

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: 13806
Folder ID Number: 13806-004

Folder Title:
Federalist Society of Pennsylvania--Government Reform 4/3/92 [OA 7571][6]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	22	4	3

Old Congress Hall

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT ~~OLD HOUSE CHAMBER~~
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

~~MARCH 31, 1992~~ APRIL 1, 1992

*plns to Cong. Hall
inst. of Phila*

Thank you for that kind introduction. [ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]

Today, I would rather be in Philadelphia. Philadelphia 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.

→ birthplace?

The vision ~~and insight~~ 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 --~~ *are the same as our goals are today* they wanted ~~their new country~~ *America* 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 -- ~~but it installed the constitutional government~~ *and it is our duty to preserve it & make it work...?* ~~Abraham Lincoln later called, "of the people, by the people, and for the people."~~

When British General Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781, he had his band play "The World Turned Upside Down", as his troops marched before Washington's Continental Army. It was a profoundly simple realization that an old world order was coming to a close and a new order was beginning.

Now, more than 2

~~Over two~~ hundred years later we again are in the midst of great change. The world we knew just a few years ago is altogether different now. Democracy and freedom once again have turned the world upside down. Our nation once again stood at the forefront of that great movement. We sacrificed. We bled. We stood firm for our principles through some very difficult times. But we did indeed change the world. Now, as you have heard me say, if we could change the world, we can change America.

Many have called the 20th century the American Century. ~~The question before us today is about the next century -- looming~~ ^{too dismal a word...} just a few years ahead. In a world ~~more~~ ^{more} driven by economic competition ^{more} than ever before, there are great challenges that we must address now, if we are to ensure that the next century is ~~indeed~~ ^{indeed also} also the American Century.

~~There are~~ ^{There are} I have set forth five issues that must be addressed if we wish to guarantee a prosperous and compassionate America. Our people must be educated, literate, and motivated to keep on learning. ~~That means~~ ^{we} we must reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it -- top to bottom. Our people must have a sense of well-being about their health and ~~that~~ ^{the health} of their children and families. We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care ~~more~~ ^{more} affordable.

~~We must~~ ^{We must} Next, ~~we must end America's turn our civil justice system back into what it was designed to do:~~ dispense justice with civility. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us --

costing individuals and businesses billions ^{of dollars} -- a tremendous drag on our spirits as well as our economy.

And in the next century, ~~as we look at the likely economic~~ competition, as well as ^{economic} ~~the likely~~ opportunities, they will be beyond our borders. That demands we open more foreign markets for our firms and workers, to sell ^{American} ~~our~~ goods and ~~our~~ services -- ^{which will} ~~and to sustain and create~~ ^{American} jobs, ~~for our people.~~ ^{American citizens} Reform of ~~education, health care, our legal system.~~ Opening markets abroad -- ~~addressing these issues is absolutely fundamental to America's~~ ~~future.~~

Finally, we must address the issue that I am here to discuss ^{at length} today -- reform of our government. During the last decade one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to take a hard look within itself, ^{make} ~~determine~~ needed improvements, and act to make the institution ~~better~~ live up to its principles. That process is called reform.

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it is called the crusade for quality. ^{Whether it's the} quality of a product, or the quality of ^a service, ^{often} ~~often~~ it's not flashy -- ^{fits} perhaps a return to old values and standards like "the customer's always right", and "service with a smile". ^{the crusade for quality} Other times ~~it~~ emphasizes measuring performance, because that is the way to improve performance. In ^{most cases} ~~many ways~~, competition has been the driving force to improve quality, and not surprisingly, it has worked. Today, American products are quantifiably better than they were ^{even} ~~just~~ a few years ago.

It is not just the private sector that has felt the positive pinch of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of budget cuts, has had to cut the fat, and get leaner, and smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Most other institutions -- state government, local government, unions, trade associations, even charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public ^{has} been influenced by this drive to improve. ^{Success?}
~~performance~~

Yet, ~~in the face of unambiguous evidence supporting the need for change,~~ the federal government ^has resisted reform and protected the status quo. The change that ^{has} swept America, ~~was~~ ^{is} stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. And the fact is that the rise of an entrenched status quo-oriented Washington establishment, can be laid at the doorstep of the United States Congress.

Everyone ^{KNOWS} ~~believes~~ that government is too big and spends too much. ~~Everyone knows that.~~ And there's something else everyone knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. ~~Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.~~

~~Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Constituent office. He argues that ^{and} this sets in~~

Why not just have POTUS State this?

→ call Pink for quote Pouchin.

the ^{could} this be misconstrued?

motion a self-perpetuating cycle of congressional support for ~~more~~ ^{unnecessary} spending and ~~more~~ ^{bigger} bureaucracies which in turn become ~~more~~ ^{near} lethargic and unresponsive.

re-work { Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the bureaucracy -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- and thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo. The Founding Fathers never envisioned this. Madison, in Federalist Paper #52, argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. He would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected. That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. That not one Republican member of the House has ever been in the majority, and all but five Democrats have never been in the minority.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but this is not an attack on divided government. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have pulled together as a nation, and met whatever challenge threatened our security or national well-being. The larger issue is the systemic problem -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees, 34,000 Capitol Hill employees and staff, 2 billion dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with \$117 million dollars in special interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special interest influence.

This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it aggressively promotes the status quo. Talk to

retiring members, many of them good people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. He said, "Although I am not discouraged beyond repair, I am terribly frustrated."

Then when asked about a particular issue -- the continuing spectre of huge 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 not just watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns, we are watching the entire orchestra."

Let me give you one small example of the misplaced priorities on Capitol Hill -- an example that ~~eventually~~ ^{continually} comes across my desk for action. Three times a week the White House receives a proclamation passed by a joint resolution of Congress. It might be to designate a particular day "National Tap Dance Day", or a month of the year, "National Digestive Disease ^{→ Awareness} Month". Scores of these come to the White House for Presidential action each year. In fact, nearly one third of all the legislation that reaches my desk is like this.

Now, there's nothing wrong with Congress passing a proclamation heralding "National Crime Victims Week", but that ~~is~~ ^{should be} no substitute for a comprehensive crime bill that actually makes people safer in their homes and communities. "National Asparagus Month" may be good constituent relations, but the problems in American agriculture have to do with our national vitality, not our national ~~vegetable~~.

For every one of these bills, there are legions [/] of staff churning out the public relations campaign to accompany them --

both on Capitol Hill, and in the executive branch. There are constituents contacted, newsletters written, paper -- reams of paper -- produced. Is this a big ticket item in the federal budget? Probably not. But it is one more demonstration of a Congress that chooses to spend time and effort on the easy constituent-relations chores ^{rather} than on the difficult, often controversial issues that ~~will~~ determine the future of our country.

These actions ^{by Congress} undermine the people's confidence in their government the same way as outrageous pork-barrel spending does. ~~[[It may be a small, symbolic gesture, but just as I sent to the Congress ten days ago my anti-pork line-item recissions, I am telling the Congress today that the Executive Branch ^{will} is not going to spend its resources helping out with publicity campaigns for special interests -- so don't bother sending me any more of these pork-barrel proclamations.]]~~

The American people are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But the mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism that government will use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely is greater now than ever before. When they hear about their money going for special-interest publicity campaigns and pork-barrel projects, people get angry. They demand change. Maybe it's small potatoes to ~~the~~ Congress, but ^{voters} it ~~doesn't ring true to the voters that for every letter a Congressional office receives, 12,000 go out. The public knows~~ ^{help to hear} P.R. when they see it. And they know it all adds up to real money -- their money. ←

~~In dollar terms, one quarter of everything we produce, build, or grow as a nation is devoured by the central government. There is no bigger appetite on earth.~~ Today our government is a trillion and a half dollar business that too often ~~it~~ forgets that the taxpayer is customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one.

later ref-?

Now, I know that the federal government cannot be run just like IBM, but we can improve its performance. We must improve its performance. And it's not just the Congress, it's the sprawling federal bureaucracy that needs reform as well. [Because government forgets the customer, it issues counterproductive regulations -- ^{regulations} ones that increase the cost of doing business, ^{and} but worse, ^{regulations} ones that don't ~~really~~ solve the problem they were designed to solve.

² Because the government forgets the shareholder, it shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding. Because the government forgets who is really the boss ³ -- the American taxpayer -- it has become insulated, unresponsive and resists reform. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. This is no slight to the four million hardworking people in the employ of the taxpayer. Talk to them and many will say ~~the same thing~~ -- they are frustrated as well. But 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.~~

It is the Congress that creates these giant centralized bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then,

(even if there's no money left...)

it is the Congress that protects them, harasses them, investigates them, micro-manages them. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress. (A)

A few examples will help drive home the point. [By the last count] Some thirty different Congressional committees, and seventy-seven subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees try to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs.

The amount of time and resources devoted by the executive branch to fulfilling Congressional demands for testimony has reached ridiculous proportions. And written reports to Congress -- with all the staff and research time needed for those -- are at an all-time high. Congress requires sixty reports from HUD, over six hundred from the Defense Department.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. But the Congressional system is out of control.

What do we do about it? I have offered several proposals in the past and I am prepared to make addition proposals today. In sum they are:

term limits

logging rule

regulatory moratorium

line-item rescissions

campaign finance reform

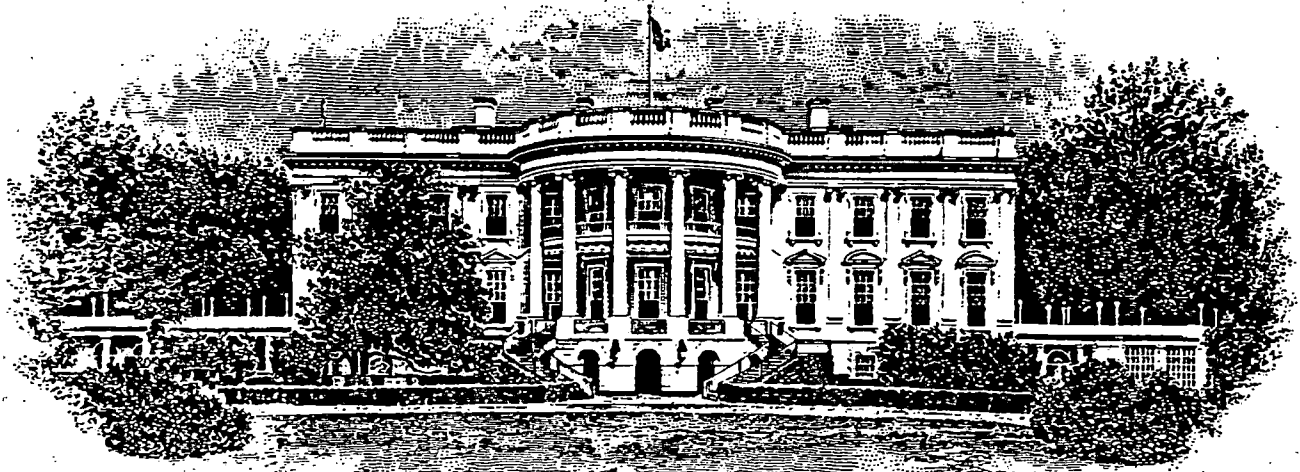
TALKING POINTS

- We've had an interesting, but disappointing year in Congress. When I delivered my State of the Union address in January, I hoped we could work with Congress to get a good economic growth package that would create jobs. A strong economy with good jobs and good opportunities is an essential foundation for strong families.
- Well, we didn't get a good growth package, I'm sorry to say. What we got from the Democrats was business as usual -- a huge tax increase. A Democratic tax increase that would have killed jobs, not created them.
- So I had to veto the Democrats' tax increase. And now let me tell you something about that veto that you probably didn't hear on the news. The Democratic leadership brought my veto up for a vote yesterday, but something remarkable happened.
- Not only did we get the one-third of the votes we needed to sustain my veto, we got a majority of the votes against a tax increase. That is almost unheard of -- there have been only two times in the last 60 years that the House couldn't muster a simple majority to override a veto.
- I think that vote signals that at least some Democrats realize that business as usual won't work anymore. The American people don't want to be taxed anymore. They don't want the federal government to spend anymore.
- And I'll promise you something. We are going to force a change in attitude and a change in habit. We've also been fighting with the Congressional Democratic leadership about the best tool for fiscal discipline we have -- the so-called "caps" on discretionary spending in the budget law.
- The Democratic leadership wants to kill those caps so Congress can spend more of taxpayer's dollars on more federally run programs. I say ... NO WAY!
- You see, we just can't stand for the status quo. I have sent up a batch of line item rescissions -- spending cuts on pork barrel programs -- for Congress to act on. More will be coming.
- And that battle has been joined as of today. My cuts have been introduced as legislation and we're going to try to get votes on each and every one.

-2-

- That might sound easy. It won't be. It seems pretty clear already that there are some Democrats in Congress who want to block these initiatives. To do so, they're going to resort to parliamentary gimmicks.

- If that's the case, we will fight them. We are going to make a change in attitude about federal spending. And even if they win the votes now, they won't win the long-term battle because the public understands what's going on here.



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 5

DATE 3/24

TO D2

FAX NUMBER x2983

COMMENTS Here are the most recent Cabinet establishments/changes, along with a Presidential chronology.

FROM Carol

* DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS *

OFFICE NUMBER x7750

Department of Commerce and Labor—The Commerce and Labor Department was created by Congress on February 14, 1903. The department was divided into separate departments of Commerce and Labor on March 4, 1913.

Department of Commerce—The Commerce Department was a subdivision of the Commerce and Labor Department until March 4, 1913 when the departments were separated and the Secretary of Commerce was commissioned as a separate Cabinet post.

Department of Labor—The Labor Department was a part of the Commerce and Labor Department until March 4, 1913 when the dual department was divided into two separate offices and the Secretary of Labor became an individual Cabinet officer.

Department of Defense—The Defense Department was created on September 18, 1947 to act as a unifying office to oversee the interests of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The War Department became the Department of the Army, and it and the Department of the Navy, along with the new Department of the Air Force, became branches of the Department of Defense.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare—The department was created on April 11, 1953. Twenty-six years later, on September 27, 1979, the bureau was divided into the departments of Education and Health and Human Services.

Department of Housing and Urban Development—HUD was created by Congress on September 9, 1965.

Department of Transportation—The Transportation Department was created by Congress on October 15, 1966.

Department of Energy—The Energy Department was created by Congress on August 4, 1977.

Department of Health and Human Services—The Health and Human Services Department was created by Congress on September 27, 1979 when the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was divided into the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Education.

Department of Education—The Education Department was created by Congress on September 27, 1979, when HEW was divided into two separate departments, both represented by officers in the president's Cabinet.

Biographical Data— Cabinet Members

Acheson, Dean G.

	ST
Date of birth	Apr 11, 1893
Date of appointment/age	Jan 19, 1949/55
Assumed office/age	Jan 21, 1949/55
Left office/age	Jan 20, 1953/59
Date of death/age	Oct 12, 1971/78
Cabinet service	4y

Adams, Brockman

	TR
Date of birth	Jan 13, 1927
Date of appointment/age	Dec 15, 1976/49
Assumed office/age	Jan 21, 1977/50
Left office/age	Jul 21, 1979/52
Date of death/age	— — —
Cabinet service	2y 6m

Adams, Charles F.

	NV
Date of birth	Aug 2, 1866
Date of appointment/age	Mar 5, 1929/62
Assumed office/age	Mar 5, 1929/62
Left office/age	Mar 3, 1933/66
Date of death/age	Jun 11, 1954/87
Cabinet service	3y 11m 28d

Adams, John Q.

	ST
Date of birth	Jul 11, 1767
Date of appointment/age	Mar 5, 1817/49
Assumed office/age	Sep 22, 1817/50
Left office/age	Mar 3, 1825/57
Date of death/age	Feb 23, 1848/80
Cabinet service	7y 5m 9d

MOST RECENT

Secretary of Education

Shirley Hufstедler 1979-1981
Terrel Bell 1981-1985

William J. Bennett 1985-

Cabinet Office Summary

Department of State—Originally created by an act of Congress on July 27, 1789 as the Department of Foreign Affairs, the name of the department was changed to the Department of State on September 15, 1789.

Department of War—The War Department was created by Congress on August 7, 1789. On September 18, 1947 the War Department became the Department of the Army, and the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force became branches of the Department of Defense.

Department of the Treasury—The Treasury Department was created by Congress on September 2, 1789.

Post Office Department—The Post Office Department was originally established as a branch of the Treasury Department on September 22, 1789. The Postmaster General was made a member of the president's cabinet on March 9, 1829. The Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 changed the organization to the U.S. Postal Service, and from July 1, 1970 the Postmaster General was no longer a member of the cabinet.

Office of Attorney General—The attorney general's office was organized on September 24, 1789. The Justice Department was created by Congress on June 22, 1870.

Navy Department—The Navy Department was created on April 30, 1798. The Navy Department became one of the branches of the Department of Defense on September 18, 1947. The Secretary of the Navy became a non-cabinet official on that date, though all three military departments—Army, Navy, and Air Force—are represented in the Cabinet by the Secretary of Defense.

Department of the Interior—The Interior Department was created by Congress on March 3, 1849.

Department of Agriculture—The Agriculture Department was created by Congress on May 15, 1862, but the Department was not at first represented in the president's cabinet. The Secretary of Agriculture became a member of the Cabinet on February 8, 1889.

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Acquisition and Facilities	C. DALE DUVAL
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Facilities	LESTER M. HUNKELE III
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Acquisition and Materiel Management	H. ROBERT SALDIVAR
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Affairs	DENNIS DUFFY, <i>Acting</i>
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional Liaison	DENNIS DUFFY, <i>Acting</i>
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs	Jo Sherman

The Department of Veterans Affairs operates programs to benefit veterans and members of their families. Benefits include compensation payments for disabilities or death related to military service; pensions; education and rehabilitation; home loan guaranty; burial; and a medical care program incorporating nursing homes, clinics, and medical centers.

The Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) was established as an executive department by the Department of Veterans Affairs Act (38 U.S.C. 201 note). The Department's predecessor, the Veterans Administration, had been established as an independent agency under the President by Executive Order 5398 of July 21, 1930, in accordance with the act of July 3, 1930 (46 Stat. 1016). This act authorized the President to consolidate and coordinate the U.S. Veterans Bureau, the Bureau of Pensions, and the National Home for Volunteer Soldiers.

The Department of Veterans Affairs comprises three organizations that administer veterans programs: the Veterans Health Administration, the Veterans Benefits Administration, and the National Cemetery System. Each organization has field facilities and a Central Office component. The Central Office also includes separate offices that provide support to the top organizations' operations as well as to top VA executives. Top Central Office managers report to the highest level of Department management, which consists of the Secretary of Veterans Affairs and the Deputy Secretary.

Assistant Secretaries Six Assistant Secretaries provide policy guidance, operational support, and managerial

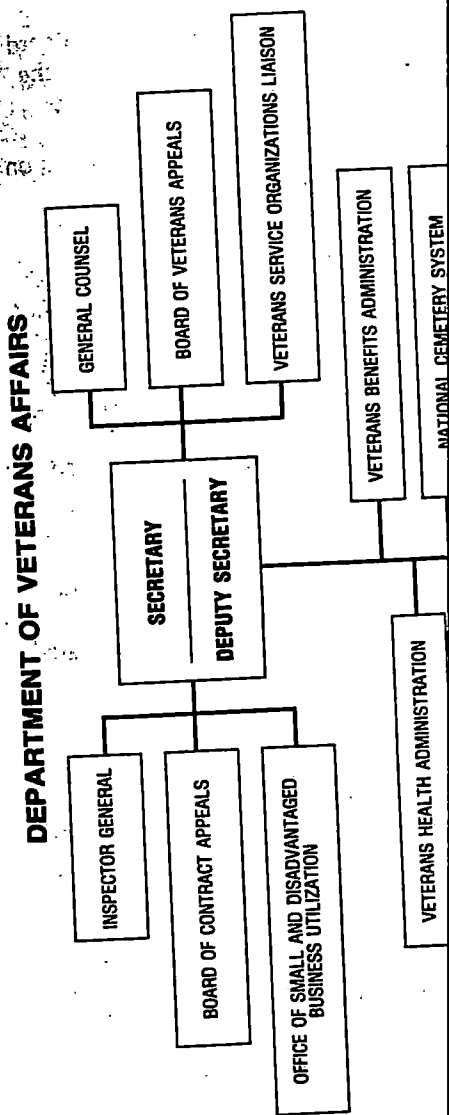
oversight to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary, the administrations, and other top offices.

The Assistant Secretary for Finance and Information Resources Management is VA's Chief Financial Officer and manages the Department's budget process and fiscal operations. The Assistant Secretary also oversees VA's information resources management programs, which include integration and acquisition of automated data processing and telecommunications activities and information analysis.

The Assistant Secretary for Policy and Planning is responsible for managing the Secretary's policy analysis and planning processes and integrating both into the Secretary's Strategic Management Process.

The Assistant Secretary for Acquisition and Facilities provides management oversight of departmentwide capital facilities and real property programs, acquisition and materiel management activities, retail and food resale activities, and environmental affairs programs. The Assistant Secretary also serves as VA's senior procurement executive in accordance with Executive Order 12352 of March 17, 1982.

The Assistant Secretary for Human Resources and Administration provides direction and oversight of the Department's personnel and labor



THE PRESIDENTS

CHRONOLOGY, FAMILY HISTORY, AND NAMES

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES— YEARS SERVED

1. George Washington 1789–1797
2. John Adams 1797–1801
3. Thomas Jefferson 1801–1809
4. James Madison 1809–1817
5. James Monroe 1817–1825
6. John Quincy Adams 1825–1829
7. Andrew Jackson 1829–1837
8. Martin Van Buren 1837–1841
9. William Henry Harrison 1841
10. John Tyler 1841–1845
11. James Knox Polk 1845–1849
12. Zachary Taylor 1849–1850
13. Millard Fillmore 1850–1853
14. Franklin Pierce 1853–1857
15. James Buchanan 1857–1861
16. Abraham Lincoln 1861–1865
17. Andrew Johnson 1865–1869
18. Ulysses Simpson Grant 1869–1877
19. Rutherford Birchard Hayes 1877–1881
20. James Garfield 1881
21. Chester Alan Arthur 1881–1885
22. Grover Cleveland 1885–1889
23. Benjamin Harrison 1889–1893
24. Grover Cleveland 1893–1897
25. William McKinley 1897–1901
26. Theodore Roosevelt 1901–1909
27. William Howard Taft 1909–1913
28. Woodrow Wilson 1913–1921
29. Warren Gamaliel Harding 1921–1923
30. Calvin Coolidge 1923–1929
31. Herbert Clark Hoover 1929–1933
32. Franklin Delano Roosevelt 1933–1945
33. Harry S. Truman 1945–1953
34. Dwight David Eisenhower 1953–1961
35. John Fitzgerald Kennedy 1961–1963
36. Lyndon Baines Johnson 1963–1969
37. Richard Milhous Nixon 1969–1974
38. Gerald Rudolph Ford 1974–1977
39. Jimmy Carter 1977–1981
40. Ronald Wilson Reagan 1981–1989
41. George Herbert Walker Bush 1989–

- J. ADAMS 1735–1826
 JEFFERSON 1743–1826
 MADISON 1751–1836
 MONROE 1758–1831
 J. Q. ADAMS 1767–1848
 JACKSON 1767–1845
 VAN BUREN 1782–1862
 W. H. HARRISON 1773–1841
 TYLER 1790–1862
 POLK 1795–1849
 TAYLOR 1784–1850
 FILLMORE 1800–1874
 PIERCE 1804–1869
 BUCHANAN 1791–1868
 LINCOLN 1809–1865
 A. JOHNSON 1808–1875
 GRANT 1822–1885
 HAYES 1822–1893
 GARFIELD 1831–1881
 ARTHUR 1829–1896
 CLEVELAND 1837–1908
 B. HARRISON 1833–1901
 MCKINLEY 1843–1901
 T. ROOSEVELT 1858–1919
 TAFT 1857–1930
 WILSON 1856–1924
 HARDING 1865–1923
 COOLIDGE 1872–1933
 HOOVER 1874–1964
 F. D. ROOSEVELT 1882–1945
 TRUMAN 1884–1972
 EISENHOWER 1890–1969
 KENNEDY 1917–1963
 L. B. JOHNSON 1908–1973
 NIXON 1913
 FORD 1913
 CARTER 1924
 REAGAN 1911
 BUSH 1924

STATES REPRESENTED AND PARTY AFFILIATIONS

- WASHINGTON Virginia, Federalist
 J. ADAMS Massachusetts, Federalist
 JEFFERSON Virginia, Democratic-Republican
 MADISON Virginia, Democratic-Republican

BIRTH AND DEATH DATES

WASHINGTON 1732–1799

(Demarest)
March 10, 1992
Draft Three
ASAE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES
MARCH 11, 1992
WASHINGTON, D.C.
1:20 P.M.

Chairman Fondren, my fellow Texan, thank you for that introduction. President Taylor. I heard a story about how when LBJ moved from the House to the Senate, Jake Pickle and Gene Fondren, then Texas state legislators, flipped a coin to decide who'd run for office and go to Washington. Well, Congressman Pickle's been calling for a rematch ever since.

Robert Frost once wrote that "an idea is a feat of association." Well, association is an idea as old as the American Dream itself. Actually, Toqueville over 150 years ago had much to say about you. He said, "at the head of some new undertaking ... in the United States you will be sure to find an association." Since that time associations have played a vital role in our country's progress, and they continue that mission today, defining new frontiers and exploring new territory.

Before I spoke, President Taylor presented the Associations Advance America Awards to salute those who've found a way to help, to be in fact, points of light. We hear a too often about what's wrong in America. Well, this is what's right in America, and I salute you for what you are doing to help your communities.

Of course, it's an election year. Independent of the current preoccupation with the hype and spin of the campaigns, there will remain the issues, the big things -- the core concerns of every American -- jobs, family, peace. They hold us together as a society. They are more than issues we bring to the next election -- they are the legacy we must give to the next generation.

That is what I want to talk to you about today -- not just the issues, but our mood as a nation, and how our government must reform if we are to change America.

Today, weighing most heavily in the hearts and on the minds of Americans is the state of the economy -- jobs -- preserving jobs, creating jobs. You in this very room know best virtually every industry and every profession in America. I don't have to tell you that people are worried about the future.

Frankly, we've had tough economic times before, with higher unemployment -- but less national alarm. There's something different about today's times -- something that touches a nerve. It strikes at the heart of what drives this country forward -- our confidence. It challenges our belief in ourselves.

I'll give it to you straight: Unemployment is 7.3% -- about 9 million people out of a total workforce of 126 million. During the 1982 recession, unemployment hit almost 11% -- a level not experienced since the Great Depression. So we ask ourselves -- why is confidence today lower than at the depth of the 1982 recession?

I've heard a lot of theories. Some say the talking heads of the media are the problem -- always running the country down. [You've heard the saying "no news is good news?" Well, the joke is that for the media, "Good news is no news."]

Others say it's the politicians. I myself have noted that in a political year candidates often shower the voters with a message so bleak and hopeless -- at the same time they promise the rainbow if they're elected. That steady drizzle on the people's shoulders can wear away confidence, and wash away hope. So it's easy to suppose that the constant drumbeat about what's wrong in America is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

There may be some truth to that. But I think there are other reasons for our country's mood. People are feeling the way they do because America's got some real problems -- serious, stubborn, national problems.

But I think it would be unfair and untrue to suggest to the American people that we can't overcome these problems -- to imply that America is a country in decline. So today I want to talk about what we must do to meet the economic challenge that is before us -- how we can build economic vitality into our communities -- how we must ensure that our children see a future that is an improvement over the present -- most importantly, why we must change the way we do business in Washington D.C.

Sometimes it helps to take some of these enormous issues and bring them down to the personal level. So when I talk about America's economic problems this is what I mean:

They are the worries of parents who have worked all their lives to get their kids through college -- and those kids can't find work. They are found in discouraged families who can't afford to pay off anything but the interest on their credit cards, month after month after month. They are the doubts of young people who believe that times will never be as good for them as they were for their parents. These are the things that dim our hope and drain our confidence.

American workers can see that technology and competition are changing the workplace faster than ever before. They can feel the heat -- both at home and abroad. They know American industry is being challenged to keep up or step aside -- I'll talk further about that later in the week in Detroit, Michigan. We live in a competitive world, and people worry about our ability to compete.

American homeowners -- that's almost 70 million people -- worry that the biggest asset they will ever have -- their home -- will lose its worth because real estate values have declined. The same is true of any business, association, or charitable organization that owns property -- they're concerned too.

Finally, as I discussed earlier this week with the League of Cities, the deterioration of the American family is very serious -- a root problem with tremendous ramifications for our economic well-being as a nation.

But the picture is not all gloom and doom. America is now the only superpower in the world. Millions of immigrants still look to us as the land of opportunity -- because we are. And our

economy is poised for recovery. Inflation is down. Interest rates low. Inventories low. Exports at record highs. But this recovery will come sooner, and stronger only if we in government act now. As self-evident as this mandate for action may seem, we have not been able to muster the necessary political unity of purpose.

In January, I sent the Congress a plan of action -- a straightforward set of initiatives based upon tried and true economic realities. I proposed incentives for business to buy equipment, upgrade their plants, and start hiring again. I proposed a shot in the arm to get the housing industry back on its feet -- lead us into economic recovery this spring. I proposed a tax cut on capital gains. Once you get through all the tax-break-for-the-rich demagoguery, economists agree such a measure would create jobs.

Then I offered a broader plan of action to keep us competitive and economically vigorous in the years ahead:

- 1) Education reform to bring the skills of our future workers up to a standard of excellence.
- 2) Reform of our legal system so that Americans can spend more time innovating and less time litigating.
- 3) Health care reform to improve access to the best quality care in the world.
- 4) Welfare reform to break the sorry cycle of dependency that's become a way of life in many of our cities.
- 5) Tangible support to strengthen the family -- a \$500 increase in the tax deduction for children.
- 6) A trade policy that demands foreign markets open up to high-quality

knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion.

When Americans think about their government, what often comes to mind is the latest scandal involving their money. Today, we are cleaning up the Savings and Loan scandal. Jack Kemp deserves a lot of credit for straightening out the abuses in our public housing system. Dick Cheney has continued the Ill Wind investigation at the Defense Department and made the necessary reforms in defense procurement. But to the taxpayer, these issues, like the latest scandal with the House bank, just reinforce the notion that the government is more the problem than the solution.

This is all part of why confidence in America's future is under siege. Many people have already lost confidence in government. There is irony here. Americans are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is an extraordinary mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism that government actually will use their hard earned tax dollars and get results. My apologies to David Osborne and Ted Gaebler for borrowing their phrase, but it is truly time to reinvent government.

This is no slight to the four million hardworking people who work for the federal government. But the fact is that they work in a system that was good for its time, but now must change and

change radically. I know that government can't be run like a business -- but we can improve its performance. Right now, within the halls of these giant centralized bureaucracies, it is almost impossible to reward success, much less punish failure.

Because government forgets the customer, it issues counter-productive regulations. It shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function but not their funding. But this kind of government doesn't just happen. It is the Congress that creates these bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, harasses them, investigates them, micro-manages them. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

This is not to criticize all people serving in Congress. I served there and I know many fine people on both sides of the aisle serve there now -- decent, hardworking, patriotic Americans. The problem isn't the people, it's the system. And the system must change.

The people on Capitol Hill are victims of an unaccountable, inefficient, and ineffective system of their own making as well: 284 committees, 35,000 staff members, over 2 billion dollars of taxpayer money, and a web of special interest influence and money. This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it promotes the status quo. Over the years, this has piled up to create a Congress that is out of touch. Gridlocked.

Paralyzed. A Congress totally and utterly incapable of addressing the central issues of our time.

How many people in this room -- people who work with the Congress every day -- haven't had a private conversation with a Senator or Congressman and heard exactly the same thing?

There's nothing wrong with the Congress passing a proclamation heralding "Crime Victims Week", but that's no substitute for a comprehensive crime bill that actually does something to make people safer in their communities. They may pass "National Asparagus Month", but the problem in American agriculture is our national vitality not our national vegetable. (Haven't seen "National Broccoli Week" -- could have some trouble signing that one). For every one of these bills there is staff assigned, paper processed, constituents contacted, newsletters written, taxpayer money spent. Nearly one third of all the legislation that reaches my desk is like this. Much of what's left simply keeps the basic machine of government running. The focus is clearly not on addressing new challenges.

This all may sound like simply an election year blast at a Congress controlled by the other party. But it's not. We need a new way of looking at things. The gap between private sector efficiency and government's ineptness has become a chasm. I have made proposals to reform government -- proposals to bring back responsibility and accountability to a system answerable to no one but itself. They are based on some fundamental principles. Rely on what works. When possible, decentralize. Institute

choice to force competition into the system. Give people more power to make the big decisions in their lives. Make the system accountable. Understand the new realities of America's global position -- that we must become more competitive. These are important ways to reform and change America.

I have also called for the Congress to stop exempting itself from the laws it imposes on everyone else. I have called for Campaign Finance Reform to break the influence of special interest groups. I have talked about term limits for members of Congress. When the system is broken you have to fix it.

Chairman Fondren once said that "Leadership...requires forthrightness. Hidden agendas rarely, if ever, lead to progress and very often succeed in spoiling the brew." I've never been very good at hiding my agenda, and I'm not about to start now.

My agenda has been to create jobs, protect the family, and promote world peace. Too many times I run up against a wall -- a partisan guard more determined to take sides than to take this country forward. March 20 will be an important date. If the Congress enacts my action plan on the economy by then, the real beneficiaries will not be me, nor my re-election, nor the Congress. The real beneficiaries will be the American people who will regain the confidence that they have lost in the ability of Washington to act in their best interest.

If the Congress cannot act, or if it sends to me a bill it knows today I cannot and will not sign, I will take this message to the American people: the problem is Congress. Send a new

Congress to Washington next November. In the meantime I will act on my own in the interests of the American people.

I drew a line in the sand a little over a year ago in the Persian Gulf. I kept my word then and we liberated Kuwait. I have drawn a line in the sand once again -- right here in our own backyard. I will keep my word again. And if we all do our part, we can ensure that our economy, and our government get back on the right track.

Thank you. And God bless you for all the good work you do.

#

American goods and services. 7) Record federal support in research and development to keep our nation on the cutting edge of new technologies.

Big issues. Big challenges. This is the plan I proposed - - and I set a deadline for Congress to act. Congress didn't like the notion of a deadline. And while the Congress didn't have a comprehensive plan of its own, it is doubtful that it will enact the plan I proposed. Instead, with great and earnest deliberation, the Congress is fixated with how much more to tax the American people. They would hike taxes by 100 billion dollars.

Imagine: giving the Congress more taxpayer money to spend. Why add to the billions already spent on big government programs -- does anyone believe that more spending money for the Congress is the answer? Does anyone believe that this money will be more wisely spent than the trillion and a half dollars spent now?

The last thing this economy needs now is a tax increase. Any economist worth his salt will tell you that. But this is not new. Congress routinely refuses to take action to stimulate the economy -- but insists on job destroying tax increases. I believe Congress is incapable of passing my economic action plan -- or a plan of their own. They are incapable of meeting my March 20 deadline -- or any other deadline, for that matter. Let me tell you why.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. Everyone knows that. And there's something else everyone



Deamwest

To Speechwriters

March 27, 1992

Re: Cong. Reform Speech.

Be sure we have something in there on Disclosure....~~The~~ way to avoid conflict of interest ~~is~~ through full disclosure.

A ~~pre~~sident reveals his income taxes- not by law but by tradition. I have done that now for 12 years.

Presidential candidates must do that ; but Congress ~~sh~~ould take a new look at the disc~~v~~losure laws...

GB

A handwritten signature, possibly "GB", written in dark ink.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Ask Council
Info*

Richard Nixon, 1971

Feb. 6 [46]

for all Americans. The role of government in this area, as I emphasized last year, should be one of stimulating private giving and encouraging private initiative. I am therefore happy to report that the work of the National Endowment for the Humanities attracted 125 gifts from private sources totalling over \$2 million during fiscal year 1970, more than matching Federal funds available for that purpose.

It is my hope that the 92nd Congress will recognize the innovative and vital role of the National Endowment for the Humanities as described in this Fifth Annual Report.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House

February 5, 1971

NOTE: The 107-page report is entitled "National Endowment for the Humanities, Fifth Annual Report."

46 Statement About Memorandums Recommending Proposals for Executive Reorganization.

February 6, 1971

IT IS my hope that as they are formally submitted to the Congress, the proposals I announced in this year's address on the State of the Union will generate a constructive and far-reaching discussion on the best way to organize many of the domestic activities of the Federal Government. As a contribution to such discussion, I have decided to make available to the Congress and to the American people these two memoranda that were prepared for me last year by the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization (the Ash Council). One concerns the Department of Natural Resources, and the other concerns organization for social and economic programs.

The earlier memorandum reached me on May 12, 1970 and the latter on November 19, 1970. I withheld action on the earlier document until I had had a chance to see the full scope of the Council's proposals for the reorganization of related domestic departments and their functions.

These memoranda are basic to the pro-

posed changes that I outlined in my address on the State of the Union, but they are not the only sources for my proposals. Consequently, there will be differences between the specific legislation which I will recommend to the Congress and the proposals made by the Ash Council. The differences will reflect conclusions I have reached as a result of my own experience in government, as well as proposals for executive reorganization made earlier in this Administration and in previous administrations.

For example, one department which was not touched by the Ash Council's proposals, the Department of Transportation, will be included in the reorganization legislation I will send to the Congress because I believe that the principles which underlie the Ash proposals justify this inclusion.

The Congress and the American people, in my view, should have the benefit of the relevant studies of the Advisory Council on Executive Organization in order that they may better evaluate the leg-

islation I will be proposing. It is particularly important that the rationale supporting the basic departmental structure I will recommend be well understood.

I am in basic agreement with the principles of government organization expressed in these memoranda. They reflect both the need to organize structures on the basis of purposes and the desirability of decentralizing decision-making at the operating level to the Federal regions and to States and localities wherever possible. With these thoughts, I commend the memoranda to your attention. I believe that you will find them a useful and informative guide as we prepare for the

task of governmental reorganization which remains before us.

Sincerely,

RICHARD NIXON

NOTE: The statement, dated February 5, 1971, was made available to the press on February 6 as part of a 160-page pamphlet entitled "Memoranda for the President of the United States: Establishment of a Department of Natural Resources; Organization for Social and Economic Programs, Submitted by the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization."

On February 5, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the two memorandums by John D. Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, and George P. Shultz, Director, Office of Management and Budget.

47 Statement About National Crime Prevention Week, 1971. *February 6, 1971*

THIS YEAR, National Crime Prevention Week has a solid ring. Our nationwide campaign against crime is far from won, but the tide is beginning to turn.

New laws have given the Department of Justice better weapons against organized crime and against the narcotics traffic that is a significant cause of crime. Cooperation with state and local agencies is the order of the day. A National Council on Organized Crime, comprising the heads of all appropriate Federal departments and agencies, is directing a major assault on racketeering. The Council has given new support to the interdepartmental strike forces against organized crime that have now been established in most major American cities. All the necessary Federal agencies are working together in a redoubled drive against illegal drugs—at home, at our borders, and at overseas sources.

In the past decade, Washington, D.C.—although the supposed model city for the nation—won shameful distinction as a leader in crime statistics. Today, new legislation and increases in manpower are fostering the reorganization of the whole structure of criminal justice in our Nation's Capital. Large increases have been made in Federal grants to state, city and county police forces for improvements in standards, training and methods. The results of these efforts have begun to show. A positive decline in the number of serious crimes has occurred in twenty-three cities of more than 100,000 population. And our Nation's Capital also has shown a significant downward trend in crime.

I applaud the sponsors of National Crime Prevention Week, and urge all Americans to respond to the challenges it offers. For only the widest civic participation and support can translate the pub-

stration of the effectiveness of the devices.

Secretary Stans' remarks were as follows:

Mr. President, before you are approximately 200 heads of major corporations of the United States. Here is a very large part of the industrial might of the country.

These gentlemen are members of the Council and subcouncils of the National Industrial Pollution Control Council. And they have been working diligently since last June in studying matters of pollution.

There are 30 subcouncils, each representing one industry that has problems of pollution. They have produced a series of reports on a number of individual pollution problems and have made a number of commitments, have completed a number of actions which I want to report to you today.

First is a report of the Council as a whole on its activities, with some recommendations to you and some conclusions as to what might be done in the field of industrial pollution.

Second is a series of 13 individual reports on various subjects involved in pollution: sulfur oxides, acid mine drainage, animal slaughtering, animal wastes, exhaust emissions, glass containers, a number of subjects which represent the work of the subcouncils and their

conclusions. And these I am delivering to you as they will be delivered to the public today.

Next is a casebook. This is a report of 150 actions that have been taken voluntarily by business corporations of the country in dealing with problems of pollution in connection with their activities.

Next, Mr. President, is a book entitled "Commitments." This is a report of 160 corporate commitments to proceed to clean up the environment in one essential respect or another.

Mr. President, as I said, these gentlemen have been working very diligently. They have attended more than 100 subcouncil meetings since last June; several meetings of the entire Council.

Bert Cross, as their Chairman, Al Rockwell, as their Vice Chairman, have done a remarkable job of whipping together a process of action that I think is of great credit to the industrial community. What they have done is perfect evidence that business, on its own and largely through voluntary action, can achieve the objectives that you have set out for the cleaning up of the air, the water, and the land from the problems of pollution.

Gentlemen, the President of the United States.

54 Statement on Releasing a Report on Selected Independent Regulatory Agencies by the President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization.

February 11, 1971

TODAY, I am releasing an extensive study on the organization and structure of seven major independent regulatory commissions. Prepared by my Advisory Council on Executive Organization (the Ash Council¹), the study contains far-reaching recommendations for change.

Of varying ages, the regulatory agencies were established for a variety of purposes.

Following the near collapse of the rail-

roads after the Civil War, and the ensuing era of monopolistic and discriminatory practices, the Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887.

The desire to improve competitive markets and protect consumers and shareholders from fraudulent practices were the central goals of the Federal Trade Commission, created in 1914, and the Securities and Exchange Commission, created in 1934.

On the other hand, the development of Federal regulation of radio communi-

¹ Roy L. Ash was Chairman of the Council.

cation and the radio industry, culminating in the establishment of the Federal Communications Commission in 1934, was in response to an industry seeking regulation of the spectrum for its own protection.

However, there was a thread common to all—the effort of the Federal Government to protect the members of the consuming public against market abuses over which they had little or no control.

Since their establishment, all of these agencies have grown in haphazard fashion—and despite repeated criticism and calls for reform very little change has been undertaken beyond some modest internal reorganization.

As the agencies deal in areas of great sensitivity, in which major economic interests are affected and in which interrelationships exist between the Executive, the Congress, and the courts, the reluctance to reform can be readily explained.

The Ash Council found considerable merit in the following criticisms that some have leveled against the commissions:

1. That, lacking in direct accountability to anyone, their structures frozen into a cast set years ago, the commissions have at times been unresponsive to changing circumstances, and to new needs.

2. That they have at times failed to carry out their statutory responsibilities with either effectiveness or efficiency.

3. That the very constituency they were established to serve—the consuming public—is now the source of increasing and legitimate complaints.

4. That their collegial decisionmaking is inefficient and permits avoidance of responsibility.

5. That the regulatory process has in some areas become so obscure and complex that it has effectively insulated vital

issues of policy from public scrutiny and correction.

6. That the activities of the commissions are largely uncoordinated either with each other or with national policy goals.

However, it should be noted that the deficiencies of the independent agencies may not be entirely attributable to faulty organization and procedure.

The failure to review and reform outdated social and economic policies embedded in the regulatory fabric may also be partially responsible. In addition, the substantive goals of regulation often seem confused, unclear, or even contradictory. Regulation may have been extended to some fields in which market forces would better serve.

Too often, out of habit or inertia, governments maintain organization structures and agencies that are either no longer necessary, no longer relevant, or no longer truly responsive to the problems of the modern era.

The Ash Council's report persuades me that, despite the best efforts and intentions of the commissions' members, there is room for substantial improvement both in the way in which these organizations are structured, and in the way in which they carry out their functions.

At this point, I have made no final decisions on the merits of the Council's recommendations. But to stimulate a vigorous public discussion and to receive the benefit of the views of the agencies themselves, the regulated industries, the interested bar groups, consumer protection organizations, and others, I am releasing today this full report of the Advisory Council.

I have asked the Ash Council staff to solicit comments from the broadest possible range of groups and individuals con-

cerned and affected, including consumer and user groups familiar with the industries involved.

I urge all concerned to respond with their comments or criticisms by no later than April 20 in order to help us restructure the regulatory process to make it realize the expectations of the American public. Following an evaluation of these views, I will recommend to the Congress,

as may be appropriate, those reforms that appear desirable and in the public interest.

NOTE: The report is entitled "A New Regulatory Framework: Report on Selected Independent Regulatory Agencies—The President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization, January 1971" (Government Printing Office, 198 pp.).

On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the Council's report.

55. Remarks at the Signing Ceremony of the Seabed Arms Control Treaty. February 11, 1971

Mr. Secretary, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

It has been very properly pointed out that the seabed is man's last frontier on earth, and that frontier can either be a source of peril or promise.

By the signing of this treaty, we have pledged to seek its promise and to remove its peril. And as has been pointed out by the Ambassador from the United Kingdom and the Ambassador from the U.S.S.R., while this is a modest step among many in the field of control of armaments, it is an indication of progress that has been made and continues to be made toward the goal that we all seek: the control of instruments of mass destruction, so that we can reduce the danger of war.

Certainly, speaking for the United States of America, I pledge that as we sign this treaty in an era of negotiation, that we consider it only one step toward a greater goal: the control of nuclear weapons on earth and the reduction of that danger that hangs over all the nations of the world as long as those weapons are not controlled.

And as our representatives go back to

Vienna in just a few weeks, we certainly hope that they will make progress. I can assure all of those gathered here that we seek, as does the Soviet Union and other nations, we seek an agreement there which will reduce the danger of nuclear war which hangs over the world and reduce it by controlling the nuclear arms, both as far as the Soviet Union is concerned and the United States.

So on this occasion I reiterate that while the Ambassador from Great Britain quite properly said this was a modest step, it is an important step when we consider it in all of the aspects of the progress that has been made beginning in the sixties, now continuing in this decade.

We hope that we will be meeting, perhaps in the future, perhaps in this room, perhaps in some other room in some other capital, for the final great step in the control of nuclear arms: the control of nuclear arms on earth.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:50 a.m. in the International Conference Room at the Department of State.

Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Ambassador James F. Leonard, head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, formerly the Eighteen-

Nation Disarmament Treaty for D.C. Representative

56 R. A. D.

Ladies and

We are

Secretary

Large. W.

and after

with respect

and the S.

[At this point

mun of t

oath of

speaking.

I want

at Large

ately. H.

the next

Mrs. K.

yourself

Then

bassado

behalf

course,

visiting

extend

The

Vietna

in the

the eco

Govern

to Sov

official

velopm

of the

He

he wa

pointing. It represents a severe blow not only to the tens of thousands of workers affected, and to their families, but also to the United States continued leadership position in the aerospace industry. More deeply, it could be taken as a reversal of America's tradition of staying in the vanguard of scientific and technological advance.

I am determined that this vote on the SST will not be a shift in basic direction. It is a setback, but we will remain on a continuing course of exploration and development in those areas in which America traditionally has taken the leading role, and from which so much has flowed to the benefit of mankind.

It has always been America's pride, and the source of much of our strength, that we have constantly reached out toward new horizons in the search for knowl-

edge—not from a chauvinistic desire to be number one, but from the conviction that we must continue to develop the countless new benefits that flow from exploration of the unknown. Development of the SST has been a part of that proud, creative, and deeply humanistic tradition. Though the Congress has declined to continue helping fund this development, I shall strive to ensure that the tradition is maintained.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the SST program by William M. Magruder, Director, Supersonic Transport Development, Department of Transportation.

On March 23, 1971, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Senator Hugh Scott and Representative Gerald R. Ford on a discussion of the SST program during the Republican leadership meeting with the President.

115 Remarks to Reporters at a Briefing on a Special Message to the Congress on Executive Branch Reorganization. March 25, 1971

Ladies and gentlemen:

I have selected this particular message to come to the press room to present the briefers because of its historic significance. This message on Government reorganization is the result of 2 years of study within the Administration. Without the persuasive arguments that were made for this plan by Secretary of the Treasury Connally when he was a member of the Ash Council, this message would not be going to the Congress today.

He feels very strongly that this not only has historical significance but that it is imperative in terms of making our Government work better in this last third

of this century. Consequently, I have asked him, not just in his capacity as Secretary of the Treasury but primarily as a member of the Council that was responsible for making these recommendations which I have now endorsed, to lead off on the briefing team, and then Mr. Weber of the OMB will go into any of the details.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:32 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the proposed reorganization by Secretary Connally and Arnold R. Weber, Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget.

116 Special Message to the Congress on Executive Branch Reorganization. *March 25, 1971*

To the Congress of the United States:

When I suggested in my State of the Union Message that "most Americans today are simply fed up with government at all levels," there was some surprise that such a sweeping indictment of government would come from within the government itself. Yet it is precisely there, within the government itself, that frustration with government is often most deeply experienced.

A President and his associates often feel that frustration as they try to fulfill their promises to the people. Legislators feel that frustration as they work to carry out the hopes of their constituents. And dedicated civil servants feel that frustration as they strive to achieve in action the goals which have been established in law.

GOOD MEN AND BAD MECHANISMS

The problem with government is not, by and large, the people in government. It is a popular thing, to be sure, for the public to blame elected officials and for elected officials to blame appointed officials when government fails to perform. There are times when such criticism is clearly justified. But after a quarter century of observing government from a variety of vantage points, I have concluded that the people who work in government are more often the victims than the villains when government breaks down. Their spirit has usually been willing. It is the structure that has been weak.

Good people cannot do good things with bad mechanisms. But bad mechanisms can frustrate even the noblest aims.

That is why so many public servants—of both political parties, of high rank and low, in both the legislative and executive branches—are often disenchanted with government these days. That is also why so many voters feel that the results of elections make remarkably little difference in their lives.

Just as inadequate organization can frustrate good men and women, so it can dissipate good money. At the Federal level alone we have spent some \$1.1 trillion on domestic programs over the last 25 years, but we have not realized a fair return on this investment. The more we spend, the more it seems we need to spend and while our tax bills are getting bigger our problems are getting worse.

No, the major cause of the ineffectiveness of government is not a matter of men or of money. It is principally a matter of machinery. It will do us little good to change personnel or to provide more resources unless we are willing to undertake a critical review of government's overall design.

Most people do not pay much attention to mechanical questions. What happens under the hood of their automobile, for example, is something they leave to the specialists at the garage. What they do care about, however, is how well the automobile performs. Similarly, most people are willing to leave the mechanical questions of government organization to those who have specialized in that subject—and to their elected leaders. But they do care very deeply about how well the government performs.

At this moment in our history, most Americans have concluded that govern-

ment is not performing well. It promises much, but it does not deliver what it promises. The great danger, in my judgment, is that this momentary disillusionment with government will turn into a more profound and lasting loss of faith.

We must fight that danger. We must restore the confidence of the people in the capacities of their government. In my view, that obligation now requires us to give more profound and more critical attention to the question of government organization than any single group of American leaders has done since the Constitutional Convention adjourned in Philadelphia in September of 1787. As we strive to bring about a new American Revolution, we must recognize that central truth which those who led the original American Revolution so clearly understood: often it is *how* the government is put together that determines how *well* the government can do its job.

This is not a partisan matter, for there is no Republican way and no Democratic way to reorganize the government. This is not a matter for dogmatic dispute, for there is no single, ideal blueprint which will immediately bring good order to Federal affairs. Nor is this a matter to be dealt with once and then forgotten. For it is important that our political institutions remain constantly responsive to changing times and changing problems.

RENEWED INTEREST IN COMPREHENSIVE REFORM

The last two years have been a time of renewed interest in the question of how government is organized. The Congress has instituted a number of reforms in its

own procedures and is considering others. Judicial reform—at all levels of government—has also become a matter of intense concern. The relationship between various levels of government has attracted increased attention—and so, of course, has the subject of executive reform.

This administration, with the counsel and the cooperation of the Congress, has taken a number of steps to reorganize the executive branch of the Federal Government. We have set up a new Domestic Council and a new Office of Management and Budget in the Executive Office of the President. We have created a new Environmental Protection Agency and a new United States Postal Service. We have worked to rationalize the internal structure of Federal departments and agencies.

All of these and other changes have been important, but none has been comprehensive. And now we face a fundamental choice. We can continue to tinker with the machinery and to make constructive changes here and there—each of them bringing some marginal improvement in the Government's capacities. Or we can step back, take a careful look, and then make a concerted and sustained effort to reorganize the executive branch according to a coherent, comprehensive view of what the Federal Government of this Nation *ought* to look like in the last third of the twentieth century.

The impulse for comprehensive reorganization has been felt before in recent decades. In fact, the recommendations I am making today stem from a long series of studies which have been made under several administrations over many years. From the report of the President's Com-

mittee on Administrative Management (the Brownlow¹ Committee) in 1937, down through the findings of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (the Hoover² Commission) in 1949, the President's Task Force on Government Organization in 1964, and my own Advisory Council on Executive Organization during the last two years,³ the principles which I am advancing today have been endorsed by a great number of distinguished students of government and management from many backgrounds and from both political parties.

I hope the Congress will now join me in concluding, with these authorities, that we should travel the course of comprehensive reform. For only if we travel that course, and travel it successfully, will we be able to answer affirmatively in our time the fundamental question posed by Alexander Hamilton as the Constitution was being debated in 1788: "whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice. . . ."

THE FRAGMENTATION OF FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY

As we reflect on organizational problems in the Federal Government today,

¹ The late Louis Brownlow, journalist, public official, and director and trustee, Public Administration Clearinghouse 1931-56, was Chairman of the Committee.

² Former President Herbert Hoover was Chairman of the Commission.

³ The President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization completed its work and resigned on May 7, 1971. A White House announcement of the Council's resignation is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 7, p. 734).

one seems to stand out above all others: the fact that the capacity to *do* things—the power to achieve goals and to solve problems—is exceedingly fragmented and broadly scattered throughout the Federal establishment. In addressing almost any of the great challenges of our time, the Federal Government finds itself speaking through a wide variety of offices and bureaus, departments and agencies. Often these units trip over one another as they move to meet a common problem. Sometimes they step on one another's toes. Frequently, they behave like a series of fragmented fiefdoms—unable to focus Federal resources or energies in a way which produces any concentrated impact.

Consider these facts:

Nine different Federal departments and twenty independent agencies are now involved in education matters. Seven departments and eight independent agencies are involved in health. In many major cities, there are at least twenty or thirty separate manpower programs, funded by a variety of Federal offices. Three departments help develop our water resources and four agencies in two departments are involved in the management of public lands. Federal recreation areas are administered by six different agencies in three departments of the government. Seven agencies provide assistance for water and sewer systems. Six departments of the government collect similar economic information—often from the same sources—and at least seven departments are concerned with international trade. While we cannot eliminate all of this diffusion, we can do a great deal to bring similar functions under common commands.

It is important that we move boldly to

consolidate the major activities of the Government. The programmatic jumble has already reached the point where it is virtually impossible to obtain an accurate count of just how many Federal grant programs exist. Some estimates go as high as 1,500. Despite impressive attempts by individual legislators and by the Office of Economic Opportunity, there is still no agreement on a comprehensive list. Again and again I hear of local officials who are unable to determine how many Federal programs serve their areas or how much Federal money is coming into their communities. One reason is that the assistance comes from such wide variety of Federal sources.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF SCATTERED RESPONSIBILITY

What are the consequences of this scattering of Federal responsibility? There are many.

In the first place, the diffusion of responsibility makes it extremely difficult to launch a coordinated attack on complex problems. It is as if the various units of an attacking army were operating under a variety of highly independent commands. When one part of the answer to a problem lies in one department and other parts lie in other departments, it is often impossible to bring the various parts together in a unified campaign to achieve a common goal.

Even our basic analysis of public needs often suffers from a piecemeal approach. Problems are defined so that they will fit within established jurisdictions and bureaucratic conventions. And the results of government action are typically measured by the degree of activity within each program rather than by the overall

impact of related activities on the outside world.

The role of a given department in the policy making process can be fundamentally compromised by the way its mission is defined. The narrower the mission, the more likely it is that the department will see itself as an advocate within the administration for a special point of view. When any department or agency begins to represent a parochial interest, then its advice and support inevitably become less useful to the man who must serve *all* of the people as their President.

Even when departments make a concerted effort to broaden their perspectives, they often find it impossible to develop a comprehensive strategy for meeting public needs. Not even the best planners can set intelligent spending priorities, for example, unless they have an opportunity to consider the full array of alternative expenditures. But if one part of the problem is studied in one department and another part of the problem is studied elsewhere, who decides which element is more important? If one office considers one set of solutions and a separate agency investigates another set of solutions, who can compare the results? Too often, no official below the very highest levels of the Government has access to enough information to make such comparisons wisely. The result is that the Government often fails to make a rational distribution of its resources among a number of program alternatives.

Divided responsibility can also mean that some problems slip between the cracks and disappear from the Government's view. Everybody's business becomes nobody's business and embarrassing gaps appear which no agency at-

tempts
Federa
peting
piece o
Som
duplica
stance,
or mo
other c
ally fir
poses
try to
while
an eff
ernon
amow
with c
towar
when
differ
mise
the lo
origin
are t
gove
Se
to th
cisio
are c
it is
resol
ferri
ess v
In
reso
vid
new
the
of
son
so,
onl
suc
ma

tempts to fill. At other times, various Federal authorities act as rivals, competing with one another for the same piece of "turf."

Sometimes one agency will actually duplicate the work of another; for instance, the same locality may receive two or more grants for the same project. On other occasions, Federal offices will actually find themselves working at cross purposes with one another; one agency will try to preserve a swamp, for example, while another is seeking to drain it. In an effort to minimize such problems, government officials must spend enormous amounts of time and energy negotiating with one another that should be directed toward meeting people's needs. And even when they are able to work out their differences, officials often reach compromise solutions which merely represent the lowest common denominator of their original positions. Bold and original ideas are thus sacrificed in the quest for intra-governmental harmony.

Scattered responsibility also contributes to the over-centralization of public decision making. Because competing offices are often in different chains of command, it is frequently impossible for them to resolve their differences except by referring them to higher authorities, a process which can mean interminable delays. In an attempt to provide a means for resolving such differences and for providing needed coordination, an entire new layer of bureaucracy has emerged at the *interagency* level. Last year, the Office of Management and Budget counted some 850 interagency committees. Even so, there are still many occasions when only the White House itself can resolve such interjurisdictional disputes. Too many questions thus surface at the Presi-

dential level that should be resolved at levels of Government closer to the scene of the action.

Inefficient organization at the Federal level also undermines the effectiveness of State and local governments. Mayors and Governors waste countless hours and dollars touching base with a variety of Federal offices—each with its own separate procedures and its own separate policies. Some local officials are so perplexed by the vast array of Federal programs in a given problem area that they miss out on the very ones that would be most helpful to them. Many State and local governments find they must hire expensive specialists to guide them through the jungles of the Federal bureaucracy.

If it is confusing for lower levels of government to deal with this maze of Federal offices, that challenge can be even more bewildering for individual citizens. Whether it is a doctor seeking aid for a new health center, a businessman trying to get advice about selling in foreign markets, or a welfare recipient going from one office to another in order to take full advantage of Federal services, the people whom the Government is supposed to be serving are often forced to weave their way through a perplexing obstacle course as a condition of receiving help.

THE HOBBLING OF ELECTED LEADERSHIP

Perhaps the most significant consequence of scattered responsibility in the executive branch is the hobbling effect it has on elected leadership—and, therefore, on the basic principles of democratic government. In our political system, when the people identify a problem they elect to public office men and women who promise to solve that problem. If these

leaders succeed, they can be reelected; if they fail, they can be replaced. Elections are the people's tool for keeping government responsive to their needs.

This entire system rests on the assumption, however, that elected leaders can make the government respond to the people's mandate. Too often, this assumption is wrong. When lines of responsibility are as tangled and as ambiguous as they are in many policy areas, it is extremely difficult for either the Congress or the President to see that their intentions are carried out.

If the President or the Congress wants to launch a program or change a program or even find out how a program is working, it often becomes necessary to consult with a half dozen or more authorities, each of whom can blame the others when something goes wrong. It is often impossible to delegate to any one official the full responsibility for carrying out a specific mandate, since the machinery for doing that job is divided among various agencies. As a result, there is frequently no single official—even at the Cabinet level—whom the President or the Congress can hold accountable for Government's success or failure in meeting a given need.

No wonder bureaucracy has sometimes been described as "the rule of no one." No wonder the public complains about programs which simply seem to drift. When elected officials cannot hold appointees accountable for the performance of government, then the voters' influence on government's behavior is also weakened.

HOW DID THINGS GET THIS WAY?

The American people clearly pay a very high price for the incapacities of governmental structures—one that is

measured in disappointment, frustration and wasted tax dollars. But how did things get this way?

What happened, essentially, was that the organization of Government—like the grant-in-aid programs which I have discussed in my special messages to the Congress concerning revenue sharing—grew up in a haphazard, piecemeal fashion over the years. Whenever Government took on an important new assignment or identified an important new constituency, the chances were pretty good that a new organizational entity would be established to deal with it. Unfortunately, as each new office was set up, little or no attention was given to the question of how it would fit in with the old ones. Thus office was piled upon office in response to developing needs; when new needs arose and still newer units were created, the older structures simply remained in place.

Of the twelve executive departments now in existence, only five can trace their origins to the beginnings of our country. The Departments of State and Treasury were set up in 1789; so was the War Department—the predecessor of the Department of Defense. The positions of Attorney General and Postmaster General were also established in 1789, though it was not until later that the departments they head were set up in their present form. One of these five units, the Post Office Department, will soon become an independent corporation. But, under my proposals, the other four "original" departments would remain intact. It is the seven newer departments of the Government which would be affected by the changes I recommend.

These seven departments were set up to meet the changing needs of a growing nation, needs which have continued to

chang
of the
lished
weste
India
partir
in the
the o
were
expa
the e
in a
trial
merc
Dep
in :
ferir
need
new
Hea
and
tati
II.
brir
era
era

of
ma
od
po
ab
me
w
w
de
h
b
sc
a

change over the years. The Department of the Interior, for example, was established in 1849 to deal with newly opened western lands and especially with the Indians who inhabited them. The Department of Agriculture was also added in the nineteenth century, at a time when the overwhelming majority of our people were directly affected by the tremendous expansion of agricultural enterprise. In the early years of the twentieth century, in a time of rapid and unsettling industrial growth, the Department of Commerce and Labor was set up. The Labor Department was split off from it in 1913, in response to feelings that labor was suffering from an imbalance of power and needed additional influence. The three newest departments of the Government—Health, Education, and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation—were all created after World War II. Each represented a first step toward bringing together some of the new Federal offices and agencies which had proliferated so rapidly in recent decades.

ORGANIZING AROUND GOALS

As we look at the present organization of the Federal Government, we find that many of the existing units deal with methods and subjects rather than with purposes and goals. If we have a question about labor we go to the Labor Department and if we have a business problem we go to the Commerce Department. If we are interested in housing we go to one department and if we are interested in highways we go to another.

The problem is that as our society has become more complex, we often find ourselves using a *variety of means* to achieve a *single set of goals*. We are interested, for

example, in economic development—which requires new markets, more productive workers and better transportation systems. But which department do we go to for that? And what if we want to build a new city, with sufficient public facilities, adequate housing, and decent recreation areas—which department do we petition then?

We sometimes seem to have forgotten that government is not in business to deal with subjects on a chart but to achieve real objectives for real human beings. These objectives will never be fully achieved unless we change our old ways of thinking. It is not enough merely to reshuffle departments for the sake of reshuffling them. We must rebuild the executive branch according to a new understanding of how government can best be organized to perform effectively.

The key to that new understanding is the concept that the executive branch of the government should be organized around basic goals. Instead of grouping activities by narrow subjects or by limited constituencies, we should organize them around the great purposes of government in modern society. For only when a department is set up to achieve a given set of purposes, can we effectively hold that department accountable for achieving them. Only when the responsibility for realizing basic objectives is clearly focused in a specific governmental unit, can we reasonably hope that those objectives will be realized.

When government is organized by goals, then we can fairly expect that it will pay more attention to results and less attention to procedures. Then the success of government will at last be clearly linked to the things that happen in society

rather than the things that happen in government.

Under the proposals which I am submitting, those in the Federal Government who deal with common or closely related problems would work together in the same organizational framework. Each department would be given a mission broad enough so that it could set comprehensive policy directions and resolve internally the policy conflicts which are most likely to arise. The responsibilities of each department would be defined in a way that minimizes parochialism and enables the President and the Congress to hold specific officials responsible for the achievement of specific goals.

These same organizational principles would also be applied to the *internal* organization of each department. Similar functions would be grouped together within each new entity, making it still easier to delegate authority to lower levels and further enhancing the accountability of subordinate officials. In addition, the proposals I submit today include a number of improvements in the management of Federal programs, so that we can take full advantage of the opportunities afforded us by organizational restructuring.

The administration is today transmitting to the Congress four bills which, if enacted, would replace seven of the present executive departments and several other agencies with four new departments: the Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Community Development, the Department of Human Resources and the Department of Economic Affairs. A special report and summary—which explain my recommendations in greater detail—have also been prepared for each of the proposed new departments.

THE DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES

One of the most notable developments in public consciousness in recent years has been a growing concern for protecting the environment and a growing awareness of its highly interdependent nature. The science of ecology—the study of the interrelationships between living organisms and their environments—has experienced a sudden rise in popularity. All of us have become far more sensitive to the way in which each element of our natural habitat affects all other elements.

Unfortunately, this understanding is not yet reflected in the way our Government is organized. Various parts of the *interdependent* environment are still under the purview of highly *independent* Federal offices. As a result, Federal land policies, water programs, mineral policies, forestry practices, recreation activities and energy programs cannot be easily coordinated, even though the manner in which each is carried out has a great influence on all the others.

Again and again we encounter intra-governmental conflicts in the environmental area. One department's watershed project, for instance, threatens to slow the flow of water to another department's reclamation project downstream. One agency wants to develop an electric power project on a certain river while other agencies are working to keep the same area wild. Different departments follow different policies for timber production and conservation, for grazing, for fire prevention and for recreational activities on the Federal lands they control, though the lands are often contiguous.

We cannot afford to continue in this

man
resou
Some
usage
water
in the
that t
ergy
remai
all of
ment
to hel
I p
Nat
bring
respo
the F
ment
and u
would
ment
tween
tivities
organi
Land
Resou
source
Scienc
Affair
The
source
ment
grams
includ
and v
the D
and fu
Army
vilian
ergy C
Resou
line sa
of Tr
Ocean

manner. The challenges in the natural resource field have become too pressing. Some forecasts say that we will double our usage of energy in the next 10 years, of water in the next 18 years; and of metals in the next 22 years. In fact, it is predicted that the United States will use more energy and more critical resources in the remaining years of this century than in all of our history up until now. Government must perform at its very best if it is to help the Nation meet these challenges.

I propose that a new Department of Natural Resources be created that would bring together the many natural resource responsibilities now scattered throughout the Federal Government. This Department would work to conserve, manage and utilize our resources in a way that would protect the quality of the environment and achieve a true harmony between man and nature. The major activities of the new Department would be organized under its five subdivisions: Land and Recreation Resources, Water Resources, Energy and Minerals Resources, Oceanic, Atmospheric and Earth Sciences, and Indian and Territorial Affairs.

The new Department of Natural Resources would absorb the present Department of the Interior. Other major programs which would be joined to it would include: The Forest Service and the soil and water conservation programs from the Department of Agriculture, planning and funding for the civil functions of the Army Corps of Engineers and for the civilian power functions of the Atomic Energy Commission, the interagency Water Resources Council, the oil and gas pipeline safety functions of the Department of Transportation, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administra-

tion from the Department of Commerce. Because of their historical association with the Department of the Interior, the programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs would be administered by the new Department until such time as an acceptable alternative arrangement could be worked out with Indian leaders and other concerned parties.

THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A restless and highly mobile people, Americans are constantly creating new communities and renewing old ones throughout our land. In an era of rapid change, this process—which once took generations—can now be repeated in just a few years.

At the same time, the process of community development is becoming even more complex, particularly as the problems of urban and rural communities begin to merge. The elements of community life are many and the mark of a cohesive community is the harmonious way in which they interrelate. That is why we hear so much these days about the importance of community planning. And that is why it is essential that Federal aid for community development be designed to meet a wide range of related needs in a highly coordinated manner.

Often this does not happen under the present system. The reason is that the basic community development programs of the Federal Government are presently divided among at least eight separate authorities—including four executive departments and four independent agencies.

A community that seeks development assistance thus finds that it has to search out aid from a variety of Federal agen-

cies. Each agency has its own forms and regulations and timetables—and its own brand of red tape. Each has its own field organizations, often with independent and overlapping boundaries for regions and districts. Sometimes a local community must consult with Federal offices in three or four different States.

The result is that local leaders often find it virtually impossible to relate Federal assistance programs to their own local development strategies. The mayor of one small town has observed that by the time he finishes dealing with eight Federal planning agencies, he has little time to do anything else.

Occasionally, it must be admitted, a community can reap unexpected benefits from this diffusion of Federal responsibility. The story is told of one small city that applied to six different agencies for help in building a sewage treatment plant and received affirmative responses from all six. If all the grants had been completed, the community would have cleared a handsome profit—but at the Federal taxpayer's expense.

To help correct such problems, I propose that the major community development functions of the Federal Government be pulled together into a new Department of Community Development. It would be the overriding purpose of this Department to help build a wholesome and safe community environment for every American. This process would require a comprehensive series of programs which are equal to the demands of growing population and which provide for balanced growth in urban and rural areas. The new Department would operate through three major administrations: a Housing Administration, a Community

Transportation Administration and a Urban and Rural Development Administration. A fourth unit, the Federal Insurance Administration, would be set up administratively by the Secretary.

The new Department of Community Development would absorb the present Department of Housing and Urban Development. Other components would include certain elements of the Economic Development Administration and the Regional Commission programs from the Department of Commerce, the independent Appalachian Regional Commission, various Department of Agriculture programs including water and waste disposal grants and loans, the Rural Electrification Administration, and rural housing programs. The Community Action and Special Impact Programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity would be included, as would the Public Library construction grant program from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and certain disaster assistance functions now handled by the Office of Emergency Preparedness and the Small Business Administration. Most Federal highway programs and the Urban Mass Transportation Administration would be transferred from the present Department of Transportation.

I would note that while the Department of Transportation is a relatively new entity, it, too, is now organized around methods and not around purposes. A large part of the Department of Transportation would be moved into the new Department of Economic Affairs—but those functions which particularly support community development would be placed in the Department which is designed to meet that goal.

T)
The
evidenc
ernmen
designat
In part
much
source
machin
new ch
human
area ir
larly
results
I h
broad
educat
about
cludin
stamp
benefi
scatter
a nur
ment
Healt
Office
dle fo
progr
progr
suffer
In
ters w
the sa
with
agen
tion,
sider
go to
anot
finar
legal
assis

THE DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES

The price of obsolete organization is evidenced with special force in those Government programs which are directly designed to serve individuals and families. In part this is because there has been so much new legislation in the human resource field in recent decades; the old machinery is simply overstrained by its new challenges. But whatever the reasons, human resource programs comprise one area in which the Government is singularly ill-equipped to deliver adequate results.

I have already commented on the broad dispersion of Federal health and education activities. Similar examples abound. Income support programs, including those which administer food stamps, welfare payments, retirement benefits and other forms of assistance, are scattered among three departments and a number of other agencies. The Department of Agriculture, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Office of Economic Opportunity all handle food and nutrition matters. Child care programs, migrant programs, manpower programs, and consumer programs often suffer from similarly divided attention.

In one city, two vocational training centers were built three blocks apart at about the same time and for the same purpose, with money from two different Federal agencies. And for every case of overattention, there are many more of neglect. Consider the plight of a poor person who must go to one office for welfare assistance, to another for food stamps, to another for financial counseling, to still another for legal aid, to a fifth office for employment assistance, to a sixth place for job train-

ing, and to a number of additional offices for various kinds of medical help. The social worker who might guide him through this maze often works in still another location.

Such situations are clearly intolerable, yet the Federal Government—which ought to be working to reform these confused systems—actually is responsible for much of the confusion in the first place.

I believe that we can take a major step toward remedying such problems by establishing a new Department of Human Resources which would unify major Federal efforts to assist the development of individual potential and family well-being. This Department would be subdivided, in turn, into three major administrations: Health, Human Development, and Income Security.

This new Department would incorporate most of the present Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with the following significant additions: a number of food protection, food distribution and nutrition programs from the Department of Agriculture, the College Housing program from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the independent Railroad Retirement Board, various programs from the Office of Economic Opportunity (including nutrition, health, family planning, alcoholism, and drug rehabilitation efforts), and the Manpower Administration, the Women's Bureau, the Unemployment Insurance Program and a number of other employment service and training activities from the Department of Labor.

THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

One of the first things most students learn about economics is that the mate-

rial progress of our civilization has resulted in large measure from a growing division of labor. While a single family or a single community once provided most of its own goods and services, it now specializes in providing only a few, depending increasingly on a far-flung, intricate network of other people and other organizations for its full economic well-being.

The only way the Federal Government can deal effectively with such a highly interdependent economy is by treating a wide range of economic considerations in a comprehensive and coordinated manner. And—as our Gross National Product moves beyond the trillion dollar level and as our productive system, which now accounts for approximately 40 percent of the world's wealth, encounters new challenges from other nations—it is becoming even more important that Federal economic policies be carried out as effectively as possible.

But again, the organization of the Government works against the systematic consideration of economic complexities. The step by step evolution of our Federal machinery has created a series of separate entities—each handling a separate part of the economic puzzle. Some of these entities are relatively autonomous units within departments. Others are independent agencies. But perhaps the most dramatic evidence of our fragmented approach to the economy is the existence of four major executive departments which handle highly interdependent economic matters: Commerce, Labor, Agriculture, and Transportation.

This situation can seriously impair governmental efforts to respond effectively to economic challenges. One department, for example, may be concerned with the raw

materials a given industry receives from the farms, while a second department is concerned with getting these materials to the factory and getting the product to its market. Meanwhile, a third department is concerned with the workers who harvest the crops, run the transportation systems and manufacture the product, while a fourth department is concerned with the businessmen who own the plant where the product is made and the stores where it is merchandised.

Such a division of responsibility can also create a great deal of overlap. The Agriculture Department, for instance, finds that its interest in agricultural labor is shared by the Labor Department, its regard for agricultural enterprise is shared by the Small Business Administration, and its concern for providing sufficient transportation for farm products is shared by the Department of Transportation. The Commerce, Labor, and Agriculture Departments duplicate one another in collecting economic statistics, yet they use computers and statistical techniques which are often incompatible.

It has sometimes been argued that certain interest groups need a department to act as their special representative within the Government. In my view, such an arrangement serves the best interests of neither the special group nor the general public. Little is gained and much can be lost, for example, by treating our farmers or our workers or other groups as if they are independent participants in our economic life. Their problems cannot be adequately treated in isolation; their well-being is intimately related to the way our entire economy functions.

I would not suggest these reforms if I thought they would in any way result in the neglect of farmers, workers, minori-

ties or any o
our country
these reform
will enable
better. Und
partment of
a much st
something
which influ
present De
example. I
complex ne
than can th
bor. It wo
a wider
minority bus
Departme

Federal
area has b
cism over
administra
of executi
that it be
ceived a
my Adv
Organiza

I am
Congress
nomic Ad
economic
tice, and
more pro
various e
tween th
those of
Departm
ment, tr
and the
economy
stronger
effective
point th
possibly
the nev

ties or any other significant groups within our country. To the contrary, I propose these reforms because I am convinced they will enable us to serve these groups much better. Under my proposals, the new Department of Economic Affairs would be in a much stronger position really to do something about the wide-ranging factors which influence farm income than is the present Department of Agriculture, for example. It could do more to meet the complex needs of workingmen and women than can the present Department of Labor. It would be able to pull together a wider range of resources to help minority businessmen than can the present Department of Commerce.

Federal organization in the economic area has been the target of frequent criticism over the years. During the previous administration alone, two special studies of executive organization recommended that it be substantially altered. I have received a similar recommendation from my Advisory Council on Executive Organization.

I am therefore recommending to the Congress that a new Department of Economic Affairs be established to promote economic growth, to foster economic justice, and to encourage more efficient and more productive relationships among the various elements of our economy and between the United States economy and those of other nations. As this single new Department joined the Treasury Department, the Council of Economic Advisers and the Federal Reserve Board in shaping economic policy, it would speak with a stronger voice and would offer a more effective, more highly integrated viewpoint than four different departments can possibly do at present. The activities of the new Department would be grouped

under the following six administrations: Business Development, Farms and Agriculture, Labor Relations and Standards, National Transportation, Social, Economic, and Technical Information and International Economics.

The new Department of Economic Affairs would include many of the offices that are now within the Departments of Commerce, Labor and Agriculture. A large part of the Department of Transportation would also be relocated here, including the United States Coast Guard, the Federal Railroad Administration, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the National Transportation Safety Board, the Transportation Systems Center, the Federal Aviation Administration, the Motor Carrier Safety Bureau and most of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. The Small Business Administration, the Science Information Exchange program from the Smithsonian Institution, the National Institute for Occupational Health and Safety from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Technology Utilization from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration would also be included in the new Department.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONAL REFORMS

Regrouping functions *among* departments can do a great deal to enhance the effectiveness of government. It should be emphasized, however, that regrouping functions *within* departments is also a critical part of my program for executive reform. Just as like tasks are grouped together within a given department, so similar operations should be rationally assembled within subordinate units. Such a realignment of functions, in and of

itself, would make it much easier for appointed officials to manage their agencies and for both the President and the Congress to see that their intentions are carried out.

Toward this same end, I am recommending to the Congress a number of additional steps for bringing greater managerial discipline into Government. In the first place, I am proposing that the Department Secretary and his office be considerably strengthened so that the man whom the President appoints to run a department has both the authority and the tools to run it effectively. The Secretary would be given important managerial discretion that he does not always enjoy today, including the ability to appoint many key department officials, to delegate authority to them and to withdraw or change such delegations of authority, and to marshal and deploy the resources at his command so that he can readily focus the talent available to him at the point of greatest need.

Each of the new Secretaries would be provided with a Deputy Secretary and two Under Secretaries to help him meet his responsibilities. In addition, each major program area within a department would be headed by a high-level administrator who would be responsible for effectively managing a particular group of related activities. These officials would be appointed by the President and their appointments would be subject to Senate confirmation.

It is my philosophy that we should give clear assignments to able leaders—and then be sure that they are equipped to carry them out. As a part of this same effort, we should do all we can to give the best new management tools to those

who run the new departments. There is no better time to introduce needed procedural changes *within* departments than a time of structural change *among* departments. We can reap great benefits if we take advantage of this opportunity by implementing the most advanced techniques and equipment for such tasks as planning and evaluation, data collection, systematic budgeting, and personnel administration.

Finally, I would again stress in this message—as I have in my discussions of revenue sharing—the importance of decentralizing government activities as much as possible. As I have already observed, the consolidation of domestic departments would do a great deal to facilitate decentralization, since it would produce fewer interagency disputes that require resolution at higher levels. It is also true, as many management experts have pointed out, that as the reliability and scope of information expand at higher levels of government, officials can delegate authority to lower levels with greater confidence that it will be used well.

In addition to the consolidation of functions, I am also proposing a reform of the field structures of the Federal Government that would also promote decentralization. Each Department, for example, would appoint a series of Regional Directors who would represent the Secretary with respect to all Department activities in the field. Planning, coordination and the resolution of conflicts could thus be more readily achieved without Washington's involvement, since there would be a "Secretarial presence" at the regional level. Further coordination at lower levels of government would be provided by

strengtheni
which incl
Directors
given area

In the f
tion I mov
boundarie
certain do
at that tim
has never
way in wh
nized to c
field. It i
this patter
organized
in Washi
adequately
inadequat

Industri
found tha
can be ru
ganized a
and man
niques. T
these pri
can be u
ment far
areas.

As w
Federal
moderni
as we i
niques a
tivities,
capacity
than it
more w
fewer d
work fo
mean si
I woul
reducti
tributa

strengthening the ten Regional Councils which include as members the Regional Directors of various departments in a given area of the country.

In the first months of my administration I moved to establish common regional boundaries and regional headquarters for certain domestic departments. I observed at that time that the Federal Government has never given adequate attention to the way in which its departments are organized to carry out their missions in the field. It is now time that we remedied this pattern of neglect. Even the best organized and best managed departments in Washington cannot serve the people adequately if they have to work through inadequate field structures.

Industry and government both have found that even the largest organizations can be run effectively when they are organized according to rational principles and managed according to sound techniques. There is nothing mystical about these principles or these techniques; they can be used to make the Federal Government far more effective in a great many areas.

As we consolidate and rationalize Federal functions, as we streamline and modernize our institutional architecture, as we introduce new managerial techniques and decentralize Government activities, we will give Government the capacity to operate far more efficiently than it does today. It will be able to do more work with fewer mechanisms and fewer dollars. It will be able to use its work force more productively. This could mean significant savings for our taxpayers. I would emphasize, however, that any reductions in the Federal work force attributable to this proposal would come by

normal turnover; no civil servant should lose his job as a result of this plan.

It is important that these reforms be seen by our civil servants not as a threat to their security but as an opportunity for greater achievement. We have worked hard to bring able people into Government employment. Executive reorganization can help the Nation make even better use of their talent and their dedication and it can also make it easier for us to attract more men and women of great vision and competence into public service at the Federal level.

FOCUSING POWER WHERE IT CAN BE USED BEST

These proposals for reorganizing the Federal Government are a natural complement to my proposals for revenue sharing; there is a sense in which these two initiatives represent two sides of the same coin. Both programs can help us decentralize government, so that more decisions can be made at levels closer to the people. More than that, both programs are concerned with restoring the general capacity of government to meet its responsibilities.

On the one hand, through revenue sharing, we would give back to the States and localities those functions which belong at the State and local level. To help them perform those functions more effectively, we would give them more money to spend and more freedom in spending it. At the same time, however, we must also do all we can to help the Federal Government handle as effectively as possible those functions which belong at the Federal level. Executive reorganization can help us achieve this end by bringing together related activities which are now frag-

mented and scattered.

A healthy Federal system is one in which we neither disperse power for the sake of dispersing it nor concentrate power for the sake of concentrating it. Instead, a sound Federal system requires us to *focus* power at that place where it can be used to the greatest public advantage. This means that each level of government must be assigned those tasks which it can do best and must be given the means for carrying out those assignments.

THE CENTRAL QUESTION

Ever since the first settlers stepped upon our shores more than three centuries ago, a central question of the American experience has been: How do we best organize our government to meet the needs of the people? That was the central question as the colonists set up new governments in a new world. It was the central question when they broke from their mother country and made a new nation. It was the central question as they wrote a new Constitution in 1787 and, at each critical turning point since that time, it has remained a dominant issue in our national experience.

In the last forty years, as the Federal Government has grown in scope and complexity, the question of how it should be organized has been asked with even greater intensity and relevance. During this time, we have moved to formulate responsive answers to this question in an increasingly systematic manner. Searching studies of Government management and organization have been made under vir-

tually every national administration since the 1930s and many needed reforms have resulted.

What is now required, however, is a truly comprehensive restructuring of executive organization, one that is commensurate with the growth of the Nation and the expansion of the government. In the last twenty years alone our population has increased by one-third and the Federal budget has quintupled. In the last two decades, the number of Federal civilian employees has risen by almost 30 percent and the domestic programs they administer have multiplied tenfold. Three executive departments and fourteen independent agencies have been tacked on to the Federal organization chart during that brief span.

Yet it still is the same basic organization chart that has set the framework of governmental action for decades. While there have been piecemeal changes, there has been no fundamental overhaul. Any business that grew and changed so much and yet was so patient with old organizational forms would soon go bankrupt. The same truth holds in the public realm. Public officials cannot be patient with outmoded forms when the people have grown so impatient with government.

Thomas Jefferson once put it this way: "I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions," he wrote, "but . . . laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of cir-

cumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."

"Institutions must advance." Jefferson and his associates saw that point clearly in the late 18th century, and the fruit of their vision was a new nation. It is now for us—if our vision matches theirs—to renew the Government they created and

thus give new life to our common dreams.

RICHARD NIXON

The White House

March 25, 1971

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a fact sheet on the four proposed departments.

117 Remarks by Telephone to Workers on the Supersonic Transport Program. March 25, 1971

I KNOW this is a deeply disheartening moment for all those of you who have worked so hard and so long to make the American SST a reality. And I am sure that your disappointment is compounded not only of uncertainty about what it means for your own personal future, but also of distress that a project in which you believed has been turned down by the Congress.

I share your disappointment, and I simply want to take this opportunity to express to you personally my thanks for all that you have done over the years to bring this project so close to completion—and also my determination that the remarkable combination of skills and talents your team represents should not be lost to the Nation.

Each time I fly in Air Force One—a Boeing plane—I am reminded of the role Boeing has played in making America the world's leader in commercial aviation. Throughout the world, the 707, the 727, the 737, and now the giant 747 have become symbols of America's leadership. I

am counting on you here at Boeing to remain a dynamic force in our determined effort, even in the face of this defeat for the SST, to maintain that leadership.

The reason I fought so hard to keep the SST project alive was that I believe deeply that America must remain in the vanguard of scientific and technological progress—the kind of progress your team represents, and to which you have been dedicated. Congress action on the SST has come as a severe blow to us all. But I am determined that America must and will continue pushing outward the horizons of the unknown. I am also determined that we must and will make full use of the most valuable resource we have as a nation—the skill, the dedication, and the imagination of its people, such as you on the SST team, who have made our advances possible in the past and on whom we depend to go forward in the future.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House to employees of the Boeing Aircraft Company in Seattle, Wash., and Wichita, Kans.



19TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1986 Chicago Tribune Company;
Chicago Tribune

May 9, 1986, Friday, SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 23; ZONE: C directors

LENGTH: 932 words

HEADLINE: GOING PRIVATE WITH LEGAL AID

BODY:

As early as 1971, it was recognized that legal services for the poor should not be a government function. That year a presidential advisory council, the Ash Commission, urged President Richard Nixon to remove such legal services from the auspices of the Office of Economic Opportunity and to organize it as a quasi-government corporation "as a first step toward reprivatization of what has traditionally been a function of the private sector."

As a result of this advice, the Legal Services Corp. (LSC) was formed. But 15 years after the Ash Commission report, the LSC budget has swollen from \$61.8 million in 1971 to \$305.5 million this year, and the goal of privatization is nowhere in sight.

Paradoxically, increased government funding and involvement have come when private-sector financing alternatives have been flourishing. For one thing, direct outside funding for LSC recipients reached \$106 million in 1985, up from \$47 million in 1982. Some of this money is from other federal government programs, some from states and localities. However, much of it is also from private contributions such as the United Way and other local fund-raising agencies. In addition, pro bono publico (for the good of the community) services by attorneys is documented at a monetary equivalent of at least half the federal budget for the Legal Services Corp.

Interest on Lawyer Trust Accounts programs (IOLTA funds) have been a significant source of money for legal services to the poor in recent years. These funds are generated from interest earned on trust funds handled by private attorneys for their clients. The amounts involved are too small or are not held long enough to draw interest in excess of service charges if held in separate accounts. Last year IOLTA funds came to nearly \$27 million.

At a time when the failure of bureaucratic structures is being documented in many government programs, the Legal Services Corp. must be scrutinized closely. Federal funding of legal services is meant, not to support lawyers, but to resolve the legal problems of poor people. Many times, the solution need not even involve attorneys.

One such solution, Alternative Dispute Resolution, has boomed in the last 15 years. As of 1985 there were 475 full-time dispute-resolution mediators, 293 part-time ones and 5,985 program volunteers in more than 380 centers in 33 states. The average cost of a LSC case in 1984 was \$182.50 while that of an average Alternative Dispute Resolution case was \$36. And the latter gives a client a substantial role in resolving his own dispute, unlike the attorney-centered adversarial LSC system.

(c) 1986 Chicago Tribune, May 9, 1986

In addition, the legal system has become far more accessible to ordinary people. In 1964, when federal legal services were institutionalized within the Office of Economic Opportunity, there were about 300,000 lawyers nationwide; today there are more than 660,000, with starting salaries for recent attorney graduates as low as \$13,000 in some states. Since then, too, we have seen the advent of attorney advertising, self-help books and streamlined small claims procedures.

Technological advances (word processors and centralized data banks, for example) and the loosening of restrictions on advertising have resulted in increased service at lower prices from firms providing legal services to middle- and lower-income people. High-volume legal clinics offer cut-rate prices and can have the effect of forcing competitors to do likewise.

Though market pressures have forced prices down in the legal profession generally, the bureaucratic structure of the Legal Services Corp. has allowed average case costs to rise dramatically. Since 1982, almost all increases in federal appropriations for legal services have been in higher salaries and benefits for staff attorneys while the number of case closures has remained static. Benefits alone have risen 44 percent. The lawyers, many unionized, lobby Congress to prevent a change in the structure of LSC and to forbid the use of more cost-effective modes of delivery. The client is thus made a pawn in the justification of jobs for the lawyers.

The practice of law in the United States is a state-sanctioned privilege. With this privilege comes a professional responsibility to provide legal services to those who cannot afford legal fees. Many attorneys take this responsibility seriously. Before federal funding for legal services, voluntary legal aid societies provided community-based structures to ensure access to the system. Even now, the greatest non-LSC contribution to legal aid for the poor comes from pro bono work of individual lawyers and firms.

Fifteen years ago, the Ash Commission told President Nixon that "while government support is still necessary (for Legal Services), the need is not as strong today. The program has generated considerable interest and support in the private sector." This is more the case now than ever. Yet, despite the boom in non-LSC legal services for the poor, Legal Services lawyers have year after year demanded and often received greater government funding. The growth of alternative services and financial resources has been ignored; instead, there has been a growing entrenchment of LSC-funded attorneys.

In this, the first year of the Gramm-Rudman cuts, we have one more reason to review the budget of the Legal Services Corp. with an eye toward releasing its lawyers into the private sector, reintegrating indigent clients into the civil justice system and allowing the Legal Services Corp. to get on the track of progress.

TERMS: FEDERAL; COURT; AGENCY; BUDGET; COMPARISON; PROFILE; ANALYSIS

LEXIS® N. A. LEXIS® N. A. LEXIS® N. A. LEXIS®

3/31/92

MICHEL REFORM BILL

SECTION-BY-SECTION

TITLE I CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER, GENERAL COUNSEL, AND OTHER REFORMS

Section 101 Amendments relating to the Elections of officers of the House.

- Eliminates the office of the Doorkeeper and the Postmaster.
- The Sergeant-at-Arms should be a nationally respected law enforcement professional.

Section 102 Amendments relating to the duties of the Clerk

- Removes various financial responsibilities from the Clerk and gives them to the new Chief Financial Officer.
- Duties of the Doorkeeper are transferred to the Clerk (announcing messengers from the President and Senate, superintend the House document room, cloakrooms of the House, telephone service, and supervise pages).

Section 103 Amendment relating to the duties of the Sergeant-at-Arms

- Removes accounts and pay responsibilities from the Sergeant-at-Arms and transfers those responsibilities to the Chief Financial Officer.

Section 104 Chief Financial Officer

- Creates the office of Chief Financial Officer. The Chief Financial Officer is elected by a two-thirds vote of the House.
- Chief Financial Officer shall be responsible for reviewing and analyzing the financial operations of the House, including the efficiencies of its operations, the functions of its offices, and the cost-effectiveness of its operations, and providing periodic recommendations to the Speaker and Minority Leader respecting these operations.

APR 2 '92 12:18 FROM REPUBLICAN LEADER-HOR

PAGE.003

3/31/92

- The Chief Financial Officer shall conduct periodic audits of the financial operations of the House, keep accounts for the pay and mileage of Members, and carry out all other financial functions and operations that were exercised by the Clerk.

- The Chief Financial Officer shall superintend the post office in the Capitol (he may contract with the U.S. Postal Service to run the operations).

Section 106 Oversight Reform

- By March 1 of the first session of any Congress, each committee shall adopt and submit to the Committee on House Administration an oversight plan for that Congress.

- Funding will not be provided to committees until they have submitted their oversight plans.

Section 107 Bipartisan Representation on Committee on House Administration

- Committee on House Administration would have equal representation of majority party and minority party members.

Section 108 Equality of Majority and Minority Party Representation on the Subcommittee on Legislative Appropriations**Section 109 Task Force on Reform of the House of Representatives**

- Creates a 10 member Task Force (5 Members appointed upon the recommendation of the Majority Leader and 5 appointed upon the recommendation of the Minority Leader) to propose institutional reforms necessary to restoring public confidence in the House of Representatives.

Section 110 Limitation on Reprogramming of Funds in the House

- No funds may be reprogrammed without the written approval of the Speaker and the Minority Leader.

Section 111 Limitation on Initial House of Representatives Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1993

APR 2 '92 12:19 FROM REPUBLICAN LEADER-HOR

PAGE.004

3/31/92

- The Fiscal Year 1993 Legislative Branch appropriation bill for the House shall expire on March 31, 1993.

Section 112 Inspector General

- The Speaker and Minority Leader appoint an Inspector General who shall conduct audits and investigations.

SUBTITLE B--Office of the General Counsel**Section 122 Accountability**

- The Office shall be directly accountable to the Leadership Group composed of the Speaker, Majority Leader, Minority Leader, Majority Whip, Minority Whip, the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the Committee on the Judiciary, and two members appointed upon the recommendation of the majority and minority leaders.

Section 123 Purpose and Policy

- The purpose of the Office is to provide legal assistance to Members, officers, and employees of the House on matters directly related to their duties.

Section 124 Specific Approval Requirements

- The Office shall seek prior approval by resolution of the House regarding entering an appearance before any court, filing a brief in any court, or representing any member of the House in any contested matter that will result in formal legal proceedings.

- The Office must seek the approval of the Leadership Group where preparation of any legal memorandum or other legal research which requires more than four hours of preparation time.

- In carrying out any action where the matter affects an area of responsibility committed to another office, officer, or employee, the Office shall consult and coordinate such action with the office, officer or employee.

Section 125 General Counsel

APR 2 '92 12:19 FROM REPUBLICAN LEADER-HOR

PAGE.005

3/31/92

- The General Counsel shall be appointed by the Speaker from among individuals recommended by the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader, without regard to political affiliation.

- The General Counsel shall serve at the pleasure of the Leadership Group.

Section 126 Staff

- The General Counsel may employ such attorneys and other employees as may be necessary for the performance of the functions of the Office. At least one attorney in the Office shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the minority leader.

TITLE II LEGISLATIVE REFORM**Section 201 House Scheduling Reform**

- Requires the Speaker to announce the legislative program for the year including target dates for consideration of specified major budgetary, authorization, and appropriation bills. The Speaker must also indicate weeks during which the House will be in session, weeks set aside for District Work Periods and the target date for adjournment.

Section 202 Treatment of Vetoes Bills

- Immediately after the receipt of a bill returned by the President, the Speaker shall state the question on the reconsideration of that bill, without intervening motion, and the House shall proceed to vote on the reconsideration of that bill.

Section 203 Multiple Referral of Legislation

- Ends joint referrals.
- The Speaker must designate the committee of principal jurisdiction.

Section 204 Presentment of Bills to the President

- Sets a time certain (10 days) for bills to be presented to the President.

APR 2 '92 12:28 FROM REPUBLICAN LEADER-HOR

PAGE, 005

3/31/92**Section 205 Committee Ratios**

- The membership of each committee, subcommittee, must reflect the ratio of majority to minority party Members of the House at the beginning of the Congress.

Section 206 Subcommittee Limits

- Each standing committee that has over 20 members may establish at least four subcommittees but not more than six.

Section 207 Proxy Voting Ban

- Eliminates proxy voting in committee and subcommittees.

Section 208 Open Meetings

- Meetings are to be open unless "because disclosure of matters to be considered would endanger national security, would tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person or would otherwise violate any law or rule of the House."

Section 209 Majority Quorums

- A majority of the members of each committee or subcommittee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of any business, including the markup of legislation.

Section 210 Report Accountability

- On a roll call vote to report a bill or resolution, the names of those voting for and against, are to be included in the committee report on the measure.

Section 211 Committee Documents

- Committee documents are to either be approved by the committee or subcommittee prior to public distribution with appropriate opportunity for minority views and supplemental information, or else the document must contain a disclaimer that the document "may not necessarily reflect the views of [the committee] members."

APR 2 '92 12:28 FROM REPUBLICAN LEADER-HQR

PAGE.007

3/31/92

Section 212 Same Day Consideration of Rules Committee Reports

- There must be a 2/3 vote for same calendar day consideration of Rules Committee reports, or subsequent calendar day of the same legislative day.

Section 213 Permitting Instructions in Motions to Recommit

- Prohibits any rule or order which would prevent the motion to recommit from being made as provided by clause 4 of rule XVI, including a motion with amendatory instructions.

Section 214 Restrictive Rules Limitation

- A bill could not be considered under a closed rule unless the Chairman of the Rules Committee announced on the House floor four legislative days prior that less than an open amendment process might be recommended by the Committee.

Section 215 Limitation on Self-Executing Rules

- Self-executing rules would have to be adopted by a 2/3 vote.

Section 216 Budget Waiver Limitation

- It will not be in order to consider any resolution reported from the Committee on Rules which waives any specified provision of the Budget Act unless the committee report includes an explanation of, and justification for, any such waiver, an estimated cost of the provisions to which the waiver applies.

Section 217 Committee Staffing

- Reduces committee staffing for the 103rd Congress by 50%.

Section 218 Commemorative Calendar

- Creates a Commemorative Calendar. Objections by two or more Members may remove the bill from the Calendar.

APR 2 '92 12:21 FROM REPUBLICAN LEADER-HOR

PAGE.006

3/31/92**Section 219 Automatic Roll Call Votes**

- On any appropriation bill, or other measure providing revenue, or adjusting Members pay, the yeas and nays will be considered ordered.

Section 220 Appropriation Reforms

- A continuing appropriations bill shall not exceed 30 days, shall reflect the lesser amount of the House passed, Senate passed or conference agreement or enacted for the preceding fiscal year. Such bill must contain a list of all appropriations contained in the bill for any expenditure not previously authorized by law. A 3/5 vote is required to waive the provisions of clause 2 of rule XXI against the consideration of any continuing appropriation measure.

Section 221 Reconciliation Limitation

- A reconciliation bill shall not contain provisions which are not related to achieving the purposes of the directives to the committees. Amendments which achieve greater savings than those directed of a committee shall be made in order.

Section 222 Authorization Reporting Deadline

- It will not be in order to consider any bill or joint resolution which directly or indirectly authorizes enactment of new budget authority for a fiscal year unless that bill or joint resolution is reported in the House on or before May 15.

Section 223 Pledge of Allegiance

- The second order of business shall be the pledge of allegiance.

Section 224 Suspension of the Rules

- The Chairman of the committee of jurisdiction must request the measure be considered under suspension of the rules. Any bill which authorizes over \$50,000,000 in any fiscal year shall not be made in order under suspension of the rules.

Section 225 Discharge Motion

APR 2 '92 12:22 FROM REPUBLICAN LEADER-HOR

PAGE.010

3/31/92**Section 232 Elimination of Certain Select Committees**

- Eliminates the Select Committees on Aging, Hunger, Narcotics and Children, Youth and Families.

Section 233 Application of Information Disclosure Requirements to Congress

- Brings Congress under the Freedom of Information Act.

Section 234 Limitation on the Duration of Payments of Expenses of Former Speakers of the House of Representatives

- Former Speakers are authorized three staff positions for no more than three years.

Section 235 Prohibition on Franked Mass Mailings by Members Outside their Congressional Districts**Section 236 Requirement that Legislation Adjusting Pay for Members of Congress be Considered Separately****Section 237 Legislative Branch Appropriations to be for One Year Only****Section 238 One Attorney in the Office of the Parliamentarian to be Appointed Upon the Recommendation of the Minority Leader**

APR 2 '92 12:21 FROM REPUBLICAN LEADER-HOR

PAGE.009

3/31/92

- When 100 Members have signed the motion to discharge, the Clerk must print in the Record the names of Members signing the motion.

Section 226 Inclusion of Views with Conference Reports

- Any conferee shall have three calendar days to file supplemental or minority views.

Section 227 Intelligence Committee Oath

- Each member of the Intelligence Committee shall take an oath not to disclose any classified information.

Section 228 Enhanced Rescission Authority

- The Committee on Rules and the Committee on Government Operations shall report legislation granting the President enhanced rescission authority. Such legislation shall provide that any such budget authority shall be considered to be permanently canceled unless a joint resolution disapproving such rescission is enacted within 45 calendar days.

Section 229 Biennial Budget Appropriations Process

- Committee on Rules is directed to conduct a complete and thorough study of a biennial budget and appropriation process.

Section 230 Applicability of Certain Laws to the House

- Legislation must be reported to the House to implement: the National Labor Relations Act; the Occupational Safety Act and Health Act; the Equal Pay Act of 1963; the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967; Section 552 of title 5, United States Code (Freedom of Information Act); Section 552a of title 5 (Privacy Act of 1974); Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; Chapter 39 of title 28 (independent counsel).

Section 231 Equitable Committee Staff Ratios

- The ratio of majority party to minority party staff positions shall reflect the ratio of majority party to minority party Members of the House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Demarest/Aarhus
Draft #4
Reform

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

Pres. of

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

turned the world upside down. ^{WASHINGTON} 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 demand

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
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, "there can be no talk of re-form, without talk
of 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

962-5800
D'Souza's
Liberal
Educ.

THE WHITE HOUSE

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? 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 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. Talk to conscientious

Senators like Pennsylvania's own Arlen Specter. 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 continuing spectre of huge 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 [[today/by next week]]. Further, I will veto any future legislation that extends such special treatment to the Congress.

Second, ~~Congress~~ should reform its committee system. I support the Boren-Domenici committee reform bill which sets up a bipartisan group to evaluate Congressional operations. ~~The bill requires Congress to implement all of the groups recommendations.~~ 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 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 biennial budgets. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. This proposal alone would save [[\$390

billion in xx 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 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, new regulatory requirements have already been reduced by over 30 percent. As our review continues we will announce further steps to reduce the burden of unnecessary regulations.

Sixth, we must limit Congressional terms. There are good people in Congress -- I think of your own Senator Arlen Specter, whom I enthusiastically support for re-election. But it is time to address the Congress of the future. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election 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 in yearly sessions of 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.

#

10:30-11am
(remarks)

aud
Fed. Society (160)
& civic leaders (25-30)
Coc pres., Board Pres.
Bonds/ban/academics

Joseph Ciccipio

Brian Guthrie, Pres. ~~White~~ Federalist
Soc. of Phila.

Ms. Martha Atkins, Supt. of Park
Independence

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/1/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>FINDLAY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARY		

REMARKS:

The attached remarks have been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 1, 1992

02 APR 1 P3:44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST ^{MM}

SUBJECT: FRIDAY'S REFORM SPEECH

Attached is a draft for your review. Your changes have been incorporated, as have additional changes from senior staff members.

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

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.

He didn't
surrender. He
was "sick" &
sent someone
else in his
place.

When British General Cornwallis^{troops} surrendered at Yorktown in 1781, ~~he had his band play~~ the band played "The World Turned Upside Down", as his troops marched before Washington's Continental Army. It was a profoundly simple realization that an old world order was coming to a close and a new order was 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 stood at the forefront of a great worldwide movement. We stood firm for our principles through some very difficult times. We changed the world, and we stand upon a new threshold. 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, if we are 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. This too must change. Congress should pass my Access to Justice Act.

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.

Source?
interns
couldn't
find.

Finally, if we are to change America we must change government. That is what I will address today. G.K. Chesterton said, "there can be no talk of re-form, without talk of 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 "the customer's always right." Competition works -- the proof? Today American products are quantifiably better than just a few years ago.

Reform has improved performance 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 has resisted 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 political power, 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 have stopped cold at the Capital Beltway.

The most recent proof was the inability of Congress to rise to the challenge of getting our economy rolling again without reverting to form -- higher taxes and bigger government. This is the Congress we have come to know -- inefficient, ineffective, unaccountable, and frankly, out of touch. 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 five challenges I proposed earlier? Over and over, it has stonewalled solutions we have proposed. If we are to reform education, health care, our legal system -- if we are to reduce red tape and regulation, make our country competitive, we must reform the Congress and make it responsive to change.

The growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. This sets in motion a perpetual cycle of congressional support for more unnecessary spending -- creating bigger and even less responsive bureaucracies. Then, the Members and their powerful staffs become go-betweens amidst constituents and the executive agencies -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- thus ensuring 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.

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. 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 continuing spectre of huge 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."

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.

~~So when taxpayer money goes for outlandish pork-barrel projects, or mass mailings that are little more than thinly veiled re-election devices, people get angry. In the Senate, eight percent of the out-going mail is for answering voters. The rest is unsolicited "reports" to the people. Maybe it's small potatoes to the Congress, but the public knows P.R. when it sees it. They know it adds up to real money -- their money, and it is time to put a stop to this charade.~~

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

David Mason,
Heritage
546-4400

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 to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs. Just this week, *after being reported from 1 comm. in the House,* our energy bill to make us more energy-efficient and energy-independent was referred *by the Speaker* to *no less than eight separate* *additional House* committees, *sequentially!* It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

Clayton will tell
 Dz
 x2216
 ok

 When the [[Agriculture Secretary]] 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.

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.

Today I am proposing a set of actions that taken together will 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. Further, I will veto any future legislation that extends such special treatment to the Congress.}}

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."~~

Greg Walden
10/26/74
Bill
Creech

~~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} federal ^{and non-defense} employment next year. ~~and to freeze federal non-defense employment.~~

FROM
POLICY →
DEVEL.

Budget
p. 1-15 ✓ ok

I have proposed biennial budgets. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. This proposal alone would save ^{almost 390 billion} [[xxx dollars in xx 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-rescission, to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. And I will 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.

Fifth, regulatory reform. I have 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, new regulatory requirements have already been reduced by over 30 percent. As our review continues we will announce further steps to reduce the burden of unnecessary regulations.

Sixth, we must limit Congressional terms. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election 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. To borrow a line from Howard Baker "they ought to be living in America and visiting Washington." Howard Baker was right. And we can achieve Senator Baker's vision by enacting the reforms I have proposed.

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 this Congress, the 102nd, set an example for future Congresses, and finish action on the important proposals before them, like our economic action plan, our proposals on education, crime, and legal reform, to name just a few, and adjourn by Memorial Day.]]

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 renew our faith in government -- restore the principles of our Founders, and guarantee 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.

#