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THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary

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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE  
UNTIL 10:40 A.M. E.S.T.  
FRIDAY, APRIL 3, 1992

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE FEDERALIST SOCIETY OF  
PHILADELPHIA

Old House Chamber  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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

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

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

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

First, our children must develop good character and values so they can be educated adults, literate and drug-free, motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must dramatically change our education system -- literally revolutionize it. Our America 2000 education initiative means top-to-bottom educational reform.

Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their physical health. My health care proposal guarantees access to the finest health care system in the world, and keeps that care affordable for all our citizens. Next, our civil justice system must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice for all. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us, costing us billions of dollars, and putting a tremendous drag on our civility and our economy. If Congress passes my Access to Justice Act, this too can change.

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

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

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

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

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

The most recent proof that we have a major problem was the inability of Congress to rise to the challenge of helping our economy. Instead it reverted to form -- trying to raise taxes and increase government spending. If it cannot address a straightforward short-term proposal to stimulate the economy, how can it possibly deal with the more complex issues like the badly needed reforms of our education, health care and legal systems? If we are to reform education, health care, our legal system, if we are to reduce red tape and regulation, make our country competitive, get this horrendous deficit down, we must reform the Congressional process itself, and make it responsive to our country's real needs.

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

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about these dangers. Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "Can make no law which will not have its full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of the society."

Federalist Paper #52 argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. James Madison would be appalled to hear that 98 percent 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.

None of this promotes reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Conscientious Members of Congress understand this. That's why House Republican Leader Bob Michel has proposed Congressional reform legislation. He's got some great ideas for improving the Congress and its procedures, like legislative calendar process reform, reduction in the number of Congressional staff, and reduction of the number of Congressional committees.

There are good people in Congress, many of them, on both sides of the aisle -- I think of your own Senator Arlen Specter, right here with me today. Talk to Arlen, he enthusiastically supports changing our Congressional system because he believes in changing the status quo.

Then talk to retiring Members, many of them dedicated people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. When asked about the prospect of endless budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system, "The fact is that we are unable, institutionally, to do what has to be done. We are literally not watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns; we are watching the entire orchestra."

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

Today government is a \$1.5 trillion enterprise. But people in Washington frequently forget that the taxpayer is the original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one. When folks in government forget that, they issue nettlesome regulations. Those regulations increase the cost of doing business, but worse, they don't really solve the problems they were designed to solve. As President, I'm going to keep trying to change the regulatory process, but I'll need the help of the Congress.

When government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it becomes insulated and unresponsive. But unresponsive government doesn't just happen. Congress creates these giant centralized bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, investigates them, micro-manages them, and ultimately perpetuates them. Programs that have outlived their function rarely outlive their funding. With a Congressional Subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

Some 107 different Congressional committees and subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. 74 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 14 hearings in one day, think of the time and resources that takes. Think of the thousands of hours spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill the thousands of Congressional demands for testimony, and government reports.

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

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

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

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

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

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Full disclosure of assets, liabilities, and compensation is a key element of reform. I am not required to disclose my income tax returns. In a sense, I feel it is an invasion of my privacy.

But for 12 years I have made public those tax returns and I believe all people aspiring to the Presidency should do that. Perhaps Congress does not need to go that far, but they should make their existing disclosure rules much more rigorous.

Beyond that, we must totally eliminate special-interest Political Action Committees and put limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I have proposed ways to increase the legitimate role of our political parties, reduce the influence of special interests, and decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising.

And let me say it straight out: federal funding of Congressional elections would only worsen the problem. Campaign finance reform is stalled on Capitol Hill, but the time for action is long past, we must clean up our election system.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending and federal non-defense employment next year. I have proposed two-year budgets. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. If mandatory spending were allowed to grow for inflation and eligible population only, we could save about two trillion dollars over the next decade. The American people should demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. They should demand a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment. Obviously, a balanced budget requirement would have to be phased in. But such an amendment is needed to discipline both the executive and legislative branches.

In the absence of those important measures I will continue to use whatever means are legally at my disposal, including the line-item rescission, to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. And I will oppose any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- the budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act.

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

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

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

Many Members of the House and Senate are now permanent Washingtonians. We do not need a career Congress, we need a citizen Congress. To borrow a line from former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker "They ought to be living in America and visiting Washington." He was right. He knew that the overwhelming majority of state legislatures are able to do their work each year in sessions lasting less than 6 months, some as short as 3 months every two years.

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

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

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

# # #

OLD HOUSE CHAMBER  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.  
APRIL 3, 1992

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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OLD HOUSE CHAMBER  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.  
APRIL 3, 1992

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

SUBJECT: REVISED PHILADELPHIA SPEECH

Attached is a revised version of the Philadelphia speech incorporating your changes from this morning. Note this current version is Draft #4.

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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. Conscientious members of

Congress understand this. That's why House Republican Leader Bob Michel just this week introduced comprehensive Congressional reform legislation. It's got some great ideas for improving the Congress and its procedures. Then talk to retiring members, many of them dedicated people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. When asked about the 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 operations and procedures. I support the Boren-Domenici reform bill in the Senate and the Hamilton-Gradison bill in the House which sets up a bipartisan group to evaluate Congressional operations and make recommendations. It is a good beginning, but real reform like that contained in the Michel bill is essential. Change is still on the back burner. The American people must turn up the heat.

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

3 committee  
structure

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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 1, 1992

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST <sup>AA</sup>

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.

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 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.

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

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 our energy bill to make us more energy-efficient and energy-independent was referred to no less than eight separate committees -- sequentially! It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

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."

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 in federal 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 [[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.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST <sup>AA</sup>

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. ~~It~~ 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.

<sup>They say</sup> 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 <sup>statement</sup> realization that an old world order was <sup>ending</sup> coming to a close and a new order <sup>one</sup> 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 <sup>was</sup> stood at the forefront of a great worldwide movement, <sup>standing</sup> We ~~stood~~ firm for our principles through some very difficult times. We <sup>did indeed</sup> ~~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~~ <sup>To</sup> ~~too must change~~ <sup>this</sup> Congress should pass my Access to Justice Act, <sup>so that too can change</sup>

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  
 which ~~to~~ sustain and create American jobs.

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 "<sup>service with a smile</sup>~~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 <sup>in</sup> 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 <sup>S</sup> 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, *get this horrendous deficit down,* we must reform the Congress and make it responsive to change. *and the real needs of*

The growth of big government has *diminished* <sup>de</sup> 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." <sup>It also endorses term limits.</sup> 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 ~~X~~ 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.

*just as business  
no restrictions*

Talk to a conscientious  
Senator like  
Arten Specter.

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."

*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.

ck  
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

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 <sup>after</sup> our energy bill to make us more energy-efficient and energy-independent was referred to no less than eight separate committees -- sequentially! It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

*What are we going to do about it?*

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.]]

*Congress should reform its* <sup>9</sup>

*Change quote*

Second, ~~reform of the Congressional committee system.~~ I support efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which now <sup>gridlocks</sup> ~~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 <sup>have</sup> ~~to stop the abuse that results~~ <sup>regarding campaign finances</sup> ~~from spreading around what's called "soft money."~~

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

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending <sup>and</sup> ~~in~~ federal <sup>non-defense</sup> 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 [<sup>390 billion</sup>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 ~~XX~~ 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 <sup>oppose</sup> 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~~<sup>We</sup> 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. <sup>We do not need a career Congress</sup> To borrow <sup>We need a citizen Congress</sup> 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.

*former Senate Majority*

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.]]

*make a commitment*

*finish the people's business*

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.

# # #

## 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"/>	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			<u>McGROARTY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

**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 <sup>MM</sup>

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.

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 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.

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.

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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.

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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."

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 <sup>and</sup> federal <sup>and non-defense</sup> employment next year.

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

From Policy DEVEL. →

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 [[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.

# # #

## 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"/>	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			<u>MCGROARTY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

**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 <sup>DD</sup>

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.

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 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.

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.

*The biggest threat to future job creation is deficit spending and the present congressional structure is not capable of responding to this threat.*

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

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 our energy bill to make us more energy-efficient and energy-independent was referred to no less than eight separate committees -- sequentially! It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

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.}}

*Name of  
Cong. & Senator  
who will  
introduce*

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

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

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

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal 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 [[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. ~~The biggest threat to future job creation is an increase in deficit spending.~~

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.]]

*We do not need a career congressman but a citizen legislator.*

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.

# # #

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their budgets

## 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"/>
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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"/>	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			<u>McGROARTY</u>		

**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 <sup>DM</sup>

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

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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 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.

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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.

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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

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 our energy bill to make us more energy-efficient and energy-independent was referred to no less than eight separate committees -- sequentially! It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

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."

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 in federal 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 [[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.

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