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

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**OA/ID Number:** 13482  
**Folder ID Number:** 13482-004

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**Folder Title:**  
American Society of Newspaper Editors, 4/12/89 [2]

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<b>G</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>

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# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/7/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 4/10/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Boskin</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss' Winston's office with an information copy to my office by 2:00 Monday, April 10. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

No Comment  
4/7/89  
D. Q. Bates

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1000 APR - 7 AM '89

(Smith/Davis)  
4/6/89/3 p.m.  
Draft Seven  
Title: Fri

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS  
WASHINGTON MARRIOTT GRAND BALLROOM  
WED., APRIL 12, 1989/1:20 pm.

Your introduction was very kind, but you left out a few items. It may come as a surprise to you, but I consider myself something of a master of media manipulation. In fact, I'm so good, you can't even tell I'm doing it . . .

Call me the Stealth Communicator . . .

Well, today, let no one miss this message. Let it ring loud and clear. Ethical standards are central to my Administration and our nation, and we will enforce them -- strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law.

Ten weeks ago, I issued an Executive Order creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. And I asked its members to recommend steps to foster full confidence in the integrity of all federal public officials and employees.

On March 9, this Commission filed its report and its recommendations. Today, I am announcing a new Executive Order

and legislation to enforce government ethics in fact, not merely in theory. At this moment, legislation is being sent to the Congress. And this morning, I issued an Executive Order concerning standards of conduct for executive-branch employees.

Both actions seek a common end: To raise ethical standards, to avoid conflicts of interest, and to ensure that the law is respected in fact and appearance.

There are those, of course, who rightly say that public ethics and values cannot be legislated. But they can be encouraged, respected, and adhered to in government . . . Public servants must reflect the best values of America. And let me add that most public servants do.

Jefferson said, "The whole art of government consists in being honest." Yet, too often, simple honesty is not enough. Government rules have worked at cross-purposes. Our regulations have been unfair and complicated. Our laws have been contradictory and unclear. We've spent more time trying to understand Federal ethics laws than we have trying to live by them.

My ethics program seeks to remedy these defects. How? By achieving four objectives: First, to set high ethical standards; second, to ensure uniform standards among all three branches of

government; third, to insist that these standards are fair and reasonable; and, fourth, to bring in, not drive out, talented men and women to government.

First, my ethics program insists that ethical standards must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with utmost integrity, for the public's confidence is not ours to inherit. We must earn that confidence. It must be constantly renewed. With this in mind, I have placed a ban on outside income for Executive Branch employees. I am proposing expanded financial disclosure for all three branches of government. And I have instructed my staff to perform a comprehensive review of federal campaign finance laws.

Regarding the latter, I have already reached one determination. Congress should extend, for all members, the prohibition against the conversion of political contributions for personal or office use. Political donations should not become a sort of Individual Retirement Account for Congressmen. I call on Congress to close this loophole, and close it this year.

I am also proposing a 25 percent pay raise for federal judges, while restricting their acceptance of honoraria. In addition, I hope to work with Congress to award long-overdue raises for senior federal executives, especially those in specialized positions -- like the National Institutes of Health.

I will also consult with Congress on a possible congressional pay raise, and the question of honoraria.

My ethics program's second goal insists that standards be equitable across all three branches of government. Remember: If every branch of government is equal, none warrants preferential treatment. If Washington is a level playing field, then every player should be treated the same.

Therefore, assuming the continued existence of the Independent Counsel, I request that we extend that statute to cover the Congress. I want to create an independent ethics office for the Congress, to be headed by an independent official, confirmed by both houses. I ask that the existing one-year post-employment "cooling-off" period for senior executive-branch employees also apply to the two other branches.

And I want to extend to legislative- and judicial-branch employees and judges the Federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions which enhance their own financial interests.

Then, there's the third objective of my ethics program. It insists that standards be reasonable and reflect good old-fashioned common sense.

Some financial interests, for example, are too minor to create any meaningful conflict-of-interest. So, I want the Office of Government Ethics to have the authority to issue regulations authorizing waivers from the conflict-of-interest statute. But at the same time, we're urging tougher penalties when intentional violations of criminal conflict-of-interest laws occur.

We're asking officials from all three branches to simplify the forms that must be completed by prospective appointees. And my Executive Order sets forth tighter ethical standards for executive-branch employees. To make this clear, I'm requiring mandatory annual briefings on ethics for Presidential appointees.

My program's fourth objective is to attract and keep the best people in government, by keeping federal ethics laws fair and balanced.

An ethics law is not a weapon, a blunt instrument with which to pound a public servant. It is not a gag with which to silence the outspoken. It is not an instrument of torture with which to torment the unpopular. It is a tool for government as honest as the American people.

America must not allow overly restrictive requirements to be abused, or to keep talented people from entering public service.

That is why we have carefully crafted new post-employment restrictions. And that is why we want to allow persons who are required to divest assets to defer their tax liability.

My ethics program shows exactly where we are going, and why. We seek to attract, and keep, the best and brightest in government. And by helping others -- honorably, ethically -- we seek to show how public service is not the sum of our perks or possessions, but a measure of how we conduct ourselves and what we achieve.

Standards of trust and honesty do not emanate from Washington. They are to be found in the everyday conduct of working men and women; in the postman who checks on the elderly resident at home; in the cashier who runs after the customer she overcharged.

Ethics in public service derives from the natural integrity of the American people. And the ethos of public service itself derives from a broader spirit of volunteerism. That is why I have declared this to be National Volunteer Week. This is more than another honorific for the calendar. I am using the office of the Presidency actively, to promote and to inspire a national outpouring of community service.

I will challenge employers to establish literacy programs and day-care centers. I will challenge local civic groups to "adopt" a local school, hospital or nursing home. I will challenge more churches and synagogues to organize food drives for the homeless. To every American, I will ask for more than a donation of dollars. I will ask for the precious donation of time and effort, for a giving of the heart.

And to young Americans, I will deliver a special message: Don't just measure success by the acronyms of material wealth -- V.C.R.s, C.D.s and BMWs. From now on, the good life in America must include service to others . . .

Come to think of it, this is a code for all to live by, from high school to the highest calling in journalism and government. As a society fragmented into sectors, and atomized into individuals, we can do little. As a national community aware of a common fate, bound by a collective purpose, we can achieve anything.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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(Smith/Davis)  
4/6/89/3 p.m.  
Draft Seven  
Title: Fri

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FINAL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF  
NEWSPAPER EDITORS  
WASHINGTON MARRIOTT  
GRAND BALLROOM  
WED., APRIL 12, 1989  
1:20 P.M.

THANK YOU JOHN ((SEIGENTHALER)).

- 2 -

((PERHAPS YOU'VE HEARD WHAT HAPPENED TO THE FORMER  
PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY WHO DIED AND WENT TO  
HEAVEN. NO SOONER DID HE GET THERE, THAN HE SAW A  
DISTINGUISHED-LOOKING MAN WITH INK-STAINED FINGERS, A  
GREASE PENCIL BEHIND ONE EAR, AND A GREEN VISOR OVER  
HIS HEAD, STRUTTING AROUND, GIVING ORDERS. "WHO IS  
THAT?" THE PRESS SECRETARY GRUMBLED. ((→ ))

"SOME IMPORTANT EDITOR?" "NO," REPLIED AN ANGEL.

"THAT'S GOD. HE ONLY THINKS HE'S AN EDITOR . . ."

I'VE BEEN GETTING SUCH A RIBBING ABOUT MY HIGHLY  
STYLIZED PROSE, THAT I THOUGHT IT ONLY APPROPRIATE FOR  
ME TO SHARE A FEW RECENT HEADLINES WITH YOU, SUCH AS  
"DENTIST RECEIVES PLAQUE" . . . "ACTOR SENT TO JAIL FOR  
NOT FINISHING SENTENCE" . . . AND MY FAVORITE,

"REST OF THE YEAR MAY NOT FOLLOW JANUARY." I AM  
TEMPTED TO GLOAT, AS ADLAI STEVENSON DID WHEN HE SAID  
THAT AN EDITOR IS A "PERSON WHO SEPARATES THE WHEAT  
FROM THE CHAFF, AND PRINTS THE CHAFF . . ."

HOWEVER, I AM PROBABLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PROVIDING MY  
FAIR SHARE OF CHAFF.

I AM, AFTER ALL, THE ONE WHO, DURING THE CAMPAIGN, PROMISED "A KITCHEN IN EVERY POT" . . . AND I ALSO DECLARED THAT "AMERICA'S FREEDOM IS THE EXAMPLE BY WHICH THE WORLD EXPIRES . . .""))

WELL, LET NO ONE MISS THIS MESSAGE. AS EDITORS, YOU UPHOLD A CERTAIN ETHICAL STANDARD IN YOUR NEWSROOMS.

YOU MUST DO SO, BECAUSE A NEWSPAPER IS ONLY AS GOOD AS ITS WORD. THIS IS NO LESS TRUE OF GOVERNMENT. HIGH ETHICAL STANDARDS ARE CENTRAL TO THIS ADMINISTRATION, AND WE WILL ENFORCE THEM -- STRICTLY, COMPREHENSIVELY, FAIRLY, AND TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE LAW . . .

WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO REFORM A PUBLIC CODE OF CONDUCT THAT IS IN DISARRAY.

**IT IS NOT LOGICAL OR FAIR. IT IS BOTH TOO HARSH AND TOO LENIENT. IT ELEVATES DETAIL OVER SUBSTANCE; PRECEPT OVER PRINCIPLE.**

**SUCH A SYSTEM ULTIMATELY BREEDS CYNICISM AND CONTEMPT FOR THE LAW. TO TRULY REFORM IT, WE MUST REMEMBER THAT STANDARDS OF TRUST AND HONESTY ARE NOT DICTATED FROM REGULATIONS WRITTEN IN WASHINGTON. ETHICS IN PUBLIC SERVICE DERIVE FROM THE NATURAL INTEGRITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.**

**THEY ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE EVERYDAY CONDUCT OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN; IN THE POSTMAN WHO CHECKS ON THE ELDERLY RESIDENT AT HOME; IN THE CASHIER WHO RUNS AFTER THE CUSTOMER SHE OVERCHARGED. THE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO MEET THEIR OBLIGATIONS HONESTLY, AND TEACH THEIR CHILDREN TO DO THE SAME, SEE NOTHING EXTRAORDINARY ABOUT ASKING THE SAME OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.**

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TROUBLED WHEN THEY HEAR OF OFFICIALS IN EVERY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT AT WHATEVER LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT WHO SHOW A BRAZEN CONTEMPT FOR THE LETTER OR SPIRIT OF THE LAW. AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY CERTAIN BEHAVIOR IS CONSIDERED CRIMINAL WHEN COMMITTED BY AN EXECUTIVE BRANCH OFFICIAL; AND PERFECTLY LEGAL WHEN COMMITTED BY A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

IS NOT A CRIME A CRIME? SHOULD THERE NOT BE AN UNDERLYING STANDARD OF INTEGRITY FOR ALL?

AS PRESIDENT-ELECT, I HEARD ABOUT FROM TALENTED MEN AND WOMEN WHO, THOUGH PERFECTLY HONEST, DECLINED GOVERNMENT SERVICE OUT OF FEAR. FEAR OF THE SHEER COMPLEXITY OF FEDERAL ETHICS LAWS. FEAR THAT A SIMPLE, HONEST MISTAKE COULD LEAD TO A PUBLIC NIGHTMARE.

THESE CONCERNS LED ME TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER CREATING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON FEDERAL ETHICS LAW REFORM. I ASKED ITS MEMBERS TO RECOMMEND STEPS TO FOSTER FULL CONFIDENCE IN THE INTEGRITY OF ALL FEDERAL PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES.

ON MARCH 9, THIS COMMISSION FILED ITS REPORT AND ITS RECOMMENDATIONS.

IN FACT, LEGISLATION IS BEING SENT TODAY TO THE CONGRESS. AND JUST THIS MORNING, I ISSUED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ANNOUNCING ETHICAL PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONDUCT OF EXECUTIVE-BRANCH EMPLOYEES.

BOTH ACTIONS SEEK A COMMON END: TO RAISE ETHICAL STANDARDS, TO AVOID CONFLICTS OF INTEREST, AND TO ENSURE THAT THE LAW IS RESPECTED IN FACT AND APPEARANCE.

THERE ARE THOSE, OF COURSE, WHO SAY THAT PUBLIC ETHICS AND VALUES CANNOT BE LEGISLATED. BUT THEY CAN BE ENCOURAGED, RESPECTED, AND ADHERED TO IN GOVERNMENT . . . PUBLIC SERVANTS MUST REFLECT THE BEST VALUES OF AMERICA. AND LET ME ADD THAT MOST PUBLIC SERVANTS DO.

JEFFERSON SAID, "THE WHOLE ART OF GOVERNMENT CONSISTS IN BEING HONEST." YET, TOO OFTEN, SIMPLE HONESTY IS NOT ENOUGH.


GOVERNMENT RULES HAVE WORKED AT CROSS-PURPOSES. OUR REGULATIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLICATED AND UNEQUALLY APPLIED. OUR LAWS HAVE BEEN CONTRADICTORY AND UNCLEAR. WE'VE SPENT MORE TIME TRYING TO UNDERSTAND FEDERAL ETHICS LAWS THAN WE HAVE TRYING TO LIVE BY THEM.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM SEEKS TO REMEDY THESE DEFECTS.  
HOW? BY SETTING FOUR OBJECTIVES:

FIRST, TO ESTABLISH CLEAR ETHICAL PRINCIPLES; SECOND, TO ENSURE UNIFORM STANDARDS AMONG ALL THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT; THIRD, TO INSIST THAT THESE STANDARDS BE FAIR AND REASONABLE; AND, FOURTH, TO ENSURE THAT THESE STANDARDS ATTRACT, NOT DRIVE OUT, TALENTED MEN AND WOMEN TO GOVERNMENT.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM FIRST INSISTS THAT ETHICAL STANDARDS MUST BE EXACTING ENOUGH TO ENSURE THAT OFFICIALS ACT WITH UTMOST INTEGRITY, FOR THE PUBLIC'S CONFIDENCE IS NOT OURS TO INHERIT. WE MUST EARN THAT CONFIDENCE. IT MUST BE CONSTANTLY RENEWED. WITH THIS IN MIND, I HAVE PLACED A BAN ON OUTSIDE INCOME FOR NON-CAREER PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, INCLUDING ALL EMPLOYEES IN THE IMMEDIATE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE.

I AM PROPOSING EXPANDED FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE FOR ALL THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. AND I HAVE INSTRUCTED MY STAFF TO PERFORM A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF FEDERAL CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS. REGARDING THE LAST, I HAVE ALREADY REACHED ONE DETERMINATION. CONGRESS SHOULD EXTEND, FOR ALL MEMBERS, THE PROHIBITION AGAINST THE CONVERSION OF POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS FOR PERSONAL OR OFFICE USE. POLITICAL DONATIONS SHOULD NOT BECOME A SORT OF INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNT FOR CONGRESSMEN.



I CALL ON CONGRESS TO CLOSE THIS LOOPHOLE, AND TO CLOSE IT THIS YEAR.

MODERN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT WORKS BEST WHEN ORGANIZED BY STRONG POLITICAL PARTIES. YET WE'VE ALLOWED OUR PARTIES TO BECOME WEAKENED AND OVERSHADOWED BY SPECIAL INTERESTS. WE CAN BEST RESTORE THE ROLE OF THE PARTIES BY LIMITING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES. PACS WEAKEN THE PARTIES, RESTRAIN COMPETITION AND DEADEN THE POLITICAL DEBATE.

I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ELIMINATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES, BY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES, AND I'LL BE CONSULTING WITH CONGRESS ABOUT THAT. I ALSO OPPOSE FEDERAL FUNDING OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS.

MY LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL ALSO STRENGTHENS THE RULES AGAINST ABUSING THE REVOLVING DOOR FOR PRIVATE GAIN AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PUBLIC TRUST.

THESE RULES MUST NOT MAKE GOVERNMENT SERVICE A BAR TO PRODUCTIVE WORK IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, BUT THEY MUST PROHIBIT THE APPEARANCE OF PROFITING FROM GOVERNMENT SERVICE -- AND THIS MUST INCLUDE THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

I AM PROPOSING A 25 PERCENT PAY RAISE FOR FEDERAL JUDGES, WHILE RESTRICTING THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF HONORARIA. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT HONORARIA FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SHOULD BE BANNED.

I BELIEVE CONGRESS SHOULD HAVE A PAY INCREASE. I WILL NOT MAKE A FORMAL PROPOSAL ON CONGRESS UNTIL AFTER I CONSULT WITH THE LEADERS OF CONGRESS ON THE ISSUE OF CONGRESSIONAL PAY. [THERE IS NO POINT PUTTING CONGRESS THROUGH ANOTHER TRAUMATIC BASHING LIKE THE ONE JUST COMPLETED.] AND I WILL INCLUDE IN THAT DISCUSSION THE QUESTION OF A PAY INCREASE FOR CERTAIN EXECUTIVE BRANCH POSITIONS, INCLUDING SPECIALIZED JOBS LIKE THOSE AT THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES FOR HEALTH.

I WILL STRONGLY SUPPORT PAY INCREASES FOR THESE JOBS, WHICH ARE SO IMPORTANT TO THIS COUNTRY.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM'S SECOND GOAL RECOGNIZES THAT ETHICAL CONSISTENCY DEMANDS EQUITABLE STANDARDS ACROSS ALL THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION, EVERY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT IS EQUAL, AND NONE WARRANTS PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT.

THE SAME STANDARD THAT APPLIES TO A STAFF PERSON AT HUD SHOULD ALSO APPLY TO HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF ON THE HILL. A PRACTICE IS EITHER ETHICAL OR IT IS NOT. IF WASHINGTON IS TO BE A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD, THEN EVERY PLAYER SHOULD BE TREATED THE SAME.

THEREFORE, I AM PROPOSING THAT WE MUST EXTEND THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL STATUTE TO COVER THE CONGRESS.

I AM ALSO PROPOSING THAT THE FEDERAL STATUTE THAT PROHIBITS EMPLOYEES FROM TAKING ACTIONS THAT ENHANCE THEIR OWN FINANCIAL INTEREST BE EXTENDED TO COVER LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCH EMPLOYEES. THERE SHOULD ALSO BE AN INDEPENDENT ETHICS OFFICE FOR THE CONGRESS, TO BE HEADED BY A CLEARLY NONPARTISAN OFFICIAL, CONFIRMED BY BOTH HOUSES.

I ASK THAT THE EXISTING ONE-YEAR POST-EMPLOYMENT "COOLING-OFF" PERIOD FOR SENIOR EXECUTIVE-BRANCH EMPLOYEES ALSO APPLY TO THE LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES.

THEN, THERE'S THE THIRD OBJECTIVE OF MY ETHICS PROGRAM. IT INSISTS THAT STANDARDS BE REASONABLE AND REFLECT GOOD OLD-FASHIONED COMMON SENSE.

SOME FINANCIAL INTERESTS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE TOO MINOR TO CREATE ANY MEANINGFUL CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST.

SO, I WANT THE OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT ETHICS TO HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO ISSUE REGULATIONS AUTHORIZING WAIVERS FROM THE CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST STATUTE. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, WE'RE URGING TOUGHER PENALTIES WHEN INTENTIONAL VIOLATIONS OF CRIMINAL CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST LAWS OCCUR.

WE'RE ASKING OFFICIALS FROM ALL THREE BRANCHES TO SIMPLIFY THE FORMS THAT MUST BE COMPLETED BY PROSPECTIVE APPOINTEES. I'M ALSO REQUIRING MANDATORY ANNUAL BRIEFINGS ON ETHICS FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES.

MY PROGRAM'S FOURTH OBJECTIVE IS TO ATTRACT AND KEEP THE BEST PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT, BY KEEPING FEDERAL ETHICS LAWS FAIR AND BALANCED.

AN ETHICS LAW IS NOT A WEAPON, A BLUNT INSTRUMENT WITH WHICH TO POUND A PUBLIC SERVANT. IT IS NOT A GAG WITH WHICH TO SILENCE THE OUTSPOKEN. IT IS A TOOL TO ENSURE A GOVERNMENT AS HONEST AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE MUST NOT ALLOW OVERLY RESTRICTIVE REQUIREMENTS TO BE ABUSED, OR TO KEEP TALENTED PEOPLE FROM ENTERING PUBLIC SERVICE. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE CAREFULLY CRAFTED NEW POST-EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS. AND THAT IS WHY WE WANT TO ALLOW PERSONS WHO ARE REQUIRED TO DIVEST ASSETS TO DEFER THEIR TAX LIABILITY.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM SHOWS EXACTLY WHERE WE ARE GOING, AND WHY. WE SEEK TO ATTRACT, AND KEEP, THE BEST AND BRIGHTEST IN GOVERNMENT.

AND BY HELPING OTHERS, BY BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA, --  
HONORABLY, ETHICALLY -- WE SEEK TO SHOW HOW PUBLIC  
SERVICE IS NOT THE SUM OF OUR PERKS OR POSSESSIONS, BUT  
A MEASURE OF HOW WE CONDUCT OURSELVES AND WHAT WE  
ACHIEVE.

COME TO THINK OF IT, THIS IS A CODE FOR ALL  
OCCUPATIONS, FROM HIGH SCHOOL TO THE HIGHEST CALLINGS  
IN JOURNALISM AND GOVERNMENT.

PERHAPS THE GREATEST REWARD OF ALL IS THE CHANCE TO  
CONTRIBUTE TO AMERICA'S GREATNESS.

THANK YOU, AND NOW I WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO TAKE  
YOUR QUESTIONS.

# # # #

- bill, report

- principle stated simplistically

- more depth

1

- equitable -> something's either ethical or it's not

1989 APR -7 AM 9:40

(Smith/Davis)  
4/6/89/3 p.m.  
Draft Seven  
Title: Fri

- inspiring more confidence in gov generally

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS  
WASHINGTON MARRIOTT GRAND BALLROOM  
WED., APRIL 12, 1989/1:20 pm.

- P has actually given some thought to philosophical q's here.

- Amy help with understanding rationale

Your introduction was very kind, but you left out a few items. It may come as a surprise to you, but I consider myself something of a master of media manipulation. In fact, I'm so good, you can't even tell I'm doing it . . .

2  
This is really bad  
As come up  
with something  
better -- we cannot  
say this or

Call me the Stealth Communicator . . .

Well, today, let no one miss this message. Let it ring loud and clear. Ethical standards are central to my Administration and our nation, and we will enforce them -- strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law.

Ten weeks ago, I issued an Executive Order creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. And I asked its members to recommend steps to foster full confidence in the integrity of all federal public officials and employees.

On March 9, this Commission filed its report and its recommendations. Today, I am announcing a new Executive Order

and legislation to enforce government ethics in fact, not merely in theory. At this moment, legislation is being sent to the Congress. And this morning, I issued an Executive Order concerning standards of conduct for executive-branch employees.

Both actions seek a common end: To raise ethical standards, to avoid conflicts of interest, and to ensure that the law is respected in fact and appearance.

There are those, of course, who ~~rightly~~ say that public ethics and values cannot be legislated. But they can be encouraged, respected, and adhered to in government . . . Public servants must reflect the best values of America. And let me add that most public servants do.

Jefferson said, "The whole art of government consists in being honest." Yet, too often, simple honesty is not enough. Government rules have worked at cross-purposes. Our regulations have been ~~unfair and complicated~~ <sup>Do they work? Do they?</sup> Our laws have been contradictory and unclear. We've spent more time trying to understand Federal ethics laws than we have trying to live by them.

My ethics program seeks to remedy these defects. ~~How?~~ <sup>By setting</sup> ~~achieving~~ four objectives: First, to <sup>establish clear</sup> ~~set~~ high ethical <sup>principles;</sup> ~~standards;~~ second, to ensure uniform standards among all three branches of

government; third, to insist that these standards <sup>be</sup> are fair and reasonable; and, fourth, to <sup>ensure that clear standards attract,</sup> ~~bring in~~, not drive out, talented men and women to government. ~~by raising public confidence in the integrity of govt,~~

First, my ethics program insists that ethical standards must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with utmost integrity, for the public's confidence is not ours to inherit. We must earn that confidence. It must be constantly renewed.

With this in mind, I have placed a ban on outside income for <sup>certain</sup> Executive Branch <sup>Presidential appointees including all employees in the White House Office</sup> employees, I am proposing expanded financial disclosure for all three branches of government. And I have instructed my staff to perform a comprehensive review of federal campaign finance laws.

Regarding the latter, I have already reached one determination. Congress should extend, for all members, the prohibition against the conversion of political contributions for personal or office use. Political donations should not become a sort of Individual Retirement Account for Congressmen. I call on Congress to close this loophole, and close it this year.

I am also proposing a 25 percent pay raise for federal judges, while restricting their acceptance of honoraria. ~~In addition, I hope to work with Congress to award long-overdue raises for senior federal executives, especially those in specialized positions -- like the National Institutes of Health.~~ <sup>provide</sup> ~~researchers at~~

~~It should be the way back and forth all much of the good we're doing?~~

I will ~~also~~ consult with Congress on <sup>the question of a</sup> ~~a possible~~ congressional pay raise, and the <sup>related issue</sup> ~~question~~ of honoraria; and will include in that discussion the question of a pay increase for certain Executive Branch positions, including <sup>specialized</sup> jobs ~~also~~ those at the Nat. Institute for Health.

My ethics program's second goal <sup>recognize</sup> ~~insists~~ that <sup>ethical consistency demands equity</sup> standards ~~be~~ <sup>Under our Constitution, remember if</sup> ~~equitably~~ across all three branches of government. <sup>and</sup> every branch of government is equal, <sup>and</sup> none warrants preferential treatment. <sup>The same standards that apply to a staff person at HUD should</sup> ~~If Washington is a level playing field, then every~~ <sup>also apply to housing subcommittee staff on the Hill. A practice of either ethics</sup> ~~player should be treated the same. I'm saying,~~ or it is not -- there cannot <sup>be</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>different standards</sup> ~~different standards~~ for federal employees in the <sup>different branches</sup> ~~of govt.~~

Therefore, ~~assuming the continued existence of the~~ <sup>institute</sup> ~~Independent Counsel,~~ I request that we extend that <sup>statute</sup> ~~statute~~ to also cover the Congress. <sup>There should also be</sup> ~~I want to create~~ an independent ethics office for the Congress, to be headed by a <sup>clearly nonpartisan</sup> ~~independent~~ official, confirmed by both houses. I ask that the existing one-year post-employment "cooling-off" period for senior executive-branch employees also apply to the <sup>legislative and judicial</sup> ~~two other~~ branches.

~~And I want to extend to legislative and judicial branch~~ ~~employees and judges~~ the Federal statute that prohibits employees <sup>should</sup> ~~also~~ from taking actions which enhance their own financial interests <sup>be</sup> ~~also~~ <sup>be</sup> extended to cover legislative and judicial branch employees.

Then, there's the third objective of my ethics program. It insists that standards be reasonable and reflect good old-fashioned common sense.

Should state issue like this per my understanding of what Pres told Sumner?

Why is this here? Is a qualifier necessary?

Aren't judges Judic. Branch employees?

Some financial interests, for example, are too minor to create any meaningful conflict-of-interest. So, I want the Office of Government Ethics to have the authority to issue regulations authorizing waivers from the conflict-of-interest statute. But at the same time, we're urging tougher penalties when intentional violations of criminal conflict-of-interest laws occur.

We're asking officials from all three branches to simplify the forms that must be completed by prospective appointees. And my Executive Order sets forth tighter ethical standards for executive-branch employees. To make this clear, I'm requiring mandatory annual briefings on ethics for Presidential appointees.

My program's fourth objective is to attract and keep the best people in government, by keeping federal ethics laws fair and balanced.

An ethics law is not a weapon, a blunt instrument with which to pound a public servant. It is not a gag with which to silence the outspoken. ~~It is not an instrument of torture with which to torment the unpopular.~~ It is a tool ~~for~~ government as honest as the American people.

*to ensure a*

*a lot much.*

America must not allow overly restrictive requirements to be abused, or to keep talented people from entering public service.

That is why we have carefully crafted new post-employment restrictions. And that is why we want to allow persons who are required to divest assets to defer their tax liability.

*EMR*

My ethics program shows exactly where we are going, and why. We seek to attract, and keep, the best and brightest in government. And by helping others -- honorably, ethically -- we seek to show how public service is not the sum of our perks or possessions, but a measure of how we conduct ourselves and what we achieve.

*cannot be dictated in*

Standards of trust and honesty ~~do not emanate from~~ Washington. They are to be found in the everyday conduct of working men and women; in the postman who checks on the elderly resident at home; in the cashier who runs after the customer she overcharged.

Ethics in public service derives from the natural integrity of the American people. And the ethos of public service itself derives from a broader spirit of volunteerism. That is why I have declared this to be National Volunteer Week. This is more than another honorific for the calendar. ~~I am using the office~~ *This Administration will work* ~~of the Presidency~~ actively, to promote and to inspire a national outpouring of community service.

<sup>We</sup> will challenge employers to establish literacy programs and day-care centers. <sup>We</sup> will challenge local civic groups to "adopt" a local school, hospital or nursing home. <sup>We</sup> will challenge more churches and synagogues to organize food drives for the homeless. To every American, <sup>We</sup> will ask for more than a donation of dollars. <sup>We</sup> will ask for the precious donation of time and effort, for a giving of the heart.

And to young Americans, I will deliver a special message: Don't just measure success by the acronyms of material wealth -- V.C.R.s, C.D.s and BMWs. From now on, the good life in America must include service to others . . .

Come to think of it, this is a code for all to live by, from high school to the highest calling in journalism and government. As a society fragmented into sectors, and ~~atomized~~ <sup>atomized</sup> into individuals, we can do little. As a national community aware of a common fate, bound by a collective purpose, we can achieve anything.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

→ Nice point, but:

- # # #
1. concentration on yuppies, though ~~appe~~ true enough in many cases, may be too narrow
  2. it's interesting that all these items are made abroad

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/7/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 4/10/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Boskin</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss' Winston's office with an infomation copy to my office by 2:00 Monday, April 10. Thank you.

RESPONSE: *Sentence re: "At this moment,..." should say something like "In fact, today..." or "today."*



James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1989 APR -7 AM 8:4

(Smith/Davis)  
4/6/89/3 p.m.  
Draft Seven  
Title: Fri

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS  
WASHINGTON MARRIOTT GRAND BALLROOM  
WED., APRIL 12, 1989/1:20 pm.

Your introduction was very kind, but you left out a few items. It may come as a surprise to you, but I consider myself something of a master of media manipulation. In fact, I'm so good, you can't even tell I'm doing it . . .

Call me the Stealth Communicator . . .

Well, today, let no one miss this message. Let it ring loud and clear. Ethical standards are central to my Administration and our nation, and we will enforce them -- strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law.

Ten weeks ago, I issued an Executive Order creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. And I asked its members to recommend steps to foster full confidence in the integrity of all federal public officials and employees.

On March 9, this Commission filed its report and its recommendations. Today, I am announcing a new Executive Order

and legislation to enforce government ethics in fact, not merely in theory. At this moment, legislation is being sent to the Congress. And this morning, I issued an Executive Order concerning standards of conduct for executive-branch employees.



Both actions seek a common end: To raise ethical standards, to avoid conflicts of interest, and to ensure that the law is respected in fact and appearance.

There are those, of course, who rightly say that public ethics and values cannot be legislated. But they can be encouraged, respected, and adhered to in government . . . Public servants must reflect the best values of America. And let me add that most public servants do.

Jefferson said, "The whole art of government consists in being honest." Yet, too often, simple honesty is not enough. Government rules have worked at cross-purposes. Our regulations have been unfair and complicated. Our laws have been contradictory and unclear. We've spent more time trying to understand Federal ethics laws than we have trying to live by them.

My ethics program seeks to remedy these defects. How? By achieving four objectives: First, to set high ethical standards; second, to ensure uniform standards among all three branches of

government; third, to insist that these standards are fair and reasonable; and, fourth, to bring in, not drive out, talented men and women to government.

First, my ethics program insists that ethical standards must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with utmost integrity, for the public's confidence is not ours to inherit. We must earn that confidence. It must be constantly renewed. With this in mind, I have placed a ban on outside income for Executive Branch employees. I am proposing expanded financial disclosure for all three branches of government. And I have instructed my staff to perform a comprehensive review of federal campaign finance laws.

Regarding the latter, I have already reached one determination. Congress should extend, for all members, the prohibition against the conversion of political contributions for personal or office use. Political donations should not become a sort of Individual Retirement Account for Congressmen. I call on Congress to close this loophole, and close it this year.

I am also proposing a 25 percent pay raise for federal judges, while restricting their acceptance of honoraria. In addition, I hope to work with Congress to award long-overdue raises for senior federal executives, especially those in specialized positions -- like the National Institutes of Health.

I will also consult with Congress on a possible congressional pay raise, and the question of honoraria.

My ethics program's second goal insists that standards be equitable across all three branches of government. Remember: If every branch of government is equal, none warrants preferential treatment. If Washington is a level playing field, then every player should be treated the same.

Therefore, assuming the continued existence of the Independent Counsel, I request that we extend that statute to cover the Congress. I want to create an independent ethics office for the Congress, to be headed by an independent official, confirmed by both houses. I ask that the existing one-year post-employment "cooling-off" period for senior executive-branch employees also apply to the two other branches.

And I want to extend to legislative- and judicial-branch employees and judges the Federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions which enhance their own financial interests.

Then, there's the third objective of my ethics program. It insists that standards be reasonable and reflect good old-fashioned common sense.

Some financial interests, for example, are too minor to create any meaningful conflict-of-interest. So, I want the Office of Government Ethics to have the authority to issue regulations authorizing waivers from the conflict-of-interest statute. But at the same time, we're urging tougher penalties when intentional violations of criminal conflict-of-interest laws occur.

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America must not allow overly restrictive requirements to be abused, or to keep talented people from entering public service.

That is why we have carefully crafted new post-employment restrictions. And that is why we want to allow persons who are required to divest assets to defer their tax liability.

My ethics program shows exactly where we are going, and why. We seek to attract, and keep, the best and brightest in government. And by helping others -- honorably, ethically -- we seek to show how public service is not the sum of our perks or possessions, but a measure of how we conduct ourselves and what we achieve.

Standards of trust and honesty do not emanate from Washington. They are to be found in the everyday conduct of working men and women; in the postman who checks on the elderly resident at home; in the cashier who runs after the customer she overcharged.

Ethics in public service derives from the natural integrity of the American people. And the ethos of public service itself derives from a broader spirit of volunteerism. That is why I have declared this to be National Volunteer Week. This is more than another honorific for the calendar. I am using the office of the Presidency actively, to promote and to inspire a national outpouring of community service.

I will challenge employers to establish literacy programs and day-care centers. I will challenge local civic groups to "adopt" a local school, hospital or nursing home. I will challenge more churches and synagogues to organize food drives for the homeless. To every American, I will ask for more than a donation of dollars. I will ask for the precious donation of time and effort, for a giving of the heart.

And to young Americans, I will deliver a special message: Don't just measure success by the acronyms of material wealth -- V.C.R.s, C.D.s and BMWs. From now on, the good life in America must include service to others . . .

Come to think of it, this is a code for all to live by, from high school to the highest calling in journalism and government. As a society fragmented into sectors, and atomized into individuals, we can do little. As a national community aware of a common fate, bound by a collective purpose, we can achieve anything.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

#

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Roger Porter <sup>RBP</sup> by <sup>JP</sup>  
Jim Pinkerton <sup>JP</sup>

Re: Comments on Speech Drafts: "American Society of  
Newspaper Editors," and "Fire Service Dinner"

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS

p. 1, graf 1. I would not use the phrase "media manipulation" in mixed company; also, the "Stealth Communicator" clutters the opening with thoughts of a campaign which many members of the press considered too negative. Instead, I would use something safer, such as "I'm sometimes accused of putting my foot in my mouth. But my message to you now comes straight from the heart. Let no one miss this message. ..."

p.3, graf 2. The use of the phrase "regarding the latter" doesn't follow grammatically from the graf above, which mentions not two, but three specific actions. The more correct transition would be "Regarding the third [or last] ..."

p. 4, graf 1. One premise of the speech is that Washington is not yet, but should be, a place where equitable standards are applied. Therefore, I would change the last sentence of this graf to read "If Washington is to become a level playing field, then every player should be treated the same."

p. 6, graf 1. In the fourth line, please change "perks" to "positions"

p. 6, graf 2. When we talk of "trust and honesty," we are not talking about mere folk wisdom of "everyday conduct," as the text seems to imply. Of course we put our faith in the American people, but their innate goodness derives from our Judeo-Christian heritage. To remind the audience of this, I would add after "Standards of trust ... from Washington" the sentence "They emanate from the Judeo-Christian tradition, but they are practiced every day."

p. 6, graf 3. The first sentence better reads "Ethics in public service thus derives from the natural integrity of the American people."

(more)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR  
COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: C. BOYDEN GRAY *mg*  
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Draft Speech on Ethics Reform

We have reviewed the proposed speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors (as revised today) and marked comments on the attached draft. In addition, along with the ban on judicial honoraria, the bill is now likely to include a 15 percent cap on the outside earned income of judges and the outside earned income of Members of Congress (except that in the case of Members of Congress, honoraria would not count against this cap.) It should also be made very clear that the President regards congressional honoraria as unacceptable, and that should Congress move to increase its own pay, the President would expect it to forswear all honoraria income.

It is worth explaining one theme in our comments on the draft -- the deletion of references to establishing tight enforceable standards in the executive order. After recent changes, the executive order will set forth principles of ethics for the purpose of outlining ethical standards to be incorporated in regulations, but the principles in the executive order will no longer be directly enforceable against federal employees. The proposed deletions reflect this change.

Attachment

cc: Jim Cicconi

(Smith/Davis)  
 4/6/89/3 p.m.  
 Draft Eight  
 Title: Fri

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS  
 WASHINGTON MARRIOTT GRAND BALLROOM  
 WED., APRIL 12, 1989/1:20 pm.

*Opening seems abrupt.*

I want to communicate a message on ethics in government service. Let it ring loud and clear. Ethical standards are central to my Administration and our nation, and we will enforce them -- strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law.

We must work together to reform a public code of conduct that is in disarray. It is not logical or fair. It is both too harsh and too lenient. It elevates detail over substance; precept over principle. It aspires to God-like omniscience, and results in only a narrow code of straightjacket rectitude.

*What  
 does  
 this  
 mean?  
 Delete*

Such a system ultimately breeds cynicism and contempt for the law. To truly reform it, we must remember that standards of trust and honesty are not dictated from regulations written in Washington. They are to be found in the everyday conduct of working men and women; in the postman who checks on the elderly resident at home; in the cashier who runs after the customer she overcharged. The millions of Americans who meet their

obligations honestly, and teach their children to do the same, see nothing extraordinary about asking for the same in government.

This was my approach in Congress, believing that our code of conduct in the House should be as straightforward and as open as possible. That is why I sponsored a measure for full financial disclosure that (John S).

Yet more than twenty years later, it is increasingly obvious that our system today is still not working as it should. It is not fair. And it is not always respected. The American people are troubled when a few prominent officials, in all three branches of government, show a brazen contempt for the letter or spirit of the law. And the American people do not understand why certain behavior is considered criminal when committed by an executive branch official; and perfectly legal when committed by a Member of Congress. Is not a crime a crime? Should there not be an underlying standard of integrity for all?

As President-Elect, I was also hearing from talented men and women who, though perfectly honest, declined government service out of fear. Fear of the sheer complexity of federal ethics laws. Fear that a simple, honest mistake could lead to a public nightmare.

These concerns led me to issued an Executive Order creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. I asked its members to recommend steps to foster full confidence in the integrity of all federal public officials and employees.

On March 9, this Commission filed its report and its recommendations. Today, I am announcing a new Executive Order and legislation to restore our confidence in honest government. At this moment, legislation is being sent to the Congress. And this morning, I issued an Executive Order ~~concerning standards of~~ conduct <sup>of</sup> for executive-branch employees. *announcing the principles for the*

Both actions seek a common end: To raise ethical standards, to avoid conflicts of interest, and to ensure that the law is respected in fact and appearance.

There are those, of course, who say that public ethics and values cannot be legislated. But they can be encouraged, respected, and adhered to in government . . . Public servants must reflect the best values of America. And let me add that most public servants do. ✓

Jefferson said, "The whole art of government consists in being honest." Yet, too often, simple honesty is not enough. Government rules have worked at cross-purposes. Our regulations have been complicated and unequally applied. Our laws have been

contradictory and unclear. We've spent more time trying to understand Federal ethics laws than we have trying to live by them.

My ethics program seeks to remedy these defects. How? By setting four objectives: First, to establish clear principles; second, to ensure uniform standards among all three branches of government; third, to insist that these standards be fair and reasonable; and, fourth, to ensure that ~~clear~~ <sup>the</sup> standards attract, ✓ not drive out, talented men and women to government.

First, my ethics program insists that ethical standards must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with utmost integrity, for the public's confidence is not ours to inherit. We must earn that confidence. It must be constantly renewed. With this in mind, I have placed a ban on outside income for ~~certain~~ <sup>non-career</sup> Presidential appointees, <sup>in the Executive Branch</sup> including all employees in the <sup>immediate</sup> White House. <sup>police</sup> I am proposing expanded financial disclosure for all three branches of government. And I have instructed my staff to perform a comprehensive review of federal campaign finance laws.

Regarding the latter, I have already reached one determination. Congress should extend, for all members, the prohibition against the conversion of political contributions for personal or office use. Political donations should not become a

note:  
not  
all E.O.P.

sort of Individual Retirement Account for Congressmen. I call on Congress to close this loophole, and close it this year.

to  
^

My decision not to include the Commission's recommendation on honoraria is not intended to ignore it.

I am also proposing a 25 percent pay raise for federal judges, while restricting their acceptance of honoraria. I will consult with Congress on the question of a congressional pay raise and the related issue of honoraria. And I will include in that discussion the question of a pay increase for certain Executive Branch positions, including specialized jobs like those at the National Institutes for Health.

at that time submit a proposal to ban

for Members of Congress as recommended by my ethics commission.

My legislative proposal also strengthens the rules against abusing the revolving door for private gain, at the expense of the public trust. These rules must not make government service a bar to productive work in the private sector, but they must not prohibit the appearance of profiting from government service and also must apply to the legislative branch.

My ethics program's second goal recognizes that ethical consistency demands equitable standards across all three branches of government. Under our Constitution, every branch of government is equal, and none warrants preferential treatment. The same standard that applies to a staff person at HUD should also apply to housing subcommittee staff on the Hill. A practice is either ethical or it is not. There cannot be different standards for federal employees in the different branches of government.

Insert from p. 6.

Flow logically better this way.

I am also proposing that we extend the Independent Counsel statute to cover the Congress. There should also be an independent ethics office for the Congress, to be headed by a clearly nonpartisan official, confirmed by both houses. I ask that the existing one-year post-employment "cooling-off" period

for senior executive-branch employees also apply to the legislative and judicial branches.

*Moving to P.S. at \**

The Federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions which enhance their own financial interests, ~~should also~~ be extended to cover legislative and judicial branch employees.

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And to young Americans, I will deliver a special message: Don't just measure success by the acronyms of material wealth -- T.V.s, V.C.R.s and BMWs. From now on, the good life in America must include service to others . . .

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Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK DAVIS

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON (W)

SUBJECT: American Society of Newspaper Editors

Attached are your remarks before ASNE, in which you unveil your ethics package. This speech will be given just after lunch, before an audience of 1100, including editors of daily newspapers and their wives. About fifteen minutes of Q & A will follow.

This speech does more than detail your legislation. It describes how our ethical system is failing, and why it must be reformed. It lays out a philosophy of ethics and public service.

(Davis/Smith)  
4/10/89  
9:10p.m.  
Draft: Eleven  
Title: asne3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS  
WASHINGTON MARRIOTT GRAND BALLROOM  
WED., APRIL 12, 1989/1:20 pm.

Thank you.

*Try for new opening  
wrong about "spike"*

*Better  
way*

~~I ought to give you fair warning. I have devised a certain method for dealing with the press . . . When I want to change a story, I go to the reporter . . . When I want to correct a story, I come to you, the editor . . . But when I really want to spike a story, then I go straight to the publisher . . . and the story will still run, but at least I can find someone who will play horseshoes with me all afternoon . . .~~

In all seriousness, I want to discuss a topic that I know is of critical importance to you. As editors, you uphold a certain ethical standard in your newsrooms. You must do so, because a newspaper is only as good as its word. This is no less true of government. High ethical standards are central to this Administration, and we will enforce them -- strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law.

We must work together to reform a public code of conduct that is in disarray. It is not logical or fair. It is both too

harsh and too lenient. It elevates detail over substance; precept over principle.

Such a system ultimately breeds cynicism and contempt for the law. To truly reform it, we must remember that standards of trust and honesty are not dictated from regulations written in Washington. Ethics in public service derive from the natural integrity of the American people. They are to be found in the everyday conduct of working men and women; in the postman who checks on the elderly resident at home; in the cashier who runs after the customer she overcharged. The millions of Americans who meet their obligations honestly, and teach their children to do the same, see nothing extraordinary about asking the same of their government.

The American people are troubled when they hear of officials in every branch of government <sup>at whatever level of government</sup> who show a brazen contempt for the letter or spirit of the law. And the American people do not understand why certain behavior is considered criminal when committed by an executive branch official; and perfectly legal when committed by a Member of Congress. Is not a crime a crime? Should there not be an underlying standard of integrity for all?

<sup>heard about</sup>  
As President-Elect, I was ~~also hearing from~~ talented men and women who, though perfectly honest, declined government service out of fear. Fear of the sheer complexity of federal ethics

laws. Fear that a simple, honest mistake could lead to a public nightmare.

These concerns led me to issue ~~an~~<sup>an</sup> Executive Order creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. I asked its members to recommend steps to foster full confidence in the integrity of all federal public officials and employees.

← leave as is

On March 9, this Commission filed its report and its recommendations. In fact, legislation is being sent today to the Congress. And just this morning, I issued an Executive Order announcing ethical principles for the conduct of executive-branch employees.

Both actions seek a common end: To raise ethical standards, to avoid conflicts of interest, and to ensure that the law is respected in fact and appearance.

There are those, of course, who say that public ethics and values cannot be legislated. But they can be encouraged, respected, and adhered to in government . . . Public servants must reflect the best values of America. And let me add that most public servants do.

Jefferson said, "The whole art of government consists in being honest." Yet, too often, simple honesty is not enough.

Government rules have worked at cross-purposes. Our regulations have been complicated and unequally applied. Our laws have been contradictory and unclear. We've spent more time trying to understand federal ethics laws than we have trying to live by them.

My ethics program seeks to remedy these defects. How? By setting four objectives: First, to establish clear ethical principles; second, to ensure uniform standards among all three branches of government; third, to insist that these standards be fair and reasonable; and, fourth, to ensure that these standards attract, not drive out, talented men and women to government.

My ethics program first insists that ethical standards must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with utmost integrity, for the public's confidence is not ours to inherit. We must earn that confidence. It must be constantly renewed. With this in mind, I have placed a ban on outside income for non-career Presidential appointees in the executive branch, including all employees in the immediate White House office. I am proposing expanded financial disclosure for all three branches of government. And I have instructed my staff to perform a comprehensive review of federal campaign finance laws.

Regarding the last, I have already reached one determination. Congress should extend, for all members, the

is this correct if so add it

prohibition against the conversion of political contributions for personal or office use. Political donations should not become a sort of Individual Retirement Account for Congressmen, I call on Congress to close this loophole, and to close it this year.

(or for Presidential candidates)

~~I am increasingly troubled by the abuses of~~

My legislative proposal also strengthens the rules against abusing the revolving door for private gain at the expense of the public trust. These rules must not make government service a bar to productive work in the private sector, but they must prohibit the appearance of profiting from government service -- and this must include the legislative branch.

put in brackets

[There is no point putting Congress through another bushy like to the v. case]

I am proposing a 25 percent pay raise for federal judges, while restricting their acceptance of honoraria. I also believe that honoraria for Members of Congress should be banned.

~~However,~~ I believe Congress should have a pay increase. I will not make that formal proposal until after I consult with Congress on the issue of congressional pay. And I will include in that discussion the question of a pay increase for certain executive branch positions, including specialized jobs like those at the National Institutes for Health.

~~I will strongly support pay increases for these jobs~~

My ethics program's second goal recognizes that ethical consistency demands equitable standards across all three branches of government. Under our Constitution, every branch of government is equal, and none warrants preferential treatment. The same standard that applies to a staff person at HUD should

good

would in more actively

also apply to housing subcommittee staff on the Hill. A practice is either ethical or it is not. If Washington is to be a level playing field, then every player should be treated the same.

Therefore, I ~~request~~ <sup>am proposing</sup> that we ~~request~~ <sup>must</sup> extend the Independent Counsel statute to cover the Congress. I am also proposing that the federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions that enhance their own financial interest be extended to cover legislative and judicial branch employees. There should also be an independent ethics office for the Congress, to be headed by a clearly nonpartisan official, confirmed by both houses. I ask that the existing one-year post-employment "cooling-off" period for senior executive-branch employees also apply to the legislative and judicial branches.

Then, there's the third objective of my ethics program. It insists that standards be reasonable and reflect good old-fashioned common sense.

Some financial interests, for example, are too minor to create any meaningful conflict-of-interest. So, I want the Office of Government Ethics to have the authority to issue regulations authorizing waivers from the conflict-of-interest statute. But at the same time, we're urging tougher penalties when intentional violations of criminal conflict-of-interest laws occur.

We're asking officials from all three branches to simplify the forms that must be completed by prospective appointees. I'm also requiring mandatory annual briefings on ethics for Presidential appointees.

My program's fourth objective is to attract and keep the best people in government, by keeping federal ethics laws fair and balanced.

An ethics law is not a weapon, a blunt instrument with which to pound a public servant. It is not a gag with which to silence the outspoken. It is a tool to ensure a government as honest as the American people.

We must not allow overly restrictive requirements to be abused, or to keep talented people from entering public service. That is why we have carefully crafted new post-employment restrictions. And that is why we want to allow persons who are required to divest assets to defer their tax liability.

My ethics program shows exactly where we are going, and why. We seek to attract, and keep, the best and brightest in government. And by helping others, by building a better America, -- honorably, ethically -- we seek to show how public service is

not the sum of our perks or possessions, but a measure of how we conduct ourselves and what we achieve.

Come to think of it, this is a code for all occupations, from high school to the highest callings in journalism and government. Perhaps the greatest reward of all is the chance to contribute to America's greatness.

Thank you, and now I would be delighted to take your questions.

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