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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 31, 1992

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MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID F. DEMAREST *DD*

SUBJECT: RECONCILED REFORM SPEECH

Attached is the first cut of a reconciled draft of your remarks for Philadelphia. There will be subsequent drafts but this is where the speech stands at this time.

Howard Baker
paper

Disclosure

Shawter
Sumner's

Too my vets
+ threats

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. ¹ We must reform ^{dramatically change} our education system -- literally revolutionize it. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their physical health. ² We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable. ^{My proposal to change the existing health care system guarantees that we keep our quality of health care -- access}

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 as well as our economy. ^{This must change - we need to pass up -- legislation} And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open ⁴ more 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. British

use word change

My proposal to change the existing health care system guarantees that we keep our quality of health care -- access

This must change - we need to pass up -- legislation

essayist, G.K. Chesterton said, "there can be no talk of reform, 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 process is called reform.

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it might be called the crusade for quality. Often it's not flashy -- perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", or "the customer's always right." At other times it means measuring performance, because that is the how to improve performance. Competition improves quality and performance. The proof is that today, American products are quantifiably better than just a few years ago.

Not only the private sector feels the positive pressure of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of tighter budgets, has 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.

*health
competition*

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. But, this is not about *banter shops or office space or party* gymnasium privileges or limousines. It is not about perks. It

is about power, and our ability to use it for the public good. *It is about big things - major changes to make government non-respond*
The changes that are sweeping the rest of the country have

stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. This entrenched status quo attitude can be laid squarely at the doorstep of Congress.

The most recent proof was its inability to rise to today's economic challenges without reverting to form -- higher taxes and bigger government. We all know that government is too big and spends too much. Too often the way Congress spends the people's money is the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. It stonewalls solutions we have proposed. With tough, complicated problems ahead, from education to health care, we simply cannot afford this kind of government.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues 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 increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the agencies -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo. Finally, 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,

Who is
we?

"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, have controlled the

House? Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. *That means self perpetuating staffs. That means a bunch of*

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but not the only problem. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we worked together in good faith to meet new 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 dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a 117 million dollar re-election war chest for incumbents in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Talk to retiring members, many of them good people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. 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

held by one set of leaders leads to confusion. The benefits of the scandals are the result of one party control and the fact that such control breeds ~~disorder~~ results in lack of supervision lack of care lack of change

literally not watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns; we are watching the entire orchestra."

He knows the American people are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about government. ^{Congress?} They just don't trust government to ^{Congress?} 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 -- taxpayer money, and I believe we must put a stop to it.

Today government is a trillion and a half dollar enterprise. But it frequently forgets that the taxpayer is original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one. When it forgets that, it issues counterproductive regulations -- ^{us on Congress} ones that increase the cost of doing business, but worse, ones that don't really solve the problem they were designed to solve. It shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding.

Because the government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it has become insulated, unresponsive and resists reform. It is almost impossible to adequately reward

success, much less punish failure. Talk to the hardworking people in government service -- many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated too. But the system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. 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. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs. It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

*It's dramatic
"Sector for the
major subcommittee
figure?"*

Think of the time and resources spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill Congressional demands for testimony. Think of the thousands of required reports that must be researched, written and delivered to Capitol Hill. Sixty reports from HUD. More than six hundred from the Defense Department -- and on through all the Cabinet Departments.

*do exist
3000
like this*

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run just 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 new century. Our ability to

compete requires us to make these reforms, not just of Congress but of the federal bureaucracy as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to have adequate executive branch reform without first reforming the Congress.

Today I am proposing a set of actions that taken together will make government work for the people.

First, universal application of the laws of the land. In other words, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. Across the board. No more special treatment. Like age, race, sex and disability discrimination laws; labor standards -- worker and workplace protections. Congress should also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like conflict of interest laws or the independent counsel law.

FOIA?

So today, I am proposing the Congressional Accountability Act which will force Congress to be covered by the same laws as everyone else. Further, I will veto any future legislation that extends special treatment to the Congress.

??

has broad

Second, reform of the Congressional committee system. I support efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which now paralyzes the Congress. Democratic 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 is a good start, but real reform is still on the back burner. It is time for the American people to turn up the heat.

one sentence what it does:

is there a House bill?

What difference?

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago, I proposed the total elimination of special interest Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed ways to reduce the influence of special interests, decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. 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." These reforms are stalled on Capitol Hill, 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 to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. 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, ^{discipline Congress & Exec. Branch. (Phase it in)} 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

Personal disclosure
trillion with it

I do not follow nor govt
intention either
govt funding is not ours
Lenore Tedeschi who got 415 votes in NH
90+ million Fed Govt

(are we vulnerable here - RNC?)

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.

Finally, 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. After all, as President my terms are limited, the same should apply to members of Congress. Our first concern should be the country not a career. *[return to number of days in session the vs. now -*

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the ~~From what~~ world. Once again, as in the first days of our new nation, we ~~was part~~ must change an unresponsive government. The reforms I've ~~is now~~ outlined today can renew our faith in government -- restore the ~~full term -~~ principles of our Founders, and guarantee for our children a new ~~leads to~~ 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

March 31, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID F. DEMAREST

SUBJECT: RECONCILED REFORM SPEECH

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too many notes

*Most Americans would consider
invasion of privacy
one way to renew confidence
in our institutions*

Clinton
full disclosure
assets
liabilities
compensation
right of
people to
know.
several
tax returns

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PHILADELPHIA, PA.
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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 as well as our economy. And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more foreign markets for quality American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

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It's about big things
The changes that are sweeping the rest of the country have

*reform package
in each
case*

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My proposal

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what went wrong with the house

new blood try to do something better

improve things competition untrained staff

*what's wrong with that
no checks and balance*

overhaul

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lack of representation

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but not the only problem. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we worked together in good faith to meet new 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 dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a 117 million dollar re-election war chest for incumbents in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

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literally not watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns; we are watching the entire orchestra."

He knows the American people are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about ^{Congress} government. They just don't trust ^{Congress} government 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 -- taxpayer money, and I believe we must put a stop to it.

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It's Congress and its also the Exec Branch and I'm say to do something about

1st - doesn't apply to Congress
2nd - # laws FOIA protecting # number of people

success, much less punish failure. Talk to the hardworking people in government service -- many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated too. But the system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

not challenging people's right to know
who could possibly

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. ^{updown} With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs. It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

hours of testimony
nobody up their heads

Think of the time and resources spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill Congressional demands for testimony. Think of the thousands of required reports that must be researched, written and delivered to Capitol Hill. Sixty reports from HUD. More than six hundred from the Defense Department -- and on through all the Cabinet Departments.

written

drama
I want Secretary
100 subcommittee

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run just 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 new century. Our ability to

compete requires us to make these reforms, not just of Congress but of the federal bureaucracy as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to have adequate executive branch reform without first reforming the Congress.

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one of the reasons I'm against relates to what I'm talking 45 votes in W.H. million and 1/2 tax/pe and still changing

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago, I proposed the total elimination of special interest Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed ways to reduce the influence of special interests, decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. 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." These reforms are stalled on Capitol Hill, the time for action is long past -- we must clean up our election system.

Personal disclosure

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Biennial budgeting

If our proposal is passed it will save 2 trillion over next

Until we come to grips with fiscal Jettison

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.

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Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. Once again, 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.

#

days in session
days
govt is more complicated in touch more

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3/31/92

TO: Dave Demerut

FROM: W. HENSON MOORE
Deputy Chief of Staff to the President

Here are my changes.

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

Thank you for that kind introduction. [ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]
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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~~ ^{the best knowledge, and} so they can be ~~educated adults -- literate and drug-free --~~ ^{skilled} ~~motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit.~~ ^{to compete with the best the world has to offer.} We must reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it, ^{to achieve that.} Second, our people must ~~have a sense of well-being about their physical health.~~ ^{continue to have the finest health care in the world but be available to all and} We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, ^{to Americans and their employees.} and make that care more affordable.

Next, our civil justice system must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice for all. ^{not be an unnecessary cost to our economy.} Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us -- costing us billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility as well as our economy. ^{Fourth,} And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more 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. ^{as I stated in an address to the nation in the East Room two weeks ago.} That is what I will address ^v today. British ^{it further}

essayist, G.K. Chesterton said, "there can be no talk of reform, 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 process is called reform.

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it might be called the crusade for quality. Often it's not flashy -- perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", or "the customer's always right." At other times it means measuring performance, because that is the how to improve performance. Competition improves quality and performance. The proof is that today, American products are quantifiably better than just a few years ago.

Not only the private sector feels the positive pressure of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of tighter budgets, has 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. But, this is not about gymnasium privileges or limousines. It is not about perks. It is about ^{governance} ~~power~~, and ^{its} ~~our~~ ability to ^{help or hinder} ~~use it for~~ the public good.

The changes that are sweeping the rest of the country have

Cannot bring itself to deal with a simple short term proposal to stimulate an economic recovery, how can it deal with the more complex problems facing an economic recovery, which are necessary for our long term economic growth? Unresponsive or status quo government leading reform and continuing deficit spending and excessive government regulations are a threat to future job creation.

stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. This entrenched status quo attitude can be laid squarely at the doorstep of Congress.

The most recent proof was its inability to rise to today's economic challenges without reverting to form -- higher taxes and bigger government. We all know that government is too big and spends too much. Too often the way Congress spends the people's money is the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. It stonewalls education, our legal system, other governance problems such as excessive regulations, health solutions we have proposed. With tough, complicated problems ahead, from education to health care, we simply cannot afford this kind of government.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues 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 increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the agencies -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo. Finally, 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,

not enough
never made soft
case

"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, have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but not the only problem. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we worked together in good faith to meet new 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 dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a 117 million dollar re-election war chest for incumbents in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Talk to retiring members, many of them good people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. 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 the American people are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about government. They just don't trust government 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 -- taxpayer money, and I believe we must put a stop to it.

Today government is a trillion and a half dollar enterprise. But it frequently forgets that the taxpayer is original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one.

When it forgets that, it issues counterproductive regulations -- ones that increase the cost of doing business, but worse, ones that don't really solve the problem they were designed to solve.

It shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding.

The greatest danger to future job creation is uncontrolled deficit spending. A status quo congress cannot deal with this threat. A reformed Congress can.

Because the government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it has become insulated, unresponsive and resists reform. It is almost impossible to adequately reward

*is there
an
stop proposed?*

success, much less punish failure. Talk to the hardworking people in government service -- many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated too. But the system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. Congress creates these giant centralized bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs, ^{creates constitutions.} Then, it is the Congress that protects them, harasses them, investigates them, micro-manages them. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs. It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

Think of the time and resources spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill Congressional demands for testimony. Think of the thousands of required reports that must be researched, written and delivered to Capitol Hill. Sixty reports from HUD. More than six hundred from the Defense Department -- and on through all the Cabinet Departments.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run just 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 new century. Our ability to

compete requires us to make these reforms, not just of Congress but of the federal bureaucracy as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to have adequate executive branch reform without first reforming the Congress.

*Why?
not explained*

Much of the executive branch is mandated by statute requiring personnel, funding, organizations and functions which cannot be reformed without new legislation.

Today I am proposing a set of actions that taken together will make government ^{responsive to} ~~work for~~ the people.

First, universal application of the laws of the land. In other words, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. Across the board. No more special treatment.

How many are there (laws that are exempted from)?

Like age, race, sex and disability discrimination laws; labor standards -- worker and workplace protections. ^{*If these laws are good enough for the American people, there are good enough for Congress.*} Congress should

also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like conflict of interest laws or the independent counsel law.

So today, I am proposing the Congressional Accountability Act which will force Congress to be covered by the same laws as everyone else. Further, I will veto any future legislation that extends 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. Democratic 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 is a good start, but real reform is still on the back burner. It is time for the American people to turn up the heat.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago, I proposed the total elimination of special interest Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed ways to reduce the influence of special interests, decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. 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." These reforms are stalled on Capitol Hill, the time for action is long past -- we must clean up our election system.

We need citizen congressmen, not professional congressmen who are some kind of allegiance to special interest groups who contribute money.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal employment next year. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. 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. 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. *I will veto any legislation which creates unnecessary regulations.* As our review continues we will announce further steps to reduce the burden of unnecessary regulations.

Sixth Finally, 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. After all, as President my terms are limited, the same should apply to members of Congress. Our first concern should be the country not a career. *We need citizen legislators, not professional politicians.* Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. Once again, 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 *help* 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.

#

Seventh - Part-time Congress (Sen. Baker concept)

Eighth - support both bill of economic impact statement for all laws

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

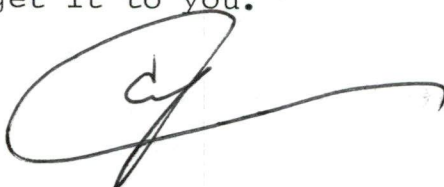
DATE: Mar. 31, 1992

TO: Dave Demarest

FROM: **CLAYTON YEUTTER**
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

Dave, here are my edits on the second draft. Don't consider them sacrosanct, but I hope they'll be helpful. As an old law review editor, I edit rather vigorously!

Charlie Kolb is working on the Howard Baker idea, but you may be doing so as well. If we come up with a sentence or paragraph on that, we'll get it to you.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'CY', with a large loop and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

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 reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their physical health. We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable.

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 as well as our economy. And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more 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. British

essayist, G.K. Chesterton said, "there can be no talk of reform, 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 process is called reform.

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it might be called the crusade for quality. Often it's not flashy -- perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", or "the customer's always right."

At other times it means measuring performance, because that is ~~the~~ how to improve performance. Competition improves quality and performance. The proof is that today ^{of} American products are quantifiably better than just a few years ago.

^{It is} Not only the private sector ^{that} feels the positive pressure of healthy competition. ~~For example,~~ the military, in the face of tighter budgets, has 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.~~

~~Elsewhere, however,~~ 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. But, this is not about gymnasium privileges or limousines. It is not about perks. It is about ^{political} power, and our ability to use it for the public good.

The changes that are sweeping the rest of the country have

stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. This entrenched status quo attitude can be laid squarely at the doorstep of Congress.

The most recent proof was its inability to rise to ^{the} today's economic challenges, ^{of getting our economy rolling again} without reverting to form -- higher taxes and bigger government. We all know that government is too big and spends too much. Too often the way Congress spends ~~the~~ people's money ^{is} the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and ^{often} frankly, without compassion. ^{Over and over again it has} ~~It stonewalled~~ solutions ^I we have proposed, ^{for dubious reasons at best} With tough, complicated problems ahead, from education to health care, we simply cannot afford this kind of government.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues this sets in motion a perpetual cycle of congressional support for more unnecessary ^S spending -- creating bigger and even less responsive bureaucracies. Then, the ^M members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the ^{it} constituent and ^{our executive} the agencies -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo. ^{business as usual pork barreling. Beyond that} Finally, 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~~ ^{That} one party, the Democrats, have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but ~~not the only problem~~ ^{by no means}. We have had divided government before ~~in our~~ ^{history}, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we ^{have} worked together in good faith to meet ~~new~~ ^{those} challenges.

^{Today} 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 ~~dollars~~ of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a \$117 million ~~dollar~~ re-election war chest for incumbents in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

~~This is not a system that can promote reform and change.~~ ^{None of this} Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Talk to retiring members, ^{dedicated} many of them good people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will ^{observe} hear the frustration. When asked about the continuing spectre of huge budget deficits, ^{Senator Rudman} 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} the American ^S people are a ^{generous, committed} compassionate people -- willing to ^{do whatever is necessary} ~~foot the bill to help~~ make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about government. They just don't trust government 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, ^{pitches} 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 ^{propaganda} P.R. when it sees it. They know it adds up to real money -- ^{their} taxpayer money, and I ~~believe~~ we must put a stop to it. ^{this abuse.}

Today government is a ^{\$1.5} trillion and a half dollar enterprise. ^{People in Washington D.C.} But it frequently forgets that the taxpayer is ^{the} original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one.

^{Folks in government} When it forgets that, it issues ^{they} counterproductive ^{nettlesome} regulations, ^{and they} ~~ones that increase the cost of doing business, but worse, ones~~ that don't really solve the problem they were designed to solve. ^{They} ~~it shelters~~ perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding. ^{Such actions by government often}

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in government

success, much less punish failure. Talk to the hardworking people in government service -- many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated too. But the system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. 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. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs. It should be no surprise that it takes ~~so long~~ ^{forever} to get anything done.

Top staff had testified in 14 hearings in one day!

One of my

Cabinet members told me some time ago that he and his
Think of the time and resources spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill Congressional demands for testimony. Think of the thousands of required reports that must be researched, written and delivered to Capitol Hill. Sixty reports from HUD. More than six hundred from the Defense Department -- and on through all the Cabinet Departments.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run ~~just~~ 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 ~~new~~ ^{future} century. Our ability to

in the world demands that we

compet^{ive} ~~requires us to make these reforms,~~ not just ~~of~~ ^{the} Congress but ~~of~~ the federal bureaucracy as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to ^{reform the} have adequate executive branch ~~reform~~, without ~~also, and simultaneously,~~ first reforming the Congress.

Today I am proposing a set of actions that taken together will make government work for the people.

First, universal application of the laws of the land. In other words, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. Across the board. No more special treatment. Like age, race, sex and disability discrimination laws; labor standards -- worker and workplace protections. Congress should also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like ~~conflict of interest laws~~ ^{ethics rules and} or the independent counsel law.

So today, I am proposing the Congressional Accountability Act which will ^{require} ~~force~~ Congress to be covered by the same laws as everyone else. Further, I will veto any future legislation that extends special treatment to the Congress.

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Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago, I proposed the total elimination of special interest Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed ways to reduce the influence of special interests, decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. 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." These reforms are stalled on Capitol Hill, ^{2nd} 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 to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. 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. 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.

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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.

Finally, 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. After all, ^{As} President my terms are limited, ^{rule} the same should apply to ^{lifetime political} members of Congress. Our first concern should be the country, not a career.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. ~~once again,~~ ^{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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McG's
Comments

From
Cradner
P.G.T.

Demarest/Aarhus
Draft #1
Reform

32 MAR 27 P8:39

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 1, 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 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.

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

First, our people must be educated, literate -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it -- top to bottom. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their health and the health of their children and families. We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable.

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 individuals and businesses billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility as well as our economy.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more foreign markets for American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

here - good reform appears
as 1 of 5 - would it be safe to
to elevated?

private
unclear

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

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it might be called the crusade for quality. Whether it's the quality of a product, or the quality of a service, it's not often flashy -- perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", "the customer's always right", or "service with a smile". At other times it means measuring performance, because that is the way to improve performance. In many ways, competition has been the driving force to improve quality and performance, and not surprisingly, it has worked. Today, American products are quantifiably better than they were only a few years ago.

It is not just the private sector that has felt the positive pinch of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of budget cuts, has had to cut the fat, and get leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Just about every other institution -- state and local government, unions, trade associations, charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public -- have been influenced by this drive for excellence.

Yet, the federal government has resisted reform and protected the status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous

need for change. The change that swept the rest of America has stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. The rise of an entrenched ~~status quo-oriented~~ Washington establishment, can be laid ^{-- dedicated to perpetuation of the} ~~status quo~~ squarely at the doorstep of the United States Congress.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. And there's something else everyone knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and government needs to play a role in solving those problems. But, right now government, particularly the Congress, is simply not up to the job. Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues that this sets in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of congressional support for unnecessary spending and bigger bureaucracies which in turn become even more lethargic and unresponsive.

Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the bureaucracy -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- and thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo.

Per H.M.
 Reference *
 Cong's recent failure to meet deadline.
 TAX plan.
 ABIF can't do this -
 Then how to meet challenges
 of reform
 etc.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about this. Madison, in Federalist Paper #52, argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. He would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected. That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the *Senate - House, or both?* Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. That not one Republican member of the House -- some with more than 30 years of service -- has ever been in the majority, and all but five Democrats have never been in the minority.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but this is not an attack on divided government. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have pulled together as a nation, and met whatever challenge threatened our security or national well-being.

~~Something wrong when Congress...~~
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unable institutionally to do what has to be done. We are not just watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns, we are watching the entire orchestra."

procs.

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*Gardner:
remember
Maurice
Pank's
med problem*

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Grandma Brady: delete

The American people are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about government. They just don't trust government to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely. In dollar terms, one quarter of everything we produce, build, or grow as a nation is devoured by the central government. There is no bigger appetite on earth.

NO-

U.S. would flow from many other industries. COS.

When taxpayer money goes for special-interest publicity campaigns and pork-barrel projects, people get angry. They demand change. Maybe it's small potatoes to the Congress, but the public knows P.R. when it sees it. For each letter a member receives, 12,000 go out -- free. That adds up to real money -- taxpayer money, and I think we must put a stop to it.

Today our government is a trillion and a half dollar business that too often forgets that the taxpayer is customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one.

Top pay!

8
Because government forgets the customer, it issues counterproductive regulations -- ones that increase the cost of doing business, but worse, ones that don't really solve the problem they were designed to solve. *lost sight of who it serves?* *for narrow?* *STBT*

Because the government forgets the shareholder, it shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding. Because the government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it has become insulated, unresponsive and resists reform. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. This is no slight to the four million *(hardworking)?* people in the bureaucracy itself. Talk to them and many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated as well. But the system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because *(this kind of government)?* doesn't just happen. 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. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

A few examples will help drive home the point. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs.

Think of the time and resources spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill Congressional demands for testimony. Think of the thousands of required reports that must be researched, written and delivered to Capitol Hill. Sixty reports from HUD. Six hundred from the Defense Department -- and on through all the Cabinet Departments.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run just like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance. We must improve its performance. So it's not just the Congress, it's the sprawling federal bureaucracy that needs reform as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to have executive branch reform without reforming the Congress.

I have proposed reforms in the past and I am proposing additional steps today: in sum they represent ^{a way we can} how to return confidence and clarity to the mission of America's government.

First, ~~no~~ ^{no institution should stand outside the law.} universal application of the laws of the land.

Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have in full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of society." In other words, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. Across the board. No more exceptions. Like civil rights laws. Age discrimination laws. The Americans with Disabilities Act and the Freedom of Information Act.

Congress should also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like the Privacy Act, or Title VI of the

Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law. [[To those ends, today I am sending to Congress [name of Administration bill] which will force Congress to be covered by the same laws everyone else is. Further, I will veto any new legislation that does not also apply to the Congress.]] But that is only a first step toward rebuilding public confidence in our laws and our lawmakers.

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Third, ^{we need} ~~the sweeping~~ sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago - - in 1989 -- I proposed the total elimination of Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed that we increase the support that the parties ~~can~~ provide to federal campaigns to reduce the influence of special interests, decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. I proposed that we reduce allowable contributions by these "independent" PACs to federal campaigns, and pass laws to ensure that they stay truly independent and unaffiliated -- in other words, clean. Finally, I asked the Congress to join me in

stopping the abuse that results from spreading around what's called "soft money" -- I ^(support) (asked for) full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures by all organizations as the only way to clean up the system.

Fourth, ^{we must have} spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal employment next year. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. ^{But the power of the President to} ~~control~~ ^{influence} I call again for the American ^{the} people to demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 ^{"power} governors have: the line-item veto. In the absence of that ^{of} important tool I will continue to use whatever means are legally ^{the} at my disposal, including the line-item-rescission, to protect ^{power is} the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. I will ^{limited} resist any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense ^{limits.} the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- those budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act. Finally, I again call for a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

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. We have cut back XXX of regulations, pages in the Federal Register by XX% just in the last XX months/~~years~~. ² [[Today I am announcing an extension/new review process.]]

?
Next, a new (communications) policy between the Congress and the Executive Branch. [[Logging reform -- decision memo result. Reform of the nomination process.]] //

Finally, we must limit Congressional terms. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. [[So today, to truly to fix the system, I have sent to the Congress legislation to limit terms of United States Senators to two, and Representatives, six terms.]]

→ After all, as President my terms are limited. The same should apply to members of Congress.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. Once again, as in the first days of our new nation, we face a challenge. 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. If we could change the world, we can change America. We must make the choice for change.

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

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→ for market.
→ 25 - 52.
That would
The 15 ang.

Page 4.

"Can men about
career from
country."

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 1, 1992

things
that all - no news
things
free - schools

park
symbolic
let me not overstate
the case

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.

INTRO

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.

Research

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

worldwide

turned the world upside down. America once again stood at the forefront of a great 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.

CHANGE

*Harry
Luce*

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

First, our people must be educated, literate -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it -- top to bottom. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their health and the health of their children and families. We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable.

*need
change*

*refer
to p. 3.
2/19/41
Life Mag*

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 individuals and businesses billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility as well as our economy.

*FIVE
PILLARS*

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more foreign markets for American goods and services --and to sustain and create American jobs.

Accountability
flatter decision
making inevitably
If we are
to change
America
we must
change our

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

B.K.
AS Chesterton
But easiest
These can be
no talk of
re-form
without
talk of
form.

Reform
INTRO

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

Roth
S. D
Endorsement
John
Nunes
consult
224 2626

It is not just the private sector that has felt the positive pinch of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of budget cuts, has had to cut the fat, and get leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Just about every other institution -- state and local government, unions, trade associations, charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public -- have been influenced by this drive for excellence.

Yet, the federal government has resisted reform and protected the status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous

Recent problems in how Congress
dealt with
necessary packages
they couldn't come together without
fought across today that we're going
to
Congress can't deal with it
if they can't deal with it
then will they deal

400 billion a year on
education
4500/kid
40% increase in real terms
and just slow up
down.

here is where we need to prove the case

need for change. The change that swept the rest of America has stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. The rise of an entrenched status quo-oriented Washington establishment, can be laid squarely at the doorstep of the United States Congress.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. And there's something else everyone knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and government needs to play a role in solving those problems. But, right now government, particularly the Congress is simply not up to the job. Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues that this sets in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of congressional support for unnecessary spending and bigger bureaucracies which in turn become even more lethargic and unresponsive.

Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the bureaucracy -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- and thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about this. Madison, in Federalist Paper #52, argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. He would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected. That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. That not one Republican member of the House -- some with more than 30 years of service -- has ever been in the majority, and all but five Democrats have never been in the minority.

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PERMANENT MAJORITY

CONGRESS INEFFICIENCY

Garlin

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MISPLACED PRIORITIES

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

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*ck
federal
rates*

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Stakeholder we got problems too

built in bureaucracy

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FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY

public service

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The Congress creates + perpetuates

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*simpler language
make
govt
work*

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SOLUTIONS

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15 laws that cover
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*Imagine if
we're more
vivid*

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*growth
of
committees
since Bush*

*Proposition
legislation
14 + 400
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As this moratorium ends I will have more to say later

*SOLUTIONS
the caps*

fault is not only in Congress
we are looking for
reforms make bureaucracy
more accountable

Many regime legislators

worry about country
not about their career

Next, a new communications policy between the Congress and the Executive Branch. [[Logging reform -- decision memo result. Reform of the nomination process.]] //

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

*200 years ago we replaced a form of govt
lack of responsibility
to the nation
why govt has done nothing to get the economy going
may not get 5 pillars*

I believe

have we made the case

I share responsibility

share suggestions
w/ American people

Accountance

need the Congress

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

counsel

DATE: 03/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Monday, 03/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER, PHILADELPHIA, PA-4/1

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Dan McGroarty no later than Noon on Monday, 03/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

cuat 30
cuat 10
cuat 28
cuat 29

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

52 MAR 27 P8:39

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 1, 1992

Thank you for that kind introduction. [ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]
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turned the world upside down. America once again stood at the forefront of a great 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.

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

First, our people must be educated, literate -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it -- top to bottom. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their health and the health of their children and families. We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable.

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 individuals and businesses billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility as well as our economy.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more foreign markets for American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

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

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it might be called the crusade for quality. Whether it's the quality of a product, or the quality of a service, it's not often flashy --perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", "the customer's always right", or "service with a smile". At other times it means measuring performance, because that is the way to improve performance. In many ways, competition has been the driving force to improve quality and performance, and not surprisingly, it has worked. Today, American products are quantifiably better than they were only a few years ago.

It is not just the private sector that has felt the positive pinch of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of budget cuts, has had to cut the fat, and get leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Just about every other institution -- state and local government, unions, trade associations, charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public -- have been influenced by this drive for excellence.

Yet, the federal government has resisted reform and protected the status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous

need for change. The change that swept the rest of America has stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. The rise of an entrenched status quo-oriented Washington establishment, can be laid squarely at the doorstep of the United States Congress.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. And there's something else everyone knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and government needs to play a role in solving those problems. But, right now government, particularly the Congress, is simply not up to the job. Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues that this sets in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of congressional support for unnecessary spending and bigger bureaucracies which in turn become even more lethargic and unresponsive.

Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the bureaucracy -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- and thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo.

has

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about this. Madison, in Federalist Paper #52, argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. He would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected. That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. That not one Republican member of the House -- some with more than 30 years of service -- has ever been in the majority, and all but five Democrats have never been in the minority.

yes

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but this is not an attack on divided government. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have pulled together as a nation, and met whatever challenge threatened our security or national well-being.

The larger issue is the systemic problem -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees, ^{and Subcommittees,} 34,000 Capitol Hill employees and staff, 2 billion dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a 117 million dollar re-election war chest in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

yes

This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Talk to retiring members, many of them good people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. When asked about the continuing spectre of huge budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system, "the fact is that we are

~~Before~~ Five years ago, I called for reform of this system in a speech to the Federalist Society. My call has not been heeded.

Page 6

unable institutionally to do what has to be done. We are not just watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns, we are watching the entire orchestra."

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

Now, while there's nothing wrong with Congress passing a proclamation heralding "National Crime Victims Week", there is something wrong when Congress can't pass a comprehensive crime bill that actually makes people safer in their homes and communities. "National Asparagus Month" may be good constituent relations, but the problems in American agriculture have to do with our national vitality, not our national vegetable.

For every one of these bills, there are legions of staff churning out the public relations campaigns to accompany them -- both on Capitol Hill, and in the executive branch. There are constituents contacted, newsletters written, paper -- reams of paper -- produced. Is this a big ticket item in the federal budget? Probably not. But it is more evidence of a Congress that chooses to spend time and effort on the easy constituent

relations and routine chores rather than on the difficult, often controversial issues that determine the future of our country.

These actions undermine the people's confidence in their government the same way as outrageous pork-barrel spending does.

[[Just as I sent to Congress ten days ago my anti-pork line-item rescissions, I am telling Congress today that from this day forward, the Executive Branch will not spend taxpayer dollars to fund publicity campaigns for special interests -- so don't send me any more of these pork-barrel proclamations.]]

The American people are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about government. They just don't trust government to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely. In dollar terms, one quarter of everything we produce, build, or grow as a nation is devoured by the central government. (There is no bigger appetite on earth.) ?

When taxpayer money goes for special-interest publicity campaigns and pork-barrel projects, people get angry. They demand change. Maybe it's small potatoes to the Congress, but the public knows P.R. when it sees it. For each letter a member receives, 12,000 go out -- free. That adds up to real money -- taxpayer money, and I think we must put a stop to it.

Today our government is a trillion and a half dollar (business) that too often forgets that the taxpayer is customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one.

N. Lund:
Perot ↓
Sounds

[Congressional Accountability Act...]

Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law.

[[To those ends, today I am sending to Congress [name of Administration bill] which will force Congress to be covered by the same laws everyone else is. Further, I will veto any new legislation that does not also apply to the Congress.]] But that is only a first step toward rebuilding public confidence in our laws and our lawmakers.

yes
Extending such special treatment

future

Second, reform of the Congressional committee system. I support efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which is now paralyzing the Congress. Democratic Senator Boren said it best when he described the Congress as "inefficient, unresponsive, wasteful, and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns." The numbers of reformers in the Congress is growing but they need the support of the American people now more than ever.

get in statute

to deal with the reality of incumbents who outspend challengers by margins of 8 to 1

Special interest

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago - in 1989 -- I proposed the total elimination of Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed that we increase the support that the parties can provide to federal campaigns to reduce the influence of special interests, decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. I proposed that we reduce allowable contributions by these "independent" PACs to federal campaigns, and pass laws to ensure that they stay truly independent and unaffiliated -- in other words, clean. Finally, I asked the Congress to join me in

see earlier speech

Insert logging order announcement
if approved after decision memo.
(Link to PACs)

Addressing the potential for 11

stopping the abuse that results from spreading around what's called "soft money" -- I asked for full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures by all organizations as the only way to clean up the system.

yes

LOGGING REFORM

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal employment next year. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. I call again for the American people to demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. In the absence of that important tool 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. I will resist any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- those budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act. Finally, I again call for a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

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. We have cut back XXX of regulations, pages in the Federal Register by XX% just in the last XX months/years. [[Today I am announcing an extension/new review process.]]

to my knowledge

??

yes

And I will not accept attempts by the Democrat leadership to circumvent the clear intent of the law: one-fifth of the Members of the House or Senate have the right to demand a separate vote - line by line - on every item of pork that I identify.

Move to top of page 11

~~Next, a new communications policy between the Congress and the Executive Branch. [[Logging reform -- decision memo result. Reform of the nomination process.]] //~~

Legal sup
no →

Finally, ~~we must~~ ^{the time has come to} limit Congressional terms. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. [~~So today, to truly to fix the system, I have sent to the Congress legislation to limit terms of United States Senators to two, and Representatives, six terms.~~]

STET

After all, as President my terms are limited, ^{and} the same should apply to members of Congress.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. Once again, as in the first days of our new nation, we face a challenge. 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. If we could change the world, we can change America. We must make the choice for change.

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

#

City's legislators
job/economic impact statement

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAR 30 P12:44

DATE: 03/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Monday, 03/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER, PHILADELPHIA, PA-4/1

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Dan McGroarty no later than Noon on Monday, 03/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

Please see comments

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

32 MAR 27 P8:39

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 1, 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, ^{profound and} 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 ^{value} ~~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 ^{that vision - even if that requires} ~~it~~ a permanent revolution. ✓

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 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.

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

First, our people must be educated, literate -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must ^{fundamentally change} ~~reform~~ our education system -- literally revolutionize it -- top to bottom. (Second, ^{we must help} ~~we must help~~

*
Key
↑
our children

develop good character and ~~strong~~ strong values and our people must have a sense of well-being about their health and, ^{physical} about the health of their children and families. ^{And our physical health depends on} ~~We must guarantee~~ them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable.

Next, our civil justice system must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice ^{no lawsuits prevail} for all. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us -- costing individuals and businesses billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility as well as our economy.

Another challenge is that

~~and~~ in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we ^{those} open more foreign markets for American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

create the ^{best} ~~highest quality~~ products and services in the world and

Finally, we must address the issue that I am here to discuss at length today -- ~~reform of our government~~ ^{quality and necessary reform} During the last decade, ^{all over America,} 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 process is called reform.

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it might be called the crusade for quality. Whether it's the quality of a product, or the quality of a service, it's not often flashy -- perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", "the customer's always right", or "service with a smile". At other times it means measuring performance, because that is the way to improve performance. In many ways, competition has been the driving force to improve quality and performance, and not surprisingly, it has worked. Today, American products are quantifiably better than they were only a few years ago.

It is not just the private sector that has felt the positive ^{pressure} pinch of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of budget cuts, has had to cut the fat, and get leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Just about every other institution -- state and local government, unions, trade associations, charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public -- ^{is being driven toward} ~~have been influenced by this drive for excellence.~~ ^{in order to survive.} ~~But,~~ ^{yet,} the federal government, ^{itself} has resisted reform, ^s and ~~It~~ ^{protects} the status quo -- even in the face of ~~an~~ unambiguous

pressure

4
reform movement sweeping

need for change. The ~~change that swept~~ the rest of America has stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. ^{responsibility for the} ~~The rise of an entrenched~~ status quo ~~in the~~ Washington ~~establishment~~, can be laid squarely at the doorstep of the United States Congress.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. And there's something else everyone knows: too often the government spends ^{the money} ~~of~~ ^{its customers} the American taxpayer's ^{money --} the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and government needs to play a role in solving those problems. But, right now government, particularly the Congress, is simply not up to the job. Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues that this sets in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of congressional support for unnecessary spending and bigger bureaucracies which in turn become even more lethargic and unresponsive.

Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the bureaucracy -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- and thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about this. Madison, in Federalist Paper #52, argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic and tyrannical (?). He would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected. That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. That not one Republican member of the House -- some with more than 30 years of service - - has ever been in the majority, and all but five Democrats have never been in the minority.

ij #52
says this, it might be stronger

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but this is not an attack on divided government. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have pulled together as a nation, and met whatever challenge threatened our security or national well-being.

The larger ^{problem} ~~issue~~ is ~~the systemic problem~~ -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees, 34,000 Capitol Hill employees and staff, 2 billion dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a 117 million dollar re-election war chest in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

This ~~is not a system~~ ^{does not} ~~that can~~ promote reform and change. Rather, it ~~aggressively~~ ^{fiercely resists any real change, and strenuously by} protects the status quo. Talk to retiring members, many of them good people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. 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 not just watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns, we are watching the entire orchestra."

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

Now, while there's nothing wrong with Congress passing a proclamation heralding "National Crime Victims Week", there is something wrong when Congress can't pass a comprehensive crime bill that actually makes people safer in their homes and communities. "National Asparagus Month" may be good constituent relations, but the problems in American agriculture have to do with our national ~~vitality~~ ^{vital}, not our national vegetable.

For every one of these bills, there are legions of staff churning out the public relations campaigns to accompany them -- both on Capitol Hill, and in the executive branch. There are constituents contacted, newsletters written, paper -- reams of paper -- produced. Is this a big ticket item in the federal budget? Probably not. But it is more evidence of a Congress that chooses to ~~expend time and effort on~~ ^{exert itself on} ~~the easy~~ constituent

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These actions undermine the people's confidence in their government the same way as outrageous pork-barrel spending does. [[Just as I sent to Congress ten days ago my anti-pork line-item rescissions, I am telling Congress today that from this day forward, the Executive Branch will not spend taxpayer dollars to fund publicity campaigns for special interests -- so don't send me any more of these pork-barrel proclamations.]]

The American people are a ~~compassionate~~ ^{generous} people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is a ^{great conflict} ~~mismatch~~ between their willingness to help and their skepticism about government. They just don't trust government to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely. In dollar terms, one quarter of everything we produce, build, or grow as a nation is devoured by the central government. There is no bigger appetite on earth.

When taxpayer money goes for special-interest publicity campaigns and pork-barrel projects, people get angry. They demand change. ^{The people are right} Maybe it's small potatoes to the Congress, but the public knows P.R. when it sees it. For each letter a member receives, 12,000 go out -- free. That adds up to real money -- taxpayer money, and ~~I think~~ ^{we} must put a stop to it.

Today our government is a trillion and a half dollar business that too often ~~forgets that~~ ^{thinks backwards: it is} ~~the taxpayer is customer,~~ ^{not the gov't,} ~~shareholder,~~ ^{who is the customer,} and board member all rolled into one.

Because government forgets the customer, it issues counterproductive regulations -- ones that increase the cost of doing business, but worse, ones that don't really solve the problem they were designed to solve.

Because the government forgets the shareholder, it shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding. Because the government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it has become insulated, unresponsive and resists reform. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. This is no slight to the four million hardworking people in the bureaucracy itself. Talk to them and many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated as well. But the system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. 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. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

A few examples will help drive home the point. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs.

Think of the time and resources spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill Congressional demands for testimony. Think of the thousands of required reports that must be researched, written and delivered to Capitol Hill. Sixty reports from HUD. Six hundred from the Defense Department -- and on through all the Cabinet Departments.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run just like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance. We must improve its performance. So it's not just the Congress, it's the sprawling federal bureaucracy that needs reform as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to have executive branch reform without reforming the Congress.

I have proposed reforms in the past and I am proposing additional steps today: in sum they represent how to return confidence and clarity to the mission of America's government.

First, universal application of the laws of the land. Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have in full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of society." In other words, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. Across the board. No more exceptions. Like civil rights laws. Age discrimination laws. The Americans with Disabilities Act and the Freedom of Information Act.

Congress should also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like the Privacy Act, or Title VI of the

Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law. [[To those ends, today I am sending to Congress [name of Administration bill] which will force Congress to be covered by the same laws everyone else is. Further, I will veto any new legislation that does not also apply to the Congress.]] But that is only a first step toward rebuilding public confidence in our laws and our lawmakers.

Second, reform of the Congressional committee system. I support efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which is now paralyzing the Congress. Democratic Senator Boren said it best when he described the Congress as "inefficient, unresponsive, wasteful, and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns." The numbers of reformers in the Congress is growing but they need the support of the American people now more than ever.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago - - in 1989 -- I proposed the total elimination of Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed that we increase the support that the parties can provide to federal campaigns to reduce the influence of special interests, decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. I proposed that we reduce allowable contributions by these "independent" PACs to federal campaigns, and pass laws to ensure that they stay truly independent and unaffiliated -- in other words, clean. Finally, I asked the Congress to join me in

stopping the abuse that results from spreading around what's called "soft money" -- I asked for full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures by all organizations as the only way to clean up the system.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal employment next year. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. I call again for the American people to demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. In the absence of that important tool 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. I will resist any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- those budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act. Finally, I again call for a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

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Next, a new communications policy between the Congress and the Executive Branch. [[Logging reform -- decision memo result. Reform of the nomination process.]] //

Finally, we must limit Congressional terms. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. [[So today, to truly to fix the system, I have sent to the Congress legislation to limit terms of United States Senators to two, and Representatives, six terms.]] After all, as President my terms are limited, the same should apply to members of Congress.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. Once again, as in the first days of our new nation, we face a challenge. 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. If we could change the world, we can change America. We must make the choice for change.

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

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



92 MAR 30 P3:00

DATE: 03/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Monday, 03/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER, PHILADELPHIA, PA-4/1

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Dan McGroarty no later than Noon on Monday, 03/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

TO: DAN MCGROARTY

March 30, 1992

The NSC staff concurs with the draft presidential remarks.

[Signature]
Brent Scowcroft

cc: Phillip D. Brady

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

32 MAR 27 P 8: 39

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 1, 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 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.

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

First, our people must be educated, literate -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it -- top to bottom. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their health and the health of their children and families. We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable.

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 individuals and businesses billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility as well as our economy.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more foreign markets for American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

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

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it might be called the crusade for quality. Whether it's the quality of a product, or the quality of a service, it's not often flashy --perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", "the customer's always right", or "service with a smile". At other times it means measuring performance, because that is the way to improve performance. In many ways, competition has been the driving force to improve quality and performance, and not surprisingly, it has worked. Today, American products are quantifiably better than they were only a few years ago.

It is not just the private sector that has felt the positive pinch of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of budget cuts, has had to ~~(cut the fat, and)~~ get leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Just about every other institution -- state and local government, unions, trade associations, charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public -- have been influenced by this drive for excellence.

Yet, the federal government has resisted reform and protected the status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous

need for change. The change that swept the rest of America has stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. The rise of an entrenched status quo-oriented Washington establishment, can be laid squarely at the doorstep of the United States Congress.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. And there's something else everyone knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and government needs to play a role in solving those problems. But, right now government, particularly the Congress, is simply not up to the job. Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues that this sets in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of congressional support for unnecessary spending and bigger bureaucracies which in turn become even more lethargic and unresponsive.

Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the bureaucracy -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- and thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about this. Madison, in Federalist Paper #52, argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. He would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected. That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. That not one Republican member of the House -- some with more than 30 years of service -- has ever been in the majority, and all but five Democrats have never been in the minority.

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The larger issue is the systemic problem -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees, 34,000 Capitol Hill employees and staff, 2 billion dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a 117 million dollar re-election war chest in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

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When taxpayer money goes for special-interest publicity campaigns and pork-barrel projects, people get angry. They demand change. Maybe it's small potatoes to the Congress, but the public knows P.R. when it sees it. For each letter a member receives, 12,000 go out -- free. That adds up to real money -- taxpayer money, and I think we must put a stop to it.

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Because government forgets the customer, it issues counterproductive regulations -- ones that increase the cost of doing business, but worse, ones that don't really solve the problem they were designed to solve.

Because the government forgets the shareholder, it shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding. Because the government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it has become insulated, unresponsive and resists reform. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. This is no slight to the four million hardworking people in the bureaucracy itself. Talk to them and many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated as well. But the system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. 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. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

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Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run just like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance. We must improve its performance. So it's not just the Congress, it's the sprawling federal bureaucracy that needs reform as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to have executive branch reform without reforming the Congress.

I have proposed reforms in the past and I am proposing additional steps today: in sum they represent how to return confidence and clarity to the mission of America's government.

First, universal application of the laws of the land. Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have in full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of society." In other words, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. Across the board. No more exceptions. Like civil rights laws. Age discrimination laws. The Americans with Disabilities Act and the Freedom of Information Act.

Congress should also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like the Privacy Act, or Title VI of the

Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law. [[To those ends, today I am sending to Congress [name of Administration bill] which will force Congress to be covered by the same laws everyone else is. Further, I will veto any new legislation that does not also apply to the Congress.]] But that is only a first step toward rebuilding public confidence in our laws and our lawmakers.

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stopping the abuse that results from spreading around what's called "soft money" -- I asked for full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures by all organizations as the only way to clean up the system.

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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. We have cut back XXX of regulations, pages in the Federal Register by XX% just in the last XX months/years. [[Today I am announcing an extension/new review process.]]

Next, a new communications policy between the Congress and the Executive Branch. [[Logging reform -- decision memo result. Reform of the nomination process.]] //

Finally, we must limit Congressional terms. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. [[So today, to truly to fix the system, I have sent to the Congress legislation to limit terms of United States Senators to two, and Representatives, six terms.]] After all, as President my terms are limited, the same should apply to members of Congress.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. Once again, as in the first days of our new nation, we face a challenge. 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. If we could change the world, we can change America. We must make the choice for change.

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

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAR 30 PJ2:42
DATE: 03/27/92

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Monday, 03/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER, PHILADELPHIA, PA-4/1

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

- A. Too long in describing the problems - 9 pages
- B. Showed profile how to solve the problems - where's the domestic beef?
- C. Term limitations - wasn't this the agreed upon headline! - it shouldn't be final

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

22 MAR 27 P8: 39

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APRIL 1, 1992

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Next, a new communications policy between the Congress and the Executive Branch. [[Logging reform -- decision memo result. Reform of the nomination process.]] //

Finally, we must limit Congressional terms. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. [[So today, to truly to fix the system, I have sent to the Congress legislation to limit terms of United States Senators to two, and Representatives, six terms.]] After all, as President my terms are limited, the same should apply to members of Congress.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. Once again, as in the first days of our new nation, we face a challenge. 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. If we could change the world, we can change America. We must make the choice for change.

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

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Document No. 318-37

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM
92 MAR 30 P1:59

DATE: 03/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Monday, 03/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER, PHILADELPHIA, PA-4/1

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

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Dan McGroarty no later than Noon on Monday, 03/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

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

Demarest/Aarhus
Draft #1
Reform

32 MAR 27 08:39

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 1, 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

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turned the world upside down. America once again stood at the forefront of a great 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.

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

First, our people must be educated, literate -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it -- top to bottom. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their health and the health of their children and families. We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable.

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 individuals and businesses billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility as well as our economy.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more foreign markets for American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

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

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it might be called the crusade for quality. Whether it's the quality of a product, or the quality of a service, it's not often flashy --perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", "the customer's always right", or "service with a smile". At other times it means measuring performance, because that is the way to improve performance. In many ways, competition has been the driving force to improve quality and performance, and not surprisingly, it has worked. Today, American products are quantifiably better than they were only a few years ago.

It is not just the private sector that has felt the positive pinch of healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of budget cuts, has had to cut the fat, and get leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Just about every other institution -- state and local government, unions, trade associations, charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public -- have been influenced by this drive for excellence.

Yet, the federal government has resisted reform and protected the status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous

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need for change. The change that swept the rest of America has stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. The rise of an entrenched status quo-oriented Washington establishment, can be laid squarely at the doorstep of the United States Congress.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. And there's something else everyone knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, without compassion. As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and government needs to play a role in solving those problems. But, right now government, particularly the Congress, is simply not up to the job. Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues that this sets in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of congressional support for unnecessary spending and bigger bureaucracies which in turn become even more lethargic and unresponsive.

Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the bureaucracy -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- and thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about this. Madison, in Federalist Paper #52, argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. He would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected. That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. That not one Republican member of the House -- some with more than 30 years of service -- has ever been in the majority, and all but five Democrats have never been in the minority.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but this is not an attack on divided government. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have pulled together as a nation, and met whatever challenge threatened our security or national well-being.

The larger issue is the systemic problem -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees, 34,000 Capitol Hill employees and staff, 2 billion dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a 117 million dollar re-election war chest in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Talk to retiring members, many of them good people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. When asked about the continuing spectre of huge budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system, "the fact is that we are

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unable institutionally to do what has to be done. We are not just watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns, we are watching the entire orchestra."

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

Now, while there's nothing wrong with Congress passing a proclamation heralding "National Crime Victims Week", there is something wrong when Congress can't pass a comprehensive crime bill that actually makes people safer in their homes and communities. "National Asparagus Month" may be good constituent relations, but the problems in American agriculture have to do with our national vitality, not our national vegetable.

For ^{many} ~~every~~ one of these bills, there are legions of staff churning out the public relations campaigns to accompany them -- both on Capitol Hill, and in the executive branch. There are constituents contacted, newsletters written, paper -- reams of paper -- produced. Is this a big ticket item in the federal budget? Probably not. But it is more evidence of a Congress that chooses to spend time and effort on the easy constituent

[These "public relations" campaigns are often for good causes -- things we want done: child abuse, etc.]

[Devoting this much attention to the proclamations may trivialize the message of the speech. Anyway, connection between proclamations and Executive expenditures is tenuous.]

relations and routine chores rather than on the difficult, often controversial issues that determine the future of our country.

These actions undermine the people's confidence in their government the same way as outrageous pork-barrel spending does.

[[Just as I sent to Congress ten days ago my anti-pork line-item rescissions, I am telling Congress today that from this day forward, the Executive Branch will not spend taxpayer dollars to fund publicity campaigns for special interests -- so don't send me any more of these pork-barrel proclamations.]]

The American people are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about government. They just don't trust government to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely. In dollar terms, one quarter of everything we produce, build, or grow as a nation is devoured by the central government. There is no bigger appetite on earth.

When taxpayer money goes for special-interest publicity campaigns and pork-barrel projects, people get angry. They demand change. Maybe it's small potatoes to the Congress, but the public knows P.R. when it sees it. For each letter a member receives, 12,000 go out -- free. That adds up to real money -- taxpayer money, and I think we must put a stop to it.

Today our government is a trillion and a half dollar business that too often forgets that the taxpayer is customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one.

[Not clear what "it" is, or what the President wants done. If the problem is publicity for

ports, let's say don't have clarity. The $\sqrt{12,000}$
letter ratio is probably a different problem. \square

8

Because government forgets the customer, it issues counterproductive regulations -- ones that increase the cost of doing business, but worse, ones that don't really solve the problem they were designed to solve.

Because the government forgets the shareholder, it shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding. Because the government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it has become insulated, unresponsive and resists reform. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. This is no slight to the four million hardworking people in the bureaucracy itself. Talk to them and many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated as well. But the system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. 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. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

A few examples will help drive home the point. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs.

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Think of the time and resources spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill Congressional demands for testimony. Think of the thousands of required reports that must be researched, written and delivered to Capitol Hill. Sixty reports from HUD. Six hundred from the Defense Department -- and on through all the Cabinet Departments.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run just like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance. We must improve its performance. So it's not just the Congress, it's the sprawling federal bureaucracy that needs reform as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to have executive branch reform without reforming the Congress.

I have proposed reforms in the past and I am proposing additional steps today: in sum they represent how to return confidence and clarity to the mission of America's government.

First, universal application of the laws of the land. Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have in full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of society." In other words, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. Across the board. No more exceptions. Like civil rights laws. Age discrimination laws. The Americans with Disabilities Act ^{and the Privacy Act} ~~and the Freedom of Information Act~~.

Congress should also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like the Privacy Act, or Title VI of the

see
Legal

Especially problematic to ~~not~~ propose making Congress subject
to FOIA, ~~or~~ or anything else, unless we're willing to make
WH subject too.]

[We should emphasize, if true, that WH
is willing to cover itself to extent Members of
10 Congress are covered.]

Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law.
[[To those ends, today I am sending to Congress [name of
Administration bill] which will force Congress to be covered by
the same laws everyone else is. Further, I will veto any new
legislation that does not also apply to the Congress.]] But
that is only a first step toward rebuilding public confidence in
our laws and our lawmakers.

Second, reform of the Congressional committee system. I
support efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and
subcommittees which is now paralyzing the Congress. ~~Democratic
Senator Boren said it best when he described the Congress as
"inefficient, unresponsive, wasteful, and compromised by the way
it finances its campaigns."~~ The numbers of reformers in the
Congress is growing but they need the support of the American
people now more than ever.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago -
- in 1989 -- I proposed the total elimination of Political Action
Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed
that we increase the support that the parties can provide to
federal campaigns to reduce the influence of special interests,
decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising,
and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. I
proposed that we reduce allowable contributions by these
"independent" PACs to federal campaigns, and pass laws to ensure
that they stay truly independent and unaffiliated -- in other
words, clean. Finally, I asked the Congress to join me in

[Good place to refer to Back decision implementation.]

Boren quote
is out of
context, which
is campaign
finance reform.)

[Brief explanation of "soft money" would help lay person.]
11

stopping the abuse that results from spreading around what's called "soft money" -- I asked for full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures by all organizations as the only way to clean up the system.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal employment next year. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. I call again for the American people to demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. In the absence of that important tool 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. I will resist any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- those budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act. Finally, I again call for a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

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[LOLA has strong concerns about logging proposal;
believes issue deserves much more vetting
w/ in before any public referenda.]

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Next, a new communications policy between the Congress and the Executive Branch. [~~Logging reform -- decision memo result. Reform of the nomination process.~~] //

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

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[We understand there is not to be proposal for legislation.]