

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13805
Folder ID Number: 13805-012

Folder Title:
Federalist Society of Pennsylvania--Government Reform 4/3/92 [OA 7571] [1]

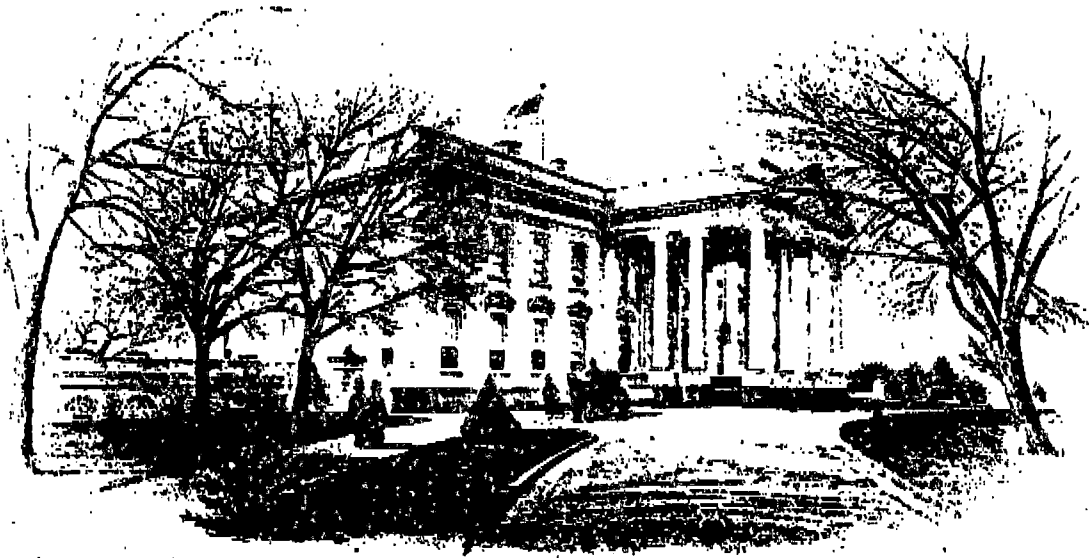
Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	22	4	2

Boren-Domenici Congressional Reform bill

One of the aspects of the bill is committee reform.

Hamilton and Gradison have the identical bill on the House side... they work as a 4-man team.

Executive Office of the President



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 11DATE 4/2TO Pls hand carry to Gimp (Carol)FAX NUMBER 6218

OFFICE NUMBER _____

COMMENTS _____

_____FROM Sharon

FAX NUMBER _____

OFFICE NUMBER _____

Executive Office of the President



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 10DATE 4/1TO Sarah - for Carol Aarhus

FAX NUMBER _____

OFFICE NUMBER _____

COMMENTS Could you please take
this down to the Gimp (Carol)
ThanksFROM SharonFAX NUMBER 2983OFFICE NUMBER 7620

STATEMENT OF PETE V. DOMENICI**JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS**

It is a pleasure to join my distinguished House and Senate colleagues today to support an examination of our Congressional structure.

This is a fairly straight-forward effort. This Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress is proposed because responsible lawmakers and citizens alike recognize there is a need to be more effective.

Our country is faced with many pressing social and economic demands that merit serious and reasoned attention. Consequently, Congress has an extraordinary responsibility for balancing citizens' expectations with its own ability to respond in an efficient and productive manner.

We are suggesting that operationally we probably should and can do better.

When I came to the Senate almost 20 years ago, I remember being astounded that the U.S. Senate did not have a systematic or formal process for reviewing the U.S. budget -- that, in fact, we could not coordinate our taxing and spending policies. This problem was addressed by "The Joint Study Committee on Budget Control," and legislation subsequently created the Congressional Budget Office and the House and Senate Budget Committees.

**TALKING POINTS
JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS**

BOREN-DOMENICI/HAMILTON-GRADISON

A. WHY REFORM CONGRESS?

- o Poll after poll indicates that the American public believes Congress is inefficient, ineffective, wasteful, and intrudes far too much into areas of individual rights and preferences.
- o Congressional staffs have grown from 2000 in 1947 to 12,000 today.
- o In the last Congress, 6,973 bills were introduced—but only 3 percent were enacted into law.
- o Bills are five times longer than they were in 1970 and to be honest, many of them are designed to micromanage every area of Government -- as well as American lives.
- o The number and size of committees has grown: In 1947 there were only 38 House and Senate committees--today there are almost 300. While there were few subcommittees in 1947, today there are 83.
- o The average Senator is a member of 12 committees and subcommittees. Under the reorganization act of 1947, however, Senators were assigned two committees instead of as many as nine committees. As we can see, we are now back where we started with far too many committee responsibilities to do efficient work.
- o There are overlapping responsibilities of committees and subcommittees -- multiple jurisdictions -- that further complicate our ability to stay informed, meet the pressing needs of the country, and pass reasoned and appropriate legislation.

order into the "system." If possible, examine Congressional support agencies (GAO, CBO, CRS, & OTA), as well as Inspectors General, to eliminate duplication and strengthen information flow.

**S.CON.RES. 57--BOREN/DOMENICI
H.CON. RES. 192--HAMILTON/GRADISON**

JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ORGANIZATION OF CONGRESS

STATUS OF BILL:

Introduced in House and Senate in July, 1991;

As of March 27, 1992, has 55 Senate cosponsors and 192 House cosponsors;

Senate held November hearings before the Rules & Administration Committee; no hearings in the House;

HIGHLIGHTS OF BILL:

Creates committee to study reform w/ 8 Members of House and 8 Members of Senate (4 Republicans and 4 Democrats in each body), appointed by Majority and Minority Leaders;

Each body to choose two advisory members to committee;

Committee will (a) make full and complete study of organization & operation of Congress, and (b) recommend improvements for strengthening effectiveness of Congress, simplifying its operations, improving relationships with other branches of the government, and improving orderly consideration of legislation;

Committee has the authority to develop the agenda it wishes to complete in one year's time;

Outside/external organizations are called upon for assistance (Brookings, Carnegie, AEI, Heritage, Council on Effectiveness in Government, National Assoc. of Public Administrators, etc. have offered their assistance and support).

Some funds may have to be appropriated for necessary operating costs, but most costs will be borne by voluntary organizations, etc.

DOMENICI OBJECTIVES:

Examine appropriations/budget/authorizations process (examine biennial versus annual process); establish more coherent science and technology structure (for long-term and short-term planning purposes while alleviating cross-jurisdictional problems); streamline committee structures and subcommittee assignments; put

**Pete V.
Domenici**
United States Senator

TELECOPIER DATA SHEET

From the Washington, D.C., office of

U.S. Senator Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M

Telephone number: 202-224-6621

DATE:

TIME:

PERSON SENDING:

Alex Flout

PERSON RECEIVING:

Carol Aarhus

ORGANIZATION: _____

RECEIVING PERSON'S TELEPHONE NUMBER: _____

RECEIVING PERSON'S TELECOPIER NUMBER: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING THIS SHEET: _____

NAME OR DESCRIPTION OF DOCUMENT: _____

Page Two

Also looking back 20 years ago, I remember being astounded by, as well as in awe of, my fellow colleagues who mastered the multitude of tasks, who understood the overlapping jurisdictions of the committees and subcommittees, and who comprehended the often erratic but apparently effective floor procedures. It did not take me too long to learn, however, that there was mounting frustration and concern.

In fact, these lawmakers were having serious problems juggling the legitimate demands of their work while trying to address simultaneously a comprehensive and often conflicting national policy agenda. As a newly-elected Senator, ranking 99th in seniority, I may have felt some solace knowing that veteran lawmakers were sharing my concerns. However, it did little to alleviate my fear that I simply could not accomplish the goals I had set for myself, let alone meet the basic expectations of the people of New Mexico.

Subsequently, the undercurrent of discontent resulted in numerous commissions and task forces to assess our procedures and overall operations. In 1976, I was asked to serve on the bipartisan Temporary Select Committee to Study the Senate Committee System. I was fortunate to serve under the able leadership of the late Senator Adlai Stevenson, III. As a result of our efforts and recommendations, the Senate passed legislation that resulted in major jurisdictional changes in the committee structure. With a few exceptions, these changes are still in effect today.

I learned a great deal from this experience. One of the most important elements was that our institutional structure could be adjusted to address the amalgamation of demands, expectations, and duties. Secondly, I learned that this is an evolving process that demands periodic review and analysis, which has happened numerous times since this legislation was passed in 1977.

Page Three

Therefore, today we are recommending that we again examine many of these important issues and provide recommendations for reforming some of our procedures and systems. While we will address numerous issues, I have two areas that I believe merit attention.

First, I have a very special interest in how this country addresses its science and technology issues and policies. In many respects, science and technology is the primary repository and indicator of our socio-economic health and growth. However, as stated well in the Carnegie Commission's report on "Science, Technology, and Government:"

"Because authority in Congress is highly decentralized, examining science and technology as a whole and coordinating the often overlapping activities of the many committees and subcommittees with science and technology-related responsibilities are often difficult....This decentralization of responsibility makes the exchange of scientific and technical information among committees and subcommittees in both houses of Congress a particular challenge. It also presents challenges to those in the scientific community who desire to stay informed of congressional S&T-related activities and to those who may wish to provide information to legislators and their staff."

It is my hope that we can begin to take a serious and reasoned look at this issue. Considerable examination of this problem has already been accomplished by the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology, and Government, and I am hopeful we will be able to draw upon their expertise and counsel in this process.

Page Four

My second area of interest is that we examine how Congress utilizes its specific support agencies: the Congressional Budget Office, the General Account Office, the Office of Technology Assessment, and the Congressional Research Service.

Over the years we have come to recognize that we must have technical and analytical support to help us in our decision-making. Over the years, these support agencies have been responsive and in many ways have contributed significantly to a sounder national agenda. At the same time, how we in Congress use these services and how well these entities can respond to our increasing demands and needs should be analyzed. To be frank, there appears to be a duplication of services and overlapping responsibilities among these organizations.

A multitude of options for data and technical assistance is often seen as advantageous. However, this is not always the case. The issue of quality control, adequate review and analysis of the findings, and the overall general efficiency of the organizations in relation to their work for Congress should be reviewed. With dwindling resources, and concomitant increases in our and their workloads, it makes only good sense to examine how we can streamline and improve our partnerships.

Mr. President, this commission is most fortunate to be able to draw upon previous efforts of other congressional groups' analyses and recommendations. The Committee on Rules and Administration is to be commended for its fine 1988 "Report on Senate Operations," and I believe we will be able to use these recommendations as a baseline for our own deliberations.

Page Five

Given what we elected officials want and need to do to address the multiple and complex issues of this country, as well as fulfill what I believe the American public expects of us, I have gladly joined this effort to assess our Congressional operations. Hopefully, in the short time-frame we have to do this examination, particularly in light of the complexities involved, we can provide some thoughtful and workable recommendations.

Moreover, we are in a very favorable position to assess the important relationships between both houses of Congress. We have mutual objectives in common: we all believe we owe it to the American public to be as responsive and effective as possible. This commission will do its best. I hope our efforts will result in valuable and concrete proposals for a system that once again merits some change. Thank you.

To Carol

Date 4/2 Time 1:25

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Tom Bruce OMB

of or Bamy Anderson 4630

Phone if u have questions

Area Code

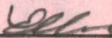
Number

Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message 1993-1997 5 yrs


Operator



AMPAD
EFFICIENCY®

23-021

CARBONLESS

LB3062

D76

WH

ILLIBERAL EDUCATION

The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus

Dinesh D'Souza



THE FREE PRESS
A Division of Macmillan, Inc.
NEW YORK

Collier Macmillan Canada
TORONTO

Maxwell Macmillan International
NEW YORK OXFORD SINGAPORE SYDNEY

pressures. It makes a mockery of scholarship to say: my nonsense is as good as your science." But even university officials who agree with Lewis say they aren't sure what they can do to counter these distortions, since the ideological forces behind them are so strong.

Although curricular and extracurricular concessions by the university greatly increase the power of minority activists, it is not clear that they help minority students use knowledge and truth as weapons against ignorance and prejudice, nor that they assuage the problems of low morale and low self-esteem which propelled them in this direction to begin with. Nor does an apparently more even "balance of power" between minority and nonminority students produce greater ethnic harmony. In fact, like Michigan activists Kimberly Smith and Tracye Matthews, many minority students find themselves increasingly embittered and estranged during their college years, so that by the time they graduate they may be virtually isolated in a separatist culture, and espouse openly hostile sentiments against other groups.

At graduation time, it turns out that only a fraction of the minority students enrolled four years earlier are still around, and even among them the academic record is mixed: a good number (most are probably not affirmative action beneficiaries) have performed well, but a majority conspicuously lag behind their colleagues, and a sizable group has only finished by concentrating in congenial fields such as Afro-American or Ethnic Studies, under the direction of tolerant faculty advisers. Relatively few of these students have developed to their full potential over the past four years, or have emerged ready to assume positions of responsibility and leadership in the new multiracial society.

PRINCIPLES OF REFORM

No community can be built on the basis of preferential treatment and double standards, and their existence belies university rhetoric about equality. Conflicting standards of excellence and justice are the root of the bitter and divisive controversies over admissions, curricular content, and race relations on campus. In each case, the university administration is directly responsible for betraying student idealism and replacing it with cynicism and resentment. To remedy the problem, it is necessary to return to fundamental principles; as G. K. Chesterton said, we cannot discuss reform without reference to form.

First, liberal education is education for rulers. In ancient times, princes, aristocrats, and gentry sought liberal education to prepare

July, 1990

Ag Committee

Call ~~Walt~~ Kay Davies
re: Domenici-Boren
✓ language in speech.

(Clayton's etc. x2216)
For Ag Sec / 14 hearings sxn
get date & reason for hearings.
(type of)

Call Pinkerton re:
Chesterton quote

Call
Thomas Bruce
@ OMBPA x3080
re: \$390 billion figure
in how many years?
(Dz will put in "in one year")

Call OLA

✓ Michel's Cong. reform
pkg. → should we
mention it? If so,
how?

Will Congressional
Accountability Act go
up tomorrow? or next
week?

✓ Call Lee Liberman
OLA

E210
.B6
1974
WHRC

—: Encyclopedia
of the

AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by

Mark Mayo Boatner III



Bicentennial Edition



David McKay Company, Inc.
New York

Y
ADDITIONS
REVOLUTION

and Maj. Alexander Ross represented Cornwallis; Noailles and Laurens represented the allies. Washington had stated that "The same Honors will be granted to the Surrendering Army as were granted to the Garrison of Charles Town," but British appeals and objections resulted in a prolonged and heated session at the Moore House. Washington's representatives could show him only a rough draft by midnight, but the morning of the 20th he had written his comments on the draft, had the surrender document transcribed, and sent it to Cornwallis to be signed by 11 A.M. Cornwallis was also informed that Washington expected the garrison to march out at 2 o'clock to surrender. Between 11 and noon the document was back with the signature of Cornwallis and of Capt. Thos. Symonds, senior naval officer present. Washington, Rochambeau, and Barras signed for the allies.

Except for the article based on British precedent at Charleston, that "The troops shall march out, with colors cased, and drums beating a British or a German march," the surrender terms were honorable. Cornwallis and his principal officers could return to Europe on parole or go to an American port in British hands. The sloop *Bonetta* was put at the temporary disposal of Cornwallis "to receive an Aid de Camp to carry dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton; and such soldiers as he may think proper to send to New York..." This last provision was a device for getting rid of American deserters whom Washington could not grant P.O.W. status and with whose disciplining he did not wish to be burdened; troop capacity of the *Bonetta* was 250, and most of those who reached N.Y. on 2 Nov. aboard her were deserters. Surrender terms permitted officers to retain their side arms and all personnel to keep their personal effects. Infantry of the Gloucester garri-

son would ground their arms there, but the cavalry (Simcoe's and Tarleton's) would proceed to the surrender field outside Yorktown with their swords drawn and their trumpets sounding. Surrendered troops would subsequently be marched to camps in Va., Md., and Pa.

At noon two detachments of 100 men each—one French, one American—occupied two British redoubts S.E. of Yorktown. The rest of the victorious army formed on both sides of the Hampton road along which the vanquished would march to the surrender field, about a mile and a half south of Yorktown. At 2 P.M. the King's troops came slowly down the road, allegedly to the tune of "THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN."

The man most intimately responsible for their predicament was not, however, at their head. Earl Cornwallis was "sick," so Gen. O'Hara of the Guards acted as his deputy. An interesting scene of military etiquette resulted when O'Hara asked his French escort to point out Rochambeau and the Guardsman then raced ahead to present himself to this officer. With a devastating *savoir faire* Rochambeau pointed across the road to Washington. The ruddy Irishman bowed and turned about to face Washington, with an apology for his "mistake." "Washington showed neither irritation nor disappointment [at the failure of Cornwallis to appear]," says Freeman, "but, of course, if the British commander acted through a deputy, would General O'Hara be so good as to consult General Lincoln, who was directly at hand?" (*Op. cit.*, 389-90).

A few comments must be made on the above version of this dramatic scene. That O'Hara deliberately sought out Rochambeau is supported by Bonsal, who cites the *Memoirs* of Gen. (then Col.) Mathieu Dumas, the officer sent to escort O'Hara. (*Op. cit.*, 165) The

same author (Bonsal) gives many additional instances of British insolence toward the Americans and an attempt to pretend that it was the French who had beaten them at Yorktown. Second, there is much pother about a sword that O'Hara was supposed to be trying to give away—Cornwallis' sword. Dumas and Rochambeau both wrote in their memoirs that O'Hara offered his sword to Rochambeau. Bonsal repeats that Washington refused to accept the sword "from such a worthy hand," and Johnston says Lincoln accepted and returned it. Freeman comments that "no American witness mentioned the tender of the sword [to Rochambeau, or, presumably, to anybody else], which the British officer was entitled to keep under the explicit terms of the capitulation." (*Op. cit.*, 389 n.) Another myth that must go is that Lincoln received the surrender in compensation for his surrender at Charleston; "Lincoln was to his chief what O'Hara was to Cornwallis," points out Freeman. "Had Cornwallis sent a Colonel to act for him, Washington would have assigned a Colonel to deal with him." (*Ibid.*, 390 n.)

In a field ringed by French hussars the British and German regiments arrived one by one to present arms, ground weapons, accoutrements, and cased colors, and return to Yorktown. Observers commented on the flawless marching of the Germans and the sloppy performance of British troops and their music. Although many British soldiers had on new uniforms made available for the occasion from reserve stocks, many were drunk, and all were carrying stuffed knapsacks on the assumption that they might not return to their camp. Some of the prisoners threw their muskets onto the surrender heaps in an effort to damage them. People of the neighborhood were allowed to witness

Ren

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 20, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
AND POLITICAL LEADERS

The East Room

4:04 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome to the White House. Fifty-two days ago in my State of the Union address, I asked Congress to act on my agenda for economic growth. And I asked for immediate action by March 20th on a series of proposals to help rekindle the economic recovery. And I asked the Democratic leadership to put partisanship aside, pledging to do the same, in order to enact seven sensible steps to increase investment, strengthen the value of American homes, and create jobs.

Well, March 20th has arrived, and no recovery bill of any kind has come to the White House as of now.

This morning, the congressional conferees finished work on a tax bill. It would increase taxes and harm the economy. And so today I am doing three things. First, I have just signed the veto message to stop the Democrats' tax increase. (Applause.) And second, I am taking several additional steps on my own to help the recovery with or without action by Congress. And, third, while the Democratic leadership in Congress is in disarray, I am proposing action on the real challenges facing America on my long-term plans to help America compete in the global economy of the future.

Now is the time for real significant change. And I am disappointed in Congress. In fairness, some Democrats did not want to put a tax increase in the bill. And I salute them for courageously standing up against more taxes. But politics prevailed. A slim majority passed the bill in the face of a certain veto. But they aren't blocking my economic recovery plan because they're afraid it won't work; they're blocking it because they're afraid it will work. (Applause.)

I do not take this step lightly. No President has vetoed a major tax bill since Harry Truman did it in 1948. But I submitted an economic growth plan to Congress for a reason: to promote a recovery in which every American has an interest. The package I proposed was carefully tailored. It was paid for without raising taxes. It was designed to encourage and strengthen the positive economic signs we're beginning to see: home sales and housing starts up as interest rates stay down; retail sales improving; 164,000 new jobs last month alone.

In response, the Democratic Congress has returned to form. It's produced a bill that will not strengthen the economy; it will weaken it. It's produced a bill that will not stimulate growth; it will stifle it. As if by reflex, the Democrats in Congress could not resist their natural impulse to raise taxes. But I assure you of this, I simply will not let them do it. (Applause.)

So moments ago I signed the veto message for the Democrats' tax increase, because raising taxes will not help create

MORE

- 2 -

jobs. And the bill is not yet here, but the conference report tells me all I need to know. And when the bill is sent down tonight, this signed message will be waiting for it and my veto will go back to the Hill the minute the bill arrives. And needless to say, I will not send it back via the House post office. (Laughter and applause.)

The message is clear: My veto and a block of votes ready to sustain it stands ready to stop any tax increase on the American people.

With that clear, I ask the Democratic leadership to put aside once and for all the idea of a tax increase. And I ask the Congress again, pass the seven common-sense measures that I have proposed to help the economy now. Do so without raising taxes and I'll sign it. And then let's get on to the long-term agenda. But stop holding the American economy hostage in a partisan game. (Applause.)

Passing a tax increase is bad enough, but here's what really troubles me: the irresponsibility of Congress on this plan. It's a part of a pattern. It reflects a more serious problem, a deeper, systemic problem that is gnawing at the strength of our nation. It is no wonder that Americans are angry.

Today, looking at the accumulated evidence of several years, it must be said our congressional system is broken. We have a long tradition in this country of pulling together when national need demands that we do so. And over the years, many accomplishments, large and small, have been truly bipartisan.

But Congress today is different. It's more partisan. Its campaigns are financed by special interests. It's grown out of control. It's lost the ability to police itself. And perhaps most importantly, it is no longer accountable to individual American citizens and voters. And this must change.

One party has controlled the House of Representatives for almost four decades. Staff has become institutionalized. In 1950 there were about 2,000 personal staff in Congress. And today, there are almost 12,000 staff for members of Congress themselves, and almost 40,000, if you include the entire Legislative Branch. The number of committees and subcommittees has quadrupled.

And for this, we get a Congress incapable of passing the simple plan that I presented almost two months ago -- a Congress controlled by the Democratic caucus which cannot manage a tiny bank or a tiny post office. (Applause.)

In the 1990 elections, special interest political action committees -- PACs -- gave almost \$117 million to incumbent congressmen and senators. Only about \$15 million were donated to challengers. With this eight-to-one spending advantage, obvious voter discontent was buried in a wave of PAC-financed television advertising. And so nearly every incumbent won.

The time has come for change, because when the system is broken you do have to fix it. And I have proposed to eliminate the PACs which are poisoning our system. And the time has come to eliminate these political action committees in their entirety.

And I propose also to increase accountability. I'm ordering several steps to implement promptly the Supreme Court's Beck decision. (Applause.) No worker should be forced to have money taken out of his or her paycheck to fund politicians that he or she disagrees with. We should apply to Congress the same laws from employment practices, to civil rights, to the Freedom of Information Act, which it imposes on everyone else. (Applause.)

MORE

- 3 -

And I believe the time has come to limit the terms of congressmen. (Applause.) The terms of presidents are limited. It's time for the terms of congressmen to be limited.

The bottom line is that we all need a new Congress, one that can and will work with me for constructive change. And in the meantime, I will take additional actions on my own with every legal means at my disposal to keep the economy moving up. And I will do so in spite of the hopelessly tangled congressional web of PACs, perks, privileges partnership and paralysis. (Laughter.)

There is, of course, a serious limit on what a president can do without Congress. But I am determined to do all I can to effect change. And first, I want to underline a fundamental point: Government is too big and it spends too much. (Applause.)

I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal employment next year. (Applause.) And I've also proposed to curb the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. Mandatory spending -- spending on programs that need no annual congressional action to keep growing -- consumes almost two-thirds of the entire federal budget. Over the next decade, this spending, if left unchecked, will grow by \$2 trillion more than is needed for inflation and new beneficiaries.

Currently, most of these programs grow automatically without congressional review or even a chance for a presidential veto.

My proposal, which is before Congress now, would permit these programs to grow for inflation and new beneficiaries and, where necessary, some amount above that. But we need some ceiling to keep their growth within reasonable bounds. Uncontrollable spending is a major cause of the federal deficit that I'm working to contain and it must be addressed. (Applause.)

Today I am sending to Capitol Hill the first of a series of additional measures to cut federal spending now, this year. I have also directed all agency heads to look for further areas where spending cuts can be made now. The line item rescissions, identified so far in total, will cancel out about \$4 billion in unnecessary spending -- funds for local parking garages, \$100,000 for asparagus yield declines, mink research, prickly pear research. The examples would be funny if the effect weren't so serious. And this kind of wasteful spending destroys public confidence in the integrity of the government. And Americans have every right to be outraged and disgusted. It's their money.

And I will work with the Republicans in the House to bring these items to a vote individually. Forcing the Democratic leadership to allow line-by-line votes on items of pork will bring us a step closer to the accountability and the power that 43 governors have, the line-item veto. (Applause.)

Some argue that the President already has that authority, the line-item veto authority, but our able Attorney General in whom I have full confidence and my trusted White House Counsel backed up by legal opinions from most of the legal scholars, feel that I do not have that line-item veto authority. And this opinion was shared by the Attorney General in the previous administration.

And I ask the American people then to demand that a president be given line-item veto authority legislatively or, if necessary, by changing the Constitution. The line-item veto is essential, and I need it now. (Applause.)

MORE

- 4 -

And secondly, I've directed the Vice President to step up the assault on unnecessary regulation and paperwork. Let me give you a progress report that he gave to me -- and he's doing a superb job on this. Though some in Congress oppose regulatory relief, I've already taken specific steps to remove the regulatory roadblocks to growth. We've implemented plans to promote biotechnology, to lower construction costs, help small business, ease the credit crunch, help clean up the air, reduce costs in transportation, and cut through the morass of regulation and agriculture.

And today, we're launching a new public-private partnership to promote research and development by bringing the good ideas from our federal labs into the marketplace. Over the coming months, we will be announcing many more such steps to chop away at needless regulation and paperwork wherever we can. Too much regulation smothers innovation, eliminates jobs, and makes America less competitive.

I realize that these are only modest steps, but they reflect a fundamental attitude. And if the Democratic leadership that runs the status quo Congress will not help us change America, we have to change it without them. And if the Democratic leadership that runs the status quo Congress will not help us reform government, we must reform it without them.

You see, change is nothing to fear. For more than two centuries, America has been a force for change. Our restlessness is legendary. Our energy is boundless. Because of this, today America, even given our economic problems, is the most productive nation on the face of the Earth, with the highest standard of living. And we have only one-twentieth of the world's population. But we produce one-fourth of the world's output. Twice that of Japan; four times that of Germany.

Today America's credibility and prestige in the world, not to mention our strength, have never been greater. But we didn't get where we are by standing still. We got where we are by always striving to do better. And that's why the current paralysis of the Congress, controlled over and over again by that liberal Democratic majority, is so troubling.

It's caused too many Americans, at the exact moment of triumph for American values around the world, to lose confidence. Americans are understandably worried about their future -- not only about the economy right now; all of that is a key problem -- but about the economic competition of the future; about the central question that lies at the heart of the American Dream: Will our children have a better life than we do?

Make no mistake: We will compete and win in the global economy. In the last 10 years we've become more productive. Our exports have more than doubled. Manufacturing productivity has increased. And we are capturing new markets around the world from Europe to Africa to Latin America.

But in order to keep succeeding in this global economic competition we've got to change America in five key ways. We need a strategy that is confident, forward-looking, future-oriented, and we need to be willing to change.

First, we must expand markets for American products. So I will continue to pursue a GATT agreement to open markets further. I will push for a North American Free Trade Agreement to unlock the potential of markets in Mexico and Canada. And I will work for bilateral agreements to knock down barriers to American exports.

To win these markets we must guarantee that America will lead the world in knowledge, in new ideas, in making products of the

MORE

- 5 -

highest quality. And that requires specific investments today. I've proposed to invest more in basic R&D -- research and development -- and in key technologies like high-performance computing, new and advanced materials in biotechnology.

Congress should approve these investments. And not only the government must invest more in the future. To maintain our edge by increasing private sector investment, Congress should pass the capital gains tax cut and make the R&D tax credit permanent. (Applause.)

And second, we must prepare our work force to compete, through better education, better training. And I've proposed a set of dramatic reforms in education called America 2000, and a new approach to job training -- Job Training 2000. The idea of America 2000 is simple: to revolutionize American education. And that means creating new kinds of schools with new technology and new ways of learning. It means measuring progress and holding schools accountable for their performance. And it means giving all families, including low- and middle-income families, choice in picking their children's schools. (Applause.)

We've put the resources behind our efforts. Although budget dollars are very tough, education is so important to me that I've increased funding -- funding for education -- by 42 percent just since 1989, and gave it the biggest increase this year. I put in place a new program to help train teachers in math and science, and increased funding for math and science education by over 69 percent.

But more money alone won't do it. We need reform.

And thirdly, we must reform health care. America has provided the best quality health care in the entire world. But we are plagued by two problems: Too many Americans are not covered by health insurance, and health care costs too much. And I have proposed a comprehensive plan to make health care more affordable, more available, more sensible. It guarantees access for affordable health care, affordable health insurance for all Americans. Congress should pass it, and that will help our competitiveness all around the world.

Fourth, we've got to fix our legal system. America is drowning in a sea of litigation. Too many lawsuits means higher prices for consumers and reduced competitiveness for all America. It is estimated that fear of medical practice alone generates up to about \$20 billion per year in increased health costs. This must change. In some cases we should require the loser to pay the winner's legal fees, and that would stop some of these frivolous lawsuits. (Applause.)

You know the problem. When parents won't coach little league teams, when obstetricians won't deliver babies, and when community pools are closed in the summertime, all because the fear of liability, we know that something is wrong. And now is the time for Congress to pass my legislation to fix it.

And fifth, we must tackle each of these challenges without higher taxes or more government spending. (Applause.) America doesn't need bigger government it needs better government. (Applause.) On every one of these issues the Democrats in Congress are standing in the way of reform. They've cut my budgets for R&D and investing in the future and then voted instead for pork.

They've stripped choice and accountability out of the education bill. They are working on a government takeover as a solution to our health care program, to be financed by a massive tax increase. And the special interests have made them afraid of legal reform. Well, it is time for Congress to either lead, to follow, or simply get out of the way. (Applause.)

- 6 -

On every one of these challenges there are two very different ways of looking at the world, one is reformist and the other protects the status quo. And that difference is driven by values.

The special interests and the foot-draggers do not believe in the kind of change that we seek. Change which respects markets more than government dictates; which recognizes fundamental American values and the difference between right and wrong; which rewards excellence and punishes wrong-doing. They do not believe that actions should have consequences.

Well, one set of actions should have consequences. The failure of Congress to move on our program of change means only one thing: it is time for a new Congress. Give others a chance to control the United States Congress. (Applause.)

You give me the right lawmakers and I'll give you the right laws. (Laughter.)

Over the coming weeks I'll be speaking more about these changes and I'll be laying out further specific plans that I have for each. And I ask the American people to compare those plans to the response of the Democratic-led status quo Congress and the do-nothing caucus that has dominated that Democratic Party for too long.

Patrick Henry said, "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past." Well, Patrick Henry was right. Imagine the irony. As the world is beating a path to freedom's door, if we, ourselves, were to turn back now. If we carry the change forward we can have a nation of productive workers and competitive companies, of healthy and secure communities, of schools that are the best in the entire world. And America can remain a nation whose exuberant confidence and commitment to freedom are admired worldwide.

I am ready to build such an America. And because if we can change the world, we can change America.

Thank you all. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

END

4:34 P.M. ES

Draft

WW clearance
1:00 pm

Talking Points -- Governmental Reform

- Many American institutions have recognized the need for fundamental reform over the last decade.
 - The Federal government, with the exception of the military, has been a "glaring hold-out."
 - As a \$1.5 trillion enterprise, government must become more accountable to the taxpayer, who is "original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one."
- The President reaffirmed his support for six fundamental reforms to move away from the "failed status quo ... and make government more responsive:"
 - require Congress to govern itself by the laws it imposes on others (minimum wage laws, employment discrimination protections, Hatch Act restrictions, ethics rules, privacy protections, etc.);
 - reform the Congressional committee system;
 - reform campaign finance laws to reduce the influence of special interests, require full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures, and increase the role of political parties in elections;
 - reduce Federal spending and reform the budget process through a balanced budget Constitutional amendment, maintenance of the 1990 Budget Act spending caps and other fiscal reforms;
 - eliminate unnecessary and burdensome government regulations; and
 - limit Congressional terms to two terms for U.S. Senators and six terms for U.S. Representatives.
- The President has been seeking enactment of many of these measures, such as consistent application of the laws, campaign finance reforms, a balanced budget Constitutional amendment, the line-item veto and biennial budgeting since he first took office in 1989.
- The President called on Congress to complete work on the Administration's key legislative initiatives, including his economic growth plan, comprehensive crime bill, education reform and civil justice reform, and adjourn by Memorial Day.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 3, 1992

10:40 am

Thank you for that kind introduction. [ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]

Today, I would rather be in Philadelphia. Old Congress Hall is home to great ideas and great debate. In this very room, pivotal and profound discussions occurred -- setting in motion a grand experiment in man's ability to chart his own future.

The vision of the Founding Fathers may still be hard for us to fully comprehend. But if you really think about it, their goals were not much different than ours. They wanted their new country to prosper -- and they knew intuitively that the road to prosperity was freedom. They believed in the fundamentals -- in the inherent strength of faith and family -- and they were determined to preserve them. They wanted the citizens of our young nation to live in peace -- safe and secure from threats at home and abroad. It took a revolution to achieve their vision - - and it is our duty to preserve it.

They say when British General Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown in 1781, his troops marched to the tune, "The World Turned Upside Down." It was a profoundly simple recognition that an old world order was ending and a new one beginning.

Now, more than two hundred years later, we are again in the midst of great change. Democracy and freedom once again have

turned the world upside down. America once again championed a great worldwide movement. We stood firm for our principles through some very difficult times. We did indeed change the world. Now, as you have heard me say, if we could change the world, we can change America.

Henry Luce called the 20th century the American Century. In a world more driven by economic competition than ever before, we must now meet five great challenges to ensure that the next century is also the American Century.

First, our children must develop good character and values so they can be educated adults -- literate and drug-free -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must dramatically change our education system -- literally revolutionize it. Our America 2000 education initiative means top-to-bottom educational reform. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their physical health. My health care proposal guarantees access to the finest health care system in the world, and keeps that care affordable for all our citizens.

Next, our civil justice system must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice for all. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us -- costing us billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility and our economy. If Congress passes my Access to Justice Act, this too can change.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That's why we have an aggressive pro-growth trade policy. It demands

more open foreign markets for quality American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

Finally, if we are to change America we must change the way government works. That is what I will address today. G.K. Chesterton said, "we cannot discuss reform without reference to form". This has been amply demonstrated in just the last decade as one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to take a hard look within itself, make needed improvements, and act to make the institution live up to its principles. That is the process called reform.

To ensure their competitive edge, businesses launch reforms geared to quality. Then, by measuring performance, they improve performance. Often it's not flashy -- the return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", or "service with a smile." Competition works -- the proof? Today American products are quantifiably better than just a few years ago.

Reform has improved performance in our military. In the face of tighter budgets, we've cut the fat, gotten leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it. The drive for excellence has influenced almost every other institution, from state and local government to trade associations and unions.

Yet, the federal government is a glaring hold-out. It resists reform and protects a failed status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous need for change. This is not about barber shops or gymnasium privileges or parking spaces. It is not about perks. It is about the governmental process, and its potential

to help or hinder the public good. It is about big things -- major changes to make government more responsive. It is about the changes that are sweeping the rest of the country but are not being made in Washington.

The most recent proof that we have a major problem was the inability of Congress to rise to the challenge of helping our economy. Instead it reverted to form -- trying to raise taxes and increase government spending. If it cannot address a straightforward short-term proposal to stimulate the economy, how can it possibly deal with the more complex issues like the badly needed reforms of our education, health care and legal systems?

On the five challenges I proposed earlier? If we are to reform education, health care, our legal system -- if we are to reduce red tape and regulation, make our country competitive, get this horrendous deficit down, we must reform the Congressional process itself, and make it responsive to our country's real needs.

✓ The growth of big government has diminished the role of Congress from policy-making to program-making. Promulgating and protecting more programs sets in motion a perpetual cycle of congressional support for more unnecessary spending -- creating bigger and even less responsive bureaucracies. Then, by servicing the needs of program recipients, Congressional staffs help to ensure members' re-election and *continue doing* ~~a continuation of~~ business as usual. Beyond that, Congress routinely exempts itself from the laws it imposes on the rest of the nation -- laws like the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or the Privacy Act.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about these dangers. Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have its full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of the society." It also endorses term limits to ensure "proper responsibility to the people." Federalist Paper #52 argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. James Madison would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected -- that one party, the Democrats, has controlled the House 56 out of the last 60 years. That means self-perpetuating staffs and a bureaucracy beholden to one set of leaders. The bank and post office scandals are the result of one-party control -- one party's lack of supervision, lack of new blood, and lack of change.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but by no means all of it. We have had divided government before, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have worked together in good faith to meet those challenges.

The larger issue is the systemic problem of Congress -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees and Subcommittees, the almost 40,000 legislative branch employees and staff, \$2.5 billion of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a \$117 million re-election war chest for incumbents in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

None of this promotes reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Conscientious members of

Congress understand this. That's why House Republican Leader Bob Michel just this week introduced comprehensive Congressional reform legislation. It's got some great ideas for improving the Congress and its procedures. There are ^{many} good people in Congress - ^{on both sides of the aisle} - I think of your own Senator Arlen Specter ~~here with me today.~~ Arlen enthusiastically supports changing our Congressional system because he believes in changing the status quo. Then talk to retiring members, many of them dedicated people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the same frustration. When asked about the prospect of endless budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system, "the fact is that we are unable, institutionally, to do what has to be done. We are literally not watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns; we are watching the entire orchestra."

Senator Rudman knows the biggest threat to future job creation is deficit spending, and the current Congressional structure is not capable of addressing that threat. He knows that Americans are generous -- people willing to do what is necessary to make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about Congress. They just don't trust it to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely.

Today government is a \$1.5 trillion enterprise. But people in Washington frequently forget that the taxpayer is the original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one. When folks in government forget that, they

issue nettlesome regulations. Those regulations increase the cost of doing business, but worse, they don't really solve the problems they were designed to solve. That's why we're trying to change the regulatory process.

When government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it becomes insulated and unresponsive. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. Talk to the hardworking people in career government service -- many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated too. The system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. Congress creates these giant centralized bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, ~~harasses them~~, investigates them, micro-manages them, and ultimately perpetuates them. Programs that have outlived their function rarely outlive their funding. With a Congressional Subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

Some 107 different Congressional committees and subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four compete for jurisdiction over the War on Drugs. Just this week, after being reported from one committee in the House, our energy bill to make us more energy-efficient and energy-independent was referred to no less

than eight additional House committees. It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

When the Secretary of Agriculture and his top staff have to testify in fourteen hearings in one day, think of the time and resources that takes. Think of the thousands of hours spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill the thousands of Congressional demands for testimony, and government reports.

Democratic Senator David Boren summed it up by saying, "no one doubts that Congress is in trouble as an institution." That's why I support his efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which now paralyzes the Congress.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance, and we must. What merely hampered us in the past, will paralyze us in the future. Our ability to compete demands we make these reforms, not just of Congress but of the federal bureaucracy as well. It means emphasizing the building blocks of a more responsive government by relying on what works: choice, competition, decentralization. But let me be clear, we cannot reform the executive branch without first reforming the Congress.

✓ Taken together, the following actions will help make government work for the people.

First, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. No more special treatment. Like age, race, sex and disability discrimination laws. Congress should also submit to

the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like conflict of interest laws or the Independent Counsel Law or the Hatch Act. I will propose legislation to end such special treatment for Congress next week. Further, I will veto any future legislation that extends such special treatment to the Congress.

Second, Congress should reform its operations and procedures. I support the Boren-Domenici reform bill in the Senate and the Hamilton-Gradison bill in the House which sets up a bipartisan group to evaluate Congressional operations and make recommendations. It is a good beginning, but real reform like that contained in the Michel bill is essential. Change is still on the back burner. The American people must turn up the heat.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Full disclosure of assets, liabilities, and compensation is a key element of reform. I am not required to disclose my income tax returns but for twelve years I have done just that -- I believe it is the proper thing to do. So I have called on Congress to pass tough new full disclosure laws regarding campaign financing. Beyond that, we must totally eliminate special-interest Political Action Committees and put limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed ways to increase the legitimate role of our political parties, reduce the influence of special interests, and decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising. And let me say it straight~~out~~; federal funding of Congressional elections would only worsen the problem. Campaign finance reform

is stalled on Capitol Hill, but the time for action is long past
-- we must clean up our election system.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending and federal non-defense employment next year. I have proposed two-year budgets, and *we should* reducing the number of budget process committees from three to one. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. This proposal alone would save \$390 billion from 1993 to 1997. *(over the next 5 years.)*

The American people should demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. They should demand a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment to phase in more spending discipline on the Congress and the Executive Branch. In the absence of those important measures I will continue to use whatever means are legally at my disposal, including the line-item recission, to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. And I will oppose any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- the budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act.

Fifth, regulatory reform. We put a ninety-day moratorium on new government regulations. We are revising and eliminating regulations that impede our ability to compete, and we are accelerating regulations that enhance our competitive edge. Since I announced the moratorium on January 28th, the growth of burdensome regulations has already been reversed. As our review

→ Call Betsy Anderson
@ x2774 to confirm
source...

Bud
Appro
Auth

continues we will announce further steps to reduce the burden of unnecessary regulations.

Sixth, we must limit Congressional terms.

We must address the Congress of the future. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election, particularly in the House of Representatives, through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. Our Founding Fathers never considered elected government service to be a career. I believe Senators should be limited to two terms, and Representatives, limited to six terms. As President my terms are limited, the same rule should apply to members of Congress. Our first concern should be the country, not a lifetime political career.

This brings me to my final point. Certainly, governing today is complex and time-consuming. But not so many years ago, representing the people back home was a part-time Washington job. Somehow Members managed to finish their work and adjourn just before the hot, humid Washington, D.C. summers. Air conditioning changed all this, and now, thanks to modern technology, Congress sits year-round.

Members of the House and Senate are now permanent Washingtonians, but tourists in their own home states. We do not need a career Congress -- we need a citizen Congress. To borrow a line from former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker "they ought to be living in America and visiting Washington." He was right. He knew that the overwhelming majority of state legislatures are able to do their work each year in session [?](s)

a?

lasting less than six months -- some as short as three months every two years. With a streamlined committee structure, a leaner staff, Members' time organized around legislation rather than re-election, and better discipline on how they spend the people's money, Congress could return to what the founders envisioned as a government truly close to the people. I suggest that in the future, Congress make a firm commitment to finish the people's business by Memorial Day, so members can return home and truly stay in touch with the people.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. As in the first days of our new nation, we must change an unresponsive government. The reforms I've outlined today can help renew our faith in government -- we cannot stop with Congressional process -- we must reform the federal bureaucracy as well. I will have more to say on that in the near future. But today our mission is to begin restoring the principles of our Founders, and guaranteeing for our children a new American Century.

The choice is clear. On one side stand the defenders of the status quo. On the other: the forces of change. We must make the choice worthy of the men who met here -- and began the world's only permanent revolution. Now that we've changed the world, we must make the choice to change America.

Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America.

#

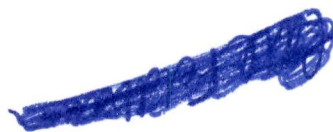
1) Staff cuts
2) enhanced recess auth
3) ?

You don't elect
them for life.
Our leaders are
not

Scholar
Federalist Society

Congress
Speaker

limited terms
not term



From Gene Schaerr
(Counsel's)

Speech insert (replacement sentence)

Since I announced the moratorium on January 28th, we have taken numerous, concrete steps that will ultimately reduce the prices American consumers and businesses pay for energy and transportation; increase the amount of credit available for new homes and business expansions; cut red tape for emerging industries like biotechnology; and eliminate other regulatory barriers to job creation and economic growth.

Fact sheet insert (for bracketed language):

Today the President noted that regulatory agencies have already made numerous reforms in response to the President's initiative. Those reforms will ultimately reduce the prices that consumers and businesses pay for energy and transportation; increase the amount of credit available to businesses and individuals; cut red tape for emerging industries such as biotechnology; and reduce other regulatory barriers to job creation and economic growth.

one case in the multiplicity of interests, and in the other, in the multiplicity of sects. The degree of security in both cases will depend on the number of interests and sects; and this may be presumed to depend on the extent of country and number of people comprehended under the same government. This view of the subject must particularly recommend a proper federal system to all the sincere and considerate friends of republican government: Since it shews that in exact proportion as the territory of the union may be formed into more circumscribed confederacies or states, oppressive combinations of a majority will be facilitated, the best security under the republican form, for the rights of every class of citizens, will be diminished; and consequently, the stability and independence of some member of the government, the only other security, must be proportionally increased. Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been, and ever will be pursued, until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit. In a society under the forms of which the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, anarchy may as truly be said to reign, as in a state of nature where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger: And as in the latter state even the stronger individuals are prompted by the uncertainty of their condition, to submit to a government which may protect the weak as well as themselves: So in the former state, will the more powerful factions or parties be gradually induced by a like motive, to wish for a government which will protect all parties, the weaker as well as the more powerful. It can be little doubted, that if the state of Rhode Island was separated from the confederacy, and left to itself, the insecurity of rights under the popular form of government within such narrow limits, would be displayed by such reiterated oppressions of factious majorities, that some power altogether independent of the people would soon be called for by the voice of the very factions whose misrule had proved the necessity of it. In

the extended republic of the United States, and among the great variety of interests, parties and sects which it embraces, a coalition of a majority of the whole society could seldom take place on any other principles than those of justice and the general good; and there being thus less danger to a minor from the will of the major party, there must be less pretext also, to provide for the security of the former, by introducing into the government a will not dependent on the latter; or in other words, a will independent of the society itself. It is no less certain than it is important, notwithstanding the contrary opinions which have been entertained, that the larger the society, provided it lie within a practicable sphere, the more duly capable it will be of self government. And happily for the *republican cause*, the practicable sphere may be carried to a very great extent, by a judicious modification and mixture of the *federal principle*.

PUBLIUS.

The Federalist No. 52

[51]

JAMES MADISON

[Alexander Hamilton]

February 8, 1788

To the People of the State of New York.

FROM the more general enquiries pursued in the four last papers, I pass on to a more particular examination of the several

From *The New-York Packet*, February 8, 1788. This essay appeared on February 9 in *The Independent Journal*. It was numbered 52 in the McLean edition and 51 in the newspapers.

parts of the government. I shall begin with the House of Representatives.

The first view to be taken of this part of the government, relates to the qualifications of the electors and the elected. Those of the former are to be the same with those of the electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures. The definition of the right of suffrage is very justly regarded as a fundamental article of republican government. It was incumbent on the Convention therefore to define and establish this right, in the Constitution. To have left it open for the occasional regulation of the Congress, would have been improper for the reason just mentioned. To have submitted it to the legislative discretion of the States, would have been improper for the same reason; and for the additional reason, that it would have rendered too dependent on the State Governments, that branch of the Federal Government, which ought to be dependent on the people alone. To have reduced the different qualifications in the different States, to one uniform rule, would probably have been as dissatisfactory to some of the States, as it would have been difficult to the Convention. The provision made by the Convention appears therefore, to be the best that lay within their option. It must be satisfactory to every State; because it is conformable to the standard already established, or which may be established by the State itself. It will be safe to the United States; because, being fixed by the State Constitutions, it is not alterable by the State Governments, and it cannot be feared that the people of the States will alter this part of their Constitutions, in such a manner as to abridge the rights secured to them by the Federal Constitution.

The qualifications of the elected being less carefully and properly defined by the State Constitutions, and being at the same time more susceptible of uniformity, have been very properly considered and regulated by the Convention. A representative of the United States must be of the age of twenty-five

years; must have been seven years a citizen of the United States, must at the time of his election, be an inhabitant of the State he is to represent, and during the time of his service must be in no office under the United States. Under these reasonable limitations, the door of this part of the Federal Government, is open to merit of every description, whether native or adoptive, whether young or old, and without regard to poverty or wealth, or to any particular profession of religious faith.

The term for which the Representatives are to be elected, falls under a second view which may be taken of this branch. In order to decide on the propriety of this article, two questions must be considered; first, whether biennial elections will, in this case, be safe; secondly, whether they be necessary or useful.

First. As it is essential to liberty that the government in general, should have a common interest with the people; so it is particularly essential that the branch of it under consideration, should have an immediate dependence on, & an intimate sympathy with the people. Frequent elections are unquestionably the only policy by which this dependence and sympathy can be effectually secured. But what particular degree of frequency may be absolutely necessary for the purpose, does not appear to be susceptible of any precise calculation; and must depend on a variety of circumstances with which it may be connected. Let us consult experience, the guide that ought always to be followed, whenever it can be found.

The scheme of representation, as a substitute for a meeting of the citizens in person, being at most but very imperfectly known to ancient polity; it is in more modern times only, that we are to expect instructive examples. And even here, in order to avoid a research too vague and diffusive, it will be proper to confine ourselves to the few examples which are best known, and which bear the greatest analogy to our particular case. The first to which this character ought to be applied, is the House of Commons in Great Britain. The history of this branch of

the English Constitution, anterior to the date of Magna Charta, is too obscure to yield instruction. The very existence of it has been made a question among political antiquaries. The earliest records of subsequent date prove, that Parliaments were to sit only, every year; not that they were to be *elected* every year. And even these annual sessions were left so much at the discretion of the monarch, that under various pretexts, very long and dangerous intermissions, were often contrived by royal ambition. To remedy this grievance, it was provided by a statute in the reign of Charles the second, that the intermissions should not be protracted beyond a period of three years. On the accession of Wil. III. when a revolution took place in the government, the subject was still more seriously resumed, and it was declared to be among the fundamental rights of the people, that Parliaments ought to be held *frequently*. By another statute which passed a few years later in the same reign, the term 'frequently' which had alluded to the triennial period settled in the time of Charles II. is reduced to a precise meaning, it being expressly enacted that a new parliament shall be called within three years after the determination of the former. The last change from three to seven years is well known to have been introduced pretty early in the present century, under an alarm for the Hanoverian succession. From these facts it appears, that the greatest frequency of elections which has been deemed necessary in that kingdom, for binding the representatives to their constituents, does not exceed a triennial return of them. And if we may argue from the degree of liberty retained even under septennial elections, and all the other vicious ingredients in the parliamentary constitution, we cannot doubt that a reduction of the period from seven to three years, with the other necessary reforms, would so far extend the influence of the people over their representatives, as to satisfy us, that biennial elections under the federal system, cannot possibly be

dangerous to the requisite dependence of the house of representatives on their constituents.

Elections in Ireland till of late were regulated entirely by the discretion of the crown, and were seldom repeated except on the accession of a new Prince, or some other contingent event. The parliament which commenced with George II. was continued throughout his whole reign, a period of about thirty-five years. The only dependence of the representatives on the people consisted, in the right of the latter to supply occasional vacancies, by the election of new members, and in the chance of some event which might produce a general new election. The ability also of the Irish parliament, to maintain the rights of their constituents, so far as the disposition might exist, was extremely shackled by the controul of the crown over the subjects of their deliberation. Of late these shackles, if I mistake not, have been broken; and octennial parliaments have besides been established. What effect may be produced by this partial reform, must be left to further experience. The example of Ireland, from this view of it, can throw but little light on the subject. As far as we can draw any conclusion from it, it must be, that if the people of that country have been able, under all these disadvantages, to retain any liberty whatever, the advantage of biennial elections would secure to them every degree of liberty which might depend on a due connection between their representatives and themselves.

Let us bring our enquiries nearer home. The example of these States when British colonies claims particular attention; at the same time that it is so well known, as to require little to be said on it. The principle of representation, in one branch of the Legislature at least, was established in all of them. But the periods of election were different. They varied from one to seven years. Have we any reason to infer from the spirit and conduct of the representatives of the people, prior to the revo-

lution, that biennial elections would have been dangerous to the public liberties? The spirit which every where displayed itself at the commencement of the struggle; and which vanquished the obstacles to independence, is the best of proofs that a sufficient portion of liberty had been every where enjoyed to inspire both a sense of its worth, and a zeal for its proper enlargement. This remark holds good as well with regard to the then colonies, whose elections were least frequent, as to those whose elections were most frequent. Virginia was the colony which stood first in resisting the parliamentary usurpations of Great-Britain: it was the first also in espousing by public act, the resolution of independence. In Virginia nevertheless, if I have not been misinformed, elections under the former government were septennial. This particular example is brought into view, not as a proof of any peculiar merit, for the priority in those instances, was probably accidental; and still less of any advantage in *septennial* elections, for when compared with a greater frequency they are inadmissible: but merely as a proof, and I conceive it to be a very substantial proof, that the liberties of the people can be in no danger from *biennial* elections.

The conclusion resulting from these examples will be not a little strengthened by recollecting three circumstances. The first is that the Fœderal Legislature will possess a part only of that supreme legislative authority which is vested completely in the British parliament, and which with a few exceptions was exercised by the colonial Assemblies and the Irish Legislature. It is a received and well founded maxim, that, where no other circumstances affect the case, the greater the power is, the shorter ought to be its duration; and, conversely, the smaller the power, the more safely may its duration be protracted. In the second place, it has, on another occasion, been shewn* that

* See Essay 46. (Editor)

the Fœderal Legislature will not only be restrained by its dependence on the people as other legislative bodies are; but that it will be moreover watched and controuled by the several collateral Legislatures, which other legislative bodies are not. And in the third place, no comparison can be made between the means that will be possessed by the more permanent branches of the Fœderal Government for seducing, if they should be disposed to seduce, the House of Representatives from their duty to the people; and the means of influence over the popular branch, possessed by the other branches of the governments above cited. With less power therefore to abuse, the Fœderal Representatives, can be less tempted on one side, and will be doubly watched on the other.

PUBLIUS.

The Federalist No. 53

[52]

JAMES MADISON

February 9, 1788

To the People of the State of New York.

I SHALL here perhaps be reminded of a current observation, "that where annual elections end, tyranny begins." If it be true as has often been remarked, that sayings which become proverbial, are generally founded in reason, it is not less true that when once established, they are often applied to cases to which the reason of them does not extend. I need not look for a proof beyond the case before us. What is the reason on which this pro-

From *The Independent Journal*, February 9, 1788. This essay appeared on February 12 in *The New-York Packet*. It was numbered 53 in the McLean edition and 52 in the newspapers.

The Federalist No. 57

[56]

JAMES MADISON

[Alexander Hamilton]

February 19, 1788

To the People of the State of New York.

THE *third* charge against the House of Representatives is, that it will be taken from that class of citizens which will have least sympathy with the mass of the people, and be most likely to aim at an ambitious sacrifice of the many to the aggrandizement of the few.

Of all the objections which have been framed against the Federal Constitution, this is perhaps the most extraordinary. Whilst the objection itself is levelled against a pretended oligarchy, the principle of it strikes at the very root of republican government.

The aim of every political Constitution is or ought to be first to obtain for rulers, men who possess most wisdom to discern, and most virtue to pursue the common good of the society; and in the next place, to take the most effectual precautions for keeping them virtuous, whilst they continue to hold their public trust. The elective mode of obtaining rulers is the characteristic policy of republican government. The means relied on in this form of government for preventing their degeneracy are numerous and various. The most effectual one is such a limitation of the term of appointments, as will maintain a proper responsibility to the people.

Let me now ask what circumstance there is in the Constitution of the House of Representatives, that violates the principle

From *The New-York Packet*, February 19, 1788. This essay appeared on February 20 in *The Independent Journal*. It was numbered 57 in the McLean edition and 56 in the newspapers.

of republican government; or favors the elevation of the few on the ruins of the many? Let me ask whether every circumstance is not, on the contrary, strictly conformable to these principles; and scrupulously impartial to the rights and pretensions of every class and description of citizens?

Who are to be the electors of the Federal Representatives? Not the rich more than the poor; not the learned more than the ignorant; not the haughty heirs of distinguished names, more than the humble sons of obscure and unpropitious fortune. The electors are to be the great body of the people of the United States. They are to be the same who exercise the right in every State of electing the correspondent branch of the Legislature of the State.

Who are to be the objects of popular choice? Every citizen whose merit may recommend him to the esteem and confidence of his country. No qualification of wealth, of birth, of religious faith, or of civil profession, is permitted to fetter the judgment or disappoint the inclination of the people.

If we consider the situation of the men on whom the free suffrages of their fellow citizens may confer the representative trust, we shall find it involving every security which can be devised or desired for their fidelity to their constituents.

In the first place, as they will have been distinguished by the preference of their fellow citizens, we are to presume, that in general, they will be somewhat distinguished also, by those qualities which entitle them to it, and which promise a sincere and scrupulous regard to the nature of their engagements.

In the second place, they will enter into the public service under circumstances which cannot fail to produce a temporary affection at least to their constituents. There is in every breast a sensibility to marks of honor, of favor, of esteem, and of confidence, which, apart from all considerations of interest, is a pledge for grateful and benevolent returns. Ingratitude is a common topic of declamation against human nature; and it

must be confessed, that instances of it are but too frequent and flagrant both in public and in private life. But the universal and extreme indignation which it inspires, is itself a proof of the energy and prevalence of the contrary sentiment.

- 3 In the third place, these ties which bind the representative to his constituents are strengthened by motives of a more selfish nature. His pride and vanity attach him to a form of government which favors his pretensions, and gives him a share in its honors and distinctions. Whatever hopes or projects might be entertained by a few aspiring characters, it must generally happen that a great proportion of the men deriving their advancement from their influence with the people, would have more to hope from a preservation of the favor, than from innovations in the government subversive of the authority of the people.
- 4

All these securities however would be found very insufficient without the restraint of frequent elections. Hence, in the fourth place, the House of Representatives is so constituted as to support in the members an habitual recollection of their dependence on the people. Before the sentiments impressed on their minds by the mode of their elevation, can be effaced by the exercise of power, they will be compelled to anticipate the moment when their power is to cease, when their exercise of it is to be reviewed, and when they must descend to the level from which they were raised; there for ever to remain, unless a faithful discharge of their trust shall have established their title to a renewal of it.

✓ I will add as a fifth circumstance in the situation of the House of Representatives, restraining them from oppressive measures, that they can make no law which will not have its full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of the society. This has always been deemed one of the strongest bonds by which human policy can connect the rulers and the people together. It creates between them that communion of interests and sympathy of sentiments of which

few governments have furnished examples; but without which every government degenerates into tyranny. If it be asked what is to restrain the House of Representatives from making legal discriminations in favor of themselves and a particular class of the society? I answer, the genius of the whole system, the nature of just and constitutional laws, and above all the vigilant and manly spirit which actuates the people of America, a spirit which nourishes freedom, and in return is nourished by it.

If this spirit shall ever be so far debased as to tolerate a law not obligatory on the Legislature as well as on the people, the people will be prepared to tolerate anything but liberty.

Such will be the relation between the House of Representatives and their constituents. Duty, gratitude, interest, ambition itself, are the chords by which they will be bound to fidelity and sympathy with the great mass of the people. It is possible that these may all be insufficient to controul the caprice and wickedness of man. But are they not all that government will admit, and that human prudence can devise? Are they not the genuine and the characteristic means by which Republican Government provides for the liberty and happiness of the people? Are they not the identical means on which every State Government in the Union, relies for the attainment of these important ends? What then are we to understand by the objection which this paper has combated? What are we to say to the men who profess the most flaming zeal for Republican Government, yet boldly impeach the fundamental principle of it; who pretend to be champions for the right and the capacity of the people to chuse their own rulers, yet maintain that they will prefer those only who will immediately and infallibly betray the trust committed to them?

Were the objection to be read by one who had not seen the mode prescribed by the Constitution for the choice of representatives, he could suppose nothing less than that some unreasonable qualification of property was annexed to the right of suf-

frage; or that the right of eligibility was limited to persons of particular families or fortunes; or at least that the mode prescribed by the State Constitutions was in some respect or other very grossly departed from. We have seen how far such a supposition would err as to the two first points. Nor would it in fact be less erroneous as to the last. The only difference discoverable between the two cases, is, that each representative of the United States will be elected by five or six thousand citizens; whilst in the individual States the election of a representative is left to about as many hundred. Will it be pretended that this difference is sufficient to justify an attachment to the State Governments and an abhorrence to the Fœderal Government? If this be the point on which the objection turns, it deserves to be examined.

Is it supported by *reason*? This cannot be said, without maintaining that five or six thousand citizens are less capable of choosing a fit representative, or more liable to be corrupted by an unfit one, than five or six hundred. Reason, on the contrary assures us, that as in so great a number, a fit representative would be most likely to be found, so the choice would be less likely to be diverted from him, by the intrigues of the ambitious, or the bribes of the rich.

Is the *consequence* from this doctrine admissible? If we say that five or six hundred citizens are as many as can jointly exercise their right of suffrage, must we not deprive the people of the immediate choice of their public servants in every instance where the administration of the government does not require as many of them as will amount to one for that number of citizens?

Is the doctrine warranted by *facts*? It was shewn in the last paper, that the real representation in the British House of Commons very little exceeds the proportion of one for every thirty thousand inhabitants. Besides a variety of powerful causes, not existing here, and which favor in that country, the preten-

sions of rank and wealth, no person is eligible as a representative of a county, unless he possess real estate of the clear value of six hundred pounds sterling per year; nor of a city or borough, unless he possess a like estate of half that annual value. To this qualification on the part of the county representatives, is added another on the part of the county electors, which restrains the right of suffrage to persons having a freehold estate of the annual value of more than twenty pounds sterling according to the present rate of money. Notwithstanding these unfavorable circumstances, and notwithstanding some very unequal laws in the British code, it cannot be said that the representatives of the nation have elevated the few on the ruins of the many.

But we need not resort to foreign experience on this subject. Our own is explicit and decisive. The districts in New-Hampshire in which the Senators are chosen immediately by the people are nearly as large as will be necessary for her representatives in the Congress. Those of Massachusetts are larger, than will be necessary for that purpose. And those of New-York still more so. In the last State the members of Assembly, for the cities and counties of New-York and Albany, are elected by very nearly as many voters, as will be entitled to a representative in the Congress, calculating on the number of sixty-five representatives only. It makes no difference that in these senatorial districts and counties, a number of representatives are voted for by each elector at the same time. If the same electors, at the same time are capable of choosing four or five representatives, they cannot be incapable of choosing one. Pennsylvania is an additional example. Some of her counties which elect her State representatives, are almost as large as her districts will be by which her Fœderal Representatives will be elected. The city of Philadelphia is supposed to contain between fifty and sixty thousand souls. It will therefore form nearly two districts for the choice of Fœderal Representatives. It forms however but

one county, in which every elector votes for each of its representatives in the State Legislature. And what may appear to be still more directly to our purpose, the whole city actually elects a *single member* for the executive council. This is the case in all the other counties of the State.

Are not these facts the most satisfactory proofs of the fallacy which has been employed against the branch of the Federal Government under consideration? Has it appeared on trial that the Senators of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New-York; or the Executive Council of Pennsylvania; or the members of the Assembly in the two last States, have betrayed any peculiar disposition to sacrifice the many to the few; or are in any respect less worthy of their places than the representatives and magistrates appointed in other States, by very small divisions of the people?

But there are cases of a stronger complexion than any which I have yet quoted. One branch of the Legislature of Connecticut is so constituted that each member of it is elected by the whole State. So is the Governor of that State, of Massachusetts, and of this State, and the President of New-Hampshire. I leave every man to decide whether the result of any one of these experiments can be said to countenance a suspicion that a diffusive mode of chusing representatives of the people tends to elevate traitors, and to undermine the public liberty.

PUBLIUS.

The Federalist No. 58

[57]

JAMES MADISON

[Alexander Hamilton]

February 20, 1788

To the People of the State of New York.

THE remaining charge against the House of Representatives which I am to examine, is grounded on a supposition that the number of members will not be augmented from time to time, as the progress of population may demand.

It has been admitted that this objection, if well supported, would have great weight. The following observations will shew that like most other objections against the constitution, it can only proceed from a partial view of the subject; or from a jealousy which discolours and disfigures every object which is beheld.

1. Those who urge the objection seem not to have recollected that the federal constitution will not suffer by a comparison with the state constitutions, in the security provided for a gradual augmentation of the number of representatives. The number which is to prevail in the first instance is declared to be temporary. Its duration is limited to the short term of three years.

Within every successive term of ten years, a census of inhabitants is to be repeated. The unequivocal objects of these regulations are, first, to readjust from time to time the apportionment of representatives to the number of inhabitants; under the single exception that each state shall have one representative at least; Secondly, to augment the number of representa-

From The Independent Journal, February 20, 1788. This essay appeared on February 22 in The New-York Packet. It was numbered 58 in the McLean edition and 57 in the newspapers.

9

Second, reform of the Congressional committee system. I support efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which now paralyzes the Congress. Senator Boren said it best when he described the Congress as "inefficient, wasteful, and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns." The Boren-Domenici committee reform bill starts by setting up a bipartisan group to evaluate Congressional operations. It is a good beginning, but real reform is still on the back burner. The American people must turn up the heat.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Full disclosure of assets, liabilities, and compensation is a key element of reform. I am not required to disclose my income tax returns but I believe it is the proper thing to do. So I called on Congress to pass tough new full disclosure laws to stop the abuse that results from spreading around what's called "soft money."

Beyond that, I called for the total elimination of special-interest Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed ways to increase the legitimate role of our political parties, reduce the influence of special interests, and decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising. And let me say it straight out: federal funding of Congressional elections would only worsen the problem. Campaign finance reform is stalled on Capitol Hill, but the time for action is long past -- we must clean up our election system.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending ^{and} ~~and~~ federal ^{non-defense} employment next year.

~~and to freeze federal non-defense employment~~

From
Policy
DEVEL.

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1992 States News Service

February 13, 1992, Thursday

LENGTH: 840 words

HEADLINE: Former Jersey Candidates Look Back On Race For Presidency

BYLINE: By Kate McKenna, States News Service

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: electSB

BODY:

While Sen. Bill Bradley and former Governor Thomas H. Kean are better known among those who filed as possible candidates in 1988, there were several other New Jerseyans who actually ran for president in the last election. And they look back on the campaign with mixed feelings.

Emmy Award-winning television and film producer James R. Messenger won't even discuss his 1988 race for the presidency, which he said cost him \$15,000 of his savings, and taught him a few things about major party support of lesser-known candidacies.

But the Piscataway resident did consent to forward his well-designed press packet outlining a complete presidential platform, as well as a statement explaining why he was no longer involved in politics.

"I ran as a Democrat for president in order to try and introduce into the presidential campaign the true issues facing this nation," he said. "Unfortunately, no one was interested."

Although Messenger, whose work has twice earned Academy Award nominations, had sought major party support, he said official response was confined to a state party official announcing that he "didn't have a chance" to win a single vote.

"That was the extent of 'help' from the Democratic Party," states Messenger with some bitterness. "With all due respect, I have nothing else to say."

But there were some positive results. Right to Life Party candidate William Marra of W. Milford, a philosophy professor at Fordham University, was the nation's ninth-highest vote-getter in the last presidential race, earning 22,560 votes.

An articulate speaker who ran on a "Family First" platform, Professor Marra said minor-party candidacies are needed to broaden the national debate, which he said remains fixed on economic issues.

He said he would probably not run again "unless someone comes up to me with \$16 million in campaign funds," said Marra, adding that he doubts this will happen. "I never had any illusion that I would win, but I was glad to do what I could to call attention to other issues. But once is enough."

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Jersey City resident James Mac Warren received 11,435 votes in 1988 as the Socialist Workers Party candidate, and although he said national campaign was grueling, it was "a very interesting experience."

"What you've got to understand is that most of the people we appeal to are those who have lost all interest in the political process," said Warren. "They see the other candidates as Tweedledee and Tweedledum." Now living in Chicago, Warren said he would consider running again, if asked.

Even if asked, perennial candidate 78-year-old Bill Gahres of Barnegat said he would probably never again run for President. But he knows he has what it takes to wage a longshot run at the presidency -- and it's not for just anyone.

"You have to have a hide like an elephant," said Gahres, who ran as an independent for president in 1980 and 1984. "And you've got to be a character. A very staid, timid sort of person is not going to do it."

Waging a colorful campaign through his Committee to Get Rid of Bureaucratic B -- -- t, he knows he raised more than a few eyebrows.

"People took me as some sort of clown, but there was a method to my madness: free publicity," he said, adding that the process gave him name recognition highly useful to his start-up legal advertising consultancy.

Although Gahres racked up only 1,718 votes in the 1980 election, it was in his next election -- the 1981 gubernatorial race -- that he fully learned the difference a third-party candidate can make. Running on the "Down With Lawyers" ticket, Gahres racked up 4,525 votes in a race that Republican Thomas H. Kean won by a mere 1,800 votes.

The Democrat who could have used some of Gahres' votes? James J. Florio.

"If I hadn't been in the race, Florio would have won the first time," Gahres says now. "The Democrats hated my guts."

Waging a minor-party candidacy could also be considered fleeting fame. It was only two elections ago that Dennis L. Serette, also of Jersey City, received 50,000 votes as the first presidential candidate run by what is now the New Alliance Party. Four years later in 1988, the party's nominee became the only minor-party candidate on the ballot in all 50 states, receiving 201,430 votes in the process.

And this year, New Alliance nominee Leonora Fulani beat every other presidential hopeful, Democrat or Republican, by being the first to qualify for federal matching funds. But after months of searching in answer to questions from a reporter, party officials have been unable to locate Serette, who they say has not been seen or heard from in years.

But there will always be Henry Krajewski, the notorious pig farmer from Secaucus who ran for president several times in the 1950s and beyond. "His legacy," according to David A. Bositis, a senior research associate at the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, "is that his campaign buttons and souvenirs have become one of the rarest items among political memorabilia nationwide."

gence Richard J. Kerr; nominee for Director of Central Intelligence Robert M. Gates; U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills; Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Gen. Karl Stiner, Commander of the U.S. Special Operations Command. William J. Donovan was founder and Director of the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. Richard S. Welch, a CIA official, was killed in Athens, Greece, on December 23, 1975. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Representatives of Public Administration Groups on Public Service

October 24, 1991

Thank you all very, very much for being here. I know it's nice to get off of work. [Laughter] But I'm talking about getting people this interested in public service to come together. I'm particularly pleased to see Tim Clark, who is president of the National Capital Area Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration; Ray Kline, over here, the president of the National Association of Public Administrators; and then my old friend Dave Maxwell, vice chairman of the Council for Excellence in Government, all interested in public service.

I am delighted to join you this morning. I come here, I hope, in a constructive vein to discuss two issues that we all care about deeply: public service and then, Tim touched on it, public faith in government.

Like many of you, I have devoted much of my adult life to public service. And I, too, cherish public service really as a special honor and a personal obligation. And I always have. Long ago, my dad served for years as the moderator of the town meeting, the Connecticut town meeting in our town of Greenwich. It convened once a month, and people came there and talked about whatever concerned them as they always do at town meetings. It could be rowdy or boring. The meetings always, though, gave people a special sense that their opinions made a difference and that

they shared something special with their neighbors and friends. Those meetings taught me just what we mean when we talk of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The notion of public service has always motivated Americans to be Americans. More than 150 years ago, de Tocqueville noted with some astonishment that "When an American needs the assistance of his fellows, it is very rare for that to be refused, and I have often seen it given spontaneously and eagerly." He did not mistake us for saints. He understood that freedom demands such service to others.

It also demands that public servants lead by example. Americans will not tolerate hypocrisy. People in other countries wonder why we make such a fuss when our leaders violate our standards of behavior. The reason is simple: As Americans, we feel that we have a destiny to lead, to show the way by ideals, not just to ourselves but to the entire world.

Yet while our Government rests upon unchanging principle, it cannot rest upon past achievements. Government, like everything else, must evolve. Our long and sturdy tradition of tolerance enables us to test new ideas through public debate. When Congress considers issues, no one minds a tough and honest discussion. We expect it. By the same token, we want and expect our free press to look beneath events, take account of people's motives, and ask tough questions rather than numbly repeating partisan propaganda or baseless rumor. We demand integrity in public behavior and discourse, and when we don't get it, we react.

The recent hearings on Judge Thomas stirred a kind of anger. The American people saw some of the seamier sides of Washington life. They saw proceedings that degenerated into target practice against good men and women. Ronnie Perry of Brunswick, Georgia, wrote me a letter. I don't know him. Here's what it said: "It is my fear that good, honest, moral men and women in this country will no longer subject themselves to the ridicule that Judge Thomas had to face." Likewise, Anita Hill's backers might wonder how anyone might be expected to come forward in the future if public officials cannot maintain proper

confidentiality, such as the confidentiality promised to Professor Hill.

I want to digress, though, in fairness, to read from page 3 of the hearings on the Committee on the Judiciary, because Senator Biden, in my judgment, tried. Here's what he said at the very opening of these hearings: "Second, while I have less discretion than a judge in a trial to bar inappropriate or embarrassing questions, all of the witnesses should know that they have a right to ask that the committee go into closed session." He cites a rule here, rule 26.5, "to go into a closed session if a question requires an answer that is a clear invasion to the right to privacy.

"The committee will take very seriously the request of any witness to answer particularly embarrassing questions as they view whether or not it is embarrassing to answer those questions in private." So I salute the Chairman for those words that went unheeded as the process unfolded.

The bruising hearings showed what happens when political factions let agendas overwhelm personal decency. Some people have tried to drag public debate to a new low, searching openly for dirt, any dirt, without regard to people's rights to privacy, sometimes without concern for the facts. While crusading pressure groups talk about their favorite issues, they forget that human beings sit there beneath the glare of the spotlight, vulnerable to assault from all quarters. The piranha tactics of smearing the individual and ignoring the issue serve no public purpose. They aim to destroy lives and wreck reputations.

The dramatic hearings and the theatrics outside the hearing rooms captivated the attention of the American public, all right. Millions upon millions of Americans watched the hearings with a combination of curiosity, suspense, and, I submit to you all, disgust. The Nation was stunned and repulsed by the spectacle. The scenes from the Senate bore little resemblance to the tidy legislative process that we all studied in school and that we describe to our children, now, maybe to our grandchildren. X-rated statements, cross-examinations pushed aside the soaps and Saturday cartoons. And the process seemed unreal, more like a satire than like the Government in which all of

you, in which I, take so much pride; more like a burlesque show than a civics class.

The hearings also showed that politicians must contend with a host of different forces and influences. The public saw the congressional staffers everywhere; saw outside pressure groups exhorting and twisting, and the staffs ever-present, everywhere.

I worry that the hearings sent our people this kind of false message: "If you want to make a difference, don't enter public service. Join a special interest group. That way, whether it's the right or the left, join a special interest group, and that way you can fight as hard as you want or as dirty as you want without any responsibility for the results."

I served in Congress. I have great respect for Congress. I know the incredible pressure and difficulty of working there. But public faith in Congress is absolutely vital for our form of government. I think we can all work together to help strengthen its image and build greater public support.

Members of Congress criticize the executive branch all the time. That's fine, often constructively. And I offer these suggestions, then, in a spirit of constructive criticism.

First, given the outrageous nature of the leaks and the Senate's announced intention of going after them, the Senate must determine who leaked the information and turned what should have been a confidential investigation into what many people who wrote me described as "a circus" and "a travesty."

Here's a proposal that I support: The Senate should appoint immediately a special counsel to find out who leaked what and for what reasons. The public cares very much about this case, and in my view, they will for a long, long time. And the investigation ought to focus just on this case. And the special counsel should receive unfettered access to all relevant records and witnesses, and should have subpoena power to get the truth. The Senate ought to set a clear goal for finishing up the investigation. I suggest January 3d, when it returns for a new session. Frankly, the American people just will not understand it if the Senate fails to bring the leaker or leakers to justice.

Second, we must promote more tolerant, less viciously partisan debate. I've heard complaints that the White House does not consult sufficiently with Congress in matters of these nominations. Frankly, I have tried to consult with Congress. And we welcome closer consultation. Let me just get that out on the table. I don't want to put any nominee through a public meat grinder. And I always welcome advice, especially in cases that might prove controversial.

Much of what I have to say today has been sharpened by discussion with Members of Congress. But let me make it clear: I will not give a group of Senators veto power over a nominee before the Senate has conducted hearings and held a confirmation vote. I will not surrender Presidential authority or powers any more than Congress will surrender its power.

In any event, no one ought to accept the charge of insufficient consultation as an excuse for this unforgivable leak.

Third, the hearings focused attention on the problem of sexual harassment in the workplace. We have taken additional steps at the White House as recently as yesterday to address the problem. We will ensure that employees of the Executive Office of the President are aware of the problem and appreciate fully our strong commitment to building a workplace free of harassment. And on March 1st, our administration submitted a civil rights bill that contains specific provisions to strengthen penalties against sexual harassment and encourage compliance with the law. That was back on March 1st. Congress will act soon, I hope by passing my civil rights bill. And at the very least, I hope Congress will pass the portions on which we have reached agreement.

But legislation alone can't solve the problem of sexual harassment in the workplace. Sexual harassment is ugly behavior. Together, we must eradicate prejudices, not just through laws, but through simple respect for other human beings. In the end, laws can punish prejudice, but they cannot, alone anyway, produce enlightenment. Only we can do that by acting on our convictions.

The Thomas hearings also raised concerns about the confirmation process generally. And let me offer several specific recommendations for reforming the process.

First, shorten the time-lapse between nominations and confirmation; shorten it to 6 weeks. It takes four times as long to secure a vote today; four times as long as it did just 30 years ago, during the Presidency of John Kennedy. It took the Senate an average of 63 days to confirm our appointments sent up in 1989; 65 days for the group nominated in 1990. We now have a large group of people waiting for the Senate to vote on their nominations, and they have been waiting an average of 80 days.

At the beginning of this week, more than 190 nominations remained pending before the Senate. A few examples: I nominated Bob Clarke, Robert Clarke, for appointment as Comptroller of the Currency on January 23d, more than 9 months ago; I nominated Larry Lindsey for a seat on the Federal Reserve Board on February 28th. In times of economic concern, we need the service of these people. And if Members of the Senate don't like my nominees, then they should vote against them. But they should not stall progress by resorting to the old, and in my view, obsolete technique of placing a hold on nominations. Once again, this isn't Republican or Democrat; it is institutional.

We in the White House certainly must do our part. We will redouble our efforts to ensure that nominees complete all their required paperwork promptly and will respond promptly to requests for further important information. I've asked our Office of the White House Counsel and Office of Government Ethics to see that our regulations and clearance procedures do not, however, discourage public service. I am committed to an ethical administration, but we must ensure that our rules have not become so detailed and so onerous as to scare good, honest people away from public service.

And second, we will work with committees in Congress to ensure the confidentiality of information. I have ordered that the FBI reports be carried directly to committee chairmen and any members designated by the chairmen. The members will read the reports immediately, in the presence of the agent, and then return them. No FBI reports will stay on Capitol Hill. And furthermore, members only will have access to

these reports. Staffs will not have access to these reports.

This preserves confidentiality. In my view, it protects nominees. It protects potential witnesses against the nominees. And it protects the Members of Congress.

Third, Congress should establish a mechanism for investigating congressional leaks thoroughly, professionally, promptly. And I've met this week with several leaders from the Senate from both parties, and they agree that we must prevent future leaks and establish a suitable mechanism for investigating them swiftly, bringing culprits to justice.

There is no excuse for leaks that wreck lives and needlessly destroy reputations. The law already prohibits such leaks from the executive branch. And again, we intend to enforce that law rigorously. I know it's not easy. I've been there. I saw it when I was Director of Central Intelligence when we dealt with national security. I've seen frustrating leaks in the White House that have nothing to do with character assassination or national security, that simply relate to policy matters. I know it's not a simple matter here. But we've got to do better, both the executive and the legislative branch.

And fourth, Congress ought to follow the same laws that it imposes on everyone else. More than a dozen laws apply to the executive branch, but not the Congress. Most of these laws apply to everyone in America except Members of Congress. Congress does not have to comply with the Equal Pay Act of 1963. It does not have to follow title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a title that prohibits sexual harassment and discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, and national origin. It doesn't have to obey the provisions of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act.

I would wager that the American people do not know that Congress has exempted itself from the sexual harassment laws private employers and the executive branch must obey. And they have. We've heard choruses of criticism against the evils of sexual harassment. And we've received good suggestions about how to become more vigilant about this insidious crime. But these lessons should not be wasted on

the men and women who drafted the law. For you see, when Congress exempts itself from the very laws that it writes for others, it strikes at its own reputation and shatters public confidence in government.

These exemptions encourage special interest groups to press, then, for reckless regulations, knowing that Congress might adopt such laws if it won't feel the sting of these laws. This practice creates the appearance and reality of a privileged class of rulers who stand above the law. Our founders thought it proposterous to suggest that such behavior would ever take place in America.

We did a little research. Federalist Paper number 57 asserts that elected officials, and here's the exact language, "can make no law which will not have in full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of society." The writer of that paper also noted ominously, "If this spirit shall ever be so far debased as to tolerate a law not obligatory on the legislature as well as on the people, the people will be prepared to tolerate anything but liberty."

The people have begun to speak now. And today I call upon the Congress to take a simple step toward increasing public confidence. Submit to the laws it imposes on others, including strict enforcement provisions, not just Ethics Committee jurisdiction, and do so by the year's end.

There's a lot of just plain people up there on the Hill trying to make a living. And people who work for Congress ought to have the same rights and legal remedies as those who work for anyone else.

But Congress also must submit to the laws that is imposed on the executive branch. And this includes the Privacy Act, which prohibits inappropriate leaks by executive agencies, title VI of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law.

And all of us should demonstrate our commitment to clean and effective government. From the very start of my administration, I made it absolutely clear that I expect my appointees to follow strict standards of propriety so the American people would have full and increasing confidence in our ability and integrity.

I established a Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform in January of 1989. I pushed for initiatives that resulted in the Ethics Reform Act of 1989. I signed an Executive order in April '89, setting forth the principles of ethical Government service. And I charged the Office of Government Ethics with issuing a single, comprehensive, and clear set of objective, reasonable, and enforceable standards. Those standards will be ready soon. They're out now for review.

In the executive departments and the White House we do strive to set and meet high standards of public service. I'll never be happy. We can always do better in the executive branch, in the departments, and in the White House. And I pledge to the American people that I'm not here to point fingers; I will continue to see that we do a better job of all of this in the executive branch of the Government. I'm going to keep on trying. But all I'm doing here is inviting the Congress to do the same. Sometimes we protest too much, and we reform too little. And so, now is the time to act.

And finally—going on too long here, but I'm wound up on this. *[Laughter]* I really feel strongly about this. Finally, we all must remember that our business is to do the public's business. That becomes increasingly different for a Congress that contains more than 300 committees and subcommittees and makes use of nearly 40,000 workers.

It becomes increasingly difficult for a Congress that answers to no one with respect to its budget, its staff, its perks, even the enforcement of its own rules.

The business of doing the people's business gets even more difficult when committees make broad and unfocused demands, for example, the Judiciary Committee asked Clarence Thomas to submit more than 32,000 pages of documentation prior to his hearings. I'd hate to give a quiz to the Senators to see how many people read the 32,000 documents that they asked for. *[Laughter]* A defense bill routinely runs a gamut of committees and subcommittees.

I support the bipartisan effort of Senators Boren and Domenici, Representatives Hamilton and Gradison to trim this overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees. These four are out front for congressional reform, and I salute them. Senator Boren framed the matter when he said this, "No

one doubts that Congress is in trouble as an institution. In poll after poll, Americans describe Congress", these are his words, "as inefficient, unresponsive, wasteful, and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns." "It's time for Congress to take another look at itself," these four suggest. "It's time to go beyond piecemeal efforts and to enact comprehensive, bicameral reforms."

I support the efforts of the congressional reformers. A system originally designed to help Congress do the public's business has turned into a machine so complex and bewildering that the public doesn't understand it. Many Members of Congress do not fully understand it. Only specialists and lobbyists can pick their way through the labyrinth.

The American people want more. They want a Government that will foster economic growth and fight crime and drugs and work to improve schools and build better roads and answer the concerns of the people. And they want a Government that listens, not one that commands.

And in the end, taxpayers won't be impressed with reforms if Members of Congress pay greater heed to the beltway lobbyists and pressure groups than to constituents. If people feel powerless, they will find ways to recover their just powers.

Our founders handed down to us the finest system of Government in history, one in which the legislature and the executive do battle as part of our system of checks and balances. But we must remember who is servant and who is master. Noah Webster asked in 1802, "If all officers of Government are the servants of the people, how can it be expected that the masters should not, at times, take the Government out of the hands of the servants."

The reforms I've proposed today will help us do the people's business. They will rein in a Government that seems remote, seems distant and complex; they will bring it back to the people and give citizens the feeling of power that we felt at those town meetings some 60 years ago. We must remember, we come here to serve. A few simple reforms can go a long way toward building the public faith upon which our entire democracy depends.

Oct. 24 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

Thank you not only for your interest but for all you do in elevating public service. It's worthwhile. Don't give up your work. Thank you very, very much, indeed.

Note: The President spoke at 11:52 a.m. at the National Museum of American History. The following persons were not clearly identified: Clarence Thomas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Anita Hill, a University of Oklahoma law professor who testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee during the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearing; Senators Joseph R. Biden and David L. Boren; and Representatives Lee H. Hamilton and Willis D. Gradison, Jr.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Treaty on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters Between Panama and the United States
October 24, 1991

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters, with Annex and Appendices, signed at Panama on April 11, 1991. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of modern mutual legal assistance treaties being negotiated by the United States in order to counter criminal activities more effectively. The Treaty should be an effective tool to assist in the prosecution of a wide variety of modern criminals, including members of drug cartels, "white collar criminals," and terrorists. The Treaty is self-executing.

The Treaty provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual assistance available under the Treaty includes: (1) the taking of testimony or statements of witnesses; (2) the provision of documents, records, and evidence; (3) the execution of requests for searches and seizures; (4) the serving of documents; and (5) the

provision of assistance in locating, tracing, immobilizing, seizing and forfeiting proceeds of crime, and restitution to the victims of crime.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

George Bush

The White House,
October 24, 1991.

Proclamation 6364—National Breast Cancer Awareness Month, 1991
October 24, 1991

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Despite all we have learned about prevention, despite all of the advances that have been made in its diagnosis and treatment, breast cancer continues to kill thousands of American women each year. Stopping this tragic loss of life will require continued research as well as the sustained cooperation of scientists, health care professionals, educators, insurance providers, individual women, and other concerned Americans.

According to the American Cancer Society, women in the United States have never been at greater risk for breast cancer: an estimated one in nine women will develop the disease at some point in their lives. Fortunately, however, scientists across the country also note that much progress has been made in controlling breast cancer. Better and earlier treatment has helped more and more women who have contracted breast cancer to survive the disease.

Today we continue to rely on basic research to identify and develop improved means of preventing, diagnosing, and treating breast cancer. However, the knowledge yielded by basic research is only as helpful as our willingness and our ability to use it. If

Civil Rts. Act - 1964?

Federalist #57

Domenici - Boren Legislation

What are we doing about this?

In Process



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1992

NOTE FOR DAVID DEMAREST
Assistant to the President for Communications

FROM: DAVE JUDAY *DJ*
Deputy Assistant to the Vice President
and Deputy Director of Domestic Policy

Per Bill Kristol's suggestion, I have attached some language regarding the Vice President's past activities regarding Congressional reform. I hope that this may be useful in preparing the President's "reform agenda speech" for next Wednesday. I've also attached a brief summary (prepared in 1985) of the VP's efforts in this regard.

Should you, or someone in your office, have any further questions, I can be reached at x6770.

cc: Bill Kristol

Eight years ago, while then serving in the Senate, Vice President Quayle spearheaded an effort to reform the way the Senate does its business -- to streamline the unwieldy budget process, to reorder the Congressional committee system, and to put an end to the abusive maneuvering around the rules of debate on the floor of the U.S. Senate -- what should be the world's greatest deliberative body.

What was true in 1984 is still true today, ... the process has broken down; the business of governing has been trivialized.

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

REFORMING THE SENATE

Position:

Senator Quayle believes that major reforms of the Senate rules and committee structures are needed to allow the Senate to accomplish the business with which it is charged.

o Establishment of the Temporary Select Committee to Study the Senate Committee System.

In June 1984, Senator Quayle objected to a proposed resolution to make the Indian Affairs Committee a permanent Committee. He objected to the "proliferation" of Senate committees and subcommittees, personal and committee staff, floor amendments and votes, all of which he said have contributed to the "trivialization" of the work of what is supposed to be the world's greatest deliberative body. As a result, the Majority and Minority leaders jointly moved an amendment to that resolution to establish a Temporary Select Committee to study the Senate committee system and report back in 6 months.

Twelve Senators were appointed to the committee and these members elected DQ chairman. The Committee held two days of hearings with testimony from, among others, the majority leader, the chairman and ranking minority members of the Appropriations, Armed Services and Budget committees.

After extensive consultations, the Select Committee issued an unanimous report recommending major changes in the Senate's committee system as well as changes in Senate rules relating to consideration of measures on the floor.

The Committee recommended: limiting the number of committees and subcommittees any one Senator may serve on and chair; creation of a special panel to study implementing a two-year budget process; establishing a joint House-Senate Intelligence Committee; limits on amendments of little or no bearing to the measures they are offered to; and a crackdown on dilatory tactics employed by opponents of bills even after the Senate has voted to invoke cloture against a filibuster.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 3, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE FEDERALIST SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Congress Hall
Independence National Historical Park
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

10:28 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: May I start by thanking Ms. Aikens for her hospitality, and the hospitality of all those to whom so much history is entrusted here. And what a superb job they do in preserving this lovely, lovely historic place. We're grateful -- grateful to you that you are permitting us to have this event here today.

May I thank Brian Guthrie, the President of the Federalist Society of Philadelphia, for his introduction, for hosting this. I see Joe Cicippio. I want to say that Old Congress Hall is home to great ideas and great debate. In this very room, pivotal and profound discussions occurred -- setting in motion a grand experiment in man's ability to chart his own future.

The vision of the Founding Fathers may be hard for us to fully comprehend. But if you really think about it, their goals were not much different than ours. They wanted their new country to prosper -- and they knew intuitively that the road to prosperity was freedom. They believed in the fundamentals, in the inherent strength of family, faith -- and they were determined to preserve them. They wanted the citizens of our young nation to live in peace, safe and secure from threats at home and abroad. It took a revolution to achieve their vision -- and it is our duty to preserve it.

They say when British General Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown in 1781, his troops marched to the tune, "The World Turned Upside Down." It was a profoundly simple recognition that an old world order was ending and a new one beginning.

Now, more than 200 years later, we are again in the midst of great change. Democracy and freedom once again have turned the world upside down. America once again championed a great worldwide movement. We stood firm for our principles through some very difficult times. We did indeed change the world. Now, as you may have heard me say, if we could change the world, we can change America.

Henry Luce called the 20th century the American Century. In a world more driven by economic competition than ever before, we must now meet five great challenges to ensure that the next century is also the American Century.

First, our children must develop good character, must develop values so they can be educated adults -- literate, drug-free -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must dramatically change our education system -- literally revolutionize it. Our America 2000 education initiative means top-to-bottom educational reform. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their physical health. And our health care proposal

MORE

guarantees access to the finest health care system in the world, and keeps that care affordable for all our citizens.

Next, our civil justice system -- it must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice for all. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us -- costing us billions of dollars and putting a tremendous drag on our civility and our economy. If Congress passes my Access to Justice Act, this, too, can change.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity, will come from beyond our borders. That's why we have aggressive pro-growth trade policy. It demands more open foreign markets for quality American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

Finally, if we're to change America we must change the way government works. That's what I will address today. G.K. Chesterton said, "we cannot discuss reform without reference to form". This has been amply demonstrated in just the last decade as one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to take a hard look within itself, make needed improvements, and act to make the institution live up to its principles. That is the process called reform.

To ensure their competitive edge, businesses launch reforms that are geared to quality. Then, by measuring performance, they improve performance. Often it's not flashy -- the return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", or "service with a smile." Competition works. The proof? Today -- look around this great country -- American products are quantifiably better than just a few years ago.

Reform has improved performance in our military. In the face of tighter budgets -- let me look at the military -- in the face of tighter budgets we've cut the fat, we've gotten leaner and smarter. And Desert Storm proved it. The drive for excellence has influenced almost every other institution, from state and local government to trade associations and unions.

Yet, the federal government is a glaring hold-out. It resists reform and protects a failed status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous need for change. This isn't -- I'm not talking here about barber shops or perks or calligraphers or parking spaces. It's about the governmental mental process, its potential to help or hinder the public good. It is about big things, important things -- major changes to make government more responsive. It's about the changes that are sweeping the rest of the country but are not being made in Washington.

The most recent proof that we have a major problem was the inability of Congress to rise to the challenge of helping our economy. Instead it reverted to form -- trying to raise taxes, increase government spending. If it cannot address a straightforward short-term proposal to stimulate the economy, how can it possibly deal with the more complex issues like the badly needed reforms of education, health care, legal systems? I would still like to see Congress put politics aside and give me an up-and-down vote on the seven incentives to stimulate this economy that I have pending before the Congress right now.

But if we are to reform education and health care and our legal system -- and if we are to reduce red tape and regulation, make our country competitive, get this horrendous deficit down, we must reform the congressional process itself. We've got to make it responsive to our country's real needs.

The growth of big government has diminished the role of Congress from policy-making to program-making. Promulgating and

protecting more programs sets in motion a perpetual cycle of congressional support for more unnecessary spending -- creating bigger and even less responsive bureaucracies. Then, by servicing the needs of program recipients, congressional staffs help to ensure members' reelection and a continuation of business as usual. Beyond that, Congress routinely exempts itself from the laws that it imposes on the rest of the nation -- laws like the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about these dangers. Federalist Paper 57 asserts that -- and I've just been given this beautiful volume by your president -- asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have its full operation on themselves and their friends," -- and then it goes on -- "as well as on the great mass of the society." Federalist Paper 52 argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. James Madison would be appalled to hear that 98 percent of the congressmen who seek reelection are, in fact, reelected -- that one party, the Democrats, has controlled the House of Representatives for 56 out of the last 60 years.

And that means self-perpetuating staffs. It means a bureaucracy, an inbred bureaucracy, beholden to only one set of leaders. The bank and the post office scandals that have outraged the American people are the results of one-party control -- one party's lack of supervision, lack of new blood, lack of change. There isn't the competition to make these institutions in the Congress more efficient.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but certainly not -- by no means all of it. We've had divided government before, sometimes during periods of great crisis. And each time we have worked together in good faith to meet those challenges.

The larger issue is the systemic problem of Congress -- the sticky web of 284 congressional committees and subcommittees, the almost 40,000 Legislative Branch employees and staff, \$2.5 billion of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a \$117 million in a reelection war chest for incumbents in these special-interest campaign contributions.

None of this promotes reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Conscientious members of Congress understand this. And that's why the Republican Leader in the House, Bob Michel, has proposed congressional reform legislation. There's some good ideas there -- great ideas for improving Congress and its procedures -- like legislative calendar process reform, reduction in the number of congressional staff, reduction of the number of congressional committees.

There are good people in Congress -- many on both sides of the aisle -- and two of them are up here with me today. I think of your own Arlen Specter, who came up with us and we talked about these reforms. Talked to him -- he enthusiastically supports changing our congressional system because he believes in changing the status quo. Larry Coughlin, who's leaving the Congress -- no special ax to grind -- had a very good suggestion coming up here about changing the numbers on the rules committee so the minority programs would at least have a chance to be voted on from time to time in the United States Congress.

There's a lot of ideas -- good ones -- from Democrats and Republicans alike. And then talk to retiring members -- other retiring members. Many of them, dedicated people like Warren Rudman of New Hampshire. I'm sure you heard what he had to say. Talk to him and you'll hear this frustration. And when asked about the prospect of endless budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system: "The fact is that we are unable, institutionally, to do what

has to be done. We are literally not watching the fiddler fiddle when Rome burns, we are watching the entire orchestra."

Now, Senator Rudman knows the biggest threat to future job creation is deficit spending, and the current congressional structure is not capable of addressing that threat. He knows that Americans are generous -- generous people willing to do what's necessary to make this country better. But there's a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about the United States Congress. They just don't trust Congress to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely.

Today, government is a \$1.5-trillion enterprise. But people in Washington frequently forget that the taxpayer is the original investor, customer, shareholder, board member all rolled into one. And when folks in government forget that, they issue nettlesome regulations. Now, those regulations increase the cost of doing business; but worse, they don't really solve the problems they were designed to solve.

The Executive Branch is involved. As President, I'm going to keep trying to change the regulatory process. But I will need, because of the legislation, I will need help of the Congress.

When government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it becomes insulated and becomes unresponsive. But unresponsive government doesn't just happen. Congress creates these giant centralized bureaucracies, then imposes a bunch of mandate -- lays down the mandates -- funds the programs. And then it is the Congress that protects them or investigates them or micromanages them, and ultimately perpetuates them. Programs that have outlived their function rarely outlive their funding. With a congressional subcommittee as godparent -- some chairman there as the godparent -- they become stepchildren of a committee -- one of the committees of the Congress.

Some 107 different congressional committees and subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four compete for jurisdiction over the war on drugs -- 74 separate entities. Just this week, after being reported from one committee in the House, our energy bill -- one to make us more energy-efficient, energy-independent -- was referred to no less than eight additional House committees. It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

Another example -- when the Secretary of Agriculture and his top staff have to testify in 14 hearings in one day, think of the time and resources that takes. Think of the thousands of hours spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill the thousands of congressional demands for testimony and government reports. Here's a man sitting right here that used to have to deal with this, Ken Cribb, and he knows what I'm talking about.

Democratic Senator David Boren, committed to reform, summed it up by saying, "no one doubts that the Congress is in trouble as an institution." And that's why I support, as President, his efforts -- Senator Boren's efforts -- to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which now paralyzes the Congress.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities. We know that. I respect that. We all know it. And I know that the federal government cannot be run like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance, and we must. What merely hampered us in the past, could well paralyze us in the future. Our ability to compete demands that we make these reforms, not just of Congress -- not just of the Congress but of the federal bureaucracy -- the Executive Branch bureaucracy as well. And it means

emphasizing the building blocks of a more responsive government by relying on what works: choice -- it works; competition -- it works; decentralization. But let me be clear, we cannot reform the Executive Branch without first reforming the Congress.

Taken together, the following actions will help make government work for the people.

First, the Congress must govern itself by the laws that it imposes on others. No more special treatment. (Applause.) Like age, race, sex and disability discrimination laws. Congress should submit to the laws that it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like the conflict of interest laws or the Independent Counsel Law. (Applause.) And I will propose legislation to end such special treatment for Congress next week. And further, I will veto any further legislation -- future legislation -- that extends such special treatment to the Congress.

Second, Congress should reform its operations and procedures. I support the Boren-Domenici bill. It's a reform bill in the Senate. And over on the House side, Lee Hamilton, a Democrat, and Bill Gradison, a Republican, have that bill in the House which sets up a bipartisan group to evaluate congressional operations and make recommendations. It's a good beginning. But real reform like that contained in the Michel bill I think is essential right now. Change is still on the back burner. The American people have got to turn up the heat.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Full disclosure of assets, liabilities, and compensation is a key element of real reform. Now, let me be subjective a minute. I am not required to disclose my income tax returns. And in a sense, I guess I feel like every other American -- that it is an invasion of my privacy. But for 12 years I have made public in full detail those tax returns. And I believe that all people aspiring to the office I now hold should do exactly that. On Congress, perhaps Congress doesn't need to go that far. But they should make their existing disclosure rules much more thorough, much more rigorous.

The way to solve a lot of the problem is to have the constituent know as much as possible. So I favor that kind of disclosure. Now, beyond that, we must totally eliminate the special-interest political action committees and then put limits on so-called leadership PACs.

Now, I've proposed ways to increase the legitimate role of our political parties, reduce the influence of the special interests, and decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fundraising. And let me say it straight out: Federal funding -- now pending -- federal funding of congressional elections would only make the problem worse. Real campaign finance reform is stalled on Capitol Hill. But the time for action is long past, and we must clean up our election system. (Applause.)

The fourth one, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending and federal nondefense employment next year. And I've proposed two-year budgets. And I have proposed, as well, to curb the growth of mandatory programs without touching the Social Security system.

Now, if mandatory spending were allowed to grow for inflation and eligible population only, we could save about \$2 trillion over the next decade. That's where the big expense is. The American people should demand that Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. (Applause.) And they should demand a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. Obviously, given the financial problems we're facing, budgetary problems, a balanced budget requirement would have to be phased in.

But such an amendment is needed now. It will discipline the Executive Branch; it will discipline the Legislative Branch.

In the absence of those important measures, I will continue to use whatever means are legally at my disposal, including, what I called for just a few days ago, use of the line-item rescission to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of the Congress. (Applause.) And I will continue to vigorously oppose any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense that the taxpayer has against congressional overspending. And I'm talking obviously about the budget caps -- the caps that were implemented in the 1990 act.

Fifth, regulatory reform. We put a 90-day moratorium on new government regulations. We are revising and eliminating regulations that impede our ability to compete, and we are accelerating regulations that enhance our competitive edge. Now, since I announced the moratorium on January 28th, the growth of burdensome regulations has already been reversed. And as our review continues we will announce further steps to reduce the burden of unnecessary regulations. (Applause.) But it cannot be done alone; I can't do it alone. Congress, in passing legislation, must be committed to cutting down the regulatory burden as well.

Sixth, we must limit congressional terms. (Applause.) We must address the Congress of the future. The cycle of virtually guaranteed reelection, particularly in the House of Representatives, through the built-in advantages of incumbency have got to be broken. And our Founding Fathers never considered elected government service to be a career. And I believe senators should be limited to two terms, and representatives limited to six terms. And as President my terms are limited; the same rule should apply to members of the Congress. Our first concern should be the country, not the lifetime political career. (Applause.)

Now this brings me to my final point. Certainly, governing today is far more complex and time-consuming. We have to give that, that's the fact. But not so many years ago, representing the people back home was a part-time Washington job. Somehow members managed to finish their work and adjourn just before the hot, humid Washington, D.C. summers. Air conditioning changed all this. (Laughter.) And now, thanks to modern technology, Congress sits almost all year round.

Many members of the House and Senate are now permanent Washingtonians. And we do not need a career Congress, we need a citizen Congress. (Applause.) To borrow a line from former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, "They ought to be living in America and visiting Washington." (Applause.) I think Senator Baker was right in a serious way. He knew that the overwhelming majority of state legislatures are able to do their work each year in sessions lasting less than six months -- some of them very short, some of them are about three months every two years.

With a streamlined committee structure, a leaner staff, members' time organized around legislation rather than reelection, and better discipline on how they spend money, Congress could return to what the Founders envisioned as a government truly close to the people. And I suggest that in the future, Congress and the administration work together to achieve a legislative schedule that allows members to spend more continuous time at home so that they can truly stay in touch with the people. (Applause.)

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. It's exciting what's happening. As in the first days of our new nation, we must change an unresponsive government. The reforms that I've outlined today can help renew our faith in government -- confidence in government. We cannot stop with congressional process.

We must reform the federal bureaucracy as well, and I am going to have more to say on that in the near future. But today, our mission is to begin restoring the principles of our Founding Fathers and guaranteeing for our children a new American Century.

The choice is clear. On one side stand the defenders of the status quo; on the other, the forces of change. And we must make the choice worthy of the men who met here in this room and began the world's only permanent revolution. And now that we've changed the world -- we have -- we must make the choice to change America.

Thank you all very, very much. And may God bless the United States.

END

11:00 A.M. EST

**OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 3, 1992**

**THANK YOU, BRIAN [GUTHRIE, PRESIDENT OF THE
FEDERALIST SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA], FOR THAT KIND
INTRODUCTION. SENATOR SPECTER; CONGRESSMAN COUGHLIN;
MARTHA AIKENS, SUPERINTENDENT OF INDEPENDENCE PARK. I
SEE JOSEPH CICIPPIO. OLD CONGRESS HALL IS HOME TO
GREAT IDEAS AND GREAT DEBATE. IN THIS VERY ROOM,
PIVOTAL AND PROFOUND DISCUSSIONS OCCURRED -- SETTING IN
MOTION A GRAND EXPERIMENT IN MAN'S ABILITY TO CHART HIS
OWN FUTURE.**

THE VISION OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS MAY STILL BE
HARD FOR US TO FULLY COMPREHEND. BUT IF YOU REALLY
THINK ABOUT IT, THEIR GOALS WERE NOT MUCH DIFFERENT
THAN OURS. THEY WANTED THEIR NEW COUNTRY TO PROSPER -
- AND THEY KNEW INTUITIVELY THAT THE ROAD TO PROSPERITY
WAS FREEDOM. THEY BELIEVED IN THE FUNDAMENTALS -- IN
THE INHERENT STRENGTH OF FAITH AND FAMILY -- AND THEY
WERE DETERMINED TO PRESERVE THEM. THEY WANTED THE
CITIZENS OF OUR YOUNG NATION TO LIVE IN PEACE -- SAFE
AND SECURE FROM THREATS AT HOME AND ABROAD. IT TOOK A
REVOLUTION TO ACHIEVE THEIR VISION -- AND IT IS OUR
DUTY TO PRESERVE IT.

THEY SAY WHEN BRITISH GENERAL CORNWALLIS
SURRENDERED TO WASHINGTON AT YORKTOWN IN 1781, HIS
TROOPS MARCHED TO THE TUNE, "THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE
DOWN." IT WAS A PROFOUNDLY SIMPLE RECOGNITION THAT AN
OLD WORLD ORDER WAS ENDING AND A NEW ONE BEGINNING.

NOW, MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS LATER, WE ARE AGAIN IN THE MIDST OF GREAT CHANGE. DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM ONCE AGAIN HAVE TURNED THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN. AMERICA ONCE AGAIN CHAMPIONED A GREAT WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT. WE STOOD FIRM FOR OUR PRINCIPLES THROUGH SOME VERY DIFFICULT TIMES. WE DID INDEED CHANGE THE WORLD. NOW, AS YOU HAVE HEARD ME SAY, IF WE COULD CHANGE THE WORLD, WE CAN CHANGE AMERICA.

HENRY LUCE CALLED THE 20TH CENTURY THE AMERICAN CENTURY. IN A WORLD MORE DRIVEN BY ECONOMIC COMPETITION THAN EVER BEFORE, WE MUST NOW MEET FIVE GREAT CHALLENGES TO ENSURE THAT THE NEXT CENTURY IS ALSO THE AMERICAN CENTURY.

FIRST, OUR CHILDREN MUST DEVELOP GOOD CHARACTER AND VALUES SO THEY CAN BE EDUCATED ADULTS -- LITERATE AND DRUG-FREE -- MOTIVATED TO MAKE LEARNING A LIFELONG PURSUIT. WE MUST DRAMATICALLY CHANGE OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM -- LITERALLY REVOLUTIONIZE IT. OUR AMERICA 2000 EDUCATION INITIATIVE MEANS TOP-TO-BOTTOM EDUCATIONAL REFORM. SECOND, OUR PEOPLE MUST HAVE A SENSE OF WELL-BEING ABOUT THEIR PHYSICAL HEALTH. MY HEALTH CARE PROPOSAL GUARANTEES ACCESS TO THE FINEST HEALTH CARE SYSTEM IN THE WORLD, AND KEEPS THAT CARE AFFORDABLE FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS.

NEXT, OUR CIVIL JUSTICE SYSTEM MUST DO WHAT IT WAS DESIGNED TO DO: DISPENSE JUSTICE FOR ALL. EIGHTEEN MILLION LAWSUITS A YEAR ARE CHOKING US -- COSTING US BILLIONS OF DOLLARS -- AND PUTTING A TREMENDOUS DRAG ON OUR CIVILITY AND OUR ECONOMY. IF CONGRESS PASSES MY ACCESS TO JUSTICE ACT, THIS TOO CAN CHANGE.

AND IN THE NEXT CENTURY, ECONOMIC COMPETITION, AS WELL AS ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY WILL COME FROM BEYOND OUR BORDERS. THAT'S WHY WE HAVE AN AGGRESSIVE PRO-GROWTH TRADE POLICY. IT DEMANDS MORE OPEN FOREIGN MARKETS FOR QUALITY AMERICAN GOODS AND SERVICES TO SUSTAIN AND CREATE AMERICAN JOBS.

FINALLY, IF WE ARE TO CHANGE AMERICA WE MUST CHANGE THE WAY GOVERNMENT WORKS. THAT IS WHAT I WILL ADDRESS TODAY. G.K. CHESTERTON SAID, "WE CANNOT DISCUSS REFORM WITHOUT REFERENCE TO FORM". THIS HAS BEEN AMPLY DEMONSTRATED IN JUST THE LAST DECADE AS ONE INSTITUTION AFTER ANOTHER HAS BEEN CHALLENGED -- FORCED TO TAKE A HARD LOOK WITHIN ITSELF, MAKE NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS, AND ACT TO MAKE THE INSTITUTION LIVE UP TO ITS PRINCIPLES. THAT IS THE PROCESS CALLED REFORM.

TO ENSURE THEIR COMPETITIVE EDGE, BUSINESSES LAUNCH REFORMS GEARED TO QUALITY. THEN, BY MEASURING PERFORMANCE, THEY IMPROVE PERFORMANCE. OFTEN IT'S NOT FLASHY -- THE RETURN TO OLD VALUES AND STANDARDS LIKE "BUILT TO LAST A LIFETIME", OR "SERVICE WITH A SMILE." COMPETITION WORKS -- THE PROOF? TODAY AMERICAN PRODUCTS ARE QUANTIFIABLY BETTER THAN JUST A FEW YEARS AGO.

REFORM HAS IMPROVED PERFORMANCE IN OUR MILITARY. IN THE FACE OF TIGHTER BUDGETS, WE'VE CUT THE FAT, GOTTEN LEANER AND SMARTER. DESERT STORM PROVED IT. THE DRIVE FOR EXCELLENCE HAS INFLUENCED ALMOST EVERY OTHER INSTITUTION, FROM STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AND UNIONS.

YET, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS A GLARING HOLD-OUT.
IT RESISTS REFORM AND PROTECTS A FAILED STATUS QUO --
EVEN IN THE FACE OF AN UNAMBIGUOUS NEED FOR CHANGE.
THIS IS NOT ABOUT BARBER SHOPS OR GYMNASIUM PRIVILEGES
OR PARKING SPACES. IT IS NOT ABOUT PERKS. IT IS ABOUT
THE GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS, AND ITS POTENTIAL TO HELP OR
HINDER THE PUBLIC GOOD. IT IS ABOUT BIG THINGS --
MAJOR CHANGES TO MAKE GOVERNMENT MORE RESPONSIVE. IT
IS ABOUT THE CHANGES THAT ARE SWEEPING THE REST OF THE
COUNTRY BUT ARE NOT BEING MADE IN WASHINGTON.

THE MOST RECENT PROOF THAT WE HAVE A MAJOR PROBLEM WAS THE INABILITY OF CONGRESS TO RISE TO THE CHALLENGE OF HELPING OUR ECONOMY. INSTEAD IT REVERTED TO FORM -- TRYING TO RAISE TAXES AND INCREASE GOVERNMENT SPENDING. IF IT CANNOT ADDRESS A STRAIGHTFORWARD SHORT-TERM PROPOSAL TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY, HOW CAN IT POSSIBLY DEAL WITH THE MORE COMPLEX ISSUES LIKE THE BADLY NEEDED REFORMS OF OUR EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE AND LEGAL SYSTEMS? IF WE ARE TO REFORM EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, OUR LEGAL SYSTEM -- IF WE ARE TO REDUCE RED TAPE AND REGULATION, MAKE OUR COUNTRY COMPETITIVE, GET THIS HORRENDOUS DEFICIT DOWN, WE MUST REFORM THE CONGRESSIONAL PROCESS ITSELF, AND MAKE IT RESPONSIVE TO OUR COUNTRY'S REAL NEEDS.

THE GROWTH OF BIG GOVERNMENT HAS DIMINISHED THE
ROLE OF CONGRESS FROM POLICY-MAKING TO PROGRAM-MAKING.
PROMULGATING AND PROTECTING MORE PROGRAMS SETS IN
MOTION A PERPETUAL CYCLE OF CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR
MORE UNNECESSARY SPENDING -- CREATING BIGGER AND EVEN
LESS RESPONSIVE BUREAUCRACIES. THEN, BY SERVICING THE
NEEDS OF PROGRAM RECIPIENTS, CONGRESSIONAL STAFFS HELP
TO ENSURE MEMBERS' RE-ELECTION AND A CONTINUATION OF
BUSINESS AS USUAL. BEYOND THAT, CONGRESS ROUTINELY
EXEMPTS ITSELF FROM THE LAWS IT IMPOSES ON THE REST OF
THE NATION -- LAWS LIKE THE LANDMARK CIVIL RIGHTS ACT
OF 1964.

PROPHETICALLY, THE FOUNDING FATHERS WARNED US ABOUT THESE DANGERS. FEDERALIST PAPER #57 ASSERTS THAT ELECTED OFFICIALS, "CAN MAKE NO LAW WHICH WILL NOT HAVE ITS FULL OPERATION ON THEMSELVES AND THEIR FRIENDS, AS WELL AS ON THE GREAT MASS OF THE SOCIETY." FEDERALIST PAPER #52 ARGUED THAT PERMANENT MAJORITIES ARE DANGEROUSLY UNDEMOCRATIC. JAMES MADISON WOULD BE APPALLED TO HEAR THAT 98% OF CONGRESSMEN WHO SEEK RE-ELECTION ARE IN FACT RE-ELECTED -- THAT ONE PARTY, THE DEMOCRATS, HAS CONTROLLED THE HOUSE 56 OUT OF THE LAST 60 YEARS. THAT MEANS SELF-PERPETUATING STAFFS AND A BUREAUCRACY BEHOLDEN TO ONE SET OF LEADERS. THE BANK AND POST OFFICE SCANDALS ARE THE RESULT OF ONE-PARTY CONTROL -- ONE PARTY'S LACK OF SUPERVISION, LACK OF NEW BLOOD, AND LACK OF CHANGE.

ONE-PARTY RULE IS A BIG PART OF THE PROBLEM, BUT BY NO MEANS ALL OF IT. WE HAVE HAD DIVIDED GOVERNMENT BEFORE, SOMETIMES DURING PERIODS OF GREAT CRISIS. EACH TIME WE HAVE WORKED TOGETHER IN GOOD FAITH TO MEET THOSE CHALLENGES.

THE LARGER ISSUE IS THE SYSTEMIC PROBLEM OF CONGRESS -- THE STICKY WEB OF 284 CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES, THE ALMOST 40,000 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH EMPLOYEES AND STAFF, \$2.5 BILLION OF TAXPAYER FINANCING, OVERLAID WITH A \$117 MILLION RE-ELECTION WAR CHEST FOR INCUMBENTS IN SPECIAL-INTEREST CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS, AND MILLIONS MORE IN SPECIAL-INTEREST INFLUENCE.

NONE OF THIS PROMOTES REFORM AND CHANGE. RATHER, IT AGGRESSIVELY PROTECTS THE STATUS QUO. CONSCIENTIOUS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS UNDERSTAND THIS. THAT'S WHY HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER BOB MICHEL HAS PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL REFORM LEGISLATION. HE'S GOT SOME GREAT IDEAS FOR IMPROVING THE CONGRESS AND ITS PROCEDURES -- LIKE LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR PROCESS REFORM, REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL STAFF, AND REDUCTION OF THE NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

THERE ARE GOOD PEOPLE IN CONGRESS -- MANY OF THEM -
- ON BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE -- I THINK OF YOUR OWN
SENATOR ARLEN SPECTER, RIGHT HERE WITH ME TODAY. TALK
TO ARLEN -- HE ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORTS CHANGING OUR
CONGRESSIONAL SYSTEM BECAUSE HE BELIEVES IN CHANGING
THE STATUS QUO.

THEN TALK TO RETIRING MEMBERS, MANY OF THEM
DEDICATED PEOPLE LIKE SENATOR WARREN RUDMAN OF NEW
HAMPSHIRE, AND YOU WILL HEAR THE FRUSTRATION. WHEN
ASKED ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF ENDLESS BUDGET DEFICITS, HE
ISSUED THIS INDICTMENT OF THE SYSTEM, "THE FACT IS THAT
WE ARE UNABLE, INSTITUTIONALLY, TO DO WHAT HAS TO BE
DONE. WE ARE LITERALLY NOT WATCHING THE FIDDLER FIDDLE
WHILE ROME BURNS; WE ARE WATCHING THE ENTIRE
ORCHESTRA."

SENATOR RUDMAN KNOWS THE BIGGEST THREAT TO FUTURE JOB CREATION IS DEFICIT SPENDING, AND THE CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL STRUCTURE IS NOT CAPABLE OF ADDRESSING THAT THREAT. HE KNOWS THAT AMERICANS ARE GENEROUS -- PEOPLE WILLING TO DO WHAT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE THIS COUNTRY BETTER. BUT THERE IS A MISMATCH BETWEEN THEIR WILLINGNESS TO HELP AND THEIR SKEPTICISM ABOUT CONGRESS. THEY JUST DON'T TRUST CONGRESS TO USE THEIR HARD-EARNED TAX DOLLARS WISELY.

TODAY GOVERNMENT IS A \$1.5 TRILLION ENTERPRISE. BUT PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON FREQUENTLY FORGET THAT THE TAXPAYER IS THE ORIGINAL INVESTOR, CUSTOMER, SHAREHOLDER, AND BOARD MEMBER ALL ROLLED INTO ONE. WHEN FOLKS IN GOVERNMENT FORGET THAT, THEY ISSUE NETTLESOME REGULATIONS. THOSE REGULATIONS INCREASE THE COST OF DOING BUSINESS, BUT WORSE, THEY DON'T REALLY SOLVE THE PROBLEMS THEY WERE DESIGNED TO SOLVE. AS PRESIDENT, I'M GOING TO KEEP TRYING TO CHANGE THE REGULATORY PROCESS, BUT I'LL NEED THE HELP OF THE CONGRESS.

WHEN GOVERNMENT FORGETS WHO IS REALLY THE BOSS --
THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER -- IT BECOMES INSULATED AND
UNRESPONSIVE. BUT UNRESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT DOESN'T JUST
HAPPEN. CONGRESS CREATES THESE GIANT CENTRALIZED
BUREAUCRACIES, LAYS DOWN THE MANDATES, FUNDS THE
PROGRAMS. THEN, IT IS THE CONGRESS THAT PROTECTS THEM,
INVESTIGATES THEM, MICRO-MANAGES THEM, AND ULTIMATELY
PERPETUATES THEM. PROGRAMS THAT HAVE OUTLIVED THEIR
FUNCTION RARELY OUTLIVE THEIR FUNDING. WITH A
CONGRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN AS GODPARENT, THEY
BECOME STEPCHILDREN OF THE CONGRESS.

SOME 107 DIFFERENT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES CLAIM SOME DEGREE OF OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE. SEVENTY-FOUR COMPETE FOR JURISDICTION OVER THE WAR ON DRUGS. JUST THIS WEEK, AFTER BEING REPORTED FROM ONE COMMITTEE IN THE HOUSE, OUR ENERGY BILL TO MAKE US MORE ENERGY-EFFICIENT AND ENERGY-INDEPENDENT WAS REFERRED TO NO LESS THAN EIGHT ADDITIONAL HOUSE COMMITTEES. IT SHOULD BE NO SURPRISE THAT IT TAKES SO LONG TO GET ANYTHING DONE.

WHEN THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE AND HIS TOP STAFF HAVE TO TESTIFY IN FOURTEEN HEARINGS IN ONE DAY, THINK OF THE TIME AND RESOURCES THAT TAKES. THINK OF THE THOUSANDS OF HOURS SPENT BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO FULFILL THE THOUSANDS OF CONGRESSIONAL DEMANDS FOR TESTIMONY, AND GOVERNMENT REPORTS.

DEMOCRATIC SENATOR DAVID BOREN SUMMED IT UP BY SAYING, "NO ONE DOUBTS THAT CONGRESS IS IN TROUBLE AS AN INSTITUTION." THAT'S WHY I SUPPORT HIS EFFORTS TO TRIM THE OVERGROWN THICKET OF COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES WHICH NOW PARALYZES THE CONGRESS.

CONGRESS HAS LEGITIMATE OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITIES OF COURSE. AND I KNOW THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE RUN LIKE IBM OR THE LOCAL CONVENIENCE STORE, BUT WE CAN IMPROVE ITS PERFORMANCE, AND WE MUST. WHAT MERELY HAMPERED US IN THE PAST, WILL PARALYZE US IN THE FUTURE. OUR ABILITY TO COMPETE DEMANDS WE MAKE THESE REFORMS, NOT JUST OF CONGRESS BUT OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY AS WELL. IT MEANS EMPHASIZING THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF A MORE RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT BY RELYING ON WHAT WORKS: CHOICE, COMPETITION, DECENTRALIZATION. BUT LET ME BE CLEAR, WE CANNOT REFORM THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WITHOUT FIRST REFORMING THE CONGRESS.

TAKEN TOGETHER, THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS WILL HELP MAKE GOVERNMENT WORK FOR THE PEOPLE.

FIRST, CONGRESS MUST GOVERN ITSELF BY THE LAWS IT IMPOSES ON OTHERS. NO MORE SPECIAL TREATMENT. LIKE AGE, RACE, SEX AND DISABILITY DISCRIMINATION LAWS. CONGRESS SHOULD SUBMIT TO THE LAWS IT IMPOSES ON THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH -- LIKE CONFLICT OF INTEREST LAWS OR THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL LAW. I WILL PROPOSE LEGISLATION TO END SUCH SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR CONGRESS NEXT WEEK. FURTHER, I WILL VETO ANY FUTURE LEGISLATION THAT EXTENDS SUCH SPECIAL TREATMENT TO THE CONGRESS.

SECOND, CONGRESS SHOULD REFORM ITS OPERATIONS AND PROCEDURES. I SUPPORT THE BOREN-DOMENICI REFORM BILL IN THE SENATE AND THE HAMILTON-GRADISON BILL IN THE HOUSE WHICH SETS UP A BIPARTISAN GROUP TO EVALUATE CONGRESSIONAL OPERATIONS AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS. IT IS A GOOD BEGINNING, BUT REAL REFORM LIKE THAT CONTAINED IN THE MICHEL BILL IS ESSENTIAL NOW. CHANGE IS STILL ON THE BACK BURNER. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST TURN UP THE HEAT.

THIRD, SWEEPING CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM. FULL DISCLOSURE OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES, AND COMPENSATION IS A KEY ELEMENT OF REFORM. I AM NOT REQUIRED TO DISCLOSE MY INCOME TAX RETURNS. IN A SENSE, I FEEL IT IS AN INVASION OF MY PRIVACY. BUT FOR TWELVE YEARS I HAVE MADE PUBLIC THOSE TAX RETURNS AND I BELIEVE ALL PEOPLE ASPIRING TO THE PRESIDENCY SHOULD DO THAT. PERHAPS CONGRESS DOES NOT NEED TO GO THAT FAR, BUT THEY SHOULD MAKE THEIR EXISTING DISCLOSURE RULES MUCH MORE RIGOROUS.

BEYOND THAT, WE MUST TOTALLY ELIMINATE SPECIAL-
INTEREST POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES AND PUT LIMITS ON
SO-CALLED "LEADERSHIP PACS." I HAVE PROPOSED WAYS TO
INCREASE THE LEGITIMATE ROLE OF OUR POLITICAL PARTIES,
REDUCE THE INFLUENCE OF SPECIAL INTERESTS, AND DECREASE
THE TIME CANDIDATES AND INCUMBENTS SPEND FUND-RAISING.
AND LET ME SAY IT STRAIGHT OUT: FEDERAL FUNDING OF
CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS WOULD ONLY WORSEN THE PROBLEM.
CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM IS STALLED ON CAPITOL HILL, BUT
THE TIME FOR ACTION IS LONG PAST -- WE MUST CLEAN UP
OUR ELECTION SYSTEM.

FOURTH, SPENDING REFORM. I HAVE ALREADY PROPOSED TO FREEZE DOMESTIC DISCRETIONARY SPENDING AND FEDERAL NON-DEFENSE EMPLOYMENT NEXT YEAR. I HAVE PROPOSED TWO-YEAR BUDGETS. I HAVE PROPOSED TO CURB AS WELL THE GROWTH OF MANDATORY PROGRAMS WITHOUT TOUCHING SOCIAL SECURITY. IF MANDATORY SPENDING WERE ALLOWED TO GROW FOR INFLATION AND ELIGIBLE POPULATION ONLY, WE COULD SAVE ABOUT TWO TRILLION DOLLARS OVER THE NEXT DECADE.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD DEMAND THAT THE CONGRESS PASS THE SAME MEASURE THAT 43 GOVERNORS HAVE: THE LINE-ITEM VETO. THEY SHOULD DEMAND A BALANCED BUDGET CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. OBVIOUSLY, A BALANCED BUDGET REQUIREMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE PHASED IN. BUT SUCH AN AMENDMENT IS NEEDED TO DISCIPLINE BOTH THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES.

IN THE ABSENCE OF THOSE IMPORTANT MEASURES I WILL CONTINUE TO USE WHATEVER MEANS ARE LEGALLY AT MY DISPOSAL, INCLUDING THE LINE-ITEM RESCISSION, TO PROTECT THE TAXPAYER FROM THE SPENDING EXCESSES OF CONGRESS. AND I WILL OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT BY THE CONGRESS TO DISMANTLE THE ONLY DEFENSE THE TAXPAYER HAS AGAINST CONGRESSIONAL OVERSPENDING -- THE BUDGET CAPS IMPLEMENTED IN THE 1990 BUDGET ACT.

FIFTH, REGULATORY REFORM. WE PUT A NINETY-DAY MORATORIUM ON NEW GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS. WE ARE REVISING AND ELIMINATING REGULATIONS THAT IMPEDE OUR ABILITY TO COMPETE, AND WE ARE ACCELERATING REGULATIONS THAT ENHANCE OUR COMPETITIVE EDGE. SINCE I ANNOUNCED THE MORATORIUM ON JANUARY 28TH, THE GROWTH OF BURDENSOME REGULATIONS HAS ALREADY BEEN REVERSED. AS OUR REVIEW CONTINUES WE WILL ANNOUNCE FURTHER STEPS TO REDUCE THE BURDEN OF UNNECESSARY REGULATIONS. BUT WE CANNOT DO IT ALONE. CONGRESS, IN PASSING LEGISLATION, MUST BE COMMITTED TO CUTTING DOWN THE REGULATORY BURDEN AS WELL.

SIXTH, WE MUST LIMIT CONGRESSIONAL TERMS. WE MUST ADDRESS THE CONGRESS OF THE FUTURE. THE CYCLE OF VIRTUALLY GUARANTEED RE-ELECTION, PARTICULARLY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THROUGH THE BUILT-IN ADVANTAGES OF INCUMBENCY MUST BE BROKEN. OUR FOUNDING FATHERS NEVER CONSIDERED ELECTED GOVERNMENT SERVICE TO BE A CAREER. I BELIEVE SENATORS SHOULD BE LIMITED TO TWO TERMS, AND REPRESENTATIVES, LIMITED TO SIX TERMS. AS PRESIDENT MY TERMS ARE LIMITED, THE SAME RULE SHOULD APPLY TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. OUR FIRST CONCERN SHOULD BE THE COUNTRY, NOT A LIFETIME POLITICAL CAREER.

THIS BRINGS ME TO MY FINAL POINT. CERTAINLY, GOVERNING TODAY IS COMPLEX AND TIME-CONSUMING. BUT NOT SO MANY YEARS AGO, REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE BACK HOME WAS A PART-TIME WASHINGTON JOB. SOMEHOW MEMBERS MANAGED TO FINISH THEIR WORK AND ADJOURN JUST BEFORE THE HOT, HUMID WASHINGTON, D.C. SUMMERS. AIR CONDITIONING CHANGED ALL THIS, AND NOW, THANKS TO MODERN TECHNOLOGY, CONGRESS SITS YEAR-ROUND.

MANY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE ARE NOW PERMANENT WASHINGTONIANS. WE DO NOT NEED A CAREER CONGRESS -- WE NEED A CITIZEN CONGRESS. TO BORROW A LINE FROM FORMER SENATE MAJORITY LEADER HOWARD BAKER "THEY OUGHT TO BE LIVING IN AMERICA AND VISITING WASHINGTON." HE WAS RIGHT. HE KNEW THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF STATE LEGISLATURES ARE ABLE TO DO THEIR WORK EACH YEAR IN SESSIONS LASTING LESS THAN SIX MONTHS -- SOME AS SHORT AS THREE MONTHS EVERY TWO YEARS.

WITH A STREAMLINED COMMITTEE STRUCTURE, A LEANER STAFF, MEMBERS' TIME ORGANIZED AROUND LEGISLATION RATHER THAN RE-ELECTION, AND BETTER DISCIPLINE ON HOW THEY SPEND THE PEOPLE'S MONEY, CONGRESS COULD RETURN TO WHAT THE FOUNDERS ENVISIONED AS A GOVERNMENT TRULY CLOSE TO THE PEOPLE. I SUGGEST THAT IN THE FUTURE, CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION WORK TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE A LEGISLATIVE SCHEDULE THAT ALLOWS MEMBERS TO SPEND MORE CONTINUOUS TIME AT HOME SO THEY CAN TRULY STAY IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE.

CHANGE IS SWEEPING AMERICA, JUST AS IT IS SWEEPING THE WORLD. AS IN THE FIRST DAYS OF OUR NEW NATION, WE MUST CHANGE AN UNRESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT. THE REFORMS I'VE OUTLINED TODAY CAN HELP RENEW OUR FAITH IN GOVERNMENT -- WE CANNOT STOP WITH CONGRESSIONAL PROCESS -- WE MUST REFORM THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY AS WELL. I WILL HAVE MORE TO SAY ON THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. BUT TODAY OUR MISSION IS TO BEGIN RESTORING THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR FOUNDERS, AND GUARANTEEING FOR OUR CHILDREN A NEW AMERICAN CENTURY.

THE CHOICE IS CLEAR. ON ONE SIDE STAND THE DEFENDERS OF THE STATUS QUO. ON THE OTHER: THE FORCES OF CHANGE. WE MUST MAKE THE CHOICE WORTHY OF THE MEN WHO MET HERE -- AND BEGAN THE WORLD'S ONLY PERMANENT REVOLUTION. NOW THAT WE'VE CHANGED THE WORLD, WE MUST MAKE THE CHOICE TO CHANGE AMERICA.

THANK YOU, AND MAY GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

Draft

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 3, 1992

The President's Address on Governmental Reform

FACT SHEET

Over the last decade, President Bush noted, one American institution after another has recognized the need to reform -- "to take a hard look within itself, make needed improvements, and act to make the institution live up to its principles." For example, to ensure their competitive edge, American businesses have improved product quality and performance. This drive for excellence has also influenced other private sector institutions and State and local governments.

The Federal government, with the exception of the military, has been a "glaring hold-out. It has resisted reform and protects a failed status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous need for change." The President observed that government today is a \$1.5 trillion enterprise, with the taxpayer as "original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one." In order to restore government accountability to the public, the President proposed the following governmental reforms.

I. Require Consistent Application of the Laws of the Land

The President announced that he will transmit to the Congress legislation that would extend to the Congress numerous laws that it has imposed on the private sector or the executive branch, but from which it has either altogether or effectively exempted itself:

- The "Openness in Congress and Right of Privacy Act of 1992" extends the Freedom of Information Act and the Privacy Act to both houses of Congress (including committees) and any instrumentality or other establishment in the legislative branch other than Members' personal offices (including the General Accounting Office). These laws currently apply to most of the executive branch. The Freedom of Information Act require disclosure upon request of certain agency records. The Privacy Act requires agencies that maintain records on individuals to allow those individuals access to the records to determine their accuracy and forbids wholesale disclosure of personal information contained in those records.

- The "Ethics in Congress Act of 1992" expands the list of individuals covered by the Independent Counsel provisions of the Ethics in Government Act. These provisions currently apply to the President, Vice President, certain officers of their campaigns, the Cabinet and other principal officers of agencies, the CIA Director and Deputy Director, the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service, and Department of Justice officials from the Attorney General through the Assistant Attorneys General and any other individual whose compensation is determined by Executive Schedule III. This legislation adds to that list Members of Congress, the Comptroller General, the chair and treasurer of the principal campaign committee of each Member of Congress, and each House's elected ~~officials~~ (such as the sergeant-at-arms and doorkeeper). → OFFICIALS

The "Ethics in Congress Act" also makes changes in the conflict-of-interest provisions of United States Code Title 18. It amends 18 U.S.C. Section 208, which prohibits executive branch employees from acting on matters with respect to which they have a financial interest, so that it also covers officers and employees of the legislative branch other than Members. It also extends 18 U.S.C. Section 209, which forbids supplementation of the salary of federal officials, to officers and employees of the legislative branch other than Members.

- The "Congressional Employees' Civil Rights Act of 1992" extends to most legislative branch and White House employees the rights and remedies concerning employment discrimination on the basis of race, sex, religion, age and disability currently enjoyed by employees in the private sector and in most of the executive branch under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and 42 U.S.C. Section 1981a. The remedies include the right to bring a civil action and in some cases the right to jury trials, compensatory and punitive damages, and attorney's fees. These rights and remedies would supersede the ineffective remedies granted to these congressional and executive branch employees under Section 117 and Sections 301-318 and 320 of the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

CEE

All employees and applicants for employment in the executive or legislative branches are to be covered by the listed statutes except for officers of either house of Congress, officers of the United States (within the meaning of the Constitution), members of the uniformed services, certain employees on the personal staff of Members of Congress and certain employees in the Executive Office of the President.

- The "Political Activities of Congressional Employees Act of 1992" reduces incumbency advantages by extending the Hatch Act's political participation ban to Congressional employees except for those in the Members' personal offices.
- The "Fair Labor Standards for Congress Act of 1992" requires Congress and its committees and instrumentalities other than Members' personal offices, to abide by the minimum wage/maximum hour laws that govern the private sector and most of the executive branch. It replaces the House's existing regime, which, unlike the one applied to the private sector and the executive branch, gives House employees no right to go to court to challenge violations.

GIVES NO RIGHT?

* → The President vowed to veto any further legislation that extends special treatment to Congress.

II. Reform the Congressional Committee System

Observing that Congressional action is mired in a "sticky web of 284 Congressional committees and subcommittees [and] almost 40,000 legislative branch employees and staff," the President called for reforming the Congressional committee system. He applauded as a "good beginning" a resolution, introduced by Senators Boren and Domenici and Representatives Hamilton and Gradison, to create a joint House-Senate committee to evaluate Congressional operations and recommend comprehensive Congressional reforms. He also encouraged Congress to pursue the type of comprehensive reform represented by the bill recently introduced by Representative Michel.

HOUSE ~~MAJORITY~~ LEADER
REPUBLICAN

III. Reform Campaign Finance Laws

In order to "increase the legitimate role of our political parties, reduce the influence of special interests, and decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fundraising," the President reiterated the proposals for sweeping campaign finance reforms he has been supporting since 1989.

A. Eliminate Special Interest Political Action Committees (PACs).

The President called for eliminating political action committees (PACs) supported by corporations, unions or trade associations and forbidding such entities to pay the overhead or administrative costs of any independent PACs.

B. Limit Contributions of "Leadership PACs".

The President reaffirmed his support for curtailing the activities of leadership PACs by limiting Federal candidates and elected officials to one fundraising committee and by prohibiting transfers between fundraising committees.

C. Require Full Disclosure of "Soft Money" Expenditures.

The President renewed his call for Congress to pass tough new laws requiring full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures -- money spent by political parties and special interests on voter turnout and registration efforts. Such disclosure would help restore competition in elections by attacking the hidden advantage soft money expenditures currently give incumbents.

D. Increase the Role of Political Parties in Elections.

To limit further the influence of special interests, the President supports measures to strengthen the role of political parties in elections. Increasing the amounts political parties can spend on behalf of Congressional candidates would permit candidates to spend less time fundraising and ensure that challengers have greater resources with which to challenge incumbents.

IV. Reduce Federal Spending and Reform the Budget Process

The President again urged Congress to adopt measures to reduce Federal spending and reform the budget process, including:

- Holding FY 1993 domestic discretionary budget authority at FY 1992 levels;
- Freezing FY 1993 Federal employment in non-defense agencies at FY 1992 levels;
- Establishing a mechanism to control the automatic growth in existing entitlement and other mandatory programs, without touching Social Security; and
- Giving the President explicit line-item veto authority.

The President today reiterated his proposal for three additional measures to foster fiscal discipline:

A. Institute Biennial Budgets

Biennial budgeting would decrease the time spent on allocating resources, and leave more time for program oversight and management.

B. Amend the Constitution to Require a Balanced Budget.

As the President noted in his FY 1993 Budget, the current budget system appears to be incapable of eliminating the Federal deficit, much less of producing a surplus. The President believes that in order to achieve fiscal discipline and protect future generations from heavy debt burdens, the American people should demand a Constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. Such a balanced budget amendment should include safeguards against a resort to higher taxes as the means of complying with the Constitutional mandate.

C. Maintain the 1990 Budget Act Caps.

President Bush vowed to "veto any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending - the budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act."

V. Eliminate Unnecessary Government Regulation

In his State of the Union address on January 28, 1992, the President announced a 90-day moratorium on new government regulations. During that 90-day period, the major regulatory agencies are to identify and eliminate regulations that stifle economic growth and to accelerate regulations that enhance competitiveness or relieve unnecessary regulatory burdens.

Since January 28, the Administration has halted the growth of burdensome regulations. As the regulatory review continues, the Administration will identify and implement additional measures to reduce unnecessary regulatory burdens on businesses, consumers and workers.

VI. Limit Congressional Terms

Declaring that "[o]ur Founding Fathers never considered elected government service to be a career," the President endorsed Congressional term limits as a way to break the cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election of incumbents. He called for limiting U.S. Senators to two terms and U.S. Representatives to six terms.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 3, 1992

The President's Address on Governmental Reform

FACT SHEET

Over the last decade, President Bush noted, one American institution after another has recognized the need to reform -- "to take a hard look within itself, make needed improvements, and act to make the institution live up to its principles." For example, to ensure their competitive edge, American businesses have improved product quality and performance. This drive for excellence has also influenced other private sector institutions and State and local governments.

The Federal government, with the exception of the military, has been a "glaring hold-out. It has resisted reform and protects a failed status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous need for change." The President observed that government today is a \$1.5 trillion enterprise, with the taxpayer as "original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one." In order to restore government accountability to the public, the President proposed the following governmental reforms.

I. Require Consistent Application of the Laws of the Land

The President announced that he will transmit to the Congress legislation that would extend to the Congress numerous laws that it has imposed on the private sector or the executive branch, but from which it has either altogether or effectively exempted itself. The President vowed to veto any future legislation that extends special treatment to Congress.

II. Reform the Congressional Committee System

Observing that Congressional action is mired in a "sticky web of 284 Congressional committees and subcommittees [and] almost 40,000 legislative branch employees and staff," the President called for reforming the Congressional committee system. He applauded as a "good beginning" a resolution, introduced by Senators Boren and Domenici and Representatives Hamilton and Gradison, to create a joint House-Senate committee to evaluate Congressional operations and recommend comprehensive Congressional reforms. He also encouraged Congress to pursue the type of comprehensive reform represented by the bill recently introduced by House Republican Leader Michel.

III. Reform Campaign Finance Laws

In order to "increase the legitimate role of our political parties, reduce the influence of special interests, and decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising," the President reiterated the proposals for sweeping campaign finance reforms he has been supporting since 1989.

A. Eliminate Special Interest Political Action Committees (PACs).

The President called for eliminating political action committees (PACs) supported by corporations, unions or trade associations and forbidding such entities to pay the overhead or administrative costs of any independent PACs.

B. Limit Contributions of "Leadership PACs".

The President reaffirmed his support for curtailing the activities of leadership PACs by limiting Federal candidates and elected officials to one fundraising committee and by prohibiting transfers between fundraising committees.

C. Require Full Disclosure of "Soft Money" Expenditures.

The President renewed his call for Congress to pass tough new laws requiring full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures -- money spent by political parties and special interests on voter turnout and registration efforts. Such disclosure would help restore competition in elections by attacking the hidden advantage soft money expenditures currently give incumbents.

D. Increase the Role of Political Parties in Elections.

To limit further the influence of special interests, the President supports measures to strengthen the role of political parties in elections. Increasing the amounts political parties can spend on behalf of Congressional candidates would permit candidates to spend less time fundraising and ensure that challengers have greater resources with which to challenge incumbents.

IV. Reduce Federal Spending and Reform the Budget Process

The President again urged Congress to adopt measures to reduce Federal spending and reform the budget process, including:

- Holding FY 1993 domestic discretionary budget authority at FY 1992 levels;
- Freezing FY 1993 Federal employment in non-defense agencies at FY 1992 levels;
- Establishing a mechanism to control the automatic growth in existing entitlement and other mandatory programs, without touching Social Security; and
- Giving the President explicit line-item veto authority.

The President today called for the implementation of four additional measures to foster fiscal discipline:

A. Institute Two-Year Budgets

Biennial budgeting would decrease the time spent on allocating resources, and leave more time for program oversight and management.

B. Reduce the Number of Budget Process Committees

[To Come]

C. Amend the Constitution to Require a Balanced Budget.

As the President noted in his FY 1993 Budget, the current budget system appears to be incapable of eliminating the Federal deficit, much less of producing a surplus. The President believes that in order to achieve fiscal discipline and protect future generations from heavy debt burdens, the American people should demand a Constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. Such a balanced budget amendment should include safeguards against a resort to higher taxes as the means of complying with the Constitutional mandate.

D. Maintain the 1990 Budget Act Caps.

President Bush vowed to "veto any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending - the budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act."

V. Eliminate Unnecessary Government Regulation

In his State of the Union address on January 28, 1992, the President announced a 90-day moratorium on new government regulations. During that 90-day period, the major regulatory agencies are to identify and eliminate regulations that stifle economic growth and to accelerate regulations that enhance competitiveness or relieve unnecessary regulatory burdens.

Today the President noted that regulatory agencies have already made numerous reforms in response to the President's initiative. Those reforms will ultimately reduce the prices that consumers and businesses pay for energy and transportation; increase the amount of credit available to businesses and individuals; cut red tape for emerging industries such as biotechnology; and reduce other regulatory barriers to job creation and economic growth.

As the regulatory review continues, the Administration will identify and implement additional measures to reduce unnecessary regulatory burdens on businesses, consumers and workers.

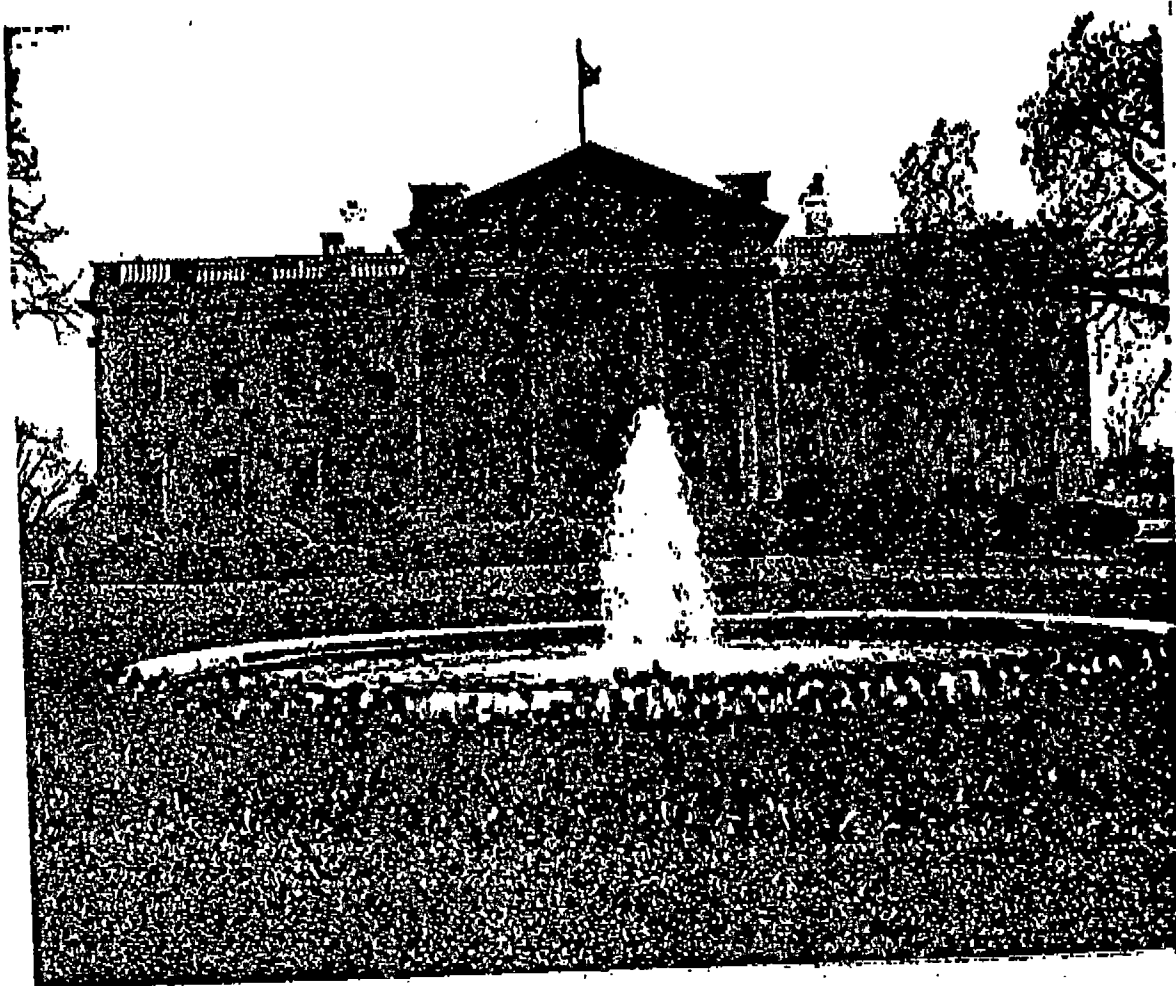
VI. Limit Congressional Terms

Declaring that "[o]ur Founding Fathers never considered elected government service to be a career," the President endorsed Congressional term limits as a way to break the cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election of incumbents. He called for limiting U.S. Senators to two terms and U.S. Representatives to six terms.

#

Talking Points -- Governmental Reform

- Many American institutions have recognized the need for fundamental reform over the last decade.
 - The Federal government, with the exception of the military, has been a "glaring hold-out."
 - As a \$1.5 trillion enterprise, government must become more accountable to the taxpayer, who is "original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one."
- The President reaffirmed his support for six fundamental reforms to move away from the "failed status quo ... and make government more responsive:"
 - require Congress to govern itself by the laws it imposes on others (e.g., employment discrimination protections, ethics laws and Hatch Act restrictions);
 - reform the Congressional committee system;
 - reform campaign finance laws to reduce the influence of special interests, require full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures, and increase the role of political parties in elections;
 - reduce Federal spending and reform the budget process through instituting two-year budgeting, reducing the number of budget committees from three to one, enacting a balanced budget Constitutional amendment, maintaining the 1990 Budget Act spending caps and other fiscal reforms;
 - eliminate unnecessary and burdensome government regulations; and
 - limit Congressional terms to two terms for U.S. Senators and six terms for U.S. Representatives.
- The President has been seeking enactment of many of these measures, such as consistent application of the laws, campaign finance reforms, a balanced budget Constitutional amendment, the line-item veto and biennial budgeting since he first took office in 1989.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

TO: Dave Demerest

FAX NUMBER: 2983

TELEPHONE NUMBER: 7620

FROM: Lee S. Liberman

TELEPHONE NUMBER: 6257

PAGES (INCLUDING COVER): 9

COMMENTS: _____

This title may be cited as the "Ethics in Congress Act of 1992."

Section 302. Independent Counsel

Section 591(b) of chapter 40 of title 28, United States Code, is amended by striking the word "and" at the end of paragraph (7), substituting a semicolon for the period at the end of paragraph (8), and adding the following new paragraphs:

"(9) each Senator, each Member of, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the House of Representatives, and the Comptroller General of the United States;

"(10) the chairman and the treasurer of the principal campaign committee seeking the election or reelection of a Senator or a Member of the House of Representatives (including each Delegate and each Resident Commissioner), and any officer of that committee during the incumbency of the Senator or Member;

"(11) each individual employed on the staff of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, the House Committee on Appropriations, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, or the House Committee on the Judiciary, who is compensated at a rate of pay at or above level III of the Executive Schedule under section 5313 of title 5."

Section 303. Conflicts of Interest

Chapter 11 of title 18, United States Code, is amended as follows:

(a) Section 208(a) is amended by inserting "of the legislative branch of the Government (who is not a Senator or a Member of, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the House of Representatives)," after "whoever being an officer or employee".

(b) Section 208(d)(1) is amended by inserting, at the end of Section 208(d)(1), "For purposes of this subsection, the term "agency" shall include either House of Congress (including committees of either House and joint committees), any agency, instrumentality or other establishment in the legislative branch of the Government (including the General Accounting Office), or any officer of either House of Congress, including any Senator, the President of the Senate, or a Member of, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the House of Representatives."

(c) Section 209(a) is amended by inserting "of the legislative branch of the Government (who is not a Senator or a Member of, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the House of Representatives)," after "as compensation for his services as an officer or employee".

BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

Section 1. Short Title

This Act may be cited as the "Accountability in Government Act of 1992."

TITLE I -- OPENNESS IN CONGRESS

Section 101. Short Title

This title may be cited as the "Openness in Congress Act of 1992."

Section 102. Coverage of Congress by the Freedom of Information Act

Section 552 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding the following new subsection after subsection (f):

"(g) For purposes of this section, notwithstanding section 551(1)(A) of this title, the term "agency" shall also include either House of Congress (including committees of either House and joint committees), or any agency, instrumentality or other establishment in the legislative branch of the Government (including the General Accounting Office), other than the personal offices of any Senator, or Member of, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the House of Representatives."

TITLE II -- RIGHT OF PRIVACY

Section 201. Short Title.

This title may be cited as the "Right of Privacy Act of 1992."

Section 202. Application of the Privacy Act to Congress

Section 552a(a)(1) of title 5, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

"(1) the term agency means agency as defined in section 552(f) and (g) of this title and also includes the White House Office, the Office of the Vice President, and the personal offices of any Senator, Member of, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the House of Representatives, and the term "officer or employee" shall include officers and employees of the legislative branch and Senators, Members of, or Delegates or Resident Commissioners to, the House of Representatives;"

TITLE III -- ETHICS IN CONGRESS

Section 301. Short Title.

(d) Section 209(b) is amended by inserting "of the legislative branch of the Government (who is not a Senator or a Member of, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the House of Representatives)," after "Nothing herein prevents an officer or employee".

TITLE IV -- CONGRESSIONAL EMPLOYEES' CIVIL RIGHTS

Section 401. Short Title.

This title may be cited as the "Congressional Employees' Civil Rights Act of 1992."

Section 402. Parity of Rights and Remedies.

(a) Section 717 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-16) is amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(f) Parity of Rights and Remedies. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, all employees or applicants for employment in the Congress of the United States, or its Houses, committees, offices or instrumentalities, or the offices of any of its members, except for (a) officers of either House of Congress, and (b) employees on the personal staff of a Member who report directly to the Member and whose annual rate of basic pay is set at level V of the Executive Schedule or higher, and all employees of or applicants for employment in any unit of the Executive branch, including the Executive Office of the President, except for (a) officers of the United States, (b) employees in the Executive Office of the President who report directly to the President or Vice President and whose annual rate of basic pay is set at level V of the Executive Schedule or higher, and (c) members of the uniformed services, shall enjoy the same rights to be free from and remedies against discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, handicap, or disability, as those enjoyed by other employees under this section, section 15 of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (29 U.S.C. 633a), sections 504 and 505 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 794 and 794a(a)(1) and (b)), and section 1977A of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1981a). These rights and remedies shall include the right to bring an original civil action, the right to trial by jury, the right to compensatory and punitive damages, and the right to recover attorney's fees, where those rights are enjoyed by other employees under this section, section 15 of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (29 U.S.C. 633a), sections 504 and 505 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 794 and 794a(a)(1) and (b)), or section 1977A of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1981a). The sole exception shall be that with respect to the Congress of the United States, its Houses, committees, offices, and instrumentalities, and the offices of its Members, authorities granted to the Equal

Employment Opportunity Commission in this section, section 15 of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (29 U.S.C. 633a), and sections 504 and 505 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 794 and 794a(a)(1) and (b)) shall be exercised in each House of Congress as determined by that House of Congress, and in offices and instrumentalities not within a House of Congress as determined by the Congress. With respect to the employees to whom they are granted, the rights and remedies under this subsection shall entirely supersede the rights and remedies made available under section 117 and sections 301-318 and 320 of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 (2 U.S.C. 601, 1201-1217, and 1219)."

(b) Section 1977A(b)(1) of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1981a(b)(1)) is amended by striking the words "(other than a government, government agency or political subdivision)".

TITLE V -- POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF CONGRESSIONAL EMPLOYEES

Section 501. Short Title.

This title may be cited as the "Political Activities of Congressional Employees Act of 1992."

Section 502. Extension of ban on political activities by government employees to certain congressional employees

Section 7324(a) of chapter 73 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding after the word "agency" and before the words "or an individual employed" the following: ", an employee in the Legislative branch, including the General Accounting Office (except employees in the personal offices of Members of Congress),".

TITLE VI -- CONGRESSIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Section 601. Short Title

This title may be cited as the "Congressional Labor Relations Act of 1992."

Section 602. Coverage of Congressional Instrumentalities

(a) Section 7103(a)(3) of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding after "Library of Congress" and before "Government Printing Office," the following:

"the Office of the Architect of the Capitol, the United States Botanic Garden, the Congressional Budget Office, the General Accounting Office, the Office of Printing Services, the Office of Technology Assessment, the Office of Telecommunications, the Office of Fair Employment Practices, and the Office of the Postmaster of the House of Representatives,"

(b) Section 7103(a)(3) of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by deleting paragraph (A), "the General Accounting Office;" and redesignating the remaining paragraphs as follows:

- "(A) the Federal Bureau of Investigation;
- (B) the Central Intelligence Agency;
- (C) the National Security Agency;
- (D) the Tennessee Valley Authority;
- (E) the Federal Labor Relations Authority; or
- (F) the Federal Services Impasses Panel;"

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

Section 1. This contains the short title.

Section 101. This section contains the short title of title I, the "Openness in Congress Act of 1992."

Section 102. This provision extends the Freedom of Information Act to a number of persons and entities in the legislative branch: either House of Congress (including committees of either House and joint committees) and any agency, instrumentality or other establishment in the legislative branch (including the General Accounting Office). It does not extend FOIA to Members' personal offices.

Section 201. This section contains the short title of title II, the "Right of Privacy Act of 1992."

Section 202. This provision extends the coverage of the Privacy Act to the legislative entities referred to in section 102, to the White House Office and the Office of the Vice President, and to individual Members' personal offices.

Section 301. Section 301 contains the short title of title III, the "Ethics in Congress Act of 1992."

Section 302. This provision expands the list of individuals covered by the Independent Counsel provisions of the Ethics in Government Act. It would include on that list Members of Congress, the Comptroller General, the chair and treasurer of the principal campaign committee of each Member of Congress, and certain highly-compensated staff members of each House's Committees on Appropriations and Judiciary.

Section 303. This makes four changes in the conflict-of-interest provisions of title 18. Subsection (a) amends 18 U.S.C. 208, which prohibits certain government employees from acting on matters with respect to which they have a financial interest, so that it also covers officers and employees of the legislative branch other than Members. Subsection (b) is a conforming amendment to 18 U.S.C. 208 that ensures that waivers granted by Members are subject to public disclosure. Subsections (c) and (d) extend 18 U.S.C. 209(a) and (b), which forbid supplementation of salary of federal officials, to officers and employees of the legislative branch other than Members.

Section 401. Section 401 contains the short title of title IV, the "Congressional Employees' Civil Rights Act of 1992."

Section 402. This section extends to specified legislative and executive branch employees the rights and remedies concerning employment discrimination currently enjoyed by most executive branch employees under title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, the

Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and 42 U.S.C. 1981a. The remedies include the right to bring a civil action and in some cases the right to jury trials, compensatory and punitive damages, and attorney's fees. These rights and remedies are to supersede those granted to these congressional and executive branch employees under section 117 and sections 301-318 and 320 of the Civil Rights Act of 1991. That regime gives these employees no right to have the facts of their claims determined by an Article III tribunal, no right to jury trials where compensatory damages are sought, and no right to recover punitive damages in appropriate cases.

Under the new provision, all employees and applicants for employment in the executive or legislative branches are to be covered by the listed statutes except for (a) officers of either House of Congress, (b) congressional employees on the personal staff of a Member who report directly to the Member and whose annual rate of basic pay is set at level V of the Executive Schedule or higher, (c) officers of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution, (d) employees in the Executive Office of the President who report directly to the President or Vice President and whose annual rate of basic pay is set at level V of the Executive Schedule or higher, and (e) members of the uniformed services.

Under current law, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission performs a number of functions concerning complaints of employment discrimination by federal employees. Under section 402, with respect to congressional employees those functions would be performed as directed by the relevant House of Congress, or by Congress as a whole where the employing entity involved is not within a single House.

Section 501. This provides the short title for title V.

Section 502. Section 502 extends the political participation ban of the Hatch Act, 5 U.S.C. 7324, to employees in the legislative branch except for those employed in the personal offices of Members.

Section 601. This contains the short title of title VI, the "Congressional Labor Relations Act of 1992."

Section 602. Subsection (a) extends the provisions of the Federal Labor Relations Act, which currently covers most agencies in the executive branch, to a number of entities in the legislative branch. The entities to be covered are: the Office of the Architect of the Capitol, the United States Botanic Garden, the Congressional Budget Office, the General Accounting Office, the Office of Printing Services, the Office of Technology Assessment, the Office of Telecommunications, the Office of Fair Employment Practices, and the Office of the Postmaster of the

House of Representatives. Subsection (b) is a conforming amendment to reflect the fact that the General Accounting Office is to be covered by the FLRA.