

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. agenda	handwritten meeting notes (1 page)	11/10/1998	P5 2513

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17657

FOLDER TITLE:

[Admin Files-Cabinet Briefing 11/10/98]

Kim Coryat
2011-0299-S
kc755

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



CABINET BRIEFING

November 10, 1998
Cabinet Room--5:00 p.m.

AGENDA

If can't spend surplus, spend tobacco \$.

Tough tobacco policy → problem has for negot
One lesson is → right side of history

tobacco high enough on its own,
becomes impossible if ~~it goes~~

it turns into debate about how to spend \$

~~Att~~ health-related or

~~to affect~~ possibly tax related

Most
~~Att~~ \$ it raises is already spent -
for farmers, for reducing teen smoking

Any leftover →

That drawer is empty

I. Opening Remarks by the Chief of Staff

II. Budget → ~~BAD FOR~~ UNRELIABLE effort

III. Foreign Policy

IV. Discussion

BC: The People Here us to make
we dominated the debate
What on 2070: who cares about that sucker?
I'm just trying to hang on
Raising taxes on our BSSE: I wasn't for that
Robin: I remember you said that

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Paul Weinstein to Reed re Personnel (partial) (1 page)	11/20/1996	P6/b(6)
002. notes	handwritten staff (1 page) <i>partial</i>	11/17/1996	P5, b(6) <i>Q814</i>

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17657

FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files-DPC Staff [2]

2011-0299-S

kc756

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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DYSFUNCTIONAL

11.17.96

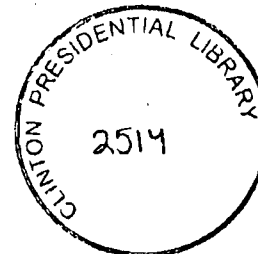
Class
Respon
Revelatory

NOT THE NEC

- Bd of Dir vs. Faculty
- No single person like Laftin
- Need = steered in rt direction so they'll be relevant

I WATCHED THIS OVER PAST YR.

- CRR's photos - protect PONS from Cabinet
- My view: ~~that~~ we can get a lot done if we engage them directly
- Shalala, Riley, Cisneros, Rubin, Glickman
- DOJ/Crisis Training.



DPC ROLE:

- 1) Fight for P's ^{policy} agenda: lots of agendas possible to contribute with - Congress, groups, more than 1 here
(Protest strike)
 - e.g. 100,000 cops
 - Advance the ball, with or w/o P, on major issues - educ, war, crime etc.
- 2) Generate actions + ideas in short term to (Develop, vet, sell)
 - We did 50-60 in the last yr.
 - ~~Even greater demand~~
 - Even greater demand for exec action next yr
 - Radio address, EDs, etc.
- 3) Long-term policy development, intellectual outreach
 - Now that election is over, we have more time to plant - studies, reports, actions
- 4) Look out for P's legacy - LR, educ, crime, etc



(b)(6)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Sally Katzen et all to Chief of Staff re Sen Boren's Revolving Door Proposal (partial) (1 page)	12/20/1993	P5 2515

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17657

FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files-Ethics [2]

Kim Coryat
2011-0299-S
kc757

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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than is warranted. It would make it difficult for the administration to attract talented individuals to serve in government, at a senior -- or even lower -- level. We should see how the executive order works before resorting to a federal statute with severe penalties.

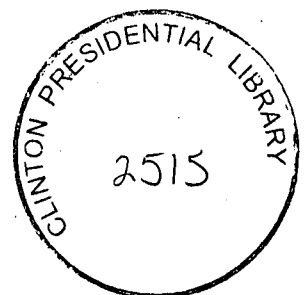
[This view is held by Sally Katzen.]

OPTION B: REMAIN SILENT

We should remain silent, and refrain from telling Sen. Boren that we don't want him to move forward. The administration, at Howard Paster's insistence, has refrained from supporting legislative provisions that would *strengthen* ethics bills. We should not break this moratorium for the first time by intervening *against* ethics legislation, no matter what our quarrels with it. In particular, the continuing controversy over Roy Neel and Howard Paster's post-White House employment has made the political context for such an intervention especially tricky. It would appear that we are seeking to "protect ourselves" from an effort to strengthen our ethics rules.

This view is held by Bruce Reed and Michael Waldman.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. envelope	Junious Montgomery to Reed (partial) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)
002. notes	handwritten, meeting w POTUS (partial) (1 page)	09/13/1997	P5 2516

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17658

FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files - Mementos

Kim Coryat
2011-0299-S
kc459

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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9/13, p. 2

P: Delib. under the screen anti-parody
Reagan changed press's thought structure
I was appalled

- we Dems just do gut (20pp DNC), we don't know how to talk about it

VP: Don't give selves enough credit. Magic Eye brake. legacy is like that.

- Defn of role of gut has been defined going back to 91
- New maturity for progressives, can't manhandle reality (fiscal)

Science + tech. Climate change creates econ opp. for us.

Where do I fit in? 2nd category - cities, REEO, enviro - I can step in. Have to wheel you in.

1. Econ

2. Educ.

3. Race - dialogue w/ action. A healing Admin.

4. FP

P: All life lived at margin

Don't forget * in budget on urban, ^{to} WR right, kids health - can't let employers dump onto public rolls.

World will present more choices than ever before - can choose to integrate or not

Leave tough enviro. issues to me

Race initiative - full time or flat time.

Paradigm [BWA]

VP: Values. Tobacco is an example. Enviro. + CFR. Race TV violence. New economy.

Indiv - Family - Comm - Race/Ethnic - Regions - Nation - Sbglobal region - World (concentric circles)

Nation-state being undermined by these centrifugal forces = fits in w/ progressive gut.

Robt: Too many events, too many foreign leaders

P: Can't help poor kids unless good schools, parents working, streets are safe, Indirect as well as direct.

- 100,000 cups = we struck a match to kindling

- On EEs, maybe we did, maybe we didn't

MW: Spoke less + heard more

P: FDR didn't have someone trying to put me in jail.

VP: Now they're trying to put me in jail.

P: How to keep meat 60% so R's have to deal w/ me. Tickle me - I'll just sit up here in bed, read books, write you all essays.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Erskine Bowles, Notes on National Service Memo (10 pages)	03/17/1997	P5 2517
002. memo	Bruce Reed et al to COS re Options for Political and Government Reform (6 pages)	10/21/1994	P5 2518

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17657

FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files - Memos (Chief of Staff)

Kim Coryat
2011-0299-S
kc572

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



FROM THE CHIEF OF STAFF
Erskine B. Bowles

Doc Number

330

Author / Source

POTUS

Short Description

Notes on National Service Summit Memo

Description

POTUS writes many notes on memo from Sylvia, Bruce, and Silverman. Overall, POTUS comments: "[Benjamin] Barber has giving voice to exactly what I fear and I have to know what options are to prevent this -- Wofford acts like AmeriCorps and Points of Light are equal and not very different -- its amazing. Need to discuss soon."

Send to 1

Sylvia Mathews

Send to 2

Steve Silverman

Send to 3

Bruce Reed

Send to 4

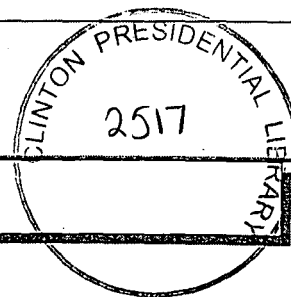
Send to 5

Send to Comments

Sylvia, Steve Silverman, Bruce Reed — Please prepare a response to POTUS' comments. Thank you. Erskine.

COPY

Incoming to EBB



Doc Number
330

Date
3/17/97

Status
EBB From POTUS

Author / Source
POTUS

Short Description
Notes on National Service Summit Memo

Description
POTUS writes many notes on memo from Sylvia, Bruce, and Silverman. Overall, POTUS comments: "[Benjamin] Barber has given voice to exactly what I fear and I have to know what options are to prevent this -- Wofford acts like AmeriCorps and Points of Light are equal and not very different -- its amazing. Need to discuss soon."

EBB Comments

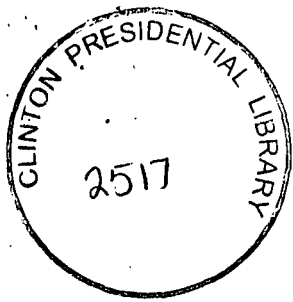
*Sylvia
Shirley Silverman
Barber New
Please prepare
response to POTUS
Comments
ty
8*

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File 1

File 2

File 3



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 5, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SYLVIA MATHEWS, BRUCE REED, AND STEVE SILVERMAN

SUBJECT: National Service Summit

Attached is a memo from Benjamin Barber on the National Service Summit. In strong terms, Ben articulates his concern about ensuring that the concept of service (not simply volunteerism) is preserved in the Summit. He also expresses that we need to build up Americorps and the concept of service in the time leading up to the Summit. We agree with Ben on these objectives.

We recently sent a memo (which is attached) to Erskine Bowles outlining some of the steps we are taking to ensure that service and your signature program Americorps are an anchor of the summit. Since then, a few other steps have taken place which are summarized below. Please let us know if you have other thoughts.

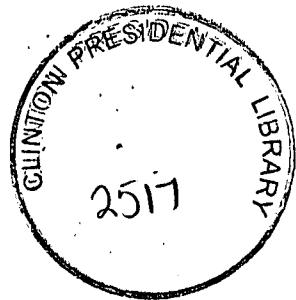
Establishing a Summit decision-making process where the WH is involved.

Erskine has called General Powell and set up a meeting during the week of March 10 with him, Ray Chambers, Harris Wofford, the Summit's CEO and others to discuss where we stand and establish an inclusive process for decision making. In this meeting, Erskine will discuss: 1) the substance of the Summit; 2) message and communications; 3) attendance; 4) principal participation; 5) logistics; and 6) post summit follow-up.

- We are establishing a working group which will hold conference calls twice a week where decisions are made. Steve Silverman and Diana Fortuna, who works with Bruce, will participate on the calls for the WH.

Staying on top of the Summit within the Administration.

- Bruce and Steve call weekly interagency meetings where they track the process of the Administration efforts on the Summit.
- Bruce also calls a WH interdepartmental meeting where he and Steve ensure that WH processes are fully integrated, and we act on ideas. For example, Communications participates in the meeting so that we can focus on the message of your pre-Summit events. Also at this meeting, Marcia posts us on Mayor Rendell and the Philadelphia front, as well as the participation of state and local. The First Lady's office participates as well.



- Steve is establishing a relationship with the CEO of the Summit, Stuart Shapiro, much like he did with the people from the Atlanta Mayor's office during the Olympics.

- WH meetings are being held with Leslie Dach and Michael Deaver who were hired to handle the communications effort.

• This week, General Powell may announce a series of task forces that will follow up on the work of the Summit. We are working to ensure that the membership of the task forces reflects your priorities.

Planning Pre-Summit investment of Principals' Time.

- We are gathering event ideas for you and the other principals as a lead up to the Summit. These ideas include events that are not time intensive, such as greeting Americorps volunteers on the tarmac on some of your trips. We hope to present these ideas to you soon.

Staffing Americorps.

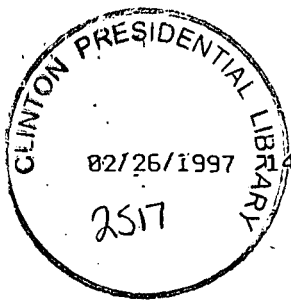
- In a related matter, Bob Nash, Bruce and Sylvia Mathews are working with Harris Wofford on the positions of COO and Director of Americorps.

cc:

Ersine Bowles
Rahm Emanuel
John Podesta
Vicki Radd
Doug Sosnik

attachment

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82/26/1997 14:02

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WHITMAN CTR

PAGE 02

1

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMORANDUMINITIALS: W DATE: 02/25/2011

to: PRESIDENT CLINTON

from BENJAMIN BARBER

February 26, 1997

re: Losing Control of The Summit on America's Future

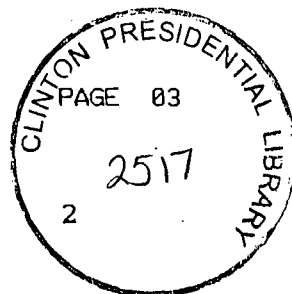
Mr. President: I believe there is a real danger that you may be losing control of the April Summit on Service in Philadelphia; that, despite your crucial commitment to national and community service, the Summit risks becoming a showcase for an ex-President's private philanthropy (non-civic) approach to service and a four year national platform on which a prospective President (General Powell) can run against you and the Vice-President on what should be YOUR issue. In short, what should be a celebration of your courageous leadership on citizenship, government-civil society partnerships and the linkage of democratic education and community service risks being hijacked for purposes unrelated to and potentially at odds with what you stand for.

I understand and applaud the spirit of bipartisanship that led to involving President Bush and General Powell, but if the price of their involvement becomes too high, if they take over the Summit and what it stands for in the public eye, it will turn out to be a very bad deal -- not just politically but also in terms of fundamental political philosophy and defining civic ideals.

You took from the Bush Administration the tired private heroes approach to service (Points of Light) that made service an alternative to government (federal and local) and an excuse for government simply to drop out, and turned it into an inspiring civic program for the forging of citizenship in young people, the cultivating of social responsibility among individuals and communities, and the creation of a working partnership both between government and civil society and between education and democracy. In this partnership, individual citizens, communities and states as well as the federal government work as collaborators in bringing civic forces to bear on the solving of community problems. Your vision strengthens rather than undermines confidence in government as a partner of citizens and civic associations in confronting the nation's challenges.

Yet the rhetoric in which the summit is being wrapped (and the way it is being represented in the Press) largely abandons this language in favor of privatistic talk about volunteers, and overly optimistic rhetoric about outcomes, and could leave the public with the impression that you, Bush and Powell are going to turn over the nation's problems

COPY



to private individuals and associations for solution (the Newt Gingrich "let the churches and charities deal with all our social problems" approach.) In light of the pressures on spending from the need to balance the budget, what should be an exercise in civic spirit may be construed as a cynical abnegation of governmental responsibility altogether.

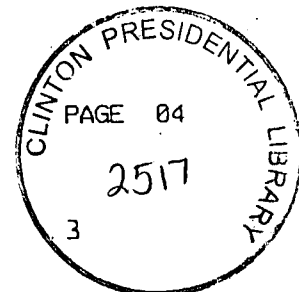
Moreover, the Corporation, which to me is a MODEL of the partnership between the federal government, the states and civil society associations, seems in danger of being treated as a Big Government special interest player at the Summit rather than as the paragon of what a citizenship-grounded service program can be. Commitments by private philanthropies and corporations are being highlighted while the program that has made service a civic ideal for every young American seems marginalized. While it may be imprudent to use the Summit to try to expand Americorps, it seems equally imprudent to hide it or cast it as just one more player. It is a signature accomplishment of the First Term and if the mood of bipartisanship means anything, surely it means you need no longer play down one of your favorite programs for fear of subjecting it to Republican attack.

My concern is not to "politicize" the Summit by putting your political agenda ahead of Bush's or Powell's (though that might not be such a bad idea!) but to make sure that it is not politicized by others and robbed of its role as a showcase for a very special political philosophy in which the linkage between education and service is highlighted and the role of service as a training ground for citizens and not just a substitute for government is emphasized.

From my meeting with Harris Wofford and Susan Stroud yesterday, I know meetings have already been held with Bruce Reed and that you and the Chief of Staff will be meeting next week with Harris. In the final part of the period leading up to the Summit in April, I believe you need to assure that the Summit once again becomes yours. Because you are the President, anything less will look not like you are modestly counting yourself as primus inter pares but seem like you are weaker than the former President and General Powell. And because you have pioneered a powerful new logic of citizen service and innovated a powerful new instrument for realizing that logic in the real world (the Corporation), it surely must be this logic and this instrument not Colin Powell's Newsweek rhetoric or Ray Chamber's Points of Light talk that are highlighted throughout the weekend.

How service is described in the cynical press says happened, and who seizes the initiative on what is to be an ongoing program could be one crucial factor in determining the success of your second term. With this in mind, let me

COPY



suggest several ideas that may help reassert control over the runaway Summit:

1. YOUR APPEARANCE(S) need to be special and clearly differentiated from those of the former Presidents and General Powell. They should involve not just cheerleading but a clear enunciation of YOUR CIVIC PHILOSOPHY that distinguishes it (though not offensively) from Points of Light and private philanthropy. They should focus on YOUR PROGRAMS from the Corporation to the Two Years of College commitment and make clear why such programs are central to the service ideal. They must invoke your role as the nation's steward with responsibilities to make government work for everyone (and not just to make everyone work for -- or in place of -- government!)

2. THE CORPORATION and what it stands for need to be central to the rhetoric and activities of the weekend. The last time Americorps was spotlighted was at the Summer of Service where all its birthing difficulties were still in evidence. Now it is strong and resilient and extremely popular in the local communities where it is active. I would look for ways to make outstanding Americorps volunteers and their projects a centerpiece for the weekend. The message should be

"Americorps embodies everything we believe about service, the linkage between education and democratic responsibility, the partnering of federal, state and local resources to make projects work, the impact on community outcomes but also on volunteers. Every American should be a volunteer; every volunteer is a citizen in the making; citizens working together is the key to a robust democracy; government is not the cause but the end product of this process of forging responsible citizens."

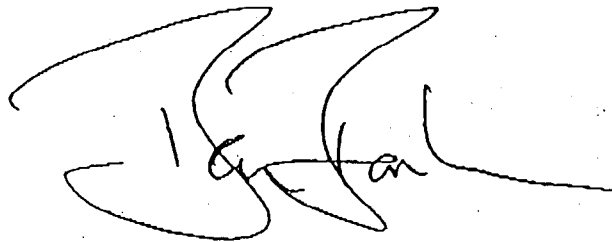
3. THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY undergirding YOUR VISION of service needs to trump the rival visions that will come from Bush and Powell and others. For theirs is a vision that sees service as private and philanthropic, as a substitute for government, as a form of personal activity rather than a form of citizen activity. The philanthropic vision can be used to question government service programs: it not only can argue that service does not need Americorps but that it contradicts the underlying assumptions of Americorps. "You can't pay volunteers," they will say. "Why should government organize points of light that organize themselves very well, thank you?" they will insist. "Let charity do all the things government can't and should deal with poverty, homelessness, unemployment, teen pregnancy" they will argue, in the manner of Newt Gingrich's calling for the private sector to act as a substitute for government.

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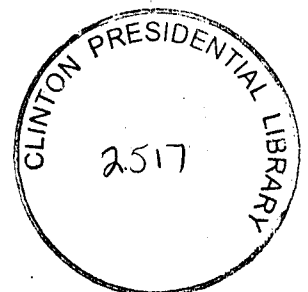
In short, there ARE real substantive policy implications attached to different articulations of the service ideal, and if the Summit is defined by some one else's rhetoric it can too easily become a weapon against your philosophy of governance -- an not just in the service sector but in other domains too.

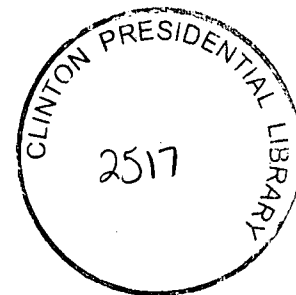
Your service ideal as I understand it envisions a PARTNERSHIP between government and the citizens who constitute government's democratic legitimacy, not an abandoning of government in favor of private sector philanthropy. Service hopes for specific community outcomes for children at risk, but it also aspires to change those who serve and turn their season of service into a lifetime of responsible citizenship, forging a stronger more democratic nation better able to meet its national and global responsibilities.

 This message has to come through loud and clear -- from your speeches, from the highlighted activities, and from your leadership and your mastery over the spirit of the weekend. If Philadelphia is seen as a Summit on Citizenship and Social Responsibility that vindicates your determination to put democratic education, responsible citizenship and government/civil society partnerships at the core of your Presidency, you will have succeeded. If it is seen as a Summit on Volunteerism or a Summit on How Private Markets Can Solve all our Public Problems or a perfect platform for General Powell to spend four years in the limelight talking about your issues, you will have lost a vital battle over the role of the civil society/government partnership in the American future and, I fear, (forgive my bluntness) will have diminished rather than have enhanced your Presidency.



COPY





THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 26, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR: ERSKINE BOWLES
THROUGH: SYLVIA MATHEWS *gnat*
FROM: BRUCE REED *BR*
STEVE SILVERMAN *SS*
CC: KITTY HIGGINS
GOODY MARSHALL
DIANA FORTUNA
SUBJECT: PLANNING FOR SERVICE SUMMIT

Progress is being made in the planning for the April 27-29 Service Summit in Philadelphia. Yet, real challenges exist in ensuring that the President's role, and that of the Administration, is appropriate and positive.

As you know, organizers, led by Chairman Colin Powell, have a serious management challenge guiding a multi-headed hydra towards this major event. The decision-making process is diffuse and the organizational structure is abstract. Our challenge in the short term is getting our hands around the management structure and the decision-making apparatus. We need to use our leverage to impose a decision-making and reporting process, where none currently exists -- not so that we can dictate the decisions, but so that we (and everybody else involved) can be party to them. President Bush and Ray Chambers should welcome our help, since it will speed things along and reduce suspicion on both sides.

We propose that you telephone Chairman Colin Powell and invite him to join you at a White House meeting next week to discuss planning for the summit. At that meeting, we would bring all the key players together, almost for the first time, get their sense of progress and attempt to establish a cohesive management structure whereby appropriate WH staff would meet or teleconference regularly with designees of the Principals to ensure 1) good information flow, and 2) strong decision making capabilities. Both are absent today, eight weeks before the summit.

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The key issues for this meeting, and subsequent meetings, include:

- substance
- message/communications



- attendance
- principal participation
- commitments
- logistics
- post-summit follow-up

Organization

Gen. Colin Powell is the Summit's General Chairman. Henry Cisneros is the Vice-Chair. The President and former President Bush are the Honorary Co-Chairs. Powell has hired Stuart Shapiro to be the CEO of the Summit. Edelman Communications, led by Mike Deaver and Leslie Dach, leads the public relations effort. Philadelphia Mayor Ed Rendell is playing a key role as the host mayor. The Summit is overseen by a steering committee chaired by Ray Chambers, consisting of 6 designees from the Points of Light Foundation (including Arianna Huffington and Bob Goodwin) and six designees of the Corporation for National Service (including Harris and Eli Segal). Furthermore, Powell is setting up a non-profit entity that will carry out the work of the Summit for the next 3-5 years. He has already selected an Executive Director (Rick Little) and is in the process of establishing task forces to focus on the Summit's 5 core principles. Harris Wofford may chair task force number 5, student volunteerism. His role, post April, is in question due to legal issues. We will ask Stuart to send us an organizational chart. Finally, we should consider sending a staff person to work with Harris on Summit preparation.

Progress

We convened an interagency working group yesterday to brief them on the plans for the Summit. Agencies will provide memoranda to us by Friday, February 28, laying out 1) agency staff commitments to volunteerism, 2) constituency volunteerism opportunities 3) a review of current initiatives and the enhanced role service might play, 4) potential partnerships with the private sector to enhance service or volunteerism, 5) current volunteerism activities by the Cabinet members or their agencies. Our next weekly meeting is March 4 at 11 am.

We have begun to meet with members of the White House staff to explore opportunities for the President's involvement in the Summit. A White House working group will begin meeting regularly next week. We recommend a local Presidential event announcing some of the Administration's volunteer commitments, prior to the Summit. This would demonstrate the President's own strong commitment to this endeavor.

Harris Wofford is working closely with Summit organizers. We would like to become more involved in day-to-day information flow and decision-making.

Please let us know your thoughts. We look forward to discussing this with you.

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October 21, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: Bruce Reed
Michael Waldman
Paul Weinstein

SUBJECT: Options for Political and Government Reform

Whatever the results of the upcoming elections, the President will need to put forth a bold, coherent set of reform initiatives to make government, Congress, and the political system work. It is no longer a question of whether Congress will address reform issues; the only question is whether we will be leading the reform fight or being left behind.

In consultation with Rahm Emanuel, Jack Quinn, Elaine Kamarck, Cliff Sloan, Stan Greenberg, and others, we have assembled some preliminary options that could be included in the President's reform agenda. We list them here in four categories: 1) reform issues the Republicans are sure to push immediately; 2) Administration initiatives left over from this Congress; 3) relatively low-risk, low-profile ideas; and 4) bold ideas. This list is far from complete; if it makes sense, we can convene a more thorough process to canvass ideas and prepare an actual proposal.

I. Response to the Republican Agenda

The Republicans have made it clear that government reform -- as they define it -- is an early priority for action should they take control. They are likely to press a host of issues:

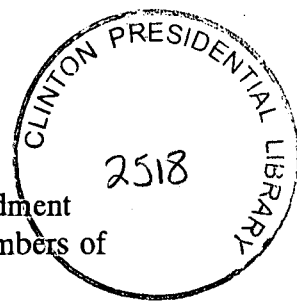
1. Balanced Budget Amendment. With this expected to pass easily in the next Congress, we will need to decide whether to amend, oppose, or accept it:

a. Demand line-item veto. One option would be to demand that it include a Constitutional line-item veto that would make it easier to balance the budget. We should insist on the strongest possible version of this veto, not the enhanced rescission authority that passed the House this time.

b. Capital/operating budget alternative. In the campaign, the President said he could support a balanced budget amendment that separated capital and operating expenses so that long-term investments would be encouraged and operating costs reduced.

c. Freeze Congressional and Presidential pay until budget is balanced.

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2. Term Limits. Republicans pledge to bring to a vote a constitutional amendment limiting congressional terms to 12 years. But they would grandfather in existing Members of Congress. Beyond principled opposition, our response might be:

a. Call their bluff. We could demand that the 12-year limit on service apply immediately (or by a date certain, such as 1996), and thereby affect sitting members of Congress.

b. Let the states decide. We could support a constitutional amendment to allow states to vote to apply term limits to their own federal representatives. This would be consistent with our legal position that state-mandated term limits are unconstitutional.

c. Change the debate. We could counter with our political reform proposals -- campaign finance and lobby reform -- so that we at least force them to swallow some medicine and give us some credit for reform.

3. Cuts in Congressional Subcommittees and Staff. The Contract pledges to cut committee staff by 1/3, and to reduce the number of committees and subcommittees. They did not pledge to cut personal staffs (see below).

II. Unfinished Business

1. Lobby Reform and Gift Ban. The lobby reform/gift ban legislation is basically sound (requiring registration of lobbyists, full disclosure of expenses and sources of funds, barring gifts, meals, etc. from lobbyists to lawmakers). Disclosure of grass-roots lobbying expenses was pulled from the bill, and would probably be off the table in future versions of the bill, even though it was not the real reason for defeat.

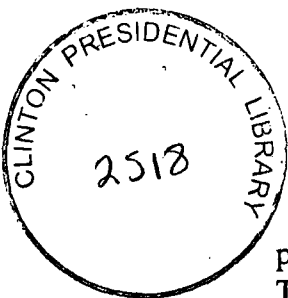
The Counsel's office suggests that some of the provisions of lobby reform could be implemented unilaterally. We could require that any professional lobbyist who seeks to contact the executive branch would have to register and disclose under the provisions of the legislation. There is no constitutional bar to this.

2. Campaign Finance Reform. The failure of campaign finance reform legislation this year, coupled with the Republican ascendancy in Congress, makes it extremely unlikely that a comprehensive campaign reform bill (with public funding) would pass. However, the issue has not lost its salience. Our options include:

a. Limited bill (soft money only). Common Cause and other reform groups intend to push for separate passage of the soft money provisions of the legislation, effective for this presidential election. This would likely pass, and we need to decide whether we would want to accede to it, take the lead on it, or resist it.

b. Comprehensive bill. We could propose a comprehensive bill including public funding, to keep the high ground. If so, we may want to strengthen the other provisions -- particularly, propose a lower PAC limit -- with the assumption that none of it will pass.

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c. Free TV time. In addition to, or instead of, a comprehensive bill, we could propose free time for candidates (or for candidates who abide by spending limits). This proposal has been advanced by the President, Dole, and Perot over the years. Alternately, it could be done through the FCC.

d. Base closing commission. Trevor Potter, the chair of the Federal Election Commission, will be proposing that campaign finance reform legislation be crafted by a bipartisan commission whose recommendations would be acted upon by the President and Congress following the base-closing model. Alternately, we could simply appoint our own bipartisan commission to draft a proposal. This would require a Republican co-chair and members with genuine partisan credentials (i.e., not just an Eliot Richardson-type).

3. Apply Laws to Congress. Legislation applying a host of laws to Congress passed the House but not the Senate this past Congress. This would be a relatively noncontroversial measure (with the public, anyway).

III. Low-Risk Ideas

1. Full-Scale Assault on Bureaucracy. One of the most promising reforms is already under way -- a significant downsizing of the federal bureaucracy. We could do more to speed up and dramatize this effort through:

a. Accelerated reduction of the workforce: Buyout authority expires in March 1995, and NPR recommends that we should make the most of it while it lasts. We could also ask the Cabinet to meet its FY99 goals by 1996, in return for a pledge that departments which meet their targets will not be punished further down the road.

b. Repeal of all FTE floors: We can introduce legislation to repeal FTE floors, including the VA, and veto any appropriations bills that contain them.

c. REGO SWAT team: The President could appoint a kind of bureaucratic bomb squad -- an elite group of troubleshooters and investigative journalists who report directly to him. Any time a story breaks about fraud or mismanagement in the bureaucracy, they would move in, get to the bottom of it, and report back within days with recommendations to the President. They could also uncover such troubles before they become public. This has been done before: FDR dispatched journalist Lorena Hickok around the country to see how the New Deal was really working.

2. Reduce Congressional Bureaucracy. The Republican Contract calls for dramatic changes in Congress, some of which they might regret were they to take over. We should press the case for changes of our own:

a. Cut Congressional staff **COPY** overall by 25%. In the campaign, the President promised not only to cut the White House staff by 25%, but to challenge Congress to

do the same. The Republican Contract calls for a 25% cut in committee staff. We could press forward with our original demand.

b. Reduce Congressionally mandated reports. Since 1970, the number of reports mandated by Congress has grown from 700 to 5,300. Many of these reports consume the agencies' time and the taxpayers' dollars for the members' gain; most just gather dust. We could introduce legislation to reduce or eliminate such reports. In Arkansas, the President ordered a complete review of every report produced by the Department of Education, and got rid of those no one read.

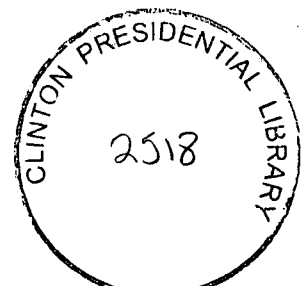
3. Regulatory Overhaul. The administration could launch a major effort to streamline the regulatory system. Republicans rail against red tape, and over time have proposed gimmicks such as a regulatory moratorium, but have never done anything systemic to change the way regulatory agencies work. The process is cumbersome; slow; imposes irrational burdens on people in the private sector; and (as Justice Breyer argues) both overregulates and underregulates, seemingly at random.

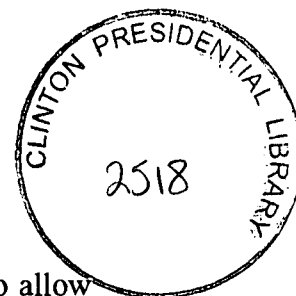
a. Across the board. The administration could announce a proposal to revise the Administrative Procedures Act, impose time limits on rulemakings or regulatory litigation, or significantly increase negotiated rulemaking. These changes would be opposed by many both on the left and, to a lesser extent, the right.

b. Small business only. Alternately, we could propose dramatic regulatory relief for small business only -- e.g., exemptions from a defined set of rules, an expedited appeals process for small business, whatever. (Note: this might not be particularly appealing in some areas, such as OSHA, where a 75 person business can pose as much threat as a large conglomerate.)

4. Assault on the Filibuster. We should consider mounting a drive to eliminate dilatory rules like the filibuster, which is now a prime obstacle to getting things done. Republican senators have used the filibuster more in the first two years of this administration than at any time in American history. Once reserved for the weightiest matters of constitutional import, it now is used to effectively require a 60 vote supermajority for any legislation. Lobby reform, campaign finance reform, even the stimulus bill received a majority of votes in the Senate -- and telecommunications, Superfund, Clean Water, and a host of other measures expired merely due the threat of a filibuster. Moreover, Lloyd Cutler and others argue that the filibuster is unconstitutional. (In fact, as a private citizen he plans to file a lawsuit to overturn it.) Whether we want to push for this depends on the political landscape -- if we retain a slim majority, this might be seen as an attempt to avoid bipartisanship. If we are in the minority, our motives would be less suspect, but our side might not want to do it.

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IV. Bold Ideas

1. National Referendum. Most major democracies have national referenda to allow their people to vote on issues of national importance. For example, in recent years, Italians have voted on divorce and abortion; Spain voted on membership in NATO; and Austria and Sweden voted on the use of nuclear power. In the U.S., 43 states allow their legislatures to submit referenda to the people, and 24 states allow citizens to sponsor initiatives. In Arkansas, some of Governor Clinton's best known legacies -- such as ethics reform -- were enacted in this way.

Establishing a binding national referendum would require a Constitutional amendment. Such an amendment might provide for putting an issue to a nationwide vote if the legislatures in 3/4 of the states recommended it or if petitioners gathered signatures from 1% of the population of every state. As Constitutional safeguards, the referendum could require 60% approval to be enacted, and could be overturned by a 2/3 vote in the Congress. A tamer approach might send any approved referendum to the Congress for final approval, and require Congress to pass it within one year or submit a revised version to another vote of the electorate.

Is this a good idea? For starters, this is the one truly popular reform idea that has not been appropriated by either party. The best argument for direct democracy is that it enables the broad public to make its voice heard when the congressional system is unresponsive or gridlocked. It also changes the balance of power between the President and Congress, since the President still has most claim to the national megaphone. The advance of information technology will make this process easier (and perhaps inevitable). The strongest argument against a referendum is that it could fall prey to extreme social or fiscal proposals, and that it might make it impossible to rationally conduct the rest of the public's business. (Not that it's so easy today.) In addition, campaign spending on referenda is even harder to regulate than in candidate elections.

2. Sweeping Reorganization of Government. Our attack on the bureaucracy could go further, and propose the actual elimination of one or more departments or functions.

a. Panetta-Kerrey plan. This proposal, put forward during the 1992 primary campaign, called for consolidating the current 14 cabinet-level departments into seven: Defense, State, Justice, Treasury, Human Resources, Natural Resources, Economic Policy. Kerrey argued that cutting the number of cabinet departments would reduce administrative costs of the Federal government by 25 percent over a ten-year period. At the time, the Clinton campaign dismissed it as rearranging the boxes, but it had some appeal.

b. Base-closing commission. Alternately, we could propose a base-closing commission or fast track model for government reorganization, reform, and reinvention -- a Hoover Commission or Grace Commission with teeth. Under a fast track model, a commission would propose legislation, which would have to be voted on by the Congress with no amendments. Under a base-closing model, the recommendations

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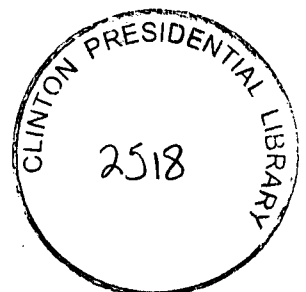
would stand unless they were overturned by a 2/3 vote. Either version would require authorizing legislation. A fast-track process was considered by the administration at the outset of the REGO review in 1993, but was set aside due to likely congressional hostility.

3. Reform Trust Fund (Children's Allowance Paid for by Cutting Special Interest Subsidies). The President's most prominent remaining campaign promise (and the Republicans' last hope for a wedge issue) is the middle-class tax cut. One option would be to set up a trust fund to use savings from eliminating unnecessary government subsidies to pay for a children's allowance for middle-class families. Rob Shapiro has identified a series of special interest subsidies; an expanded deduction for middle-class families with children would cost in the neighborhood of \$20-40 billion over five years. Nobody would get their tax cut unless Congress agreed to make the cuts. Established interests would attack us, but we could press the simple theme that parents can do more for their children with that money than government or those interests can.

4. Tax Reform for Business. The tax code is littered with special preferences for certain types of businesses -- pharmaceutical, advertising, dairy, life and casualty insurance -- which together cost nearly \$50 billion in lost revenues. We could propose simplification of the tax code that would eliminate special tax incentives for a few businesses and use the savings to implement an across-the-board, long-term capital gains tax reduction and a tax cut for business spending on worker training. These measures (which would cost around \$25 billion a year) would level the playing field for all business, and give us a pro-business, pro-investment fight.

5. Eliminate the Congressional Frank, and Give It to the American People. The frank is one of the most entrenched and abused symbols of incumbency. We could propose to take it away from Congress and give it to the American people instead. Any individual who wants to send a letter to their Congressman or Senator would be able to do so for free. Postcards, letters from organizations, and letters from another district or state would not be eligible (mail could be delivered directly to the district office to prevent abuse). This is how it works in Canada, where citizens can write Parliament for free.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. routing slip	Bob Nash to Reed FYI (partial) (1 page)	01/29/1997	P5 2319

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17658

FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files - Personnel [1]

Kim Coryat
2011-0299-S
kc466

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]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

From: Bob Nash
Director, Office of Presidential
Personnel

Date: 11/29/97

To: Bruce Reed

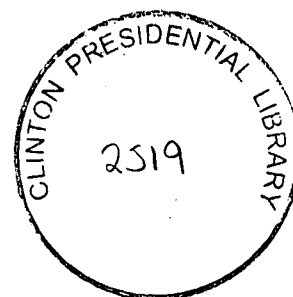
- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| ☐ For your signature | ☐ Rewrite-text | ☐ Please return call |
| ☐ Prepare reply for my signature | ☐ Rewrite-not enough information | ☐ As you requested |
| ☐ For President's signature | ☐ For your action | ☒ For your information |
| ☐ Reply directly-copy to me | ☐ For your approval | ☐ Please file |
| ☐ Please locate resume | ☐ For your comments | ☐ Set up meeting on this |
| ☐ Call me on this | ☐ To West Wing, ASAP | ☐ For Resumé |
| ☐ Ask Me/See Me | ☐ Acknowledge Referral | ☐ Acknowledge POTUS' Referral |

REMARKS:

Mr. President:
FLOTUS Agrees
With option #
3.

BOB NASH

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. note	Podesta and Stern to POTUS re Waldman/Reed Memo Lobby Reform (1 page)	04/11/1995	P5 2520
001b. memo	Reed and Michael Waldman to POTUS re Lobby Reform Initiative (6 pages)	04/10/1995	P5 2521
002. memo	Rahm Emanuel and Reed to Panetta re Welfare Reform (3 pages)	07/14/1995	P5 2522

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17661

FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files-POTUS Material [1995]

Kim Coryat
2011-0299-S
kc762

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

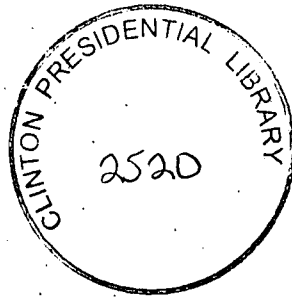
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/7/95



April 11, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a Waldman/Reed memo on political reform cleared by Leon and Harold that addresses initiatives on lobby reform, campaign reform and foreign lobbyists. The memo is an outgrowth of discussions with key staff including Harold, Leon, George, Pat Griffin, Bill Curry and Doug Sosnik.

There is staff consensus on four items: renewing your call to ban lobbyist gifts; pushing for lobby disclosure; spelling out your free TV time proposal; unilaterally refusing to accept PAC contributions for your reelection campaign.

They also raise for argument and unanimously reject the idea of a ban on your officials meeting with foreign lobbyists.

There is no staff consensus on four remaining items: unilaterally rejecting lobbyist contributions; unilaterally rejecting lobbyist contributions and fundraising; challenging the DNC and RNC to agree not to raise soft money; or proposing a bipartisan commission on campaign reform and pledging to introduce its recommendations.

On these last four points, you may wish to meet with relevant staff.

John Podesta
Todd Stern

Leon/Hitcher

Greenwald to

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when I get back
from Russia -

Copies sent
to Leon & Harold
5/8

ALSO
Waldman &
Reed!

Be

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

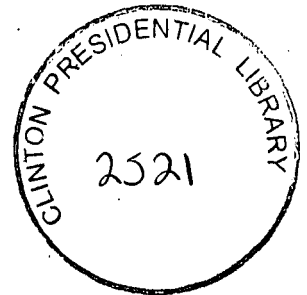
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/7/95

10
April 4, 1995

95 APR 10 P 1:30

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE CHIEF-OF-STAFF 
FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN 
BRUCE REED 
SUBJECT: LOBBY REFORM INITIATIVE



At your request, we have prepared a set of initiatives that would put you out front on the lobby reform and political reform issue.

We believe that this issue cuts to the core of why people have lost faith in government and are angry at politics. The middle class truly believes that powerful interests hold sway, and that their voice is too often ignored. At a time when Congress' unpopularity is rising, even as the GOP's overall popularity is holding steady, this issue allows you to position yourself against the part of Washington the public hates most.

However, this very cynicism makes it hard to persuade people that we are serious, and risks bruising us if we are perceived not to be. Therefore, we believe that this issue is worth pressing only if it is done in a sharp and sustained way -- if it can become and remain a central theme over the next 18 months -- or it may not be worth doing at all. Therefore, we need a clear direction from you on how to proceed.

I. BACKGROUND

Political reform continues to be a core issue for the Perot voters and independents. (Public opinion research is under separate cover.) It also has the potential to be a wedge issue between you and potential Republican opponents -- who tend to favor wealthy special interests at the expense of the middle class. In fact, this is one of the few major areas where the Republicans have completely ceded the field to us, if we choose to enter it. At the same time, if we approach 1996 with few political reform achievements, we will be vulnerable to attack from Perot or some other independent candidate from outside Washington.

If a decision is made to engage on political reform, now is the time to do so, for several reasons.

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- Congress' First 100 Days is ending with a sense that it has not reformed itself. In particular, the defeat of term limits will mean that Congress passed no major reform of

itself. In addition, the press is finally beginning to paint the GOP Congress as a tool of wealthy special interests -- as *Time* has put it, the GOP has granted "unprecedented access" to lobbyists. (For example, the *Washington Post* reported that lobbyists wrote the regulatory moratorium bill, and were even given a room off the House floor from which to operate; the *New York Times* reported that GOP members were refusing to talk to lobbyists who had contributed to Democrats; and it was widely reported that the GOP used lobbyists to conduct the official briefing on their regulatory reform bill.)

- The GOP presidential race is being heavily defined by the so-called \$20 million fundraising entrance fee.

- Your announcement of your own organizational plans will force the issue of what restrictions you are willing to put on your own fundraising. Next year, the need to raise tens of millions of dollars will bring into higher relief the question of campaign financing.

- Democrats in Congress are starting to become active on the matter once again, albeit in a guerilla fashion. Rep. Bryant (with the support of the Democratic leadership) is filing a discharge petition to bring up the ban on lobbyist gifts; Sen. Wellstone plans to seek to attach the gift ban to legislation sometime before the Easter recess.

- A bipartisan group of moderate lawmakers is becoming visibly active. A group led by Rep. Chris Shays has put forward a package of lobbying and other political reforms, and will be pressuring the leadership to act.

- You led the State of the Union with a call to act, but your Administration has not yet fleshed out those proposals in public.

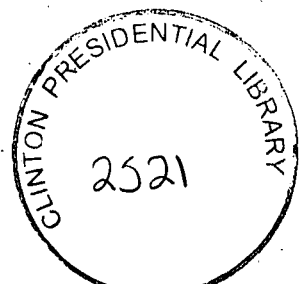
II. OPTIONS

Here is a set of initiatives that could be announced immediately. They could be announced in one major speech, or could be broken out (unilateral steps, legislative proposals, a speech on democracy and citizenship) for maximum effect.

Lobby reform

1. Renew the call for a ban on lobbyist gifts, meals and travel to Members of Congress. This is being pushed by Democrats in both chambers. During the State-of-the-Union, you called for Members of Congress to voluntarily give up lobbyist gifts. Because of its stark simplicity -- lawmakers being treated to tropical vacations by lobbyists, etc. -- this has the greatest resonance of any political reform proposal.

COPY



2. Renew the call for reform of the lobby disclosure laws. The current lobby disclosure laws, passed in 1946 and basically untouched since, are more loophole than law. Lobby reform legislation would require all lobbyists, for the first time, to fully disclose for whom they work, what they are paid, and what legislation they are trying to pass or kill. This measure is more complex than the gift ban, and conservative grass-roots groups (such as the Christian Coalition) may succeed in bogging it down; nonetheless, it is good policy and resonates somewhat with the public.

Campaign reform

3. Spell out your free TV time proposal. Apart from your brief mention of it during the State of the Union speech, we have never fleshed out your proposal to provide free TV time for candidates. Senator Dole and House Commerce Committee chairman Bliley have proposed strong free TV bills, and the concept is supported by Ross Perot, the DLC and Common Cause. This proposal could be laid out in a speech on democracy that could be high-toned and would not necessitate a subsequent crusade.

4. Alternately, propose a bipartisan commission to "cut the Gordian knot" on campaign reform -- and pledge to introduce its recommendations. Former FEC Chair Trevor Potter has proposed that the campaign finance reform conundrum be solved by legislation creating a base closing commission-style panel that would make recommendations for reform. The President would be required to propose the reforms unchanged, or reject them, and Congress would agree to vote on them without amendment. Senator Dole has endorsed this proposal. This commission itself would require legislation to be launched. (Alternately, you could appoint your own bipartisan commission to make recommendations, but it would not have the teeth of a base closing-type panel.)

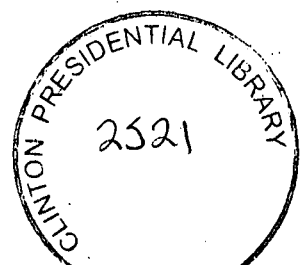
Pro: This would actually bring us the closest to enacting some form of reform. It would also be a way to have the issue taken "off the table" for a time, and to enable us to refrain from making proposals that we do not live under.

Con: It eliminates this issue as an effective club to use against Dole, unless he is unwilling to embrace the panel's proposals. In addition, we won't know in advance what the proposal would look like -- it could be weak, or it could include proposals that are hard for Democrats to swallow.

Unilateral steps on campaign reform

5. Lead by example. To reengage in this debate, you will need to show that you are willing to act by restricting your own campaign committee. When you announce the beginning of campaign activities on your behalf, you have the following options:

COPY



a. *Direct the reelection campaign not to take PAC money (you did not take PAC money during the 1992 primaries either), but impose no further restrictions on your own fundraising. (Dole, Gramm, etc. are all taking PAC funds.)*

b. *Direct the reelection campaign not to take contributions from registered lobbyists. (This is now the standard followed by the Presidential Legal Expense Trust.) This would go beyond what you did in 1992.*

Pro: You have already legislatively proposed that lobbyist campaign contributions be banned. In addition, the decision to refuse such gifts by the Presidential Legal Expense Trust has established a difficult-to-ignore precedent. (Indeed, even if we say nothing, reporters will hone in on this inconsistency); Given the small number of lobbyists who actually register (about 7000), it may not directly cost the campaign that much money.

Con: It would raise a standard that the DNC will not be able to meet (i.e., "You won't take \$1000 from a lobbyist, but the DNC will take \$50,000 from the lobbyist's client."). Moreover, it might anger some Democratic supporters and fundraisers based in D.C. We can discuss potential fundraising consequences with you further if you desire.

Note: If the decision is made to refuse lobbyist contributions for the reelection campaign, we recommend that the Presidential Legal Expense Trust return the approximately \$12,000 that was received from registered lobbyists.

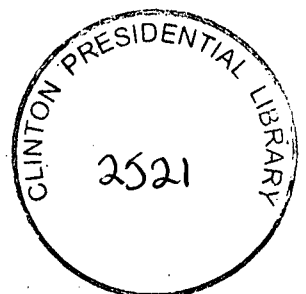
c. *Direct the reelection campaign not to take contributions donated by registered lobbyists, or raised by registered lobbyists.*

Pro: This option would make sense if you wanted to refuse campaign contributions from lobbyists, but believed that the press would regard that step alone as phony or hypocritical.

Con: This would cost more money, and would raise the next question: what about lobbyists raising soft money? There may be no end to the "what next" questions.

d. *In addition to, or instead of, b. and c., publicly ask the DNC not to raise soft money for the general election campaign, if the RNC will agree to refrain from doing so as well. In effect, this would challenge the RNC to a "mutually verifiable freeze" without "unilateral disarmament." The GOP is highly unlikely to rise to the bait. This is similar to the pledge you signed in New Hampshire in 1992.*

COPY



Foreign lobbyists

6. Take new action against foreign lobbyists by barring your officials from meeting with lobbyists for foreign governments or corporations. Your executive order imposing post-employment restrictions has already barred senior officials from ever lobbying for foreign governments, barred senior trade officials from lobbying for foreign firms, and barred all officials from lobbying their own agency on behalf of any client for five years. A further restriction would be to actually bar your officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists.

Pro: This is sharp, clear, and understandable; the foreign lobbying issue plays to concerns over economic nationalism as well as political reform.

Con: The argument against it is that it would be unduly harsh, is unnecessary from a reform perspective and possibly counterproductive from a policy perspective, and would focus attention on those issues where we have worked with foreign lobbyists (e.g., NAFTA) and on former foreign lobbyists in your administration (e.g., Sandy Berger, Ron Brown, Charlene Barshevsky).

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Renew the push for a ban on lobbyist gifts

☐ Agree ☐ Agree as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No action

2. Renew the push for lobby disclosure legislation

☐ Agree ☐ Agree as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No action

3. Spell out the details of your free TV campaign finance proposal

☐ Agree ☐ Agree as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No action

4. In terms of unilateral steps:

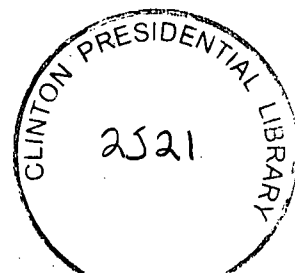
a. Refuse to accept PAC contributions, as you did in 1992.

☐ Agree ☐ Agree as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No action

b. Challenge the RNC to join with the DNC in not accepting soft money, as you did in 1992.

☐ Agree ☐ Agree as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No action

COPY



c. Refuse to accept contributions from registered lobbyists for your reelection campaign (the standard used by the Presidential Legal Expense Trust).

☐ Agree ☐ Agree as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No action

d. Refusing to allow registered lobbyists to fundraise for your reelection campaign.

☐ Agree ☐ Agree as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No action

5. Barring your officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists

☐ Agree ☐ Agree as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No action

The staff unanimously recommends that you:

- renew call for ban on lobbyist gifts
- push for lobby disclosure
- discuss free TV time proposal
- unilaterally refuse to accept PAC contributions for your reelection campaign

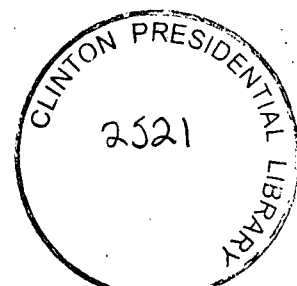
The staff unanimously recommends against:

- barring your officials from meeting with foreign lobbyists

The staff does not have a consensus recommendation on:

- unilaterally rejecting lobbyist contributions
- unilaterally rejecting lobbyist contributions and fundraising
- challenging the DNC and RNC to agree not to raise soft money
- proposing a bipartisan commission on campaign reform

COPY



File
Potus has seen

To Don



As you discuss
CLINTON PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

with Rahm -

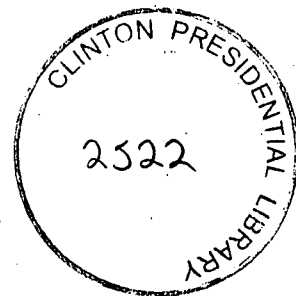
Leon - I agree **PS**

might want

to move some - 10

26th W. Broad St. New

COPY



• Second, we need a meeting with Secretary Glickman and Secretary Shalala to direct them to finish every waiver on time in order to represent the President's best interest; not their own bureaucratic timeline. *Yorcu*

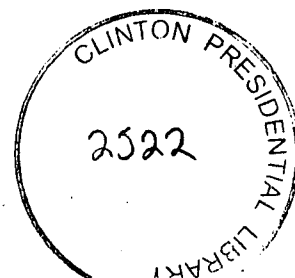
7 Third, we need to organize Senate Democrats to attach their welfare bill to a major legislative vehicle before the August recess. This will show the Democrats trying to push welfare reform, and the Republicans as the ones who did not want it to happen. This would be a good prelude to the President's action after they leave for recess.

In addition to the President making an announcement at the end of the legislative session (the first day of the recess), on the following day he should travel to a welfare worksite on his way out to Hawaii. There are many options for areas to hold this type of event where the President reiterates his message on the welfare reform revolution. *Not bad*

7 Finally, it is clear that given where we are going on affirmative action, succeeding on welfare reform will be essential for the President's reelection. *to*

7 I cannot stress enough the importance of agreeing to a strategy and then taking the necessary steps. By first gaining your approval and then moving the waiver process and the Senate relations along, I think we have a solid chance of reclaiming the issue of welfare reform.

COPY



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION	
001a. note	Todd Stern and Phil Caplan to POTUS re Emanuel/Reed/Kagan memo re Unionization of Secret Service Uniformed Division (1 page)	05/15/1997	P5	2523
001b. memo	Emanuel/Reed/Kagan to POTUS re Unionization of Secret Service Uniformed Division (4 pages)	05/14/1997	P5	2524

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17661

FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files-POTUS Material [May 1997]

Kim Coryat
2011-0299-S
kc763

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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Emanuel
Reed
Kagan
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-15-97

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 15, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT: See @ on p. 3

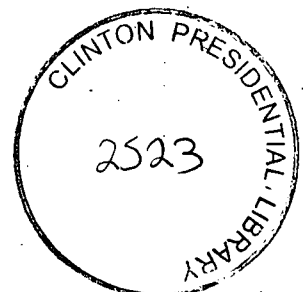
The attached memo concerns the issue of whether to allow the Secret Service Uniformed Division to unionize. Rahm, Bruce and Elena wanted you to see the memo tonight because you will see Gil Gallegos, President of the Fraternal Order of Police, tomorrow at the Peace Officers Memorial event -- Gallegos is very concerned about this issue.

As you know, this has been a sharply contested issue within the Administration. For example, Jack Quinn favored unionization; Bob Rubin is strongly against and would want to speak with you personally before you make a decision.

Rahm, Bruce and Elena set out the pro and con arguments and suggest a possible compromise, though Treasury opposes it. ***This is not a decision memo, however, and you should not decide the issue before you see Gallegos.*** Erskine has held a meeting on the issue and his office is in the process of following up so that you can be presented with a recommendation. Sylvia notes that for you to make a decision now would be ill-timed; Eljay Bowron is leaving this week and it would be better to have a new Secret Service Director in place before you make a decision.

Todd Stern
Phil Caplan *PH*

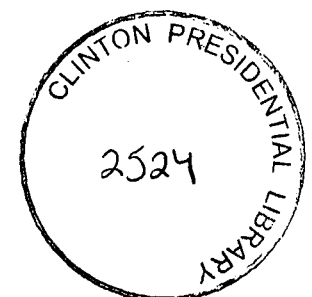
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

57 MAY 14 PM 6:51

May 14, 1997



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL
BRUCE REED
ELENA KAGAN

SUBJECT: UNIONIZATION OF SECRET SERVICE UNIFORMED DIVISION

You will meet tomorrow with Gil Gallegos and other officers of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP). They may ask you, as they have before, whether you will amend an Executive Order to allow employees of the Secret Service Uniformed Division to unionize and engage in collective bargaining. This memo provides you with the arguments on each side of the issue, so you can decide how to respond to inquiries.

Before his departure, Jack Quinn conducted an extensive review of this issue and recommended changing the Executive Order in the way the Uniformed Division employees requested. The Department of Treasury is strongly opposed to this approach. We believe a sensible compromise proposal is available, but Treasury has rejected this compromise and we do not know how the Uniformed Division employees would greet it.

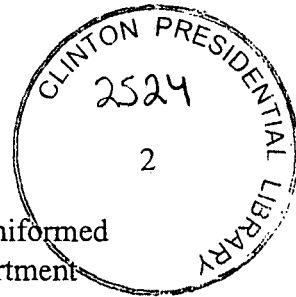
Background

Federal law gives the President authority to issue an order prohibiting the employees of any federal unit that "has as a primary function, intelligence, counterintelligence, investigative or national security work" from organizing and collective bargaining. Using this authority, President Carter issued Executive Order 12171, which precluded the Secret Service Uniformed Division from engaging in these activities. The E.O. also covered many other units in the Departments of Treasury, Defense, Justice, Transportation and Energy.

In March and May 1995, members of Congress (Reps. Trafficant, Frank, Conyers, and Torres) wrote to you requesting that you exempt the Secret Service Uniformed Division from the E.O., allowing employees of this division to unionize. The White House referred the letters to the Department of Treasury, which advised the Congressmen and two interested unions that national security concerns required the ban to remain in effect. In September 1995, Judge Mikva affirmed this determination, citing a policy of deference to the Treasury Department on matters relating to the security of the President and Vice President.

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Last year, Jack Quinn received a letter from the Secret Service Uniformed Division Labor Committee of the FOP asking for reconsideration of this issue. The letter stated that "national



security concerns...are being used as a convenient way to deny the members of the Uniformed Division fundamental labor rights." Quinn initiated discussions with Treasury Department officials and Uniformed Division employees.

In a September 1996 FOP questionnaire for presidential candidates, you referred to the controversy and stated: "To make a decision on this issue in as thoughtful and expeditious a manner as possible, I have asked my counsel . . . to look into the competing arguments, and present a recommendation to me."

At a later meeting with the Executive Board of the FOP, you were careful not to commit yourself, but did express sympathy for the position of the Uniformed Division employees. The Wall Street Journal quoted you as saying at that meeting that "it would be the height of hypocrisy for me not to support [the right to unionize] for federal officers." Members of the FOP left the meeting generally encouraged.

Quinn recommended before he left that the Administration grant the Uniformed Division employees' request. Secretary Rubin, however, vehemently opposed this recommendation, and the matter did not come to you for decision.

As consideration of the issue has proceeded, Gallegos and employees of the Uniformed Division have accused Uniformed Division management of retaliating against union supporters. One incident resulted in a lawsuit brought by the officers alleging various constitutional violations. In addition, Gallegos has come under increasing pressure from his membership to move forward on this issue.

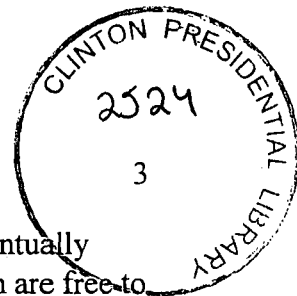
Department of Treasury Arguments

The Department of Treasury offers three reasons for opposing unionization. First, Treasury claims that the obligation to bargain will compromise security by decreasing management's authority over such matters as the deployment and scheduling of officers and the selection of equipment. Treasury cites the decision to close off Pennsylvania Avenue to traffic as an example. That decision affected many employees' schedules and work assignments. Without a union, the Division could take this action unilaterally; with a union, the Division might first have had to bargain about the proposed change, thereby losing flexibility and causing delay.

Second, Treasury argues that unionization will compromise security by forcing the disclosure of information during collective bargaining. Treasury notes that information about security procedures and techniques-- about postings, manpower allocations, equipment, and so forth-- is now provided on a "need to know" basis. If the Division were obligated to engage in collective bargaining, Treasury argues, it would have to provide such information to union members and officials and possibly to arbitrators.

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Third, Treasury argues that exempting the Uniformed Division from the E.O. will place



the government on a slippery slope toward exempting other covered employees or eventually eliminating the E.O. Treasury is particularly concerned that if the Uniformed Division are free to unionize, then the special agents of the Secret Service, who directly protect you, the Vice President, and your families, will request identical treatment.

Uniformed Division Employees' Arguments

The argument in favor of allowing employees of the Uniformed Division to organize starts from a simple premise: this Administration is committed to safeguarding the rights of employees to organize and engage in collective bargaining. This commitment should be upheld unless there is a strong countervailing interest.

In considering whether such an interest exists, you should note that there is no danger that unionization will lead to work stoppages of essential employees. A federal statute makes it an unfair labor practice for a union to strike at any federal agency. This statute would apply to Uniformed Division personnel just as it does to other federal employees.

Although Treasury is right that the obligation to bargain will limit its unfettered authority over workplace decisions, it is not nearly so clear that this obligation will compromise security interests. With respect to a number of issues, such as benefits, the obligation to bargain will have little or no effect on security. With respect to more sensitive issues, bargaining often will not be required. Agencies can take certain actions involving hiring, assignments and the like -- actions implicating "management rights" -- without engaging in collective bargaining. If this authority is insufficient, Treasury can negotiate contract provisions giving it additional powers. And if even this is not enough, we can reserve still greater powers to Treasury through adoption of the compromise proposal discussed below.

Similarly, Treasury's concern about the disclosure of sensitive information seems overstated. The officers in the Uniformed Division already have most of this information -- or at least could obtain it if they all pooled their knowledge. Moreover, the Treasury Department could condition providing such data in collective bargaining on an agreement by the union to confidentiality requirements.

Finally, Treasury's "slippery slope" argument is subject to question. If exempting another unit from the E.O. would pose a greater danger to security than exempting the Uniformed Division, then the Administration should be able to justify continued coverage of that unit. For this reason, all four other agencies with covered employees declined to support Treasury's argument, stating that their employees could be distinguished from Uniformed Division personnel.

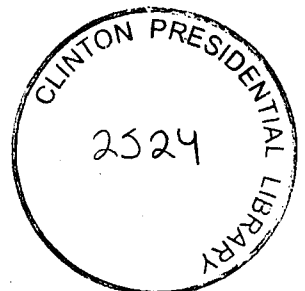
Compromise Proposal

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An alternative course is to amend the E.O. to allow Uniformed Division employees to

unionize, but to give them fewer collective bargaining rights than other unionized federal employees have. This approach should not be difficult to accomplish. When you came into office, you signed an executive order requiring the agencies to bargain over certain subjects that they previously did not have to bargain over. In modifying the E.O. to allow unionization of Uniformed Division employees, you could make clear that the old rules apply to these employees. These rules would give the Treasury Department greater authority to act unilaterally -- without any consultation with the employees' union -- than federal agencies now have. It would go some way toward accommodating both the employees' desire for unionization and the agency's concerns about security.

COPY



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	cover sheet/note from Phyllis Segal to POTUS re article (partial) (1 page)	08/06/1999	P6/b(6)
002. article	Miami Herald, handwritten note in margin (partial) (1 page)	08/05/1999	P6/b(6)
003a. memo	Sean Maloney, David Goodfriend, Lisel Loy to POTUS re Clemency for Puerto Rican Prisoners (3 pages)	08/01/1999	P5 2525
003b. memo	Charles Ruff to POTUS re Clemency for Puerto Rican Prisoners (12 pages)	08/01/1999	P5 2526

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17658

FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files - POTUS Material [Aug 1999] [1]

Kim Coryat
2011-0299-S
kc497

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

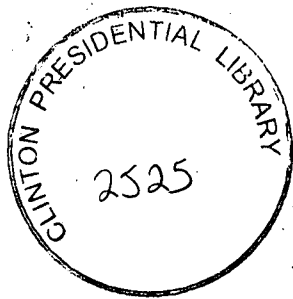
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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- b(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]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
August 1, 1999

8-2-99

Handwritten notes: "Hill Church", "Sinner - Mercy", "all".

Handwritten notes: "copied", "Ruff", "Podesta", "Echaveste", "Reed/EL".

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: CLEMENCY FOR PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS

FROM: SEAN MALONEY
DAVID GOODFRIEND
LISEL LOY *HL*

Chuck Ruff has sent you a detailed memo recommending that you grant clemency in some form to 14 of 17 Puerto Rican prisoners convicted of offenses relating to pro-independence activities. DOJ staff has recommended against clemency, but Eric Holder would favor grants to certain of the prisoners, with appropriate conditions. Members of Congress, who strongly support clemency for all 17 prisoners, have sought to meet with you on this issue. *Although Chuck offers to discuss this with you, his recommendations are ripe for your decision. John Podesta and Maria Echaveste support Chuck's recommendations.*

Background. For six years, various Members of Congress, religious organizations, and others have urged you to grant clemency to these 17 Puerto Rican prisoners, some of whom have been in prison for more than 15 years. Chuck, Jeff Farrow and Janet Murguia met with several Members who strongly support clemency and with the Resident Commissioner who has opposed a general grant of clemency but now indicates he would not object to carefully justified individual grants of clemency.

The petitioners were affiliated with two Puerto Rican independence groups, FALN and Los Macheteros, characterized by the FBI as active terrorist organizations. As part of the campaign for Puerto Rican independence, the two groups were responsible for numerous bombings, armed robberies and other acts of violence that resulted in a number of deaths and injuries. Although the petitioners were engaged in serious criminal conduct in aid of their political goals, they were not convicted of killing or maiming. Many are serving lengthy sentences. They have previously refused to express regret for their conduct, but they may now be prepared to renounce violence if released.

DOJ and the FBI are concerned that the release of the prisoners will encourage more violence and that the prisoners will be viewed as returning heroes. Petitioners have received substantial support from many quarters, including Bishop Tutu, members of the Congressional Black Caucus, religious and labor organizations, Hispanic groups, and, notably, former President Carter -- who commuted to time served the sentences of Puerto Ricans convicted for a 1954 attack on the House of Representatives, in which 5 congressmen were wounded, and the life sentence of a

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prisoner who attempted to assassinate President Truman. Petitioners also have broad support across the political spectrum in Puerto Rico.

Action. Chuck provides considerable detail on each individual seeking clemency (*see pages 7-12*). There are, however, 2 principal groups of petitioners: 13 convicted in Illinois and 4 convicted in Connecticut. Chuck recommends clemency for all but 2 of the 13 petitioners convicted in Illinois, on the grounds that their long sentences seem unduly harsh; the crimes were serious but did not result in killing or maiming; and, if the cases were brought today, he does not believe comparable sentences would be imposed. With respect to the Connecticut petitioners, Chuck recommends that you grant some form of clemency to 3 and deny clemency to 1, as set forth below. In all cases, Chuck supports immediate rather than deferred commutation, where applicable. Though some supporters of clemency, including Members of Congress, favor a general grant of clemency to the group, Chuck feels strongly that each case should be considered individually. *Podesta and Echaveste* would support implementing Chuck's recommendation by commuting the sentences to a term that would allow prisoners' release pursuant to mandatory release standards applicable to all prisoners, rather than commuting the sentence to time served. Finally, Chuck recommends that, where you grant clemency, each petitioner be required to state in writing that he or she seeks clemency and will abide by the terms imposed and renounces violence as a means of achieving political goals.

Illinois Petitioners (13 total)

Eight petitioners were convicted in the Northern District of Illinois of seditious conspiracy, armed robbery, and firearms offenses, and in State court for offenses arising out of the same activities. Combined state and federal sentences for each petitioner ranged widely from 55 to 90 years and were imposed consecutively. Petitioners have served 19 years and have so-called mandatory release dates ranging from the early to mid 21st century. Chuck recommends that you grant clemency to these 8 petitioners (Elizam Escobar, Ricardo Jimenez, Adolfo Matos, Dylcia Naomi Pagan, Alicia Rodriguez, Ida Luz Rodriguez, Luis Rosa, Carmen Valentin).

☒ Grant (recommended) ☐ Deny ☐ Discuss

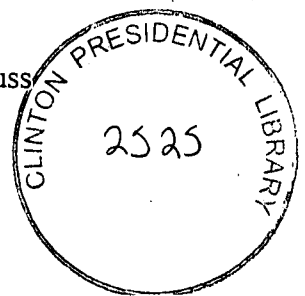
One petitioner, Carlos Alberto Torres, is serving a life sentence for arson in connection with a bombing in which one person was killed. He had been indicted by a federal grand jury on explosives charges but remained a fugitive until he was arrested in 1980 with others in this group. He was identified as the group's leader. At a 1994 parole hearing, he stated that he was involved in a revolution against the U.S. and that his actions had been legitimate. In light of Torres's record prior to his arrest in 1980, his leadership of the group arrested in 1980, and his statements at his parole hearing, Chuck recommends that you deny clemency.

☐ Grant

☒ **COPY**

Deny (recommended)

☐ Discuss



One petitioner, Oscar Lopez-Rivera, was charged with the first nine petitioners and convicted of the same offenses; he later conspired to escape from prison and was convicted of attempted escape and sentenced to an additional 15 years. Chuck recommends against clemency but suggests that you may wish to consider reducing his total sentence to require that he serve 19 years on the original conviction and an additional 10 years for attempted escape.

☒ Grant reduced sentence (recommended) ☐ Deny ☐ Discuss

Three petitioners (Edwin Cortes, Alberto Rodriguez, and Alejandrina Torres) were convicted in the Northern District of Illinois of seditious conspiracy, interstate transportation of stolen vehicles, and weapons offenses. Each was sentenced to 35 years in prison and has served 16 years. Chuck recommends granting clemency to these three petitioners.

☒ Grant (recommended) ☐ Deny ☐ Discuss

Connecticut petitioners (4 total)

These petitioners, members of Los Macheteros, were convicted in the District of Connecticut of armed robbery and related offenses arising out of the 1984 robbery of a Wells Fargo office.

One petitioner, Antonio Camacho-Negron, was released on parole but reincarcerated for parole violations. Chuck recommends denying clemency based on his failure to comply with parole requirements (and notes that Camacho-Negron would be released on parole, even now, if he agreed to subject himself to supervision of his parole officer).

☐ Grant ☒ Deny (recommended) ☒ Discuss

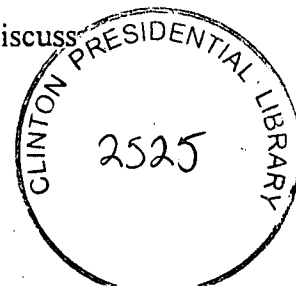
One petitioner, Juan Enrique Segarra-Palmer, was, according to prosecutors, one of the founders of Los Macheteros, and he received a salary from the organization. He was one of the organizers of the Wells Fargo robbery, and helped his co-conspirator (one of the FBI's 10 most wanted) to escape. He has served only 14 of his 55-year sentence. Chuck recommends clemency be granted only to reduce Segarra-Palmer's sentence to provide for mandatory release after service of 19 years, contingent on good behavior during the intervening years.

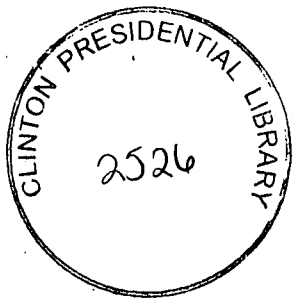
☒ Grant reduced sentence (recommended) ☐ Deny ☐ Discuss

Two petitioners (Roberto Maldonado-Rivera and Norman Ramirez-Talavera) have been released and their full terms expired in 1996; they still owe substantial fines. Chuck recommends granting clemency to free them from that obligation.

☒ Grant (recommended) ☐ Deny ☐ Discuss

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8-2-99

July 28, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Charles F.C. Ruff
Counsel to the President

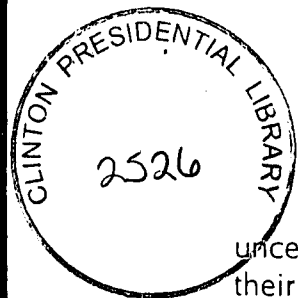
SUBJECT: Clemency for Puerto Rican Prisoners

For the last six years, various Members of Congress, religious organizations, and others have been urging you to grant clemency to 17 Puerto Rican prisoners, some of whom have been in federal prison for more than 15 years as the result of convictions for offenses arising out of their participation in the activities of the FALN and other Puerto Rican independence movements. Most recently, Jeff Farrow, Janet Murguia and I met, first with Congressmen Gutierrez and Serrano, and Congresswoman Velazquez, ardent supporters of clemency for all the prisoners, and then with Resident Commissioner Romero-Barcelo, who has been opposed to a general grant of clemency but indicated that he would not object to carefully justified grants of clemency on an individual basis.

I informed the Members that I would consult with the Justice Department and make a recommendation to you, but I made it clear that any clemency recommendation would be on an individual basis and not as a group. They have been pressing for a meeting with you, and we have held them off on the basis of my commitment that I would complete the review process before my departure.

The question of clemency for these prisoners is a very difficult one. On the one hand, many are serving extremely lengthy sentences – longer than one would expect to be imposed for comparable offenses committed today; on the other hand, they did engage in serious criminal conduct – arguably terrorist in nature – in aid of their political goals. They have previously refused to express any regret for their conduct, although we understand that they may now be prepared to acknowledge that violence is not an appropriate means of securing Puerto Rican independence and to renounce recourse to violence if they are released. Nonetheless, Justice remains very concerned that clemency would send the wrong message to the remaining FALN members and that the released prisoners would be greeted as heroes. Justice staff has recommended against clemency, but Deputy Attorney General Holder would favor grants to certain of the prisoners with appropriate conditions.

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The apparent reluctance of the petitioners to petition formally for clemency and the uncertain extent to which they are prepared to renounce violence as a means of furthering their political goals (even if some or all are not prepared to express remorse for their past offenses) are matters of concern. Taking all of these matters into account, I recommend that clemency be granted to certain of the petitioners as described below. If you agree that clemency, in some form, is warranted, we recommend that each petitioner be required to state in writing that he or she is seeking clemency and will abide by the terms imposed, and that he or she renounces the use of violence as a means of achieving political goals.

Background

Thirteen of the petitioners, who were convicted in three separate cases in the Northern District of Illinois in the early 1980s, were members of the FALN, which began a campaign for Puerto Rican independence in the mid-1970s. As part of that campaign, members of the FALN planted bombs, committed armed robberies, and planned or engaged in other acts of violence. Among the early acts of serious violence for which the FALN claimed credit were a number of bombings in New York City, including the bombing of Fraunces Tavern in 1975 that resulted in four deaths and more than 60 injuries. The FBI continues to treat the FALN as a "viable terrorist organization" posing an ongoing risk of violent conduct.

The four petitioners convicted in Connecticut were members of Los Macheteros, which has been one of the most violent of the pro-independence groups and is also classified by the FBI as a continuing terrorist group. Over the years, Los Macheteros has taken credit for a number of bombings and robberies, resulting in five deaths. The group has been linked to the murder of a police officer; a machine-gun attack on a bus on a naval base, resulting in the death of two American sailors; the shooting of other American military personnel; and rocket attacks on U.S. courthouses in Puerto Rico.

For purposes of this discussion, the petitioners can be divided into four groups:

1. Nine were convicted in the Northern District of Illinois of seditious conspiracy, armed robbery, and various firearms offenses. The arrest of these defendants was the culmination of an investigation into the activities of the FALN, including numerous bombings in New York, Chicago and elsewhere beginning in the mid-1970s, as well as robberies intended to secure funds and weapons. A bomb factory was discovered in Chicago in 1976, leading to the identification of three of the petitioners – Carlos Torres, Ida Luz Rodriguez, and Oscar Lopez-Rivera – as members of the FALN, but they went underground until their arrest on April 4, 1980. On March 15, 1980, members of the FALN, including three of the petitioners, seized the Carter-Mondale office in Chicago, threatened the staff, and stole lists of supporters who thereafter were sent threatening letters.

The petitioners were arrested by state police who were investigating an earlier armed robbery of a car rental agency in Evanston. They were found, wearing

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disguises, in a van in Evanston containing several weapons as they were preparing to rob an armored truck. Searches of FALN safe houses then revealed evidence linking the FALN to the robbery of an armory and the Carter-Mondale takeover. The petitioners were first tried in state court on weapons and robbery charges; seven were sentenced to eight-year terms, and two (Alicia Rodriguez and Luis Rosa) were sentenced to 30-year terms. They were then indicted in federal court in December 1980 on charges of seditious conspiracy (including several bombings that resulted in injury to people), Hobbs Act (robbery), interstate transportation of stolen vehicles, and weapons offenses, arising out of the same conduct that underlay the state charges.

The defendants, claiming to be prisoners of war, refused counsel and watched the trial on television from their cells. They also refused to cooperate with the probation office in preparing the presentence reports.

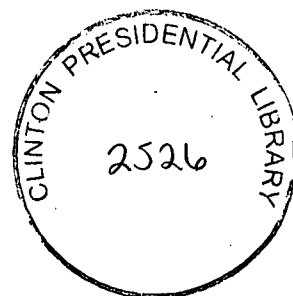
Seditious conspiracy and the Hobbs Act carried maximum sentences of 20 years, which were imposed consecutively. The weapons charges carried 10-year sentences, which were made to run consecutively to the first two sentences, and the stolen vehicle charges carried 5-year sentences which were made to run consecutively to the other sentences. The extraordinary variances in the total sentences (from 55 to 90 years) depended on how many firearm and vehicle counts there were and the extent to which the court chose to make those sentences consecutive to each other as well as consecutive to the more serious offenses.¹

The status of these nine petitioners is summarized in the following table:

<u>Name and Present Age</u>	<u>Sentence</u>	<u>Projected Release Date</u>	<u>Years Served*</u>
Elizam Escobar (51)	60 years	2024	15/4
Ricardo Jimenez (43)	90 years	2043	15/4
Adolfo Matos (48)	70 years	2025	15/4
Dylcia Noemi Pagan (52)	55 years	2020	15/4
Alicia Rodriguez (45)	55 years	2033	3/16
Ida Luz Rodriguez (49)	75 years	2034	15/4

¹ Most of the petitioners were sentenced under a statute that made them eligible for parole after serving one-third of their sentence (or 10 years if sentenced to 30 years or more). Many have waived parole, and those who sought it have been denied and told that they would not be considered for another 15 years. The petitioners have so-called mandatory release dates (two-thirds of each consecutive term, or 30 years for a term of 45 years or more), ranging from the early to mid-years of the 21st century. Notably, because of an error by the Bureau of Prisons, five of the petitioners have been told that their release dates are considerably earlier than they would be if properly calculated. These petitioners have not been told of the error.

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Luis Rosa (38)	75 years	2039	3/16
Carlos Alberto Torres (46)	70 years	2024	15/4
Carmen Valentin (53)	90 years	2043	15/4

* Because these individuals first served sentences as the result of their state convictions, I have noted their combined federal/state years in prison.

2. Oscar Lopez-Rivera (56) was charged with the other nine petitioners but was not arrested until May 1981. He was convicted of the same offenses and sentenced to serve 55 years. In 1984, he conspired to escape from Leavenworth by helicopter, and in 1988 he was convicted of attempted escape and sentenced to 15 years, consecutive to his earlier sentence. He too refused to cooperate at trial and sentencing. He has a projected release date of 2027.

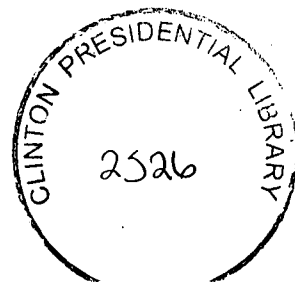
3. Three of the petitioners (Edwin Cortes, Alberto Rodriguez and Alejandrina Torres) were convicted in the Northern District of Illinois of seditious conspiracy, interstate transportation of stolen vehicles, and weapons offenses. They were arrested in June 1983 as the result of government surveillance that uncovered a plan by Torres and Cortes to help Lopez-Rivera and Luis Rosa escape from prison (an escape before the one for which Lopez-Rivera was convicted); a plan by Cortes and Rodriguez to rob a Chicago Transit receipts collector; and the construction by Cortes and Rodriguez of pipe bombs to be detonated at various military sites. They declared themselves prisoners of war but were represented by standby counsel and participated in parts of the trial, although they refused to participate in the sentencing process. Each was sentenced to 35 years in prison.

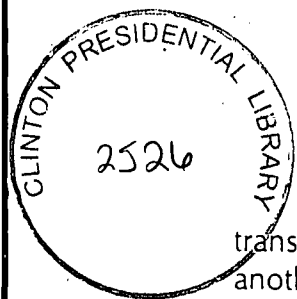
<u>Name and Present Age</u>	<u>Sentence</u>	<u>Release Date</u>	<u>Years Served</u>
Edwin Cortes (44)	35 years	2004	16
Alberto Rodriguez (46)	35 years	2005	16
Alejandrina Torres (60)	35 years	2004	16

4. Four of the petitioners, members of Los Macheteros, were convicted in the District of Connecticut of armed robbery and related offenses, arising out of the 1984 robbery of a Wells Fargo office that netted \$7 million. The leader of the group, Victor Gerena, remains a fugitive and is on the FBI's 10 Most Wanted List.

Juan Enrique Segarra-Palmer helped plan the Wells Fargo robbery and helped Gerena escape to Mexico. He also helped purchase and retrofit a motor home to smuggle part of the robbery proceeds to Mexico. He was convicted of bank robbery, interstate transportation of stolen funds, and related offenses and was sentenced to 55 years. He applied for parole in 1997, but the Commission denied his application, noting his central role in the organization, and continued his sentence for 15 years. His release date is 2013.

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Antonio Camacho-Negron drove a truck in an unsuccessful attempt to transport some of the robbery proceeds to Mexico and accompanied Segarra-Palmer on another trip to take the proceeds to Mexico. He was released on his mandatory release date of February 13, 1998, but shortly thereafter was reincarcerated for violating the terms of his release (he refused to report to his parole officer after his release) and was ordered to serve the remainder of his sentence.²

Roberto Maldonado-Rivera, a leader of a unit of Los Macheteros, drove a car across the Mexican border, following the motor home in which Segarra-Palmer was carrying the robbery proceeds. He was convicted of conspiracy to rob banks and transport stolen money and was sentenced to 5 years. He was released on his mandatory release date of June 30, 1994, and his full term expired in 1996.

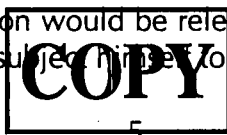
Norman Ramirez-Talavera was convicted of the same offense as Maldonado-Rivera. He used some of the robbery proceeds to purchase toys, which he then helped distribute on the streets of Hartford, along with \$20 bills. He was released on parole from his five-year sentence in 1994, and his full sentence expired in 1996.

<u>Name and Present Age</u>	<u>Sentence</u>	<u>Release Date</u>	<u>Years Served</u>
Antonio Camacho-Negron (53) [Released in 1998 and rearrested for parole violation.]	15 years	2002	13
Roberto Maldonado-Rivera (63)	5 years	Released	
Norman Ramirez-Talavera (42)	5 years	Released	
Juan Enrique Segarra-Palmer (49)	55 years	2013	14

Recommendation

When consulted in 1994, the United States Attorneys in Chicago and Connecticut strongly opposed clemency, and the judge who presided over the Connecticut case stated that those sentences should stand. (The judges who presided over the Chicago trials were not consulted because two were retired and one was trying an FALN-related case.) The FBI has provided an assessment of the current activities of the FALN and Los Macheteros which describes both as active terrorist organizations, still committed to violence in aid of the cause of independence. Both Justice and the FBI are concerned that the release of the Puerto Rican prisoners will encourage further violence and that they will be viewed as returning heroes. A part of their concern is the continuing refusal of the prisoners to acknowledge their wrongdoing and the continuing assertion by at least some of the prisoners that they are political prisoners.

² I am informed that Camacho-Negron would be released on parole, even now, if he agreed to abide by the requirement that he subject himself to the supervision of his parole officer.



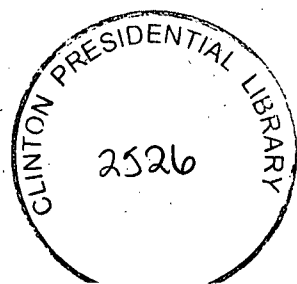
The petitioners have received substantial support from many quarters, including former President Carter, Bishop Tutu, members of the Congressional Black Caucus, a number of religious organizations, labor organizations, and Hispanic civic and community groups, as well as widespread support across the political spectrum within Puerto Rico. President Carter's support is noteworthy because of his decision to commute to time served (some 25 years) the sentences of the Puerto Ricans who were convicted for their 1954 attack on the House of Representatives, which resulted in the wounding of five congressmen. President Carter also commuted to time served (25 years) the life sentence of Oscar Collazo, who attempted to assassinate President Truman (Collazo's confederate killed a White House policeman). (President Truman had earlier commuted Collazo's death sentence to life imprisonment.)

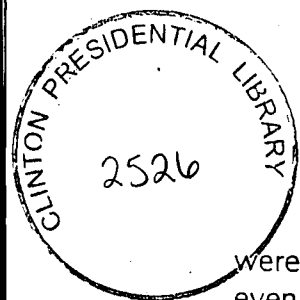
Various arguments have been advanced by petitioners' supporters, including the argument that they were engaged in a struggle against "colonialism" and acted out of sincere political beliefs. Indeed, the most recent communication to me from the United Church of Christ, in anticipation of a demonstration at the White House, refers to the petitioners as political prisoners. This argument cannot justify clemency for those who engaged in or planned the kinds of offenses for which petitioners were convicted. The only question is whether their sentences were unduly severe and whether their continuing incarceration serves any meaningful purpose.

In this regard, petitioners' supporters have attempted to argue, on the basis of raw statistics from the Administrative Office of U.S. Courts, that the sentences imposed were substantially higher than the average sentence for violent crimes, but their statistical analysis is flawed at best. Nonetheless, it is true that most of the Chicago petitioners have spent substantial time in prison (e.g., 19 years in combined state and federal terms), and the extraordinarily long sentences imposed on them were the result of seemingly ad hoc judgments by the sentencing judge to make the sentences on some or all of the counts consecutive rather than concurrent. By doing so, the judge not only extended the parole eligibility and mandatory release dates well into the 21st century but made the granting of parole much less likely.

It is extremely difficult to translate these sentences into sentences that might be imposed if the petitioners were prosecuted today and sentenced under the Sentencing Guidelines. Part of the difficulty stems from determining what comparable guideline would be applied to the conviction for seditious conspiracy, since that is not one of the offenses dealt with by the Guidelines. In addition, recent legislation has provided for a special enhancement where crimes designated as "terrorist" are involved, and it is not clear whether that enhancement would be applicable. It is clear, however, that the string of consecutive sentences that resulted in such extraordinarily long (and varying) prison terms would not be possible under the Guidelines, although, of course, whatever sentences were imposed would be served in full (minus good time) since parole has been abolished. In sum, Justice's efforts to estimate comparable sentences themselves produced such widely varying results as to offer little of value to our analysis.

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Whatever the conduct of other FALN members may have been, these petitioners were convicted of serious crimes but not of killing or maiming. In these circumstances, even were the case brought today, I do not believe that comparable sentences would be imposed. Some guidance can be found in the prosecution of an FALN member who was convicted last month in Chicago of conspiring to place explosive devices at a Marine recruiting center. He received a sentence of 51 months, and the government chose not to charge seditious conspiracy or to seek any special enhancement of the sentence.

Despite the urging of Congressman Gutierrez and his colleagues, it would not be appropriate to treat the petitioners as a group. Clemency, in its nature, should be awarded to individual petitioners based on their own conduct, both that which resulted in their original convictions and that in which they engaged during their imprisonment. Moreover, release of the entire group of petitioners would be surely treated by their adherents as a political statement condoning their conduct.

Giving due weight to the strongly held views of the U.S. Attorneys and the concerns of the FBI about the continuing activities of the FALN, as well as the legitimately strong feelings of those whose relatives have been the victims of earlier FALN attacks (such as the Fraunces Tavern bombing), I nonetheless believe that clemency for some of these petitioners is warranted. With the few exceptions noted below, the lengthy sentences imposed on the Chicago petitioners seem unduly harsh, even for the offenses the petitioners committed, particularly because the federal interest in these defendants, beyond the state prosecutions, would have been vindicated by pursuing only the seditious conspiracy charge. Moreover, the wide variance in the sentences does not appear to be grounded in the comparative seriousness of the petitioners' conduct. As to the Connecticut defendants, however, I believe that, with two minor exceptions, no clemency would be appropriate.

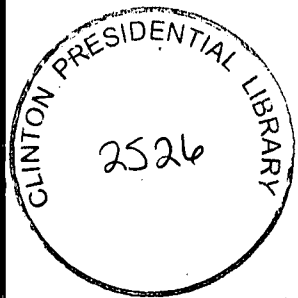
The Department of Justice gave extensive consideration to various types of clemency, ranging from reduction of sentences to time served to the setting of release dates earlier than those that are now applicable but still extending well into the next century. In my judgment, if you decide to grant clemency, little purpose would be served by delaying the effective date of any reduction in sentence (with one exception noted below).

The Chicago Prisoners

Lopez-Rivera

LOPEZ-RIVERA was originally sentenced to 55 years in prison but thereafter tried to escape and was sentenced to an additional term of 15 years for that attempt. In these circumstances, clemency would not be appropriate, although you may wish to consider reducing his total sentence of 70 years so as to require that he serve 19 years on the original conviction and an additional 10 years for the attempted escape.

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The Group of Nine

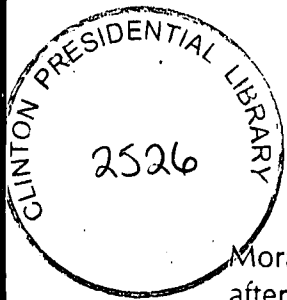
ELIZAM ESCOBAR, now 51, is married and has at least one child. He graduated from the University of Puerto Rico and was a licensed bilingual teacher of social studies in the New York City schools. He was one of the armed men who took over the Carter-Mondale office in Chicago. When arrested in the van in Evanston, preparing to rob the armored truck, he, like the others, was in disguise and in possession of various weapons. He served four years of an eight-year state sentence and then began serving his federal sentence of 60 years. He waived parole, and his mandatory release date is 2019. **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Escobar's sentence to time served – a total of 19 years.**³

RICARDO JIMENEZ, now 43, is not married. He attended but did not graduate from college and, when arrested, was employed at a pharmacy. He conducted surveillance of the Carter-Mondale office and was arrested in Evanston in the van with the weapons. He served four years of an eight-year state sentence and then began serving his federal sentence of 90 years. He became eligible for parole in 1994 but waived consideration. His mandatory release date is 2043 but had previously been incorrectly reported as 2036. **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Jimenez's sentence to time served – a total of 19 years.**

ADOLFO MATOS, now 48, is married and has two daughters. His education ended in the seventh grade, and at the time of his arrest was employed as a parking attendant. He participated in the takeover of the Carter-Mondale office and in an armed attempt to break into the weapons vault at a National Guard Armory. He was arrested in the van in Evanston, wearing a disguise and in possession of weapons. He served four years of an eight-year state sentence and then began serving his federal sentence of 70 years. He became eligible for parole in 1994 but waived consideration. His mandatory release date is 2025. **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Matos's sentence to time served – a total of 19 years.**

³ Where I have recommended that clemency be granted in a such a manner as to result in a petitioner's immediate release, that could be accomplished in one of two ways – either by commuting the sentence to time served or by commuting the sentence to a term that would result in the petitioner's release pursuant to the mandatory release standards applicable to all prisoners (i.e., approximately 28.5 years for those who have served 19 years). In either event, clemency would be conditioned on the petitioner's acceptance of, and compliance with, the requirement that he or she report regularly to the appropriate supervisory personnel (presumably a parole officer) – a requirement that could be imposed by you if there were a direct commutation to time served or that would be imposed automatically under Parole Commission procedures if there were commutation to a term that resulted in mandatory release.

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DYLCIA NAOMI PAGAN, now 52, is the common law wife of William Morales, who lost both hands in an explosion while making a pipe bomb and is a fugitive after escaping from prison in 1979. She has one son and stated at her parole hearing that she had severed her relationship with Morales. She attended Hunter College and Brooklyn College and had been briefly employed as an associate producer for WCBS-TV. She participated in the armed takeover of the Carter-Mondale office, and was arrested in Evanston in the van with weapons. She served four years of an eight-year state sentence and then began serving her federal sentence of 55 years. She initially waived and then applied for parole. At her hearing in 1994 she refused to answer questions about her offenses but stated that she had not intended to hurt anyone and that she had no plans to engage in political activity if released. The Commission denied her application and scheduled her next hearing for 2009. Her release date is 2016 (although BOP had originally computed it as 2013). **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Pagan's sentence to time served – a total of 19 years.**

ALICIA RODRIGUEZ, now 45, is unmarried. She is the sister of petitioner Ida Luz Rodriguez. At the time of her arrest, she was enrolled in Northeastern Illinois University. She was involved in renting two FALN safe houses; she cased the rental car office in Evanston before the robbery; and was arrested in the van in Evanston armed with a handgun. She served 16 years of a 30-year state sentence and then began serving her federal sentence of 55 years. She will be eligible for parole in 2006. Her release date is 2033 (although BOP had originally computed it as 2026). **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Rodriguez's sentence to time served – a total of 19 years.**

IDA LUZ RODRIGUEZ, now 49, is unmarried and has one son. She graduated from Northeastern Illinois University, and at the time of her arrest, she was employed as an equal employment specialist at EPA. She was driving the van containing weapons and her fellow defendants, and her purse contained a loaded pistol with an obliterated serial number. She served four years of an eight-year state sentence and then began serving her federal sentence of 75 years. She became eligible for parole in 1994 but waived consideration. Her release date is 2034 (although BOP had originally computed it as 2014). **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Rodriguez's sentence to time served – a total of 19 years.**

LUIS ROSA, now 38, is married and has at least one son. At the time of his arrest, he was a student at the University of Illinois. He participated in the armed robbery of the car rental office in Evanston, in which the employees were threatened with death. When arrested in Evanston in the van, he was in disguise and attempting to remove the weapons from the vehicle. He served 16 years of a 30-year state sentence (plus two six-month sentences for contempt of court) and then began serving his federal sentence of 75 years. He will be eligible for parole in 2006. His release date is 2039. **Although Rosa's conduct appears to have been more egregious than that of his codefendants, in light of his age (19) at the time of the offenses, I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Rosa's sentence to time served – a total of 19 years.**

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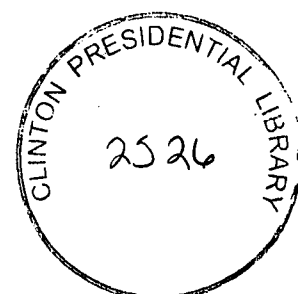
CARLOS ALBERTO TORRES, now 46, is married to Haydee Beltran Torres, who is serving a life sentence for arson in connection with the bombing of the Mobil Oil building in New York in which one person was killed. He has one child. His father is Reverend Jose Torres, a minister of the United Church of Christ, and his mother is the petitioner Alejandrina Torres. He attended but did not graduate from college and was unemployed at the time of his arrest. He was seen carrying explosives into an FALN bomb factory and rented buildings used as bomb factories and safe houses, including the apartment in New York where William Morales was injured in the explosion of a pipe bomb. In 1977, he was indicted by a federal grand jury on explosives charges but remained a fugitive until his arrest in Evanston in the van. The prosecutors identified him as the leader of the Evanston group. He served four years of an eight-year state sentence and then began serving his federal sentence of 70 years. He initially waived and then applied for parole. At his 1994 hearing, he stated that he was involved in a revolution against the United States and that his actions had been legitimate. **In light of Torres's record before the events leading to his 1980 arrest, his status as leader of the Evanston group, and his statements at his parole hearing, I recommend that you deny clemency.**

CARMEN VALENTIN, now 53, is not now married but has a son from an earlier marriage and a granddaughter. She graduated from Northeastern Illinois University and received a masters degree in secondary school administration from Roosevelt University. At the time of her arrest, she was a teacher and counselor for the YMCA College of Metropolitan Chicago and had previously been a teacher and counselor at Stateville Penitentiary and the Chicago City schools. She was identified as the person who stole a car used by FALN members, and when arrested in Evanston in the van was wearing a disguise and carrying a loaded pistol with an obliterated serial number. She served three years of an eight-year state sentence and then began serving her federal sentence of 90 years. She has waived parole consideration and has a release date of 2037 (although BOP had originally computed it as 2013). **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Valentin's sentence to time served – a total of 19 years.**

The Group of Three

EDWIN CORTES, now 44, is married and has two children. At the time of his arrest he was a counselor for the Illinois Department of Unemployment Compensation. He was arrested at an FALN safe house where 21 pounds of dynamite were being stored for use in making bombs to be exploded at military facilities on the July 4th weekend. He also conspired with Alberto Rodriguez to rob a Chicago Transit Authority receipts collector and with Rodriguez and Alejandrina Torres to assist Lopez-Rivera to escape from Leavenworth (one year before the attempted escape for which Lopez-Rivera was convicted). Sentenced to 35 years in prison, he has been in custody for 16 years and has a mandatory release date in 2004. He first waived parole consideration but then sought parole and was denied. **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Cortes's sentence to time served – a total of 16 years.**

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ALBERTO RODRIGUEZ, now 46, is married and has two children. He graduated from the University of Chicago in 1976 and at the time of his arrest was employed as a counselor at Northeastern Illinois University. He was arrested after being observed at the same safe house as Cortes, and conspired with Cortes to rob the Transit Authority receipts collector. Sentenced to 35 years in prison, he has served 16. He was made eligible for parole at the discretion of the Parole Commission but initially waived parole. Thereafter he applied for parole but was denied, and his mandatory release date is 2005. At his parole hearing in 1995, he stated that, if released, he would publicly renounce violence and that, although he still supports Puerto Rican independence, he would pursue that goal by peaceful means. Congresswoman Velazquez appeared at the parole hearing on Rodriguez's behalf although she did not know him personally. **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Rodriguez's sentence to time served – a total of 16 years.**

ALEJANDRINA TORRES, now 60, is married to the Reverend Jose Alberto Torres, a minister of the United Church of Christ, and has two daughters and a grandson. At the time of her arrest, she was employed as an executive secretary at the University of Illinois Medical Center. She was arrested after meeting with Cortes at the FALN safe house and discussing a communiqué they were to issue after the planned July 4th bombings. She also conspired with Cortes and Rodriguez to effect the escape of Lopez-Rivera. Sentenced to 35 years, she has served 16. In the early years of her incarceration, she had 15 incident reports but has had only one since 1988. Although eligible for parole at the discretion of the Commission, she has waived parole consideration, and her mandatory release date is 2004. **I recommend that clemency be granted by reducing Torres's sentence to time served – a total of 16 years.**

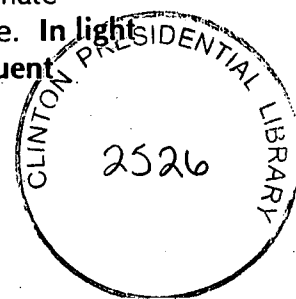
The Connecticut Petitioners

Of the four Connecticut prisoners seeking clemency, two – MALDONADO-RIVERA and RAMIREZ-TALAVERA – have already completed their sentences but continue to owe substantial fines (\$100,000 and \$50,000 respectively). **I recommend that clemency be granted to the extent of freeing them from that obligation.**

CAMACHO-NEGRON was released on parole but then reincarcerated for parole violations. **In light of his refusal to comply with the conditions of his first release, I recommend that clemency be denied.**

SEGARRA-PALMER, now 49, is married and has five children by his current and former marriages. He graduated from Harvard but was self-employed selling flowers at the time of his arrest and was receiving a salary from Los Macheteros, of which, according to the prosecutors, he was one of the founders. He was one of the organizers of the Wells Fargo robbery, and helped his co-conspirator, Victor Gerena, escape to Mexico. At his 1997 parole hearing, he stated that he "used to believe that violence was a legitimate means for Puerto Rican independence" but denied that he intended to kill anyone. **In light of his leadership role in Los Macheteros in the robbery and subsequent**

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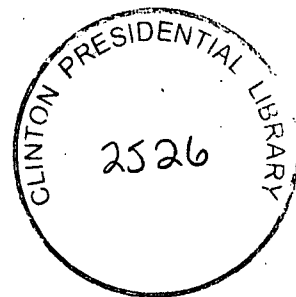


events, and taking into account the fact that he has served only 14 years of his 55-year sentence (compared to the 19 years served by the Chicago petitioners), I recommend that clemency be granted only to the extent of reducing his sentence to provide for mandatory release after service of 19 years, contingent on his good behavior during the intervening years.

Conclusion

Because these petitions raise such difficult legal and policy questions, I thought it would be useful to meet with you after you have had a chance to review this memorandum in order to get your preliminary reaction and pursue any other lines of inquiry you believe necessary. I have asked Betty to find some time on your schedule during the week of August 2.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. notes	Inaugural Speech Prep (9 pages)	01/19/1997	P5 2527

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Admin)
OA/Box Number: 17659

FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files-Speeches-POTUS Speech Inaugural Address 1/20/97 [1]

Kim Coryat
2011-0199-S
kc768

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

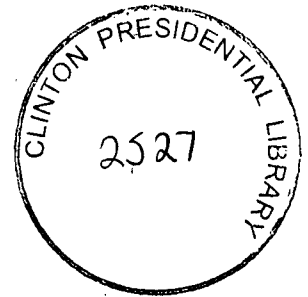
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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01/19/97 05:29:00 PM



Record Type: Record

To: Kevin Moran, Lisa Tamagni

cc:

Subject: sunday speech prep, first half

THE WHITE HOUSE

INAUGURATION SPEECH PREP

Sunday, January 19

THE PRESIDENT: (in progress) -- And then you can do "once again." Once again, America stands alone -- once again our economy is the strongest on Earth. Once again we are building stronger families, thriving communities, a cleaner environment.

I put a little sentence in -- problems that once seemed destined to deepen now bend to our efforts. Our streets are safer, and record numbers of people have moved from welfare to work. Once again we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of government.

Today we can declare government is not the problem, government is the solution. We, the American people, are the solution. And self-government simply means our Constitution provides for us to meet our common challenges.

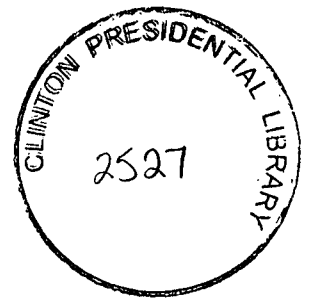
And I put this in there -- you had that false choice thing, but you didn't say anything about it. So I tried this. We may not want it, but it reads well:

As times change, so government must change. We need a new government for a new century; a government humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our own problems. A government that rejects false choices, that knows we can balance the budget and invest in our people, grow the economy and protect the environment, be strong at home and strong abroad.

A government that is smaller and does more with less. Yet where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world,

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where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their lives, our government should do more, not less.



And then -- see what else I did. On this "new sense of responsibility for a new century," say work that government cannot do -- that's not quite right. What you want to say is "that the federal government cannot do." So I think you should say "work that Washington cannot do." Streets to be made safe, jobs to be created, so that people can move from welfare to work. Higher standards to be set for our schools, help to be given to our young people to stay in school and off drugs, citizen service to be rendered in all our communities.

You've either got to say "Washington" to point out that local governments are involved in all of this, or you've got to say government alone. That's the only point I want to make.

And then let me tell you what I did with this racial thing. "When we move dark impulses up" -- we don't say -- do you have to say dark impulses of racial and ethnic hatred? Of religious and political fanaticism that lurk in the far regions of the soul. I put in the next one, I said, "Racism has been America's constant curse. The wave of new immigrants to our shores gives our old nemesis new targets.

Then I said, "Prejudice and persecution cloaked in religious or political conviction" -- no, I said, "We also see prejudice and persecution cloaked in religious or political conviction. These blind obsessions rob both those who are hated and those who hate of what they might become. We must repress them and

replace them with the generous spirit of people who feel at home with one another."

Q There is new language --

THE PRESIDENT: Not repress them? Resist them?

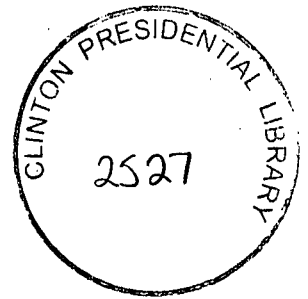
Q You've got to make sure the "them" is the emotion and not the people.

THE PRESIDENT: That's what I said -- blind obsession --repress obsessions. Or resist them. You could say -- I mean, I think you have to say something like -- these are not exactly the right words, but you've got to say what kind of America is that. Many ask if we can hope -- many ask if we can hope to surpass the achievements of the 20th century and avoid the madness and the bloodshed that stained its legacy.

And that's the real question, isn't it? That's the historic question. Can you hope to surpass -- people that -- say, oh, God, they'll never do anything as great as winning a war or the civil rights revolution or whatever people think was the most

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important thing that happened in the last century. Somehow we have to say that many ask, some doubt, whatever, if we can hope to surpass the achievements of the 20th century and avoid the madness and bloodshed that stained its legacy. Can we make our union even more perfect and a better world.



Q Go from there to we can have America --

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. Then you've either got to have some litany like this, or you have to have a picture; instead of 11 different things in 11 different paragraphs, you have to have a picture that is in a paragraph or two like you did the picture of the 20th century.

Q Here's the question we need guidance on. The guidance we need is how much right now, because the rhetorical -- do we want to take out the content of these elements -- there are two or three of them (inaudible) -- do we want to take out that content, or do you want to keep that content? And once we have guidance on that, then I think --

Q To put it another way, there are some things that may be political imperatives that you feel you need to comment on that would not necessarily go towards painting the word picture of what the 21st century --

Q Do we need explicit reference to the threat of nuclear and chemical and biological weapons, for example? Or entitlements, balancing the budget.

Q (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: We vow then to set that course to renew America. In these four years we have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement once again.

Let me just say this -- say what we need for the new century, and then say, the world we seek and the America we would leave to our children. What kind of America is that? Many ask if we can hope to surpass the achievements of the 20th century and avoid the madness and bloodshed that has stained its legacy. Every American should answer -- To that question, every American should answer a loud "yes."

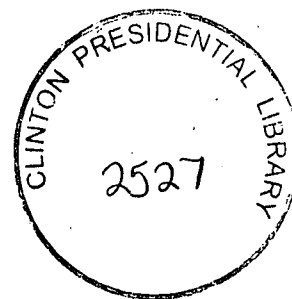
We can already see the outlines -- already we can see the promise of tomorrow in the new ways we work and live and relate to each other.

And then you do those two paragraphs and say, of course, there is more to do. America must remain the world's indispensable nation. It must stand against the forces of terror and destruction. It must eliminate the threat of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. It must continue to spread peace and freedom and bring the world together through fair and open commerce. It must work with

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other nations in the spirit of genuine partnership.

You don't have to say reap the benefits -- you don't have to say that then. Say, here at home we must give all our children new skills for a new economy, with universal literacy, the highest standards for our schools.



See, in a way you paint the picture. If you put the two paragraphs down there you say, look here, how can you doubt that we can do better. How can you doubt that we can build a future that's worthy of the legacy, that you could continue the journey toward a more perfect union if you did that. I mean, I'm just suggesting that as a --

Q There's another way you could do it which is --

THE PRESIDENT: Because I kind of like that, actually.

Q What I do like is moving the description of the kind of contours of the future out of that place because it's too many places.

Let me do something that is a little bit more radical suggestion and just think about this.

THE PRESIDENT: They paint a really nice picture of the future. And you can see that -- and it's consistent with people --

Q I think the line you just gave which you didn't put in your text was a really good one. When people ask this, then you say to this every American should say "yes." You should state how could they know, how could we know. (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Let me see, hold on. You leave the policy where it is, but you -- I think you should collapse it some.

Q There's repetition. Medical technology is in two places now --

Q We've also played with two notions -- (inaudible)

Q We believe that you need to come right out of the box on the first page with the notion that from this place or this summit or whatever, we stand and we can see the new land of promise, the new land --

Q We want to try to -- (inaudible) -- to an ending all through the speech. You've got to name it --

THE PRESIDENT: That's what I mean. The age of possibility -- Hillary didn't like that --

Q So we're talking about the new land of promise or

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the land of new promise. And we basically decided the new land of promise is better because the new promise sounds too much like a politician. But a new land of promise is the new version of the promised land. And you can play with that and it sounds good.

Q You could even say not a promised land, which implies that it's already there for you, but a new land of promise, meaning that we make for ourselves as we go forward.

Q And that makes the promise of America -- you can do a lot of things, rhetorical things --

Q -- the promise of America is -- that's the next --

Q Someone said that's -- problems, and that has --

Q --

Q Yes. I can see that as the headline in the paper "blessed," Clinton claims --

THE PRESIDENT: But then you've got to put promise in the first paragraph twice.

Q That also works with the bridge, because it's how you get over there.

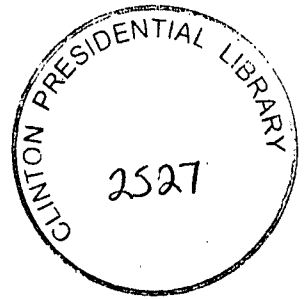
Q That's where we're going. So at the end, you draw it back together that the bridge is meant to take us to the new land or the blessed land of promise.

Q But you've got to set a name out there where you're going. And that's what Walt Shapiro is saying --

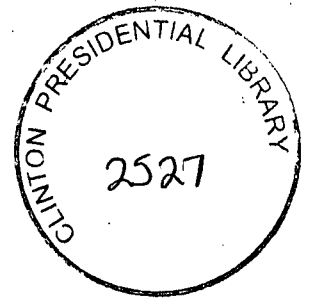
THE PRESIDENT: Did you all ever find Begala?

Q Yes, he's heading here. He's around. Do you want him to come up?

THE PRESIDENT: Historically -- you just figure out how to say this. I mean, I thought I had done about all the history I could do here and I was trying to get on with it. But if you basically think about it, there are two great moments in history. And ironically, the greatest is Theodore Roosevelt complained about it, because he thought he would never measure up to Lincoln -- are basically those moments when people before you have screwed up, everything is out of and, and events control you. You know, Lincoln says my policy is to have no policy; I'm in control of events, and I just have a goal. I'm going to preserve the Union if I have to kill every third person in the country to preserve the Union, I'll do it; whatever I have to do, I'll do it. But I have no -- to pretend that I can sort of wake up tomorrow and sort of create a policy is ridiculous. I am controlled by events, right?



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Well, you can argue that the colonists had no choice but to go to war because that was the only way they could get free, right? So we created the country out of necessity, because they asked -- it wasn't like they didn't ask everybody to stop screwing around with them -- taxation without representation and all that; they did. But they said no, and so, basically, there we were, so we created the country. And then Lincoln -- and then FDR, with the Depression and Hitler, right. And they were the three greatest moments -- in our history with the three greatest presidents, because it's the only time that the existence of the country was at issue, okay?

Then, you have the one moment that doesn't really fit within my theory because we had great social unrest that didn't threaten the existence of the country, and that's the civil rights revolution, okay?

Then, you have three moments in our history, I would argue which are equally great moments if done right, because we are in control of events, and if we do the right thing the world will be a far better place. And those are represented by the presidencies of Thomas Jefferson, Roosevelt and Wilson's first term, and now.

I mean, if you think about it, if Jefferson hadn't bought Louisiana, the rest of us would be whistling dixie. But he didn't have to buy Louisiana. It ain't like somebody forced him in a fight or something, he could have been there, he could have said, well, you know, I mean, I'm a Republican in those terms and we don't believe the federal government has this part. So if we ever get around to amending the Constitution, maybe I'll think about buying Louisiana. By then, Napoleon would have done something else.

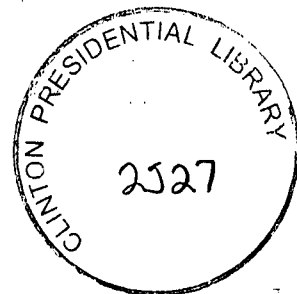
And the same thing with Theodore Roosevelt. He could have turned us into Brazil. It's not true that we had to do that. We didn't have to go as far as we did with the antitrust laws, with the wage and hour laws, with the environmental conservation laws, we could have been Brazil.

Q It's also interesting that both of those are at turn of the centuries.

THE PRESIDENT: And by blind coincidence, they both happened at the turn of the century, although for reasons not necessarily related to the calendar, but basically -- that's why I wanted to say something about time and chance have brought us to this place, you know, because it is the intersection of hope and history, it's also the intersection of hope and the calendar -- the calendar of history.

Now, I don't know how to explain that, but that's really the explanation of this. If you really think about it -- and that's why it's harder for even the press and the pundits to absorb, because they're always looking to the future through yesterday's glasses, so they want to know, is this liberal or conservative, is this a

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Republican theme or a Democratic theme, they're looking to the future through yesterday's glasses. But I believe whatever rankings I get 100 years from now for historians, any sensible person will say, looking at this, that there was over this period an enormous evolution in the way we think and work and relate to the rest of the world.

Reagan may be a good President, because he finished some of the unfinished business of yesterday and said one thing about tomorrow, which is that we ought to get rid of our nuclear weapons, a liberal thing. But what we need to do is to try to set up the systems, the arrangements, the way of relating to each other that will carry us into this new world in a way that will perfect our union and increase individual freedom and opportunity. And that's what Roosevelt did, and that's what Jefferson did, most importantly with Louisiana and secondly by being the first person to advocate general free public education for everybody.

Q -- connect --

THE PRESIDENT: It's an interesting way of thinking. But the difference is, ironically, you don't get as much credit when you are in control of events as you do when events are in the saddle, because events only get in the saddle when all hell has broken loose and your very life is on the line.

Q I just want to add -- layer --

Q Then there's trouble.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q Historically, though, unlike Wilson, and unlike Jefferson, Wilson and Roosevelt, you're now developing, having a mature country -- like Great Britain -- that country --

THE PRESIDENT: Go downhill. In other words, they could have been stunted, we could go down.

Q -- leader.

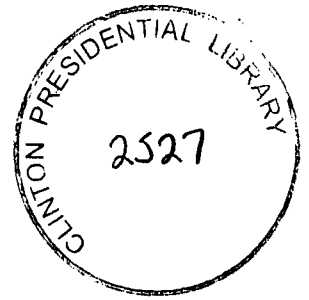
THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q A way to do that -- see I think that the way you've just said it is very, very interesting, but not as emotionally powerful as just a chronological rush of 1st to 18th century and then 19th century --

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think that's great. But at some point, you have to say -- go ahead --

Q If you'll just say, "as we did when we opened the West, and when we decided to move into Louisiana and open the West, as we did when we made the first Industrial Revolution work for our

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people, today we must," -- you only need those two clauses --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what you want to say is something like this -- that this is one of those unique moments in American history that comes along about once every 100 years when we are given the opportunity to define our own future.

Q That's perfect.

THE PRESIDENT: Which is one of those rare moments -- and you can put this -- that has come to us once every 100 years, when we are given the opportunity to define our own future.

Q And for us --

THE PRESIDENT: We made that decision in 1803 when we decided to become a continental nation. It changed everything. We made that decision after the Industrial Revolution and we decided --

Q --

THE PRESIDENT: And that we made that decision in the progressive era, when we decided that we had to go forward together.

Q As a nation.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Preserving -- you know, whatever -- free enterprise and dignity -- you don't have to say that. And we must make that decision again today.

Q What is the --

THE PRESIDENT: We must build a land of new promise where -- you see, that's what I like about the end. I was going to tell you -- the end, what we want to say that our kids can say about it -- if they could say that, it would be the first time they could ever say that. It would be the first time you could ever see that the American Dream was alive for all of our children. The first time you could say that the promise of a more perfect union was a reality for all her people, the first time you could say that America's bright flame of freedom was burning throughout all the world.

Q Finally, for the first time in our long journey, right?

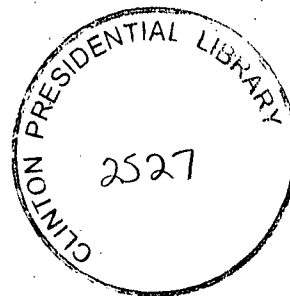
THE PRESIDENT: See what I'm saying.

Q Absolutely.

THE PRESIDENT: See? And that gives you --

Q Building a new land of promise that's what? Let's just try to fill in that, because -- the five word fill-in there is

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the critical thing. We can paint the word picture --

THE PRESIDENT: But you see? I don't know. I just -- but this is what's missing from the speech. If you did this, then everybody would know what it was about.

Q One possible thing coming -- which is quite good --

THE PRESIDENT: Is to restructure the first paragraph and maybe make it a little longer to explain what is at issue here. But you have to end -- "we must make this moment ours for, in our hands rest the eternal promise of America," because this is going to be a speech about promise. And a land of new promise basically is another way of saying that this is the next stage of our journey in forming a more perfect union, that basically if you look at -- and that's what I tried to sketch out, tried to redo the history, that there is this long line -- and, yes, it's had its zigs and zags and all, but basically, we have been about the business of perfecting our Union. That's what we did in the Civil War, that's what we did in the Progressive Era, that's what we did when we fought our way through the Depression, that's what we did when we beat back all the enemies abroad, that's what we did when we assumed world leadership to try to give these blessings to other people.

Q -- new problems -- we were fooling with that earlier. But it may be -- because even though there are -- promises, you're just asserting --

THE PRESIDENT: Here's the way you do that. Say, we are dedicated to the proposition that America is forever young, and always can be made a land of new promise. You see? And that's --

Q --

THE PRESIDENT: Because I really think it's true. A lot of people are sitting around and saying, I really believe either we're going to go in decline, or even if we all get rich, it'll be boring. So what? So we'll all get rich and use computers, but we'll have none of the

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. fax	cover sheet, Arthur Schlesinger to Caroline Curiel (1 page)	01/17/1997	P5 2528
001b. draft	Schlesinger suggested insertion for 1997 Inaugural Speech (2 pages)	nd	P5 2529
002a. memo	Al From to POTUS re The Inaugural Address (1 page)	01/14/1997	P5 2530
002b. memo	Al From to POTUS re The Inaugural and State of the Union Addresses (4 pages)	12/23/1996	P5 2531

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
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FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files-Speeches-POTUS Speech Inaugural Address 1/20/97 [2]

Kim Coryat
2011-01/99-S
2 kc769

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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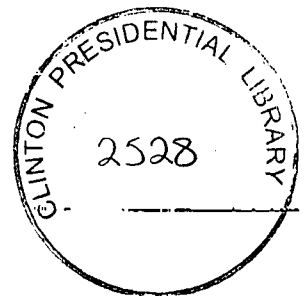
FAX COVER SHEET**TO:** CAROLINE CURIELThe White House**FAX:** 202 456 5709**NO OF SHEETS (including cover sheet)** 3**DATE:** 17 January 1997**FROM:** ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR455 East 51st Street, New York, NY 10022Fax: 212.688.8399Telephone: 212.751.6898**MESSAGE**

Sorry not to have got back to you earlier, but I have been imprisoned by deadlines.

I think it important that the President begin to shame the anti-government crusade. After he says whatever he feels he must say to gladden DIC hearts, I hope he might say something to remind our citizens that, none the less, government has a positive role in their lives. Not only is this true, but saying it would improve the morale of the federal service, so much and so carelessly abused these days, as well as the morale of Roosevelt-Truman-Kennedy Democrats in Congress, and elsewhere. There are still a lot of us around, and there will be many more in the future when turning national problems over to state governments and the private marketplace will only make our problems worse.

It would be great if the President could say something along the lines of the attached — and best of luck to you and your colleagues on the speeches.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

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Schlesinger

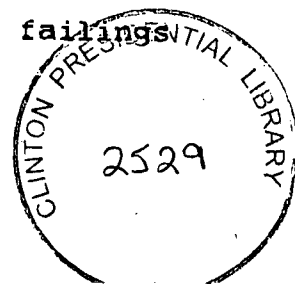
We stand on the edge of a new century -- a time filled with opportunity, with hope, with mystery. What we will make of it depends on what we, as individual Americans, do for ourselves, our communities and our country in the years ahead. America was built on self-reliance. The new century will challenge our capacity for responsibility, for creativity, for innovation, for commitment, for working hard and for sharing generously -- above all, for living up to our own best ideals.

In calling for a renewal of self-reliance, I would warn against those who erect a false antagonism between the people and their government. Nothing is more demeaning to ourselves than broadside attacks on our public servants -- demeaning to ourselves and dangerous to the republic, for anti-government demagoguery too often leads on to senseless violence.

Government, like every other profession and occupation, has its share of persons faithless to their trust. But, after four years as President, I can testify that the United States is fortunate in the quality, the dedication and the skill of our public servants. Your government is not your enemy. From the start, the federal government has been the people's partner in the great undertakings of the republic. The era of big government may be over. But the need for government to help individuals and communities to help themselves is not over.

The great virtue of democracy is its capacity for self-correction. When government becomes on occasion overweening, we can cut back its pretensions. But making government the scapegoat for all the failings

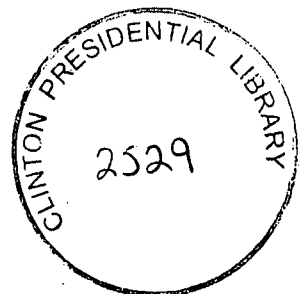
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of society is a self-inflicted wound that handicaps and harms us all. Ralph Waldo Emerson was our great prophet of self-reliance; but Emerson also reminds us: "The state is our neighbors; our neighbors are the state. It is folly to treat the state as if it were some individual arbitrarily willing this and so.... I confess I lose all respect for this tedious denouncing of the state by idlers who rot in indolence, selfishness, & envy in the chimney corner." [Emerson in his Journals, Joel Porte, ed, (Harvard University Press, 1982), 334]

Let us reinvigorate the partnership between government and the people; for the problems that lie ahead -- the quest for racial justice, the reform of education, the redemption of our cities, the reduction of crime and drugs, the repair of our infrastructure -- call for that marriage of private and public initiative which has served us so well in the great crises of our history.

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January 14, 1997

Memorandum to the President

From: Al From

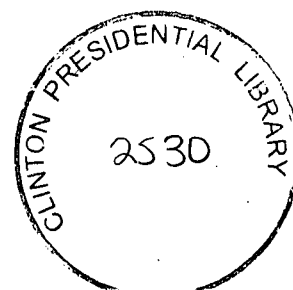
Subject: The Inaugural Address

Attached are two items that you might find helpful as you shape your Inaugural Address. The first is a memo I did in late December at Mike Waldman's request. And, the second is the section from the New Progressive Declaration that best defines the New Democrat philosophy.

As I said in the memo, the Inaugural Address should lay out your vision for our country in the information age and the 21st century. It should be visionary, bold, and philosophical. In it, you should define the new relationship between government and the people in the 21st century. The section of the declaration I've attached is the best articulation of the principles undergirding that philosophy that we've done.

As your preparing the Inaugural Address, you might want to review Franklin Roosevelt's speech to the Commonwealth Club in 1932 in which he traces the relationship between government and the economy over our country's history. Your speech can define the relationship between the people and their government so that America in the 21st lives up to its unique destiny as the land of freedom and opportunity in the world. Good luck -- and I'll be around all week if I can help.

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December 23, 1996

Memorandum to the President

From: Al From

Subject: The Inaugural and State of the Union Addresses

Your Inaugural and State of the Union Addresses offer you not only an opportunity to set the terms of the debate in 1997 and the next four years, but also the chance to lay the foundation for your legacy and your place in history.

My advice is to think of those speeches in tandem. In the Inaugural Address, you ought to lay out your vision and define the historical role you want to play in your second term. In the State of the Union, you need to offer the specifics that tell how you're going to do it.

Before I offer some brief thoughts about the vision and the substance, let me make two points about the tone and the nature of the speeches.

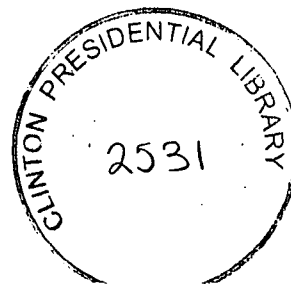
First, the tone should be lofty and the thinking big and bold. In part because political analysts never understood the importance of many of the ideas you talked about and how they connected with the aspirations and anxieties of middle class families, they unfairly put the rap on you that in the campaign you offered mostly small bore ideas. In the Inaugural, in particular, you need to transcend that rap with a visionary address that makes clear where you want to lead the country and steeped in a sense of history offers big, bold strokes about how to get there. Our country is undergoing historic, large, and rapid change as we move into the information age -- and, if you want historians to remember your Inaugural Address -- it must contain vision and ideas worthy of leading our country through that historic change. In it you should display bold leadership, not cautious incrementalism.

Second, you should talk to Americans outside the Beltway not to the political elites and interest group leaders in Washington. You never have to face another election, and you should take full advantage of that in your Inaugural Address. You should talk directly with citizens as only you can -- and stay away from the Washingtonese, programmatic, and politically correct language that the inside the Beltway crowd looks for. In talking to the people you should avoid the polarizing partisan rhetoric so fashionable in this city. The Inaugural should be about country, not party; about vision, not program; about national purpose, not narrow interests; about bold approaches, not cautious incrementalism.

Now, in less than artful form, here are some thoughts about the substance.

You've already laid out the mission of your second term and your role in history -- to prepare America for the 21st century.

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In these speeches you need to tell the people what that means in historical terms that they can understand. I believe you can do that and reinforce your own strongest themes: opportunity, responsibility, community. In a sense you need to embellish on the answer you gave a couple of weeks ago at your press conference when the first question was how do you want to be remembered in history. One model you might look at is Franklin Roosevelt's 1932 speech to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco.

Here's one way to think about doing that.

America's unique and historic role among nations has been to be the cauldron of democracy, the creator of opportunity, and the guarantor of freedom. People from all over the world have come to the United States throughout our history for the chance to govern themselves, to get ahead, and to escape tyranny and live in freedom. Democracy, opportunity, freedom -- they are the core of America -- and every generation of Americans has had the responsibility of securing, strengthening, and expanding them.

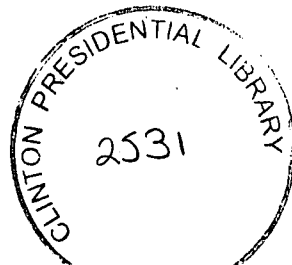
We, too, face such a challenge. We must insure that as America moves into the 21st century, we do so in a way that strengthens our democracy, increases opportunity for our citizens, and protects our freedom. But we face a greater and historic challenge because as we move to the 21st century we are not just passing from one year to the next, but rather from one era to another -- the kind of change we have had to master only once before in our history.

We must adapt our institutions -- public and private -- forged for the industrial era to deal with the very different challenges of the information age -- and do it in a way that strengthens self government, restores broad upward mobility, and guarantees both order and freedom.

We had a similar challenge at the beginning of the 20th century. Then you could do a brief recount of the challenges we faced in assuring democracy, opportunity and freedom as we moved from an agricultural to an industrial society. All three were threatened because our public institutions designed by Jefferson and Madison to deal with the gentleman farmers and artisans of an agricultural society were ill equipped to deal with the powerful giant trusts and the urban corruption and squalor at the beginning of the industrial era. Left unchecked, those new, powerful forces of urban-industrial America could have undermined our democracy and diminished opportunity and freedom.

With political leadership from the likes of Theodore Roosevelt and intellectual leadership from the likes of Herbert Croley, America met that challenge. And in the Progressive Era, in the first part of this century, the progressives led the modernization of our political, governing, and regulatory institutions so they were

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capable of coping with the challenges of the industrial age. Their reforms, cemented during the New Deal, created public systems, grounded in a powerful centralized government with burgeoning bureaucracies, that have for most of this century secured our democracy, provided opportunity, and protected our freedom.

But as the world and our country changes under the powerful decentralizing forces of the information age, the inflexibility and ineffectiveness of centralized bureaucracies threaten to frustrate our ability to govern ourselves, limit opportunities for ordinary citizens, and undermine our basic freedoms.

So like the progressives a century ago, our task must be to modernize our public governing and political institutions so they preserve America's historic mission at the dawn of a new era and a new century. But while our challenge is the same, our approaches must be almost the mirror opposite. For rather than centralized government bureaucracies, the key to strengthening democracy, increasing opportunity, and preserving freedom in the information age is to build stronger communities with citizens who assume greater personal and civic responsibility.

In that context preparing America for the 21st century means modernizing our public institutions for the challenges and needs of the information age.

- * Modernizing our public education system so that it produces both solid citizens capable of carrying the burden of self government and prosperous citizens in the new global, information economy.

- * Building a new social welfare system, grounded in opportunity and responsibility, so that it broadens prosperity, diminishes the disparity of incomes, rewards hard work with upward mobility, and brings millions of left out Americans into the economic and social mainstream.

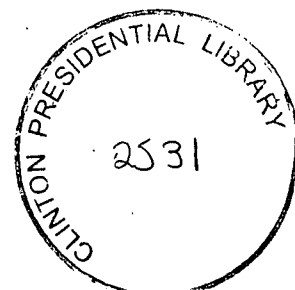
- * Restructuring our great social insurance (entitlement) programs so that we can guarantee economic and social security for retired Americans and at the same time have the resources to invest in our future and offer health care to all.

- * Strengthening our local communities, particularly our central cities, so they can once again foster opportunity and assure order and the most basic of our freedoms -- the freedom from crime, the freedom to walk in your own neighborhood between sundown and sunup.

- * Providing a bright beacon of light and hope throughout the world, by promoting American values, fostering democracy and freedom, and market economics.

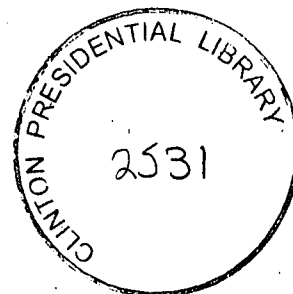
If this sort of approach has any appeal to you, I'd keep the Inaugural Address lofty, visionary and thematic, and fill in the policy and programmatic detail in the

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State of the Union. I hope this memorandum is helpful, and I'm ready to help at your beck and call. Have a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	James Johnston to Erica re wordcruncher data (partial) (1 page)	01/07/1997	P6/b(6)
002. notes	Inaugural Speech Prep (9 pages)	01/13/1997	P5 2532
003. notes	Inaugural Speech Prep (10 pages)	01/14/1997	P5 2533

COLLECTION:

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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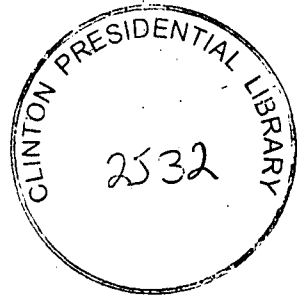
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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



January 13, 1997

THE PRESIDENT: (In progress) -- might be an argument for leading with our special role in the world and ending with the domestic stuff, and so you kind of get down to the child's eyes, whatever that was. The third thing is to give an accountant's treatise of, a Chicken Little account of entitlement reform. Since I don't think that that is an option for the Inaugural address, I think we should have a phrase in their alluding to our obligations to secure health and retirement not only for this generation of seniors, but for seniors in generations yet to come.

We should write it like that. And they'll get it without -- but I think to have a chance to do -- this thing has to -- so anyway, let's keep going.

I'll give you the language here that I wrote, and I'm not wedded to a lot of this language. When you say all this stuff the challenges, the strength of our family, the safety of our streets, I think you ought to say the sanctity of our environment, the power of our science and technology, -- I think you ought to put that in there. It doesn't take long to say that.

Q (Inaudible.)

THE PRESIDENT: There may be.

Q (Inaudible.)

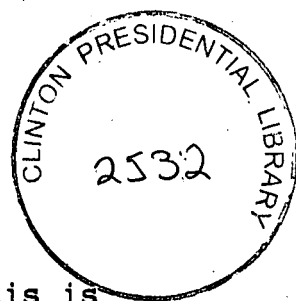
THE PRESIDENT: Tom Patterson -- and then on this "our most urgent problems" here, I wrote some stuff on that which I think you'll be able to read. Let's go through this and remind me to tell you what Tom Patterson said about it. You know Thomas Patterson, the guy that's --

Q Political scientist?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, he's the guy that -- he's the one that defended me in '94 and said I'd kept more of my promises than the last five Presidents and I was getting a bum deal. A guy I never met before. He sent a memo to a friend of mine who sent it to me about two things that he thought -- one's policy, one rhetorical about the Inaugural.

The next paragraph is, okay. I tighten it up a little bit. The government that the Americans built achieved great things. And, see, I like this because -- that is something in the 20th century. But what I wish we could do here -- instead of saying they've run their course, they've served us well, their time is gone -- that's not entirely true. We still are benefitting from these things. What I really wish we -- what I sort of think we ought to do here, and I just think we should think about this -- and that requires us to reorganize it, but if you look at to this point, what have we done, we said -- I swore the oath, I take it seriously, thank you very much, four years ago, blah, blah -- we've got a lot to be grateful for since then, we're living in a time of profound changes -- this new time calls upon us to seek new solutions -- that's disconnected. That's what we're supposed to have been doing the last four years. We have to say there's more to do. That's one of the things that bothers me.

MORE



The second thing that bothers me is this. This is something about the government we have built. What I would like to do -- keep in mind, this is the last Inaugural address of the 20th century. What I'd like to do is to, just from the rhetorical standpoint, construct some sort of valedictory to the 20th century. This was an amazing moment in human history, and America made it amazing. That is, America helped it to come out right.

So this should be not about the government, it should be about -- what did that book say -- the time of the Americans -- the 20th century, the time of the Americans? I mean, you'd have to say we built -- we emerged on the world stage in the 20th century as a great industrial power, we finally -- we abandon isolationism to fulfill our responsibilities for freedom and peace in the world. In the process, we won two Cold Wars -- we won two world wars and waged a long Cold War to defeat the forces of communism. And here at home, we built a great American middle class. We took the elderly out of poverty, we began to preserve and restore our environment, preserve and restore -- that's conservation and cleanup -- preserve and restore our environment. And whatever else you want to say.

Q Civil rights.

THE PRESIDENT: The civil rights revolution, the emerging role of women in our society -- you know, whatever you want to say about that stuff. That's the 20th century. It was an amazing century for the world, an amazing century in the United States -- or an amazing century in the United States and amazing century for the world in no small measure because of the Americans who led it. You know, just a valedictory to the 20th century.

And that sort of -- so we went through -- we were created in the 18th century, preserved in the 19th century, exploded on to the world stage in the 20th century in a way that gave people opportunities they never dreamed of, and came to grips with our most serious social problems. This is a huge -- see, and it doesn't take long to say.

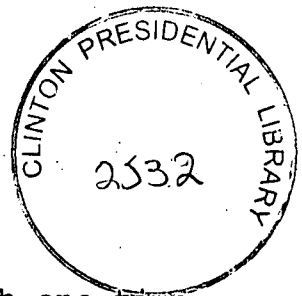
What?

Q -- if you do that valedictory -- in a seamless way, the obligations we have to the people who came before us and our responsibility to the generations to come.

THE PRESIDENT: I was sort of thinking we start with the valedictory, just simply state -- we gather today, at the last Inauguration of an American President in the 20th century, 200 years after George Washington departed the White House. You know. Our nation, which was founded on life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the 18th century, preserved in the 19th century -- preserved -- our unity was preserved and deepened in the 19th century, exploded on the world stage in the 20th century, and because of our economic -- and all that stuff I just said.

So what will the 21st century be about and what will we do with it? Four years ago, we met here in the season -- yes, spring, all that stuff you said first I think is pretty good -- we renewed the country, that kind of stuff. And then you go through all this stuff, but when you get to this government cannot -- I think at some point, you have to say -- at some point in this sort of thing about the role of government and all of this, what you really have to say is something about the future and the -- each new age has required us to renew our commitment to the future, that we don't act just for the moment, but we act to preserve our country and improve it for the future. And to require us to reaffirm the peculiar balance we have forged in America between individual freedom and our national union, our obligations to work together to solve our problems and to meet our challenges.

MORE



You know, Daniel Webster gave a famous speech one time called "Liberty and Union." Remember that? "Liberty and Union." And so what we have to do today is to define the future. That what we want is for the 21st century to be an even greater American century, more characterized by peace and harmony and prosperity and the reconciliations of people within and beyond our borders, you know, that kind of stuff. So it's about the future, in terms of opportunity and responsibility; but it's also about the community thing.

Then I think you can say a part of that is we have had to do a lot of things. We've had to put in place an economic approach adequate to the times. We've had to prove that together our social problems could be rolled back. We've had to prove that -- we've had to put family and community back at the center of our concerns. We've had to reassert the leadership of America in the world, that is increasingly interdependent of where America is still the indispensable nation.

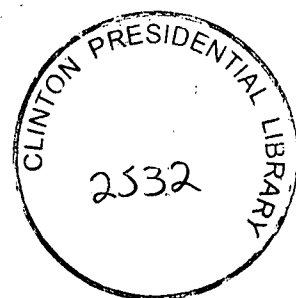
You know, I don't know what order these ought to be in. You lead with the -- and in the process of redefining our sense of our obligations to one another, we have had to come to a new consensus adequate to the future on the role of our government in our lives. Years ago we discarded the notion that government could solve all our problems, but we seemed to embrace enough so that the government was the problem. Now we know that the government is our partner in this great adventure, that government has a role to play in helping to give people the tools to make the most of their own lives, to build strong families and strong communities.

It seems to me if you do it -- and, again, I've done some work on the rhetoric, but that's not as important as the structure. Then you get down to the demands of this moment **Copy** are great and different. The only thing I would say here -- and it's a very delicate thing -- is we have not really painted a picture of the 21st century. So having done the valedictory to the 20th, I think we somehow have to paint a little -- that in the last four years we have gathered, we've seen a glimmer of what might happen of the wonders, the potential wonders of the 21st century. And you can go through each of the categories we deal with -- you know, the children of all kinds learning at rapid rates on computers, where for the first time is possible, you know. That the whole structure of the human gene is unlocked in ways that offer the opportunity to -- you know, medical miracles and all that kind of stuff.

And also we see the darker side of the future, where modern technology might be used to make old hatreds, old demons, old weaknesses even worse -- you know, in ethnic and religious wars, and terrorism and biological and chemical warfare. You know, that kind of stuff.

And so compared to four years ago, my fellow Americans, we have much to be grateful for. To build a future worthy of the Americans who created this country, who kept it together and who built the 20th century, we have much more to do. We have much to be grateful for and much more to do. Just trying to make it cohere, here.

Then you've got to get to the -- you've got to figure out how to do the laundry list, and this is where you come in. What the laundry list is and what it should be. My view is that we would be -- and by the way and I think it's kind of -- then at the end I think it is good to say we have to remember that it's as important as what we do, as how we do it. We cannot say we believe in a future for all Americans and a community in which everyone plays a part if we conduct our business in Washington or in any community in this country in a way that belies that commitment.



And then you go into the Cardinal Bernardin stuff and all that. But on the laundry list I simply don't think you can say, I see an America -- I mean, Richard Nixon did it and we will be ridiculed, I think, if we do it. If we use a Nixon rhetorical device I think we would literally be ridiculed. And so we have to find out -- what I think we should do is use it as painting a picture of the 21st century. You know, because you say, what is this century that we're building a bridge to? You know when you end on a preposition it's not acceptable, but you get the idea. We launched a season of renewal based on opportunity, responsibility, community. We reaffirmed -- our people have reaffirmed their determination to pursue this course for the future, to stay at home with the future, to keep working for the future and to do it with a strong American community where the government is part of a new partnership to help people make the most of their own lives. We have made this 20th century what it is. What is it that we seek to make of the 21st century?

And then you can just do an America, an America, an America. You wouldn't even have to say, I see. But, see, if you start with a valedictory to the 20th century; then you say, four years ago; then you say, we've got a lot to be grateful for; then you say, there's still challenges out there and they're different -- and you explain in the middle, you know, how we got a new economic policy, a new social policy, a new policy toward community -- all those, a different list, self-congratulatory way of dealing with those six categories, you know, the things I talked about Saturday.

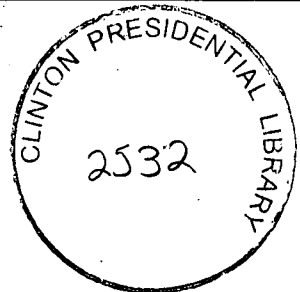
Then you say, what kind of world is it we're seeking to build? What newer world do we seek? You know, that kind of seeking you can do. If you did that, if you could get the structure right then we could figure out the rhetoric and the historical and biblical and other references and poetry and bells and wheels and everything. But it's got to somehow cohere. And I think beginning with the valedictory of the 20th century and ending with a picture of the 21st century and then a strong reminder that we never got anywhere except in the right spirit. And that, I think, is -- I even wrote some -- I don't even know if I brought that in here, but I wrote something about the Bernardin thing with a little, even stronger than -- although, I think this is very good. I think -- e pluribus unum.

Q That passage is from the Austin speech.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. It's good. And I think you have to do Martin Luther King. And you can either do it here or as part of your valedictory to the 20th century. And I don't know whether that's what I want to use, but that's not important. The point is you've got to do it and it's good. And if you do this like, you know, this I see an America deal, but you keep thinking of it as painting a picture of what life will be like in the 20th century -- 21st century for people and you make sure it's about values and not just money, because it's not -- you don't want to get into technology worship, which I want to couch the threats of the new century in the same -- that the same realities that opened these possibilities also aggravate the threats. But then you paint this valedictory of what you want to see it. I mean, you want to look at it and see it.

Then I think it -- the end is -- it's okay. Strengthen our hands for the good work ahead and all that -- that's okay. We've got to think about it.

If we could get the structure right and point rights, then we could think about what the specifics are. And Mark would have a good sense of it. And you don't want to talk about policy, but you want to describe the world -- where parents can raise their children on safe streets with good schools in a manner consistent with their values -- that kind of stuff.



But on the other hand -- now, some of these are very clear. The last two -- I don't know if it's just as clear, but it may be all right. Let me see if I -- anyway, here it is -- got it in order? You know, I thought that our speech -- somebody told me repeatedly -- my speech last time was the third shortest. That's what I was told. It must be because I delivered it fast, because I read that book, and there's four in them in there that take less time and less space on the page --

Q AP reported there were others with fewer words.

THE PRESIDENT: Fewer words.

Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: They just didn't say them as fast.

Q They didn't have microphones.

THE PRESIDENT: So they had to speak slower. Yes, Teddy Roosevelt's inaugural, interestingly enough, was shorter than mine.

Q Michael did a count -- (inaudible) -- second inaugural was shorter than (inaudible) radio address.

THE PRESIDENT: It was a great speech. Let me see if I've got that. I'll tell you exactly what he says. I don't agree with the specifics, but I hear you generally. The specific suggestion he made, he basically said, you know, there was still no -- and he suggested a new partnership, which I think is flat. It's blah -- flat.

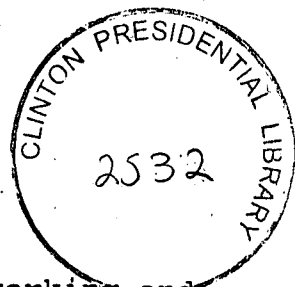
Q -- this partnership theme because -- (inaudible)

THE PRESIDENT: But we don't want to -- I don't think we have to use the word partnership, but we have to -- but when the speech is over, an ordinary person needs to be able to tell you what it was about. That's what my -- my dread is that if we did this speech that the ordinary person said he's thrown together a whole lot of pretty words, but I don't know what the hell that was about. And you've got to say 20th century is about this and this and this is how we did it. The 21st century is going to be about this. That's what we've been doing the last four years, that's what we're going to do and --. We've got to be able to say what is this about? There's no hook there.

Q (inaudible)

THE PRESIDENT: You see, one of the things we don't say explicitly, and maybe it doesn't mean anything to people, but one of the things that we don't say explicitly here that I try repeatedly to say is, why do we have a special obligation? I try to analogize this to the Teddy Roosevelt-Wilson time. You say we're living through a time -- the present graph says we're living through a time of change as profound as any in our history. And then we describe the information revolution. But there ought to be an end that says, so what? So what? This is changing the way we work and live, the way we relate to each other and the rest of the world.

And that means that those of us who have responsibility here, and those of you who have responsibilities wherever you live have to change how we work together to meet the challenge of this time. Something like that. We have to explicitly -- just because there's a technology revolution or a revolution in the global economy, you know, there's always been changes. And knowledge and has been expanding for -- it has happened in -- the quality and quantity of it is such, this change is such, that it really is



markedly and visibly changing the patterns of living and working and social intercourse.

Q -- on something you said before, that may be a place to then talk about the dark side and the upside of the future, because if the future is going to be so dependent, what does opportunity mean; how are we going to create opportunity or create value if in the future education means computer -- literacy means everything. Do you want to sort of paint any of the dark side specifically about the future also or --

THE PRESIDENT: Only in the way that I said earlier -- on the threats of the future and on the foreign front. I think we should be completely optimistic at home -- don't you?

Q You might want to make the following -- that we should be optimistic about the promise of the future -- (inaudible) about victory to mean putting the address in the historical context of where we are and where you are -- To me, the important link missing in this outline is your -- to change in the philosophy of government and policies and spirit and people --

THE PRESIDENT: He wrote about that in -- they've got good rhetoric in there about the changing role of government. You just need to read it and see if you --

Q -- that's the key element. I believe everyone will understand your historical context and I believe they'll all understand the things we have to do and what we have to balance -- and that will be perceived as consistent with everything you've said. But to me, the big historical element is that you're now defining a different style to meet these challenges of the future --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if you think about what the historic significance here is, in order to -- I mean, we basically changed the thinking about government, about how government should work and what government could achieve. Somebody told me the other day, on Saturday -- I can't remember who said this -- but they said it wasn't just -- they said, keep in mind, when you started people thought a lot of things about government and our common enterprise they no longer think, like they didn't think you could balance the budget or reduce the deficit and increase investment. They didn't think you could vigorously protect the environment and grow the economy. They didn't believe that you could roll back our social problems. There are all these things people believed that they really don't believe anymore.

We just don't have to accept -- and I still believe that the historically significant thing that we did was to redefine the role of government in a way that reasserted the role of community and the responsibility of ordinary people with -- and reconciled it with leading a vigorous fight for the future from the government. That's why I say it's about -- so our historic achievement was that we redefined and modernized and updated the government -- most people didn't believe you could downsize the government and actually make it more effective. They thought you downsize the government you'd have to quit the field.

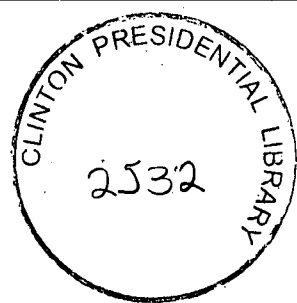
So it seems to me that's what we did.

Go ahead.

Q -- Roosevelt redefined government -- (inaudible.) We defined the government in terms of -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Economic and other -- that's right.

Q (inaudible) --



THE PRESIDENT: If you go back and read Roosevelt's rhetoric it is very different from -- Roosevelt said government does this for you, government is going to do this for you, government is going to do that for you. This idea of mutual obligation, the mutuality of obligation --

Q (inaudible) -- closer together with government (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: And then you can figure out, Mark, what specifics you want to put in or how you want to describe it.

Q -- (inaudible) -- but your main point was we've got to work together. And you blow that up and bring that into this --

THE PRESIDENT: And that we changed the thinking of the American people about how we're going to approach the problems of the future and what the government's role is. We have to do it together. That's why people who live in all-white areas have a stake in racial reconciliation. That's why we have to have this religious reconciliation I've worked on, which I think when historians write about this I'll get more credit for it than I do now.

I just think that you have to think what is it that we changed, because the economic policies we adopted, the social policies we adopted, all that was a reflection of what Mark said. It was like government has to affect the lives of ordinary people in a positive way, but to do it it has to do it in a different way. Instead of doing things for people it has to do things with people. It has to give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives.

So that's sort of -- and it has to empower them to take responsibility for themselves and their families and their communities. And I think that really is sort of our historically unique contribution here. And in the end, I do believe there is a way, with the stuff we're doing this week like the Medal of Honor thing today and what we're going to do later in the week, some of the other things, I think there's a way to really come down hard on this politics of personal destruction that's been practiced and excessive partisanship and all that, because people are ready to hear it.

What you said on Bernardin, I think mine's over-written, now that I read it -- I wrote it last night. I went to -- he said life is too short to waste the precious gift of time on acrimony and division. We never get even, and in the effort we diminish ourselves and reduce the time and energy we give to our nation and its future.

We want to take that "never get even" out. Precious gift of time on acrimony -- we need to do something with that, I mean, really do something with it.

Let me read some more notes here.

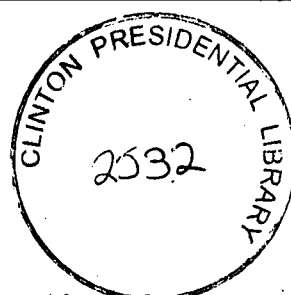
Q -- be reelected for a second term.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, because Teddy Roosevelt, when he was reelected was --

Q He was only elected once.

THE PRESIDENT: Actually, when he was elected he was about my age the first time -- 46, wasn't he?

Q Grant was the closest to you --



THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Grant was four or five months older than I was. He had a harder life.

Q One thing I know Rahm was concerned about was the need to impart the sense of urgency -- of the 21st century, the urgency of the moment, that we have no war, no depression. We've created that moment and so did our forebears, but we've created it and now it's not an ordinary time, it's really an extraordinary time.

THE PRESIDENT: We don't have a war, we don't have a depression, don't have an excuse for not focusing on the bigger long-term issues, and we have to do it with urgency. We go to work tomorrow and work like crazy every day on it.

Q (inaudible) -- the future we believe can be better -- but we've got to do it.

THE PRESIDENT: I think saying it's not inevitable is important. And I think saying that we've got this window of time here where we're blessed to be at peace and to have things rocking along pretty well now, and that one of the things we've done in laying the -- in the last four years to lay the foundation for even more rapid progress -- this is not a time to sort of relax in our efforts because we have no idea how long we'll have this --

Q Also, peace and prosperity are not an excuse for standing still because of the possibility (inaudible) -- people perhaps need to be reminded of that.

Q One other thing, Mr. President, is I think you should consider challenging the public fairly stiffly on the role in the world. In other words, making sure the people hear that you're challenging an accepted view in the public, especially on the trade stuff.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I think there should be a little more international in here, on the role in the world, we have to lead. We have to lead. We are maintaining a strong defense, but we also have to continue to push the frontiers of trade. We have to continue to stand up against terrorism and we have to finish the unfinished business of the Cold War and end the nuclear threat; stand against chemical and biological warfare. And I think we ought to say we have to recognize our responsibilities in the community of nations, including to the U.N.

I'm just afraid there's not enough specificity here -- I'm afraid it's just too general. Keep in mind, when people -- remember last time they remembered -- nothing wrong with America that can't be fixed by what's right with America. And after that it was the specific things this guy is going to work on. He's going to work on health care, he's going to work on education -- whatever he's going to do. This time you want to remember the story line, essential change we made but also there needs to be some meat on these bones.

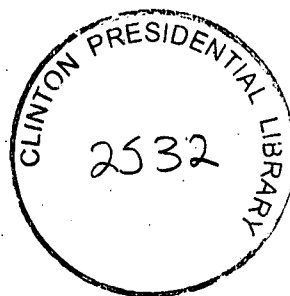
Q That works with the valedictory because just as in this century, in our next century America's leadership will be what defines the world.

THE PRESIDENT: Instead of saying the best educated kids in the world, that sort of -- if you say you're going to -- let us connect all of our schools to the Information Superhighway, establish the highest standards for learning in the world, and open the doors of college to everyone, that's very general, but that is your agenda that sort of resonates with your program more. And it's still nowhere near the State of the Union, you're just sort of referencing it.

You could do some similar things on law enforcement and family-related issues, family and work and all that kind of stuff.

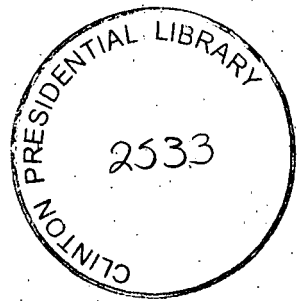
Well, you work with them on the specifics, kind of plugging in, filling in the blanks. Well, this is good. I hope this is helpful. I really worked hard on this yesterday.

END



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THE WHITE HOUSE
Inaugural Speech Prep

January 14, 1996

THE PRESIDENT: (in progress) -- I think it breaks down a little bit in the middle and then picks up a little.

Q -- one suggestion that somebody had, what might be (inaudible) messing it up, which is in the vision portion about the 21st century (inaudible) rather than being up (inaudible) four years ago --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm also not sure -- I'll go through -- let me reread to you the first two pages and then let me just comment on the rest, okay? But you ought to look at -- have you got your copy?

Q I do not.

THE PRESIDENT: You guys got a copy? Give Don a copy. You've got a copy, Mike? You got another copy? Mark, you got your copy.

Q We're okay.

THE PRESIDENT: I just want you to see --

Fellow citizens, we gather at the last American -- we gather at the last American inauguration. And that ought to say President -- I don't know -- of the 20th century. Exactly 200 years after George Washington said farewell to his office and his fellow citizens, having launched his new country with its then unique constitutional democracy, on the great adventure which has brought us to this time and place.

We can always distill it -- at this moment of consecration and dedication, we come together to recall the greatness of our past, understand the progress of our present, and chart the potential of our future. By the grace of God and the labor of our people, we enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. Yet though we are free from war and depression and social unrest, this, too, is no ordinary time.

I want to say "this, too," because it's at least an oblique reference to the Doris Kearns book -- so that I'm not just lifting it without any even allusion to --

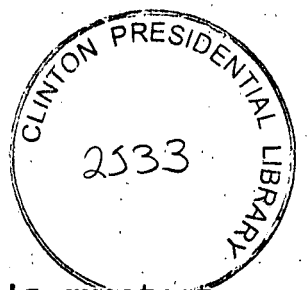
Q It's not audacious to pretend it's like World War II.

THE PRESIDENT: This, too, is no ordinary time. For we stand on the threshold not only of a new century and a new millennium, but of an age of possibility in which if we do our duty, more people here at home and throughout the world will have the chance to live their dreams than ever before in recorded history. But first, we must do our duty.

That's your obligation thing without making it an -- taking it out of the body of the. Okay, and then the next paragraph.

America was founded on the ideals of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the 18th century. Our nation spread across the continent, preserved our union and abolished the awful scourge of slavery in the 19th century. And we exploded on to the world stage in turmoil and triumph to make this the American century.

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In this century, America brought the world's greatest industrial power, won two world wars for freedom and peace, waged a long Cold War to defeat communism, and built institutions to advance peace and prosperity for the world, and time and again, reached out a helping hand to those in every continent who long for the blessings of liberty we have come to take for granted.

Here at home our people built the great middle class. We lifted the elderly out of poverty, provided medical care and nutrition to poor children, worked to restore and preserve our environment and public health, provided free public education to all our children -- That's a major contribution to the 20th century -- And built the world's greatest system of universities; brought breathtaking advances in science, technology and the arts; advanced equality for African Americans and other minorities; and extended the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Women didn't get to vote until the 20th century. Do you know that women have never been mentioned separately in any inaugural address.

Q (inaudible)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. But, you know who else called and told me that? Betty Freidan -- said nobody's ever said anything but working men and women or families.

Anyway, now this is what I've tried to do to King. I'm not sure this King quote works here, because I think it -- but let me try to -- but this, I think, is better.

Thirty-four years ago, the man whose birth and life we celebrate today spoke to us in words that rang out across the very mall. Martin Luther King told of his dream deeply rooted in the American Dream, that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed. We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal. Dr. King gave his life for that dream so that others might live it.

His words are as real to us today as they were 34 years ago. For we know America is about dreams, labors and sacrifices, the constant movement toward living out our true creed. It is our ideals and the striving to make them real that made this 100 years the American century. And it is out of our dreams, labors and sacrifices that we will build our bridge to the 21st century.

That's what I was doing there -- something like that.

Q I like that. -- want to bring you back, though, because there was something so quotable and (inaudible) about the future is built on labor and dreams. That would be the Bill Clinton quote -- I mean it could be.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, whatever. The words may not be right, but you get the drift of it. It's got a little more lift. It's moving into the thing.

Q One thing -- just raised after the beginning of George Washington, the way you had it -- George Washington called America the great experiment. And that may be something --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Did he say that in his farewell address?

Q I saw it in the Doris Kearns Goodwin essay. I don't know where --

Q We'll find it.



THE PRESIDENT: Then this next part, there's stuff I want to do with this, but it's not worth worrying about now. I think we ought to reword that four years ago stuff.

And I think it -- here's where I think it kind of breaks down. I think we really get mushy when we talk about working together. We don't -- we're not as explicit as we often are about how we have -- what I want to do -- getting into this change of the role of government -- we made a fundamental decision that we cannot -- that we are one nation, we are undivided, we're not going forward just on our own. We have mutual responsibilities to each other. And that is -- and then the role of government business about not -- government can't solve the problems. Government can't walk away. It's got to give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives. There's something there, it's just not as tight as I think it should be.

And then -- build a new kind of government for a new century. I think that's pretty good. I think that's real good. That paragraph I think is a winner. My own view is that I just want to work on rewording three and four. I think it's not as clear and stuff as it ought to be and not as -- the language is not as good. But I like the idea that we basically -- what I want to say before you get into -- I want to reword the paragraphs about -- starting from four years over to our most -- above all, we're again putting more opportunity in the hands of individuals and that kind of stuff.

But then, what I want to say here is -- what you want to say is that we had to break down the old ways of thinking to break down the old ways -- and the old ways of doing -- that we forged a new consensus on the role of government, but also a new idea about what we had to achieve, that we couldn't be -- deficit versus investment, pollution versus -- growth versus environment. That kind of stuff. We had to think about. But we couldn't just say, well, crime will always be with us. We couldn't say, welfare will always be with us. We changed our old ways of thinking. And I think that's worth saying because I think that's a major contribution to what we've done.

I still think that Jeremy Paul (sp) essay is about the best statement of -- he wrote me a letter yesterday, the day before. He just -- the guy got it. Once in while -- he's just one of those people that got it.

Q (LONG INAUDIBLE)

THE PRESIDENT: Our old responsibilities. A lot of what we're trying to do is to get people to assume their -- act, think new thoughts, do new things, act on traditional values.

Q I think Mark and Bruce were talking about a way to kind of repeat that -- a new government for a new century, a new responsibility for a new century, new challenges for a new century.

THE PRESIDENT: I need to think about it.

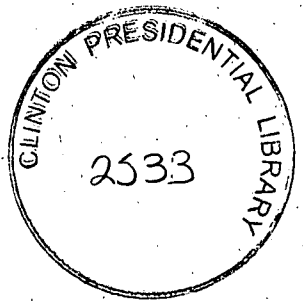
Q -- and you're right, it is --

THE PRESIDENT: Did you ever get any of those other submissions that you asked for?

Q Some.

THE PRESIDENT: Did Sheldon Hackney ever send anything?

Q No.



Q Did he say he had some stuff?

THE PRESIDENT: He was going to send me something.

Q Didn't we send him a bunch of stuff?

Q We did and there are some late ones that have come in. We can get you a packet of those. They came in in dribs and drabs.

THE PRESIDENT: Anyway, now, after -- then you talk about what our challenges are here and the problem you got here is -- I love this first sentence.

Q Where are you?

THE PRESIDENT: We must build a new kind of government for a new century where it can stand up for the values it should, helping citizens and all that.

Q -- (inaudible) --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes, it's fine. But here's -- let me just say what I think the problem with it is. Okay? You're giving some thematic direction here to the next term, but you're not mentioning all the themes even that you mentioned in the last litany. And then you go into this deal which sounds like Reagan-Bush sort of. I mean, I don't know -- I don't want it to be about government. I do want it to be about the people, but -- see, then you go, see, well it's really the people who have to do it, then you say, look what we see in the next four years -- last four years. And then you go back to the laundry list which is rather long now, although it might be a good list. And then we get to the end which says, let's kiss and make up and we don't mention Bernardin's name. Nobody will know that quote. But I got an idea about how to do it unless -- we use it before.

And then on 9 and 10 it looks like we just kind of drift off or repeat ourselves or something. And so I just -- I don't know if I can --

Q -- a couple of ideas that we've batted around about how to tighten this section up. One is that John mentioned -- the section that starts on page -- really the bottom of page 5, the top of page 6 is a description of the change that's going on and it's something that you do frequently in your speeches --

Q -- you said you wanted yesterday --

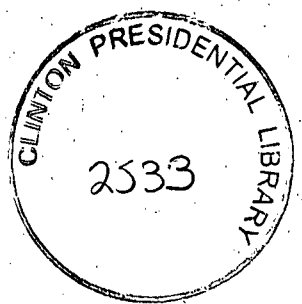
Q -- so the question is we could tighten that very dramatically and just bring it down to a sentence or two.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q The change in the way we work and live -- the change in technology --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but see we kind of alluded to this. We may not need it as much because of what we said up front, although maybe we need a little of it. I'll work on that.

Q We could put a little bit of it up front and make it clear that there's a lot going on and there's up sides and downside consequences to not getting with it right now and that that's why four years ago people were uncertain. In the four years since, you've begun to show how we can literally make change our friend. And that would clear things out -- structurally and probably would tighten that whole thing down a little bit.



THE PRESIDENT: Yes. But I still don't think we've got the right words here. From sent me his latest. He sent me a copy of what he sent us before. Galston's proposed was too wordy, but it was pretty good. Did you read what he said?

Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Then From also sent me a copy of this thing that's coming out in the book, this sort of philosophical statement. I want to give it to you. It might tighten it up a little. I still don't think we're saying it just right about --

Q About the working together part?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. What's the new way we're working together? What does it really mean? There's -- the opportunity and the responsibility and it's -- the government should give people the tools to make the most of their own lives. And it's focusing on the future. And it's community. But I just don't know, it's still not -- I still don't know what the speech is about.

Q One way to do it is to do it more with a challenge -- right here, here's how to do it, rather than saying, so therefore, let us, let our communities --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but at least we got to be sort of -- what?

Q I don't think just challenging people alone is going to do it to satisfy you.

THE PRESIDENT: I just want to get the words right. Anyway, I guess this is the best King quote we can use here.

Q Do you have the speech we can --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I've got all his speeches. I've got a book over there with all his speeches in it.

But do you like the beginning -- the way I read at the beginning? Do you like it? It kind of moves, doesn't it?

Q Yes, absolutely.

THE PRESIDENT: It's got a little pulse to it.

Q On that quote -- because I think there's something really powerful to that. What worries me about the structure is that if we don't say what this is about right up front, they won't stay with us. We have to decide what we think it's about right up front. And I think we've come closer to it there. It is about a new understanding and a new approach and a new direction --

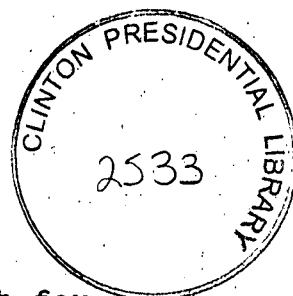
THE PRESIDENT: And what do you want it to be about?

Q -- (LONG INAUDIBLE)

THE PRESIDENT: What I thought it -- we must do our duty, there's a deal about -- you got that shrinking thing --

Q We explain our part, we don't come back and explain their part.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and I know you guys love this, "we must be there, we must be there," but I just -- I'm just telling how the elites will read this. I mean, he's going to spend four more



years -- going around, standing around saying this is great for school uniforms and this is great for this. That's the way they'll read that. The elites will read that in a negative way.

Q You know what, let's take out -- it's more what they must do. That is Michael's point about the challenges, it's what they must do. What I think you want here --

THE PRESIDENT: See, I think it's not explicit enough. I mean, I think -- my own view is that we ought to kind of litanize what we have to do maybe even in greater, with a few more specifics up here at the top of this page five. And then say, we know from the progress of the last four years that we can shrink the government without shrinking from our responsibilities. But you must not shrink from yours. *

Q (INAUDIBLE) -- a new government that will work -- only if this is a community -- only if parents --

THE PRESIDENT: I want to work on it -- I've got some ideas. I think the structure is much better. And we do our pay on to the 20th century well. And then it may be that after we do our pay on to the 20th century, maybe that's where we ought to do our pay on to the 21st century.

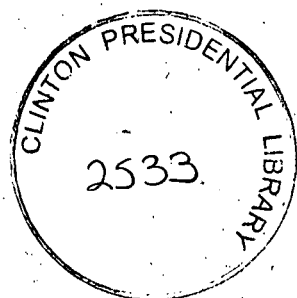
Q Right.

THE PRESIDENT: And -- it is out of those dreams -- we will build that bridge to the 21st century. And then you go back and pick up that 21st century stuff, say the revolutions and information, communications, increased mobility, falling barriers among countries give us a chance to do all these wonderful things. The things you mentioned there, maybe one or two others, maybe different -- and that is the world which we face.

Then you can say -- because our triumphant march seems kind of disconnected. Four years ago our triumphant march toward that world seemed to falter as we approached centuries' end. And then what I'd like to do here, talk a little about the changes we effected and then talk about, you know, what are the grand bargains here, what are the grand bargains? Grand bargains are, you know, new role for government, that means new opportunities for people, but only if they're more responsible. It means that we have to find ways -- that we have in this new global society of ours, we have to recognize that -- you know, something about our diversity, which is first and foremost, as it always has been in this country, a question of race; but also deals with religious differences, political differences and others. We have to learn to live together as one people in a very new and different time.

And then just sort of -- ethic of understanding in this new role -- the reason that we have to do this is that we cannot succeed on our own, we have to help, we have to work together to make the most of our own lives. That's the new bargain. Now, what does that mean? That means that we must protect the hard-won gains -- I'll give you an example, this is not in any order -- of income and health security in old age, but we also reform those systems to make sure they're there for future generations. It means we must require -- to end the culture of poverty we have to require people who can work, to go to work; but it means that we have to provide incentives for people to hire them. And you, my fellow Americans, you have got to hire those people off welfare.

And you take -- I don't know -- you do some Tweedle-Dee and Tweedle-Dum stuff, like that. And since you've already litanized up there the major challenges, if you don't get back to all of them it's okay. Does that make sense?



Q Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: This is something we're going to do together. And then you can -- then you could even go back to that -- one of the things that Benjamin Franklin said at the end of the -- convention -- what have you done. He said, "A republic, sir, if you can keep it." The founders knew that this -- the future is an achievement. It's not a gift, it's an achievement. And it always will have to be worked at.

I mentioned Jefferson in my first Inaugural, how he said that every generation or so we have to have a revolution to get things right again. I mean, none of this would surprise them. The details would surprise them, but the generic problems and the issues would not surprise them. They were very smart. They knew all this stuff was going to have to be redone over and over and over again.

Q Structurally, what you just proposed is the new government -- what you didn't put in there was kind of the new personal -- a new citizen responsibility. And then this sort of new respect. I don't know that we should use all these words, but basically, the new acceptance, the new respect of our diversity. Those are the -- right, and those things lead to our ability to sort of deal with our challenges in the way --

THE PRESIDENT: You ought to look at the way From's got it in that little philosophical segment. I'll give it to you. I think they're pretty good over there with fooling with words.

Q Do you like the way From talks about it in terms of modernizing our institutions, modernizing our country? It's sort of a bracing way of talking about it, but --

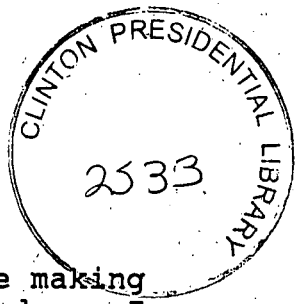
THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I mean, I do. I think it's got something to -- but there are two things here. This idea of mutual responsibility, if you're going to get opportunity you've got to be responsible. And we've got to be responsible to one another as well as for ourselves. There's the idea of community -- we have to not exclude people based on what groups they're in, if they believe in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights and they show up for work every day. And then we have to actually reform our systems -- we have to change these things to make them fit the future.

Q To fit those models. To fit exactly what you described.

THE PRESIDENT: You've got to reform the systems to fit the future. So if you have more responsibility -- so you've got the government can create the tools to where you can seize the opportunities of the age and you have more responsibility. If you have the sense of how we have to work together and the government's role in that is to get people the tools to make the most of their own lives. And then you have the sense of this larger community that everybody is a part of it. And then -- and that we have to make our way in the world, there's no artificial dividing line, domestic and foreign -- all that.

Those are the ideas. But if you -- at some point you almost have to say it just that plain seriatim so people know what the hell you're talking about. You almost have to. There needs to be some core paragraph, philosophical core paragraph that is in language plain enough for people to understand.

Q It sounds like what you want us to do is go back now and let us reorder it and do some of this.



THE PRESIDENT: Yes, work on it. Well, we're making progress, don't you think? Getting a little better every day. I mean, it's an acceptable speech now. We could make it a brilliant speech.

Q What we've just done is clear out a whole lot of the back half and shift it --

THE PRESIDENT: The back half is just words and -- you don't need it.

Q -- very quickly from the sort of the modernized systems into you and Congress working together and then not wasting our time on acrimony, and you're out of there, with the bridge that you've built.

Q For example, this stuff about race which is now at the end is one of the false endings -- it's now part of the theory in the middle where it really belongs.

Q Is there something -- we're talking about building a bridge here. We've not done enough with this metaphor. Is each one of those things a pillar to the bridge? Is a new government for a new century a pillar? Is a new sense of mutual responsibility a pillar? Is a new respect among the citizens --

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think you have to overdo the analogy. We just play with it. Think about it. But the main thing is I think movement -- the way I redid it I think it moves. You want people to feel like they're being moved.

Q You still want to try and keep it short, relatively short.

Q This is about -- right now this is about a 20 minute speech.

THE PRESIDENT: I put a lot of stuff in it, but I also took a lot of stuff out of it. But I think painting a full picture of the 20th century is pretty important -- is pretty impressive. It's a valedictory. And what are we going to do to be worthy of that, you know. This was done -- every good thing on this list was done by people of goodwill thinking about others. Basically, everything here.

But I like it. I'll work on the rest of it and try to make it -- I'll just work on it a page at a time now. But I kind of wanted to talk to you about the structure that I've --

Q I think we should go back and keep working on our draft, too.

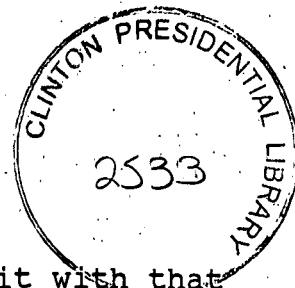
THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely.

Q And take what you've got --

THE PRESIDENT: Why don't you make a copy. I, unfortunately, did it in that blue pen, but you've got it there on tape.

Q We can bring it to you later this evening -- 10:00 p.m. or whatever.

THE PRESIDENT: What I normally do is I go home and have dinner and -- about an hour, and then I just go back to my desk and start reading stuff and come up with ideas.



Q And you don't mind if we fiddle a lit bit with that language to make it more quotable?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. No, you want -- I'd like a core paragraph which says what this whole thing is all about, that you can lift out, and then a lot of quotable sentences that will ring.

Q One other idea -- I don't know if we'll have it done for you tonight -- is I think that the way you structured the end with a lot of forward momentum, you could come back to the vision of the 21st century, but not so much talking about technology but almost the moral vision of it.

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely.

Q -- have people have more -- are able --

THE PRESIDENT: As a matter of fact, what I'd like to say -- when you talked about the hazards of the 20th century, that thing you've got there, which you may want to move up -- where you painted a pretty picture of the 20th century and then you talk about the hazards of it, and you basically have to say that if we can't recover our old values and sense of responsibility, basically, and spread that to the world, then we won't harness the potential of the age of possibility -- because science and technology can be used for harm as well as good. And this is not just about material prosperity. Misery is about -- we have to alleviate those problems but we also have to -- you want to make that point.

And then if you can figure out somewhere at the end to say what I said in that interview, that all of us here today are on a journey of life which must come to an end, but America must go on.

Q The journey of America must go on.

THE PRESIDENT: But ~~the journey of America must go on.~~ And I think the idea -- I may be wrong, but I think it's quite a powerful idea to tell people -- everybody is listening to you -- that think about this, your life is going to come to an end; instead of asking people what do you want your legacy to be, sometimes I think we give up a lot of eloquence by asking people these kinds of rhetorical questions when you can say it in a different way and it's more powerful.

So instead of saying, what do you want your legacy to be, which is one of the questions, say the journey of America must go on. I mean, I think --

Q That could be very powerful. And the question of whether, from a writer's standpoint, fit it with the bridge at the end, the building --

THE PRESIDENT: If we build the right -- if we do our duty, if we build the right bridge to the 21st century it will go on.

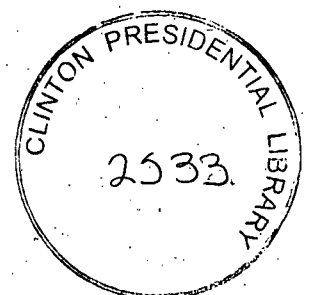
Then our people will cross over that bridge with the American Dream alive for all of her children. With the American promise of citizenship a reality for all of her people. With America's flame of freedom burning brightly throughout the world. That's what you ought to say. When we walk over that bridge we will find a new century. And if we do our duty -- blah, blah, blah -- and build that bridge, then the American people in four short years will walk over it to a new century with the American Dream alive for all of her children. With American citizenship a reality for all of her people, and with the bright flame of America's -- with America's flame of freedom burning brightly throughout the world.

Something like that. I think that's -- the way I did it at Renaissance Weekend, but what they'll find -- you've got to say what they'll find on the other side. That old Moses looking over the

Promised Land; I can't get there -- I killed that son of a bitch back in Egypt and God won't let me go now, but you're all going over there. I'm still glad I killed him, he's no damn good. (Laughter.)

END

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. note	Handwritten note re: Jerri Jensen (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
001b. fax	To Kathy from Michelle Hanneman re: meeting attendees (partial) (1 page)	06/10/96	P6/b(6)
002a. note	Handwritten note (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002b. memo	To Cathy R. Mays from Mail Link Monitor re: Appt. request (partial) (1 page)	06/11/96	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F)
002c. memo	To Cathy R. Mays from Mail Link Monitor re: Appt. request (partial) (1 page)	06/11/96	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F)
~~003. memo~~	To the President from Jack Quinn re: Equitable Tolling Update (2 pages)	06/03/96	P5 4211
004. letter	To Joel Rotenstreich from Bill Clinton (partial) (1 page)	06/04/96	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 14307

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File, June 1996

Rhonda Young

2011-0299-S

ry1116

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PRM Personal record maintained in accordance with 44 U.S.C.

2211(3).

RE Documents will be reviewed upon request.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1996

96 JUN 3 AID: 50



MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JACK QUINN

RE: EQUITABLE TOLLING UPDATE

This memorandum updates you on developments related to the Department of Treasury's proposal on the equitable tolling of statutes of limitations governing recovery of IRS refunds. When you approved the outlines of Treasury's proposal for prospective relief, you indicated that it should be expanded to cover cases currently in litigation. In consultation with Treasury and the Department of Justice, we have identified the following two approaches to achieving this objective, and we seek your guidance concerning which one to pursue.

Option 1. The first, and narrower, method would be to make equitable tolling available for claims for which the statutory period during which the IRS is authorized to make a refund has expired (as of the effective date of the legislation) -- but only if the taxpayer had already filed, albeit tardily, with the IRS for a refund and (1) the time for pursuing judicial remedies beyond the IRS had not expired or (2) the claim was actually pending before the IRS or a reviewing court. This would meet your objective of addressing pending claims. Treasury projects that this approach would cost \$521 million over five years (as compared to \$362 million for its basic, "prospective only" proposal, which would not cover all pending claims).

Treasury is concerned that this approach would reward taxpayers who have pursued claims that are patently non-meritorious under current law, while failing to benefit taxpayers who, in conformity with current law, refrained from filing what might have been time-barred but otherwise meritorious claims. (Presumably, however, non-meritorious claims will not prevail.) The Solicitor General has expressed concern about this approach on the ground that it would moot the cases now pending in the Supreme Court, thereby eliminating the possibility of the adoption of a uniform rule of law. Of course affording relief to these litigants is exactly what you seek to do. The Solicitor General's preference would be for something in the nature of a private bill enacted after the Supreme Court renders its opinion. This is, as you know, highly unlikely to happen.

Option 2. A second -- and far more generous -- way to give existing litigants the benefit of equitable tolling would be a broad rule that allows taxpayers to file for a refund

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within the three-year statute of limitations plus any disability period, even if the statutory period already has expired. For example, a taxpayer who paid his tax and filed his return on April 15, 1989 ordinarily could not seek a refund after April 15, 1992. If, however, he became incapacitated in 1991 and remained so until the effective date of the legislation, he would have the benefit of the new rule on equitable tolling under this option.

Treasury projects that this approach would lead to a revenue loss of \$1.1 billion over five years, largely because it would revive many otherwise expired claims, including potentially thousands of claims that are not currently the subject of administrative claims or litigation. (While the \$1.1 billion figure will be regarded by many as surprisingly large, Treasury defends it as the product of its usual revenue estimation techniques.)

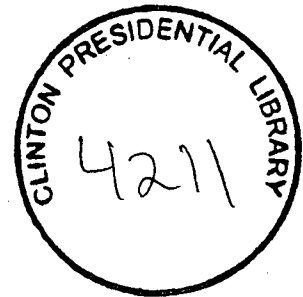
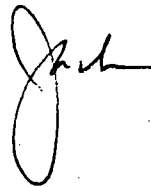
Recommendation

I recommend that you authorize Option 1.

___ Option 1

___ Option 2

___ Discuss



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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Rahm Emanuel, Ron Klain, Reed to Leon Panetta re Negotiations with Schumer on 100,000 Cops (partial) (1 page)	07/08/1994	P5
002. list	Reed phone message log, October 20, 1993 (partial) (1 page)	10/20/1993	P6/b(6)
003. memo	Rahm Emanuel, Pat Griffin et al to Mack McLarty re Crime Bill-Legislative Strategy Issues (partial) (1 page)	06/14/1994	P5
004. note	POTUS to Ron Klain (1 page)	nd	P5

4142

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (General Files)
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FOLDER TITLE:

Crime - POTUS Memos [2]

Kim Coryat
2011-0299-S
kc541

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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To Ron Klain

I think I agree w/ yr. option 3
but where is the AG on this?
AG's office should be involved
I think - if our goal is quick
action option 3 is best - 5 or 6
next but risk alienating Biden -

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