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Folder Title:
Old House Chamber - [Reform Speech] 4/3/92 [OA 6100] [3]

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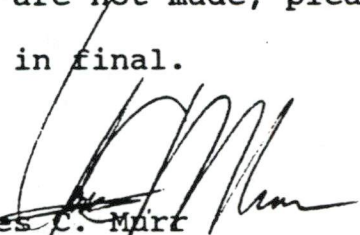
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

92 MAR 30 P2:57

NOTICE:

Enclosed are comments from staff members of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Such comments do not necessarily represent the official position of the Director of OMB or of the Office of Management and Budget. If you wish to have the Director's personal comments, please let me know -- and contact me if you have any questions.

If our proposed substantive changes are not made, please let us know before the material is prepared in final.


James C. Merritt
Associate Director for
Legislative Reference
and Administration

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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: *See comments 3/30/92 2:45*
Bob Grady will comment on his own

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, 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.

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, ^{more than 38,000} ~~34,000~~ Capitol Hill employees and staff, ^{2.5} ~~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

Anderson
4/6/31

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.

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

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Domestic discretionary spending ^{is} frozen
Federal non-defense civilian employment is
frozen.¹¹
But funding of employment is NOT frozen.

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 ^{AND non-defense federal civilian} 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.

Anderson
f 4630

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.]]

New sentence:

Since I announced the moratorium on January 28th, new regulatory requirements have already been reduced by over 30 percent.

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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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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 92 MAR 30 03/27/92 P12:21 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:

(Justice Dept).
 See comments. Thanks. And attachment
 PK
 Paul Korfanta
 03/30

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

Demarest/Aarhus
Draft #1
Reform

32 MAR 27 10:39

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

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

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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.

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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.

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5

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.

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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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Unless Congress can show a constitutional requirement for an excepti

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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 the ~~the~~ "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

✓

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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.

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.]]

12

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.

#



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

March 30, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO: PAUL KORFONTA

FROM: EUGENE SCALIA

I am returning with this Wednesday's speech with changes in the margins. Most require explanation:

Page 12, discussion of term limitations: Be sure to get input from Mark Paoletta in Counsel's Office, who has been looking at whether limits can be imposed without constitutional amendment. ✓

Page 7, line 7: The President should not give the impression of proclaiming that he will not spend money he is directed to spend by statute. This change makes clear that it is future silly legislation, not spending required by statute, that he will resist. OBE

Page 8, line 1: The regulations he is talking about are his own -- i.e., Executive branch regulations -- so he will want to be careful about suggesting this is currently happening. An alternative correction is to add at the end of the paragraph: "This has been occurring for decades in the Executive Branch, and for that reason in the State of the Union Address I instructed my troops in the executive to review every one of their regulations to see if the burdens they impose are justified. It's time for Congress to conduct the same house-cleaning."

Page 9, 5 lines from bottom: The President has claimed a constitutional basis for a FOIA exemption. He should not make so absolute a statement that it could come back to bite him. ✓
See Legal ✓

Page 10, beginning of second full paragraph: This is not our bailiwick -- there will be people at the White House more familiar with the issue --, but we believe that the legislation he refers to did not call for "total" elimination of PAC's. I believe the legislation aimed at PAC's that were not independent and self-funding. This should be checked. ✓

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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 <i>Positive 6538</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE <i>do not call</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
✓ DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	✓ PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
✓ BRADY <i>Handman</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	✓ PORTER <i>KOLB*</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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✓ CALIO <i>working directly w/ B2</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	X ROLLINS <i>nk</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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:

Dorran Smith:
 A Too long describing problems - p.9
 B Where's the Domestic Beef?
 C. Team Limitations - this was to be the headline!

MASTER

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~~ ^{NSC deletes} 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.

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.

See OMB #3

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

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.

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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.

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.

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Beck

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see
OMB
fix

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

Calvo would cut - Legal keep in Brackets

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Calvo cut

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

#

Joe
Memorandum for Speechwriting Staff

From: Dan McGroarty

Regarding: *Old House*

Please return your comments to Room
122 by:

11 AM today

Today's Date: MAR 30 1992

Good speech

a few minor comments. Jue

Demarest/Aarhus
Draft #1
Reform

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.

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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.

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do you mean U.S. House
of Representatives only?
- this doc 58 of 62 doesn't jibe with

6 years
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senate
1981-87

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~~any of it~~
The internal
logic of
this sentence
is hard
to follow.
"one party
rule"
and
"divided
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- with any
other
modifiers --
are
opposites.

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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.

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.

*Clarify - at taxpayer expense
through the [virtually] unlimited
frankings privilege.*

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^s 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.

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.

#

Janice
Memorandum for Speechwriting Staff

From: Dan McGroarty

Regarding: *Old House*

Please return your comments to
Room 122 by:

11 AM Today

Today's Date: MAR 30 1992

This speech has terrific potential. My suggestions are given to give it more immediacy and more persuasive impact.

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

great TP

Changed tense

stands

This FF switches from past to present & present history

turned the world upside down. America once again ~~stood~~ ^{stands} at the forefront of a great movement. We ~~stood~~ ^{stand} 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.

~~During the~~ ^{There was no question that it was} Many have called the 20th century, the American Century. ~~Now, with~~

~~the~~ a world more driven by economic competition than ever before, ~~we~~ ^{There is a question whether the 21st C. will be another American Century.} we must meet five great challenges ~~now, if we are to~~ ensure that the next century is ~~also~~ ^{a new} 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~~ ^{Americans} 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, ^{increasingly,} come from beyond our borders. That demands we ~~open~~ more foreign markets for American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

This sentence is hard to verbalize effectively
breaks it up
Some way??

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. *In short, we've had widespread undertakes* ~~That process is called reform.~~ *Talking down to audience*

In the private sector, ~~or more specifically, in a business,~~ *we have found Crusades* ~~it might be called the crusade for quality, whether it's the quality of a product, or the quality of a service.~~ *and* ~~It's not often flashy -- perhaps~~ *sometimes* 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~~ *it's* measuring *& evaluating* performance, ~~because that is the way to improve performance.~~ *to* ~~output~~ In many ways, competition has been the driving force ~~to improve~~ *in* quality and performance, ~~and not surprisingly, it has worked.~~ *and*

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.~~ *Our nation's emphasis on reform has gone beyond* ~~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 --~~ *has spread across the board.* ~~any~~ *all* organization that serves ~~the~~ *the* 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~~ *overwhelming evidence*

that we need change.

They have stood in the way of every solution we have proposed

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

^{We} Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. And there's something else ^{We know that} everyone knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, ^{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 ^{Congress} ~~government~~ ^{has not} ~~needs to play a role~~ in solving those problems. ~~But,~~

~~right now government, particularly the Congress, is simply not up to the job.~~ ^{of reforming government;} ~~They are too entrenched in~~ the status quo. Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing ~~but~~ ^{His picture is all too} familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that ^{familiar} 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 ^{Congress has} ~~this~~ sets in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of ~~congressional~~ support for unnecessary spending and bigger bureaucracies ^{and that they have} which ~~in turn~~ become ~~even more~~ lethargic and unresponsive ^{to the needs of the American people.}

Then, ^{Congressional} ~~the~~ members and their increasingly powerful staffs ^{have} become ombudsmen between ~~the~~ constituent and the bureaucracy -- where ^{they} expediting ~~the~~ benefits and procuring ~~the~~ more pork, ^{True self-serving actions} -- ~~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. *He would be appalled astounded* That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. *He would be dismayed* 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.

No; ~~the larger issue is the systemic problem -- the sticky web~~ *Congress is a comprehensive* 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.

Such cannot
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~~

Senator Rudman was 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~~

proclamations come across my desk for action

These ~~receives a proclamation~~ *are* 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". *Literally* Hundreds of ~~these~~ *proclamations* 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~~ *spends its time on that proclamation instead of* 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

pleasing activities

~~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.

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not meant for slight to government offices itself.

Let me make it clear these comments are

~~to~~ the four million hardworking people in ~~the~~ ^{our} bureaucracy are frustrated ^{too} as well. But the system, ~~which may have been~~ ^{which was} good for its time, ~~now~~ ^{now} must change, and it won't be easy.

~~That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen.~~

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A few examples will help ^{show what I'm talking about:} ~~drive home the point~~. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some ~~degree~~ of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. ^{and} Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs.

Can you draw an analogy to that kitchen ad asking if the 30 yr kitchen is out-of-date (shows style & clothes of 60's in contrast to sleek 90's look).

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,~~ ^{PP Yes,} ~~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, ^{These actions would} ~~in sum they represent how to return~~ confidence and clarity to the mission of America's government.

First, ^{we must have} 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.

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And, Congress can no longer ~~do this~~ These plans. They must act and act with ~~conscientious~~ ^{not} expedience.

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 must endorse} 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~~ ^{will} increase the support that the parties can provide to federal campaigns to reduce the influence of special interests, ^I decrease ^{it} the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, ^I and increase ^{it} the legitimate role of our political parties. I proposed that we reduce allowable contributions by ~~these~~ "independent" PACs to federal campaigns, ^{I proposed} and ~~pass~~ laws to ensure that ^{PASS} ~~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, ^{*we must enforce*} spending reforms. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal employment next year. I have ^{*also*} 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, ^{*we must enforce*} 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.]]

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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. *Just as* ~~once again, as in the first days of our new nation, we~~ face challenges, *Today we face the challenge of change.* The reforms I've outlined ~~today~~ *propose* can renew our faith in government *will* 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. *The American people* ~~we~~ must make ~~the~~ *That choice must be* ~~a~~ *Back then* ~~the~~ choice, worthy of the men who ~~met here~~ and began the world's only permanent revolution. *Today,* ~~if we could~~ change the world. *recharge* ~~we can~~ *for a new Century* change America. We must make the choice for change *for America and for the World*

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

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3-30-92

TO: *Dan McGroarty*

FROM: CHARLES E. M. KOLB

- Action
- Draft Response
- FYI
- Let's Talk

COMMENTS:

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

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

92 MAR 30 12:13

	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:

3/30/92

*Clayton -
Comments noted on the
President's report speech.
Thanks.*

Charles

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

*cc: Chris
John*

2 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.

don't say
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~~The vision of the Founding Fathers may still be hard for us~~ *had a clear vision of America's future:*

~~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. *Although over two hundred years old, our founders' goals remain*

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~~ *had* coming to a close and a new order was beginning. *our goals today as well.*

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 ^{stands} ~~stood~~ at the forefront of a great movement. We ^{held fast to} ~~stood firm for~~ our principles through some very difficult times. We changed the world, and we ^{now} stand upon a new ^{of freedom and democracy And} ~~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 ^{today} ~~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 -- ^{to ensure greater achievement} 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 we must ^{reform our existing health care system to} 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 ^{up our} ~~of our~~ government. During the last decade, one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to ~~take a~~ ^{look} hard ~~look~~ ^{at} within itself, make ^{the} needed improvements, and ~~act to make~~ ^{then restructure} the institution ^{so that it} live up to its principles. That process is called reform.

In the private sector, ~~or more specifically, in a business,~~ ^{this reform} 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.

^{But it's} ~~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, ^{and} has had to cut the fat, ^{and} get leaner and ~~work~~ 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

7) Sometimes government loses sight of an obvious fact: that government exists to serve the people, not vice versa. What's the reaction when you hear the line, "I'm from the federal government and I'm here to help you." Why do many people find that statement funny? I suggest the explanation is a simple one: that too often

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 ^{so} ~~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 ^{typical} Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. ^{Fiorina} ~~He~~ argues that this ^{ensures} ~~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. *The cycle is vicious.*

Government is too big, cutting are tending to "programs" while overlooking the fact that it's true mission is to serve the people.

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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 ^{MIASMA} 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

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.

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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.]]

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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.

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. *The American public knows what the Congress has yet to figure out: The real problem is not taxes, it's spending.*

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 ^{a course for} ~~how to~~ returning confidence, ^{and consumer-orientation} 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.

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.]]

Insert to page 12, at the end of the second full paragraph.

Above all, the American people want a government that works. The reforms I have called for today will help restructure government to make it responsive to people rather than just bureaucracy. Wherever I have current authority, I will pursue vigorous reforms dedicated to making government work. Last fall, in the area of civil justice reform, I imposed upon Federal litigators many of the reforms we are seeking from Congress and the States. In education, we are using existing authority to make sure that the Chapter 1 program run by the Education Department is working in sync with the Head Start program run by the Department of Health and Human Services. And earlier today in Washington, we announced significant reforms of the government merger guidelines which, for the first time, will involve the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, acting as one applying a common set of rules and standards. Far too often, government acts in ways that are inconsistent and incoherent. This too will change. I call upon the Congress to enact the reforms I have discussed today, and I hope that the American people will keep the pressure on government to reform itself.

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. *Insert new Paragraph*

is a Constitutional Amendment needed here? Needs clarification.

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.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1992

92 MAR 30 P1:38

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *JH For*
SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: At Old House Chamber,
Philadelphia

We have reviewed the attached remarks and have noted several suggested changes on the draft.

Please let us know if you have any questions or if we may help in any other way.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

Your copy

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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:

3/30/92

JP D. BRADY
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

52 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.

don't say vision is hard to understand --

~~The vision of the Founding Fathers may still be hard for us~~ *had a clear vision of America's future:*

~~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. *Although over two hundred years old, our Founders' goals remain as relevant today as when.*

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~~ *had* 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 ^{stands} ~~stood~~ at the
 forefront of a great movement. We ^{held fast to} ~~stood firm for~~ our principles
 through some very ^{CHALLENGING} difficult times. We changed the world, and we ^{now} ~~stand~~
 stand upon a new ^{of freedom and democracy And} 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 ^{today} ~~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 -- ^{to ensure greater achievement} 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 we must~~
^{reform our existing health care system to}
 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 ^{up our} ~~of our~~ government. During the last decade, one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to ~~take a~~ ^{look} hard ~~look~~ ^{at} within itself, make ^{the} needed improvements, and ~~act to make~~ ^{then restructure} the institution ^{so that it} live up to its principles. That process is called reform.

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BUDGET AUTHORITY AND

NON-DEFENSE

THESE ARE EXPRESSED AS TWO DIFFERENT CONCEPTS IN THE STATE OF THE UNION ACT SHEET.

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.]]

Insert to page 12, at the end of the second full paragraph.

Above all, the American people want a government that works. The reforms I have called for today will help restructure government to make it responsive to people rather than just bureaucracy. Wherever I have current authority, I will pursue vigorous reforms dedicated to making government work. Last fall, in the area of civil justice reform, I imposed upon Federal litigators many of the reforms we are seeking from Congress and the States. In education, we are using existing authority to make sure that the Chapter 1 program run by the Education Department is working in sync with the Head Start program run by the Department of Health and Human Services. And earlier today in Washington, we announced significant reforms of the government merger guidelines which, for the first time, will involve the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, acting as one applying a common set of rules and standards. Far too often, government acts in ways that are inconsistent and incoherent. This too will change. I call upon the Congress to enact the reforms I have discussed today, and I hope that the American people will keep the pressure on government to reform itself.

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. ^{Insert new Paragraph}

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.

#

is a
Constitutional
Amendment
needed
here?
Needs
clarification.

Dan McGroarty
Room 118

Document No. 318378

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAR 30 P1:19

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"/>
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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"/>
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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

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.

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.

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

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.

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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 ~~publicity campaigns~~]] resolutions ✓

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.

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.]] //

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NOT A
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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.

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

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

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

92 MFP 30 AM: 41

	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"/>
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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:
Good. More about the American people deserve..
Bob for SR

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

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

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

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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.

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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.

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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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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.

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.

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

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."

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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.

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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.

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.

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