in the workforce, encourages risk-taking and initiative, and preventive care especially makes all citizens more productive.

The existing welfare system provides some security, but it does so by reducing initiative -- sketch a reform agenda that provides a measure of security (principally for the children) while providing real incentives to join the workforce.

Crime is the ultimate security issue; it can also be used to illustrate the corrosion and destruction of opportunity.

Keep pushing your definition of the entrepreneurial economy -- world competitiveness, forcing new technology, partnerships in research and development. At the same time that we are providing citizens a measure of security, you are asking them to help unleash a new wave of creative work, risk-taking, and innovation.

The same themes -- security and opportunity -- can be used to characterize your efforts abroad. In this new world, the best long-term security investment is to promote democracy and human rights. And the emerging global economy (NAFTA, GATT, the Asian initiatives) can generate opportunity for all, most especially Americans. The global economy is becoming a fact -- the only question is whether America will lead and reap the benefits, or stand by while others reach for world leadership in the coming century.

You should consider talking about a "Second American Century" of international leadership -- while the phrase has a slightly chauvinistic and provocative ring, it is, for just that reason, a nice way to contrast our leadership role in this new world and explain how it differs from the past century.

A final note. As suggested above, I would not be inclined to deal with environmental or natural resource issues as such. However, should you choose to do so, I strongly recommend that you include a sentence or two of very specific language regarding the fair pricing and sustainable harvest of natural resources, including timber, water, minerals and forage, thereby sending an unequivocal signal to many watching members of Congress that we are not backing away from grazing and mining reform.



THE SECRETARY OF VETERANS AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON

DATE: December 28, 1993

TO: John Podesta
Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary

FROM: Jesse Brown *Jesse Brown*
Secretary of Veterans Affairs

SUBJ: State of the Union Address

As requested in your memorandum of December 22, 1993, attached is suggested material for inclusion in the President's State of the Union message next month.

The President's health care reform proposals are good news for veterans. A reference to the special place of veterans in that plan will help galvanize the veterans' community and sustain their support for the Health Security Act. A suggested paragraph is provided.

The attachment also briefly outlines Administration initiatives to address health and disability concerns of veterans exposed to Agent Orange, and of those who served in the Persian Gulf.

The nation's veterans have been heartened by the President's attention to their views and his support for issues of special concern to them. They can be expected to continue their close attention in months to come, especially as national health reform unfolds.

Attachment

December 21, 1993

SOME IDEAS FOR STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE
(From Interagency Task Force on Violence)

The startling escalation in violence in the last few years has produced pervasive fear and concretely altered the quality of life for millions of Americans. Drive-by shootings, killings over drug turf, and gang-related violence have reached suburbs, smaller cities, and small towns all over the nation. Homicide rates have soared. Children are killing children.

Guns are everywhere. There are now over 200 million firearms in the United States. Half the households in the country now have a firearm.

Drug and alcohol abuse cause the toll to mount and add immensely to our national bill for health care. The incidence of violence among alcohol abusers is 12 times higher than the rate in the general population, and 16 times higher among drug abusers.

Americans are coming to realize that violence in the home is far more prevalent than they thought, and closely related to what happens in the street. Between 2 and 4 million women are seriously assaulted by their domestic partners each year, including 1300 to 1400 who are murdered by their husband or partner, accounting for 40 percent of all homicides of women. Over 3 million young children witness parental violence each year, and there are nearly 900,000 confirmed reports of child abuse. Each year some 1300 children die as a consequence of abuse or severe neglect.

The consequences are devastating in the longer run as well as immediately. Too many children model their later behavior on what they see and experience at home -- reinforced, sad to say, by what they see on television and at the movies and what they hear in the music they listen to. The average American child watches 28 hours of television a week, and sees 8000 homicides and 100,000 acts of violence before he or she finishes elementary school. The emotional, physical, and sexual abuse of children, unacceptable in itself, is part of a continuity of violence that we must understand much more fully than we now do.

The President began a process of national self-examination about the damage we are doing to ourselves with his eloquent and profoundly thoughtful speeches in Memphis on November 13. People feel that this is a time of crisis. Crises, though, present both danger and unusual opportunity for change. So this is both a time of risk and a time to seize the moment and assume a common responsibility to restore coherence and hope to life for every American.

The answers, unfortunately, are not simple. There is a whole series of "both ... ands" in what we must do. We need both law

enforcement and prevention. We need both short-range and long-range strategies. We need both national policy and local action. We need both public policy and private initiative. We need both carrots and sticks. We need to bring to together every segment of our nation and our communities to deal with every aspect of the diversity of violence. We need all of us on all of this.

We absolutely have to begin with safety. It should be a given but it is not. People must feel secure at home and as they go out to work and shop. Children must feel secure on their way to and from school and while they are there, and when they are out playing in the neighborhood. Older Americans must feel secure as they enjoy the fruits of their retirement. Assuring the physical security of every American is where we must start.

But if all we do to assure safety is enforce the law, as fundamental and essential as that is, the irony is that the destruction of order will continue and worsen. Law enforcement is a form of prevention, but it is not sufficient. If we invest only in more prisons, we will never have enough prisons to lock up all the perpetrators. Law enforcement professionals are the first to say this. They know that ultimately, they cannot do their job effectively unless the community joins them -- first, to help make the streets safe, but second, to take all the other steps that are necessary to create economic opportunity and to strengthen families, neighborhoods, schools, and communities. These are the steps that in the long run will change the climate and the conditions which fuel so much of the violence. The key is prevention, to start as early as necessary to stop violence before it starts.

We go into detail below, but national policy to prevent violence before it starts includes focusing on how guns are used, who has them, and how they are made, urging the media to be more responsible, and investing in our people, especially our children. Local policy must include neighborhood and community-wide partnerships and coalitions to reduce and prevent crime and violence and reach out to young people to provide role models, educational enrichment, and connections and, in the end, hope. It must include strategies to strengthen families, neighborhoods, and schools, and specific interventions like mentoring and educational enrichment. It must include more attention to victims.

We believe the President can use the bully pulpit to educate and celebrate and inspire, as he has already done in so many ways. He can educate us all as to what each of us can do to take responsibility. He can educate us as to just how pervasive the violence is -- in the home as well as on the street, the hate violence as well as the street crime, the suicides as well as the homicides. He can educate us by telling us that guns are dangerous consumer products, that violence is not the way to settle disputes, that we should have respect for and value human life, that real men

don't beat women, that teens should not be drinking, and that no one should be using, distributing, or selling drugs.

And it is so important that the President can celebrate what works. He can tell the people that we have many things we can do, things that work. This is a time for us to act, not retreat behind locked doors. There are neighborhood and community-wide antiviolence coalitions and programs in cities across America that are making a difference. The Beacons program in New York is turning schools into community centers. New Futures in Savannah, the Omega Boys Club in Oakland, El Puente in Brooklyn, Youth Development, Inc. in Albuquerque, City Year in Boston, Rheedlen in Manhattan, and Youthnet in Kansas City are all making a difference in the lives and futures of young people. They deal with youth as assets and take a developmental approach. And there are individual heroes to be celebrated -- from the man who disarmed the killer on the Long Island Railroad to the thousands of young people from the most difficult of circumstances who beat the odds every year and make it, despite everything.

Finally, the President can inspire. Just as national service will tap into youthful idealism, there is an enormous wellspring of idealism among people of all ages. There is a desire to help and do something worthwhile. The President can inspire all Americans to participate, to be part of the effort to replace fear with hope, to shift the focus. He can motivate people to take action, to get involved, to serve in a variety of ways that help individual families and communities. The long list of specific ideas that follows below shows there is good reason for optimism.

One vital matter on which the President can educate specifically has to do with issues about race and ethnicity. The issues and the facts about violence are deeply intertwined with both realities and Americans' prejudices about race. The realities and the prejudices need to be separated and differentiated. This is not a simple matter, but one simple truth is that there is no causal connection between race or ethnicity and violence. Violence is associated with poverty and discrimination, lack of education, lack of jobs, and lack of hope -- and these are things we can change.

Another truth is that the victims of crime are disproportionately low-income people and minorities, and that the fear which stalks the streets of neighborhoods is most intense in low-income neighborhoods.

And there are other related matters to which we do not attend sufficiently. Young African-American, Latino, and other minority young men and women still face widespread racial and ethnic discrimination in the job market as they go about the crucial phase of looking for the first job that will help determine their entire life's direction. The intertwined forces of race and poverty bring

disproportionate responses against minorities and the poor in the criminal justice system as well, where we see disparities in rates of conviction, sentencing, and incarceration. The schools attended by low-income minority children are routinely the worst in the city. And hope is at its lowest ebb in the low-income predominantly minority neighborhoods of our cities.

In all of this we need to view our children and youth as assets and resources to be developed, and not presumptively as threats and collections of problems as is too often the case. The vast majority of young people, including those at risk for socioeconomic reasons, never engage in violence. Indeed, children and young people can be significant resources to aid in efforts to eliminate violence, through peer mediation and counseling and other activities.

The following are some specific ideas for an antiviolence movement that must involve all Americans. They represent the "both ... and" approach called for above. Some of the ideas relate to tougher law enforcement and others relate to prevention and child and youth development and strengthening families, schools, neighborhoods, and communities. These, then, are some possible elements of the call to action:

1. Enact the crime bill, which includes a significant number of absolutely vital elements. Community policing is the most important of these -- a policy of demonstrated effectiveness in cities across America. Of vital importance also are the provisions for drug and alcohol treatment in the criminal justice system, boot camps and other prison initiatives, drug courts, prevention of violence against women, safe schools, and other prevention activities including the Dodd Ounce of Prevention amendment and the Bradley-Domenici-Danforth amendment to turn schools into community centers.

2. Next steps on guns. Firearms are at the heart of this epidemic of violence. And both the victims and the perpetrators are getting younger and younger. Fights that used to end with a black eye now end in death. Disgruntled employees return to the work site with guns and settle scores fatally. And loaded handguns in the home increase the risk of tragedy to an innocent person. We have done extraordinarily well in reducing motor vehicle deaths and injuries by making safer cars, safer roads, getting drunk drivers off the road, educating and licensing drivers, and registering and inspecting cars. We can do the same thing with guns. The Brady Bill was a historic event. Now we can move forward to keep guns out of the hands of children and out of the wrong hands, get rid of the most dangerous ammunition, make guns safer, tighten regulation of gun dealers, and educate people about how dangerous guns are. The President has of course already called for a ban on assault weapons and a ban on possession of guns by juveniles, and he has asked for a study of the licensing and registration of handguns.

He might consider announcing that we are going to address the prevention of firearm injuries as aggressively as we have addressed cancer, smoking, and motor-vehicle related injuries through rigorous enforcement of the law and new research and programs that bring together justice and health professionals through the National Institute of Justice and the Centers for Disease Control.

3. **Media.** We suggest that the President announce he is inviting leaders of all the media -- networks, cable, filmmakers, record companies, video toys, perhaps the print media -- to the White House for a meeting to discuss what they can do. There is a lengthy agenda of possible and important areas and steps for them to consider: reducing the violence in films, programming and products; news policies; policies regarding the hours when various types of programming appear; ratings systems; measures of the incidence of violence in programming and products; proactive efforts to send antiviolenence messages in films and programs; and strategies to do public education by way of public service announcements, documentaries, and other activities. The media are a powerful influence on our culture and we should urge them to focus that power on positive, pro-social outcomes.

4. **Neighborhood and community-wide antiviolenence coalitions, and accompanying programs and interventions that work to strengthen families, child and youth development activities, and neighborhoods.** These initiatives are absolutely key to the President's call to take our cities back block by block and neighborhood by neighborhood. They are developing on their own in many communities. Our interagency group has worked with Denver and Omaha, but seven cities in Texas have action plans for crime prevention connected to broad-based coalition building, and cities like San Diego and Seattle have done their own city-wide task forces. Fort Worth says it has reduced crime in all categories by 25 to 30 percent by the totality of its activities, including a major emphasis on community policing. The President might assign the U.S. Attorneys around the country to lead federal teams and thereby draw on federal expertise to help in any city that wants it. It might also be appropriate to consider modest federal cash assistance on a formula basis to states and major cities as "glue" to start up and staff the coalitions. The federal government can also work to cut red tape for localities, develop improved on-line computerized information about federal resources, and produce new resource guides and how-to manuals about promising activities to reduce violence. All of these activities will make a major difference to communities as they seek to develop their own approaches to the problem. Even more broadly, all of this must be part of rethinking the federal government's ability to respond to the needs of all communities across all Departments and programs. This is a major focus and purpose of President Clinton's Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community legislation, which was enacted in 1993 and is now in the process of being implemented. The federal government should seek to promote comprehensive program

development at the local level in every way possible to meet the varied needs of children and youth and their families.

5. Drug and alcohol policy, including both law enforcement and treatment/prevention. Drug sales and excessive alcohol use are closely interwoven with a large proportion of the violence. The President might emphasize his determination to redouble our law enforcement efforts against drug dealing, as well as the concrete efforts he is making to increase our investment in treatment and prevention, especially efforts to prevent young people from using alcohol and other drugs. The CDC is currently developing a comprehensive school health education program that will make it possible to teach every student every year about the risks of alcohol and drug abuse and how they can avoid getting involved. The President might emphasize the new hard-core drug and alcohol abuser treatment initiative that is currently slated to be proposed in his FY 1995 budget, the significant criminal justice drug treatment portion of the crime bill, and the substance abuse treatment benefit in the health care reform legislation. The latter looks toward a historic shift in substance abuse treatment as of the year 2001 when the mental health and substance abuse benefits in the health care plan will achieve parity with the benefits available under the rest of the plan.

6. Promote jobs and opportunity and hope for young people. This is vital. The President might consider adding together and emphasizing the various youth employment initiatives that are projected as part of welfare reform, reorientation of the Job Training Partnership Act, and national service.

7. Safe and effective schools. Too many of our children are terrified to go to school, especially as they get to middle school and find gang pressures from older children, so that the threat of violence within the school becomes even more worrisome than the dangers that confront children on their way to and from school. In a recent survey, 37 percent of teens said they did not feel safe in school, and 50 percent said they knew someone who transferred to another school because of safety concerns. Of course our schools will not be totally safe until our communities are safe. At the same time, though, antiviolence curricula in schools and mediation and conciliation activities, including peer mediation, can reduce the proclivity of children to resort to violence. Finally, there is no substitute for working to make all of our schools places where children can learn, for helping all of our teachers to be good at listening to children, and for making our schools much better at helping young people make a successful transition to the labor market or to postsecondary education. To pursue all of these ends, the President might call once again for enactment of the Safe Schools Act, the Goals 2000 legislation, the school-to-work bill, and the Elementary and Secondary Act reauthorization, including the important provisions it contains constituting the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act.

8. Turn schools into community centers and encourage nonprofit organizations, colleges, and others to work with schools within neighborhoods to reach "at risk" youth with after-school, evening, and summer academic enrichment and recreation, with large numbers of adult role models to create meaningful adult relationships for young people who so often lack them, and organized activities to connect youth to the labor market. This is of course related closely to the previous recommendation. The question used to be, it's 10 o'clock, do you know where your kids are? Now the question is, it's 4 o'clock, do you know where your kids are? As indicated above, the President might call for enactment of the Ounce of Prevention (Dodd) and Bradley-Danforth-Domenici amendments in the crime bill to do these things. These youth development initiatives are vital elements in a violence prevention strategy.

9. Million Mentors Initiative. This is obviously related directly to the previous two suggestions. So many young people lack meaningful adult relationships in their lives today, for a variety of reasons. Mentoring has become a cure-all solution in the minds of some, but, properly done and in the context of other initiatives and policies, it has an extremely important role to play. The President might call for the nation to mobilize to get a million mentors in place to work with young people. Rough estimates indicate that there are perhaps 150,000 to 200,000 mentors around the country now through Big Brothers and Big Sisters and other, smaller groups, so a million mentors is a reasonable aim. It represents exactly the kind of partnership between government and the people that we need and want to promote. It has to be carried out by private individuals, but because doing good mentorship programs is neither simple nor free, an infrastructure is required to accomplish the aim. Careful organization is required to recruit, screen, train, supervise, monitor, support, and provide logistical assistance for mentors. The President might consider proposing a small grant program to states to distribute as they think most wise to create the needed infrastructure. The leverage from such a small set of grants would be multiplied many times over, because the heart of the effort would be private action.

10. Additional federal law enforcement activities to prosecute and assist local prosecution of violent crime and gang activity. The Department of Justice, through its Criminal Division, will undertake the following activities:

-- At the local level, Justice will work with local authorities to define the specific problems that need to be addressed, inventory federal and local prosecution and investigative resources, and develop a joint anti-violence strategy. An integrated force of federal investigators (FBI, DEA, INS, U.S. Marshals, and Customs) will be deployed to work with local law enforcement officials on this.

-- Justice will design the specific federal role to be undertaken

as part of the locally determined strategy, based on the special advantages of the various federal tools available to assist.

-- Justice will coordinate and share intelligence among federal and local law enforcement agencies.

-- Justice will create a new Violent Crime Section in the Criminal Division to support training, help in the field, facilitate coordination, and share intelligence and ideas.

11. Juvenile Justice. The juvenile justice systems in most states satisfy no one. They neither levy sufficient sanctions against violent offenders nor respond with policies and interventions appropriate for first-time and minor offenders who do not constitute a threat to the security of the community. Thirteen percent of juvenile offenders are serious offenders who have committed rape, murder, robbery, or assault; 80 percent were arrested for property crimes, drug offenses, or the like; and 7 percent have committed minor offenses like shoplifting or status offenses. Between 1988 and 1992, the number of violent crime arrests of juveniles increased by 47 percent, more than double the increase for persons 18 and older. Juvenile arrests for murder increased 51 percent compared with a 9 percent increase for adults. We need to encourage and assist the states to differentiate among juvenile offenders in ways they have not in the past. Federal leadership can help states in a number of ways:

-- in the design of tougher sanctions and appropriate correctional facilities for violent offenders. The crime bill includes funds for facilities for serious juvenile offenders. Federal leadership can help states understand that for many serious offenders, especially younger ones, strengthening the juvenile justice system can be more effective in protecting the community than sending accused offenders to the adult system;

-- in developing alternatives to unnecessary and costly institutionalization for minor offenders who will benefit far more from interventions that are based in the community. Federal leadership can help states develop ways to work with the families of young offenders and on realistic strategies for attending to the reintegration of offenders back into the community; and

-- in developing better assessment tools to differentiate among categories of offenders and assess their needs.

12. Massive public education. We know that public messages have an effect. We can see what has happened with cigarette smoking, use of seat belts, and designated drivers. The President might wish to encourage a new set of public messages on such matters as:

- guns as dangerous consumer products
- "time out" or "squash it" to appeal to kids to settle

- disputes nonviolently
- real men don't beat women
 - underage drinking

We need to turn the power of our marketing community toward violence prevention. The President might consider asking Congress to fund the Centers for Disease Control to work with the private sector on the development of the best specific messages to reach those at greatest risk. Schools should be asked to play a major role in the public education strategy, which should be dovetailed with what occurs through the mass media. Schools can be requested to take time out to talk with children about violence, especially if the President establishes a National Violence Prevention Week, or calls for a National Day of Nonviolence.

13. Use national service to get full-time volunteers into violence reduction and prevention activities. Our new national service program has enormous potential to assist in enlisting Americans to take individual responsibility for participating in meeting our national violence crisis. The President might mention in the State of the Union Message that the Summer of Service in 1994 will be a Summer of Safety and call on everyone involved at the grass-roots level and on up to make violence reduction a priority in implementation of the national service program.

14. Get prosecutors and police and social service people to cooperate in each community to implement tough domestic violence arrest and prosecution protocols and safe places for battered women and children to go, and stronger prosecutorial policies against child abuse as well. As we said earlier, there is a continuity of violence. We have learned, for example, that 27 percent of women and 16 percent of men experienced sexual abuse as children. Over 61 percent of sexual assaults occur to girls younger than 18. This is in addition to the fact that a woman is beaten every 15 seconds in this country, and that 160,000 children each year suffer injuries from child abuse or severe neglect that are serious enough to send them to the hospital. What children see and experience at home reflects itself all too often in their later behavior. As indicated in the brief discussion of the crime bill, the President might call on Congress to enact the Violence Against Women Act provisions contained in the crime bill. He might also commend the American Medical Association for its leadership in getting physicians to see signs of domestic violence and child abuse when they examine women and children. Congress responded to the President's request last year to initiate a new program at CDC to prevent violence against women. This was an important beginning. It is a seed that needs to grow.

15. New hate crimes legislation. The increasing number of incidents of violence and vandalism against others based on their race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation are a matter of the deepest concern. Although less than a third of law enforcement

agencies reported in the category of hate crime in 1992, there were 5700 incidents of hate crime. The President might call for enactment of tough new legislation to let the perpetrators of these horrible acts know that the nation means business in saying that it wants the ugliness to stop.

16. **Strengthen families and parenting skills.** What happens to children in their infancy is deeply determinative of outcomes later on in their lives. The Family Preservation and Support legislation enacted in 1993 as part of the budget reconciliation act is a promising beginning on getting assistance to families of young children so they can learn parenting skills and deal with problems before they become so serious as to require that a child be removed and placed in foster care. We need to look as well at the promise of home visitation programs, based on the experience in Hawaii and Arkansas and elsewhere, as a part of an initiative to help young families, and especially to work with families where there has been violence. The President might want to make reference to the zero-to-three initiative that is now under consideration within the Administration. For the longer run we need not only to consider home visitation and other outreach and expand parent education, but we also need to build up a network of family support centers like Avance, which began in San Antonio and is now in 9 sites.

17. **Strengthen neighborhoods via the Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities.** This landmark legislation, also enacted in 1993 as part of the budget reconciliation process, will support model neighborhood development in 104 communities around the country. Strong neighborhoods, like strong families, are a vital element in reducing the level of violence. The experience gained from this legislation will guide community development strategy for the nation.

18. **Enact health care reform.** Health care reform has great implications for the reduction of violence in a number of different ways. More families seeing a physician regularly will result in more identification of domestic and child abuse. Drug and alcohol treatment will reduce the incidence of violence among people who would have been at risk had they not received treatment. Health promotion and disease prevention activities under the public health reform provisions of the health care reform will help change people's behavior and thereby have an effect on violence. Schools can play a major role in health promotion, including antiviolence education activities.

19. **Vigorously enforce the laws against employment discrimination, especially with regard to entry-level jobs, which is an area that has been virtually untouched by enforcement policy.**

20. **Support research on the causes of violence and promising interventions of all kinds.** We simply need to know more about the problem and about what works if we are going to be as effective as

we can possibly be in reducing the prevalence of this terrible problem. Only \$31 is spent on research for every year of life lost due to violence. In comparison, \$794 is spent on cancer, and \$697 is spent on AIDS.

NOTE: Martin Luther King's birthday would be a good time to do something or things to dramatize all of the above -- possibly a speech or lead a march against violence or go to Lincoln Memorial or meet with kids and talk about Dr. King or some combination.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Susan Brophy to John Podesta re: State of the Union (1 page)	12/30/1993	P5
002. memo	Joe Goode and Stan Greenberg to White House Communications (7 pages)	01/26/1994	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carter Wilkie
OA/Box Number: 4273

FOLDER TITLE:

State of the Union 1994 [3]

2008-0699-F

pr4

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]

TO: John Podesta
FROM: Susan Brophy
DATE: December 30, 1993

RE: State of the Union

My comments on the State of the Union are related to health care. Since I have never attended a health care communications meeting it is quite possible that the following is self-evident and widely discussed, if not, my thoughts...

As you are probably aware, a few weeks ago Mass General Hospital and Brigham and Women's Hospital, two of the biggest and best teaching hospitals in Boston, announced a merger. Last week two other prestigious Boston hospitals, New England Deaconess and New England Baptist, also announced a consolidation of services (see the attached article). While this news did not get a great deal of attention in Washington, it did in Boston, where the magnitude of the news that these venerable, previously change-averse institutions would merge was understood.

After hearing the news of these hospital mergers and other accounts of the efficiencies being produced by the health industry, I was struck that most of what was happening in health care management was as a direct result of the issue being raised by the Clinton Administration and in anticipation of health care reform legislation. However, it appears that we are neither getting nor taking appropriate credit for this activity.

I think that if we begin to take credit for this in the State of the Union speech, it is less likely that in the final analysis the press will focus on process -- the differences between the bill that is finally passed and that which was originally proposed, which are likely to be substantial. The focus will hopefully be on the fact that people and providers have begun thinking differently about health care, acknowledging that the present system doesn't work and needs changing, and are themselves preparing for the change. We should begin establishing a win-win scenario where credit is given for raising the issue, provoking changes in the industry and producing a comprehensive health care bill, even one that doesn't look exactly like the one originally proposed.

I believe the State of the Union is the place to start.



TO: White House Communications
FROM: Joe Goode and Stan Greenberg
DATE: January 26, 1994

RE: STATE OF THE UNION DIALS

President Clinton's State of the Union speech was a considerable success with 29 Perot and 21 weak Clinton voters who watched and dialed the speech in Dayton, Ohio. Clinton's mean favorable thermometer score jumped from 53 before the speech to 66 afterward, and 68 percent of respondents felt better about Clinton based on what they heard in the speech.

The President registered especially strong gains on character traits:

He shares your values	+42
A steady leader	+32
Fights for the middle class	+24
Cares about people like you	+22
Makes you feel confident	+22

In addition, perceptions of Clinton's job performance on specific issues all showed considerable gains: handling the economy (+24), handling crime (+22) and handling the deficit (+18). The percentage of those who said the country is moving in the right direction jumped 12 points to a plurality 42 percent after the speech.

Perhaps the most encouraging movement was on health care. Although Clinton and Perot voters showed some difference in how they dialed this issue (see below), support for the health plan gained an astounding 34 points, moving from just 36 to 70 percent in favor. Those who believe the health care plan will help their family climbed from 38 percent to 56 percent. Postcards written to Clinton after the speech, however, reveal that many of these voters still have reservations about the plan, and they remain unconvinced that it will not hurt their families.



The postcards also show that the speech had a remarkably positive impact on the participants. The President clearly connected with the people watching and spoke about the issues they care about, particularly health care and crime. However, the postcards also reveal some skepticism about whether Clinton can or will accomplish the goals outlined in the speech, and ultimately, the support of many of these voters hinges on action:

"Let's just make it happen!"

"You certainly are a charismatic speaker. I hope you can implement the things spoken of in your State of the Union address..."

"You had a moving speech tonight. Don't mess up and not follow through."

"Talk is cheap. Prove yourself."



THE SPEECH

Crime and Family Values

Voters had positive responses to many items in the speech, but registered their strongest approval when the President talked about crime and restoring responsibility and values in families. The largest jump and high point of the evening came when Clinton endorsed the "3 strikes" idea:

- * "...those who commit crimes should be punished (+5) and those who commit repeated violent crimes should be told when you commit a third violent crime you will be put away (continued rise) and put away for good, three strikes and you are out." (Clinton/Perot voters big joint spike to mean 82)

During the crime discussion, voters registered some of their sharpest jumps of the evening:

- * "...there is no sporting purpose on earth that should stop the United States Congress from banning assault weapons that outgun police and cut down children." (+10 on both sides, mean spike to 75)
- * "...put aside partisan differences and pass a strong, smart, tough crime bill." (big spike +12 to 72 from both)
- * "We must give our people, especially our young people, something to say yes to." (joint big spike from 60 to 72 on both sides)
- * "We can't renew our country until we realize that governments don't raise children, parents do." (+10 for both, to 71 mean)

Accomplishments and the Economy: Perot Voters Skeptical

The differences between Perot and Clinton voters are most pronounced in this and the health care section. Perot voters are simply unwilling to acknowledge, or don't believe, the list of Clinton accomplishments. There is a 15 point gap on the initial outline of accomplishments (reduce deficit, higher taxes on wealthy [big spike among Clinton voters], Brady bill) with Perot voters unmoved at 50.



The gap continues through motor voter and college loans, but Perot voters start to increase on high tech investment and family leave and finally get close to 60 on breaking gridlock: "all passed, all signed into law, with not on single veto" (but Clinton voters are still considerably higher).

Even when Clinton talks about cutting spending, reducing the deficit and cutting government employees, Perot voters remain unconvinced. Nothing illustrates this gap more than on the Truman quote:

"...first time since Harry Truman that we have had three years of declining deficits and proved once again the buck stops here." (Clinton voters peak to 75, Perot voters at 58)

Trade, Investment, Retraining & Education: Close the Gap

As the speech turned to opening world markets and preparing American workers for their economic future, Perot voters closed the gap and for the first time dialed ahead of Clinton voters on some occasions. While the trade discussion lacked intensity, Perot voters were more responsive than Clinton voters:

"We did more to open world markets to American products than in any time in the last two generations." (This is the first time that Perot voters catch up to and slightly exceed Clinton voters -- although the mean is only in the high 50s.)

The concepts of investment and high technology excited both groups, particularly the information highway -- where again Perot voters moved ahead of Clinton voters. In contrast to the initial section, Perot voters stayed at a steady mean of above 60 for most of this discussion. Highlights:

- * "...we must invest in the environmental technologies of the future, which will create jobs." (both Perot and Clinton voters bump up)
- * "We must also work with the private sector...into a national information super highway by the year 2000." (Perot voters gradual rise up to 69)
- * "...unless we also give our people the education and training skills they need to seize the opportunities of tomorrow." (10 point spike for both Clinton and Perot voters, sending mean to 68)



"...are our children learning all they need to know to compete and win in the global economy?" (both jump 6 points; mean spike to 70)

"...it's time to stop ignoring them [non college bound] and start empowering them." (Perot voters spike to match Clinton voters at 68)

"...reemployment not unemployment must become the center piece of our economic renewal." (both spike, mean to 70)

- Perot voters are skeptical of Clinton's accomplishments.
- * • Both are responsive to calls for investment, retraining and overhauling unemployment system.
- Clinton voters have low interest in foreign policy. This is the only area where Perotians actually often dial higher than Clinton voters in many parts of the discussion, although this is because Clinton voters rarely break 60.

Welfare Reform: Second only to Crime

Not surprisingly, Clinton's call for welfare reform was exceedingly popular with both Clinton and Perot voters. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this discussion is how responsive Clinton voters are. Perot voters dialed this section in the low to mid 60s throughout, but Clinton voters were usually in the low to mid 70s. Highlights:

* "...so must we also revolutionize our welfare system. It doesn't work, it defies our values as a nation." (big spike [+10] among both up to 70)

"...we can't penalize those who stay together." (Perot voters to low 60s, Clinton voters in mid 70s)

"...these people want a better system and we ought to give it to them."

"...we'll no longer give you a check to set up a separate household, we want you to stay together."

"...track you across state lines and if necessary make you work to pay off what you owe"

"People who bring children into this world cannot and must not walk away from them."



"...make welfare what it ought to be, a second chance not a way of life." (joint mean spike to 73)

Health Care Reform: More Popular with Clinton Voters

The gap between the two groups opens up again as Clinton argues why there is a health care crisis, but both groups register a gradual 8 point rise throughout the discussion. The gap actually widens as Clinton describes the problems of doing nothing, opening to about 14 points on "our people will have less care, fewer choices and higher bills." (Clinton voters are in the mid 70s at this point, Perot voters in the low 60s).

It is also during this discussion that the biggest drop of the evening was recorded on "people who smoke should pay more for a pack of cigarettes" (-8).

There was actually very little variance during the health care discussion, with Clinton voters steady at 70 throughout and Perot voters at 60. It is important to note that Perot voters rarely dropped below 60, and their considerable support for the program after the speech argues that Clinton made an impact.

Voters were most responsive to the following:

"...and most of all the right to choose a plan and to choose your own doctor." (first Perot movement up 5)

"Medicare should be protected and prescriptions covered." (Perot voters close gap to high 60s)

"...every time the special interests were powerful enough to defeat it, but not this time." (big Clinton spike [+13], slight Perot one)

* "I think we need to give every hard working, tax paying American the same health care security they have already given us." (second biggest combined jump of the evening [+16] to 72)

"...veto the legislation, send it back here and start all over again." (small spike [+5], mean to 65, bigger with Clinton voters)



Foreign Policy: Little Interest

The foreign policy discussion was fairly flat throughout, although some lines registered strong jumps (below). The section was more notable for the number of times Perot voters exceeded Clinton voters and for dialing almost equal to Clintonites for almost the entire discussion. Again, the mean rarely broke 60.

"Russia's strategic nuclear missiles will no longer be pointed at the United States, nor will ours be pointed at them." (+8 to mean of 64)

"...comprehensive ban to stop all nuclear testing." (mean spike to 69)

"We must not cut defense further." (Perot voters higher at about 65 to 63)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Carol Rasco to Ann Walker re: 100 Days Document (1 page)	04/16/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carter Wilkie
OA/Box Number: 4273

FOLDER TITLE:

100 Days Document

End of PRA
2008-0699-F
pr9

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]

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

16-Apr-1993 01:17pm

TO: Ann F. Walker

FROM: Carol H. Rasco
Economic and Domestic Policy

SUBJECT: RE: 100 Days Document

I have now had a chance to review the 100 days draft. First, in going back over the top priorities the President articulated to the cabinet at the retreat it appears to me we need to get something in the document about welfare reform, campaign finance/lobbying reform, government reorganization, health care reform. Would be good also to have one of the meetings with Riley on education issues shown and also something on AIDS. Anything with Indians that might be shown? On health care I know we may be in some kind of box because of the lawsuit but we could at least show the announcement of the Task Force by Clinton as well as briefings on health care reform or something...otherwise it looks like health care reform process is supposedly underway in a big way and yet BC meets regularly with economic advisors and isn't involved at all with health care....tricky I realize but can't be overlooked. On welfare reform you could show that speech to NGA on Tuesday, February 2 was on welfare reform and then next week when we have a Domestic Policy Council meeting (the first, not sure of date yet) you can show that also then he announced the Welfare Reform Task Force. Let me know if there is anything further I can do, I will keep reviewing the document as I have time. Thanks.

Carter -
Carol makes good suggestions.
Can you review this and
make additions to reflect more of
the Domestic policy activities
during the 100 days?
Thp

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Stan Greenberg to Clinton Communications re: Accomplishments: 1993 (6 pages)	12/07/1993	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Carter Wilkie
OA/Box Number: 4273

FOLDER TITLE:

Accomplishments

End of PRA
2008-0699-F
pr10

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]



DATE: December 7, 1993
TO: Clinton Communications
FROM: Stan Greenberg

RE: ACCOMPLISHMENTS: 1993

As you know, we are finishing the year on a strong note, with the country in better spirits and the president's job ratings heading upward. To help with our own presentation of the record -- beginning with the Sperling Breakfast -- I wanted to offer some data on public reactions to our accomplishments. Sometimes the public reacts in predictable ways, putting the Middle East peace signing high-up, while at other times, reacting cautiously to accomplishments that we take for granted as important.

Help for Middle America

At the top of the list of accomplishments are a cluster of legislative successes that show the national government finally addressing the problems and needs of middle America. These accomplishments reflect efforts to improve living standards, but as important, efforts to advance the work values and security of mainstream communities.

- The passage of the Crime Bill in the House and Senate that may put 100,000 additional police on the street (67 percent important accomplishment)

The 100,000 police on the streets is stronger than the Brady Bill which 58 percent rated as such an accomplishment and which is still noteworthy.

- The new tax bill that cut taxes for full-time, low wage workers -- making sure work is better paid than welfare (67 percent)

It is important to note that when the EITC is tested as raising all full-time workers and their families out of poverty, only 51 percent describe this as an important accomplishment.



- The reform of the college loan program to toughen collections and make loans available regardless of family income (66 percent)

The reform of the college loan program is much more important to people than National Service which only 52 percent rated as an important accomplishment.

- New incentives to help small business to invest and create jobs (65 percent)

We have not reminded voters of the small business incentives which, as we can see here, matter to people.

- The introduction of major legislation to reform the health care system (63 percent)

This is the only issue in the battery where simply introducing the legislation is considered a major accomplishment.

- The new family and medical leave law allowing people to take 3 months of unpaid leave for a new-born or sick family member (59 percent)

In the previous survey, we found that the strongest determinant of "makes you feel confident" about the president is "fighting for the middle class." Our end of year stories should not simply emphasize success. It should emphasize our attempts to get things done on behalf of middle class America.

Progress on the Economy

Voters are not yet ready to give Bill Clinton credit for an economic recovery, but they are prepared to credit him with getting some things right that may move the economy in a different direction.

- The new tax bill that raised income taxes on the wealthy, people earning over \$180,000 (61 percent)

There is no reason to be apologetic about raising taxes on the wealthy, as long as we are clear on the income level and as long as we have made clear what we have done for the middle class.



- The passage of a tough federal budget that brought lower interest rates and, therefore, made it cheaper to buy a car or home (59 percent)
- The reduction of the unemployment rate from 7.1 to 6.4 percent and the creation of one and a half million new jobs (57 percent)
- The administration's efforts to open up foreign markets in Asia, Latin America and Europe to U.S. products (55 percent)

The general principle of opening up markets is more important to voters than NAFTA which only 44 percent mention as an important accomplishment. Voters were divided evenly on the question and uncertain on whether it cost jobs. We are on stronger ground if we cast NAFTA in the broader context of opening up markets and creating a basis for future prosperity.

Foreign Affairs

This is not our strongest area, though the Middle East is the high point.

- The signing of the Middle East peace agreement between Israel and the PLO.

There is less interest in our relation to Russia and Yeltsin (46 percent)

Areas of Modest Public Interest or High Skepticism

The biggest surprise to me are the low scores for re-inventing government. The public gives the president decent marks for cutting government waste (50 percent approval), but is clearly adopting a wait-and-see attitude. We may not want to build our claims until after there is more credible evidence of success.

- The re-inventing government initiative to make government more efficient and responsive which has already cut 250,000 bureaucratic positions (53 percent)

The 25 percent cut in the White House staff scores less well (43 percent), suggesting the need to re-introduce the whole re-inventing initiative again at the outset of 1994.



- The passage of the Clinton budget that brought the federal deficit under control (47 percent)

We just have not made the case yet and cannot use that as a major piece of our end-of-year summary. The public is skeptical and needs much more evidence before the president credit for progress.

CLINTON ACCOMPLISHMENTS 1993

	Important Accomplishment	Not as Important Accomplishment	Not Much Accomplishment/ Don't Know
The new tax bill that <u>cut taxes</u> for full-time, low-wage workers -- making sure work is better paid than welfare	67	20	13
The signing of the <u>Mideast peace</u> agreement between Israel and the PLO	67	22	11
The passage of the <u>Crime Bill</u> in the House and Senate that may put 100,000 additional police on the street	67	22	10
The reform of the <u>college loan program</u> to toughen collection and make loans available regardless of family income	66	21	12
New incentives to help <u>small businesses</u> to invest and create jobs	65	22	13
The introduction of major legislation to reform the <u>health care</u> system	63	19	18
The new tax bill that <u>raised income taxes</u> on the <u>wealthy</u> , people earning over \$180,000	61	23	17
The passage of a tough federal budget that brought <u>lower interest rates</u> and, therefore, made it cheaper to buy a car or home	59	26	15
The new <u>family and medical leave</u> law allowing people to take 3 months of unpaid leave for a new born or sick family member	59	24	18
The passage of the <u>Brady Bill</u> that requires a 5 day waiting period for handguns	58	20	22
The reduction of the <u>unemployment rate</u> from 7.1 to 6.4 percent and the creation of one and a half million new jobs	57	21	22

	Important Accomplishment	Not as Important Accomplishment	Not Much Accomplishment/ Don't Know
The administration's efforts to <u>open up</u> <u>foreign markets</u> in Asia, Latin America and Europe to U.S. products	55	30	15
The <u>re-inventing government</u> initiative to make government more efficient and responsive which has already cut 250,000 bureaucratic positions	53	27	20
The new <u>motor voter</u> law that makes it easier for people to register to vote	53	27	20
The new <u>National Service</u> program where people work in community service and earn credits for college	52	29	19
The new tax bill that <u>cut taxes</u> for full-time, low-wage workers -- moving all full-time workers out of poverty	51	25	25
The passage of the Clinton budget that brought the <u>federal deficit</u> under control	47	22	32
The administration's support for <u>Boris Yeltsin</u> in making the transition to democracy in Russia . . .	46	30	24
The passage of <u>NAFTA</u> , the North American Free Trade Agreement	44	20	36
The cutting of the <u>White House staff</u> by 25 percent .	43	32	25
The new policy in the military, called, "don't ask, don't tell," allowing <u>gays</u> to serve in the military . .	26	32	42