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First 100 Days

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The First 100 Days - New President

- April 30th
- book

New Direction
Kevin Phillips

- Honor and privilege
- Hours - transition conversations
- Sunday: get your rest

- Economy

- Health Care

- National Service

- Campaign + political reform

- Integrity + ethics in govt
 - Reinventing govt

- Welfare Reform
Crime Bill

start
100 days to go

476.

CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS: THE FIRST 100 DAYS**Americans now have a President who puts people first.****New Economic Strategy**

- ◆ Within one month of taking office, announced comprehensive economic growth plan with clear goals: create jobs, raise incomes, cut health care costs, reduce deficit
- ◆ Created National Economic Council to coordinate strategy
- ◆ Signed into law the extension of unemployment insurance for people who lost jobs
- ◆ Outlined defense reinvestment and conversion plan to guarantee that America's defense workers, companies and their communities receive the training and support they need to compete and prosper in the post-Cold War economy.
- ◆ Passed the budget in record time
- ◆ Sent jobs package to Congress which would create 700,000 summer jobs this summer and hundreds of thousands of permanent jobs.

Tighten Government's Belt

- ◆ Reduced White House staff by 25%, effective October 1993
- ◆ Announced reductions of at least 100,000 positions in federal bureaucracy, by attrition
- ◆ Cut annual administrative costs by 12% over four years across the board
- ◆ Ended many perks and privileges

Put People First

- ◆ ◆ Two weeks after taking office, signed Family and Medical Leave bill into law, stopped in prior years by two vetoes after being introduced seven years ago
- ◆ Introduced national service initiative allowing students to repay college loan through community work.
- ◆ Health Care reform package launched (will be presented in May)
- ◆ New ethics rules against cashing in on public careers (for five years after leaving office, senior Clinton appointees may not lobby their former agency, office or colleagues; for five years they may not lobby on behalf foreign interests; and for the duration of their lifetime, they may not lobby on behalf of foreign governments or foreign political parties)
- ◆ Lifted restrictions on federal funding of medical research using fetal tissue which may develop treatments for debilitating illnesses such as Alzheimer's and Parkinson's diseases, diabetes and leukemia
- ◆ Announced new childhood immunization program to begin immediate vaccination of children by this summer, open up pharmaceutical companies for states that do not already get vaccines at appropriate price, and lead to eventual universal immunization.

Cabinet

- ◆ 13 cabinet officers confirmed by end of second day in office
- ◆ Abolished Competitiveness Council and closed back door for well-connected polluters

Restored Legal Rights for All

- ◆ Ended gag rule that limited information doctors could share with patients at clinics
- ◆ Extended legal rights to privately funded abortions to women at military hospitals
- ◆ Rescinded import ban of RU-486, pending routing testing and approval process
- ◆ Ended Mexico City policy that banned funding of certain family planning groups

[transition into 100 day economic accomplishments or first mention child immunization plan, to begin this summer]

On the way to getting the economy rolling:

The President's economic plan passed through the House and Senate in record time. Through the 5 year spending plan, the President has reformed the government's priorities to meet the mandate for change which swept him into office last November. The plan will create jobs, raise incomes, cut health care costs, and reduce the deficit.

Final passage of first budget resolution:

Clinton	April 1
Bush	May 18
Reagan	May 21

This was the first time since Gerald Ford was President that the budget resolution was passed before its legal deadline [April 15].

Other Accomplishments

- created National Economic Council to coordinate strategy
- outlined defense reinvestment and conversion plan

Ending Gridlock Blocking major legislation: Family leave and Unemployment Insurance

For seven years, the Family Leave bill has been trapped by Washington gridlock--despite overwhelming bi-partisan support. Last year, the bill was vetoed by President Bush.

Meeting another campaign pledge, President Clinton signed the Family Leave Act into law on Day 17 of his presidency.

Other bills coming soon, which have been trapped by gridlock in past administrations:

- Motor voter
- EPA elevation

Also passed: Unemployment insurance [3/4]

Changing the Way We Do Government:

White House Reorganization/Staff Cuts

On Day 21, the President moved to reorganize the WH to run better and produce more with less, cutting staff 25%. As a result of the cuts, 25% or 350 less people will be working here by the implementation date of September 30.

The President also

- Announced a 100,000 person reduction in workforce in federal bureaucracy
- Cut annual administrative costs by 12%
- ended many perks and privileges

Tightened Ethics Rules

On Day 1, the President implemented new ethics rules which govern senior Administration officials to close the revolving door of government. For 5 years after departure, senior appointees may not lobby their agency, and they may never represent foreign governments or foreign political parties.

Abolished Competitiveness Council, closing the back door well-connected polluters used to evade federal law.

[Appointed Commission on Reinventing Government--or was that just the VP?]

National Service

The President outlined the broad aspects of the plan for National Service in a trip to New Jersey on March 1. Before the end of his first hundred days in office, the President expects to finalize the plan and prepare to send it to Congress

Meets Pro Choice Promises

On Day 3, the President revoked Reagan and Bush restrictions on abortion counseling, fetal tissue research, abortions in military hospitals, abortions in developing nations, and RU 486.

Technology Policy

Announced technology policy to help America shape its economic future at an event in Silicon Valley on February 22. The technology strategy will keep American companies competitive in the growing global economy, give our children and students more powerful learning tools than ever before, and improve information sharing throughout the country.

[Also: 13 cabinet officers confirmed by end of his second day in Office.]

On the way to getting the economy rolling:

The President's economic plan passed through the House and Senate in record time. Through the 5 year spending plan, the President has reformed the government's priorities to meet the mandate for change which swept him into office last November.

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Health Care

On Day 6 [Jan. 25] the President launched his health care reform act by establishing his Health Care Task Force. The President will release his plan for a complete overhaul of the Health Care system shortly after the first hundred days in office. [The planned deadline was moved due to illness in the Rodham family]. The Task Force includes about 500 of the nations best and brightest, including more than 60 physicians [over 30 of whom were in practice prior to joining the task force] and scores of other health care providers.

Ending Gridlock Blocking major legislation: Family leave and Unemployment Insurance

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The President also required the Cabinet to make a 100,000 reduction in workforce over the term of his administration.

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- Reno AG
... ..

*16 Dec. Revised / ready talking points
(the * the more relevant
points)* *Ac.*

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

21-Apr-1993 11:31am

TO: Andre C. Oliver
TO: Dwight Holton
TO: FAX (1121, Marilyn Yager)

FROM: Carter Wilkie
Office of Communications

SUBJECT: New talking points for 100 days

Introduction

This is the season of America's renewal.

Already, in the first few months of his new Administration, President Bill Clinton has restored an active purpose to the presidency and renewed America's commitment to change and progress.

We now have a President dedicated to investment and economic growth; a President determined to help Americans weather the winds of change; a President committed to restoring responsibility; a President devoted to returning the government back to the American people,

After twelve years of national drift and economic decline, President Clinton ~~has~~ charted a clear path to growth with his New Directions economic plan designed to create jobs, boost incomes, move economy from consumption to investment, and reduce our deficit, substantially and dramatically.

The investments in the Clinton economic plan embrace priorities that will raise the living standards and profits of workers and business for the long-term: rebuilding America's infrastructure; committing resources and attention to the education and training needs of our students and workers; and restoring vital incentives that reward productivity, profits, innovation and investment.

* The Clinton budget -- the outline of his economic plan for New Directions -- passed the Congress in record setting time. It reduces deficit spending by over \$500 billion; a plan so credible that the market continues to reduce interest rates on the American people. These interest rate reductions, coupled with imaginative steps taken by the Clinton Administration to deal with the credit crunch, means American business firms, and consumers have money to save, spend, invest and grow.

We now have a President who helps the American people make their choice for change.

Enormous changes are sweeping our economy. Inevitable defense cutbacks are forcing military bases to close -- they're causing defense manufacturers to lose markets and cut jobs. Problems in the airline industry have caused massive lay-offs in aerospace firms and among the domestic carriers. America's economic partners abroad are beating American companies in the race for markets in the former Soviet Union.

That's why President Clinton's economic program will help the American people take advantage of these changes. He has offered a \$20 billion, five-year initiative to reinvest in workers, communities and companies harmed by cuts in military spending. He has formed a task force to recommend real changes in federal policy to help restart our aviation and aerospace industry. And he has provided an enterprise-oriented aid initiative to save the Russian Democracy and spur American economic growth.

* Beyond growth, Americans want a return to responsibility in our schools, our communities, and our economy. And in that spirit, President Clinton is leading the way. By reforming welfare to make it a second chance, not a way of life; by reforming the health care system to provide health security to every American and bring rising costs under control; by making national service opportunities available to students so that they can exchange opportunities for education with community service.

Finally, President Clinton is working to give the government back to the American people.

* people. At the beginning of his Administration he announced his decision to cut the White House staff by 25%, and to eliminate the kinds of perquisites and privileges which isolate Federal workers from the people they are supposed to serve.

He has cut billions from the budgets of Federal agencies and Departments, telling them they must do more with less. He is committed to reinventing government and bringing his Presidency directly to the people through town meetings, Electronic Mail with the White House, and ideas like the Forest Conference -- which enabled the environmental and economic problems of the Pacific Northwest to be discussed by average people with the President, Vice-President Gore and environmentally-committed Members of the Cabinet.

Most important, he is committed to enacting tough campaign finance and lobbying reform legislation to drive special interest dealing out of politics.

What follows is a chronology from the first 100 days of the new action oriented Administration in our memory. But it is more than a listing of accomplishments, because now is not the time to be satisfied. Instead, it is indicative of a change in direction.

* What will come from what we accomplished here -- more economic growth, comprehensive health and welfare reform, a new system of national service, and the like -- is new opportunities for achievement, empowerment and progress for middle-class Americans, and a new direction for us all. It is indeed America's season of renewal.

Historical footnote

The "hundred days" period was applied by journalists to the 73rd Congress, which granted newly inaugurated President Franklin D. Roosevelt powers to combat the national crisis of the Great Depression in 1933.

Less well-known than the hundred days of 1933, is how Woodrow Wilson set precedent in 1913, when one month after taking office, he became the first President of the century to deliver an address to Congress. That speech initiated the reforms enacted later that year -- tariff reform, the first income tax, a Federal Reserve. With that early speech, Wilson had closed the book on the Gilded Age Government to the side of average, hard working Americans.

Mark

Interesting background on
First 100 days.

NOTE on Marked page:

Dagan's press office put out
a "First 100 Days" review of
clips - this ^{may be} ~~is an~~ interesting
way to ~~the~~ frame our declaration
of Victory - although our clips
are probly not as good as RR's.
Please advise. DCH

100 days file
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 17, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR: Stephanopoulos, Seidman, Dreyer, Emanuel
FROM: Carter Wilkie, Communications Research
SUBJECT: How the Press May Assess the First 100 Days

As the attached article shows, we are in for a range of assessments due a little more than a month from now.

I suggest that a working group be formed to develop an internal consensus on the following most likely expected measurements:

Ideological direction and sense of priorities:

- Clarity or ambiguity
- Comparison to previous Presidencies or eras
- Expectations weighed against reality
- Promises kept, promises altered
- Allies and obstacles
- Apparent and ultimate impact on state of the Nation

Relations with Congress:

- Direction, scope and pace of legislation
- Source and strength of opposition
- Personal reviews from members

The President's style:

- Persona
- Political discipline
- Relations with the press and individual political players
- Public approval and popularity

Controversies, real or perceived, i.e.,:

- Homosexuals in the military
- Perot

Advisers, officials and staff:

- Where the influence lies
- What makes this administration's team unique
- Pace of staff appointments
- Will stars get credit or scapegoats get blame?

Public Opinion

file: First100.cw

From a 'Revolution' to a 'Stumble'— The Press Assesses the First 100 Days

Ever since FDR's first three months in office, it has been almost obligatory for the news media to review each President's baptismal period in the White House.

BY DOM BONAFEDE

To *The Washington Star*, Ronald Reagan's First 100 Days were "a smooth start." *The New Republic* magazine perceived the President as "hitting the ground stumbling" during his baptismal period in office. *Newsweek* referred to "the Reagan Revolution." *New York Times* columnist James Reston maintained that Reagan "is not presiding over a 'revolution' but over a 'correction' of New Deal policies he thinks have gone too far."

In print and over the airwaves, the U.S. news media celebrated Reagan's plunge into the presidency with vivid recollections ranging from the release of the American hostages from Iran to the "second honeymoon" following the March 30 assassination attempt.

Responding on cue to what has become an obligatory journalistic ritual, the nation's major news organizations indicated that they were not completely in harmony in their assessments of Reagan's First 100 Days. Yet their overriding perception was that he had scored a personal success in his presidential debut and may turn out to be a better Washington politician than a Hollywood actor.

Normally skeptical reporters seemed to reflect the accommodating mood of the country toward the President. Ernest B. Furgurson, the bureau chief of *The Sun* (Baltimore), commented on Reagan's "genial salesmanship and the calm competence of his top-most staff." Writing in *The New York Times Magazine*, Steven R. Weisman, the newspaper's White House correspondent, noted, "With a gift for political theater, Mr. Reagan has established his goals faster, communicated a greater sense of economic urgency and come forward with more comprehensive proposals than any new President since the first 100 days

of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the hero of his youth."

There was considerably less effusion over Reagan's economic proposals, with some suggesting that his tax cuts could fuel higher prices and that his spending cuts could worsen the lot of the disadvantaged. As *U.S. News & World Report* cautioned, "His supply-side economics strategy to curb inflation, recession and unemployment simultaneously is largely untested." Some stories, though not all, pointed out that Reagan had pulled back from his pledge to balance the budget by 1983 even as he was seeking to assure the nation of the soundness of a policy aimed at stimulating economic growth.

Aside from the merits of his economic plan, there was general agreement that Reagan was wise in clearly defining it as the top priority in the early period of his Administration, when he was riding a crest of public opinion polls and Democrats in Congress were virtually defenseless.

There was critical notice in the reviews of the confusing foreign policy signals coming out of the Administration—hardly in keeping with Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr.'s promise of a diplomacy based on "consistency, reliability and balance."

Among Reagan's introductory overtures in the foreign affairs area were the elevation of the El Salvador conflict to a test of U.S.-Soviet relations, the lifting of the Soviet grain embargo and the proposed sale of AWACS surveillance planes to Saudi Arabia. (See this issue, p. 868.)

And then there was the unexpected selection of Vice President George Bush over Haig to head the White House crisis management group.

The political motivation behind many of the decisions was transparently evi-

dent. Wrote columnist Joseph Kraft: "In each case, the President let the conflict surge, and then suddenly made a decision on behalf of his domestic constituency. To keep his farm interests happy, he lifted the embargo. To appease the energy interests and the military, he decided to sell the AWACS to the Saudis. To keep the domestic interest foremost, he gave crisis management to Vice President George Bush."

READING TEA LEAVES

Whatever the risks in reading events of the First 100 Days like scattered tea leaves, it does offer a convenient opportunity to take the measure of the new man in the White House and project what may be expected over the balance of his Administration.

During that brief spell, presidential character is developed, working habits are set and the tone and direction of the Administration is fixed. The changing of the guard is completed and the President settles into his job and his new home amid high expectations. Appropriately, the First 100 Days coincide with spring, a time of hope and rejuvenation in a confluence of politics and nature.

Inevitably, media reviews recall what historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. said of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's legendary First 100 Days. "Congress and the country were subjected to a presidential barrage of ideas and programs unlike anything known to American history," Schlesinger wrote in *The Coming of the New Deal* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958).

During that period, he wrote, Roosevelt "sent 15 messages to Congress, guided 15 major laws to enactment, delivered 10 speeches, held press conferences and Cabinet meetings twice a week, conducted talks with foreign heads of

From the White House News Summary

The commercial news media were not alone in taking note of President Reagan's First 100 Days. The White House news summary office published a special edition on April 7, 1981 containing a sampling of media commentary on the subject.

"Taking the Measure of Reagan's 100 Days," the 17-page report, includes excerpts from stories published in *The Sun* (Baltimore), *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Star*, the Newhouse News Service, the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* and *The New York Times Magazine*, as well as various television commentary from the three major networks.

In an introduction, editor William Hart wrote: "Most of the commentary is favorable. A few common threads run throughout the articles: President Reagan and President Franklin Roosevelt; White House management team; Secretary of State [Alexander M.] Haig [Jr.]; the assassination attempt; [Interior] Secretary [James G.] Watt; the President's attempt to remain true to his campaign pledges; and the apparent fact that the President, himself, is more popular than his programs."

Criticisms, as well as tributes, are included in the special edition.

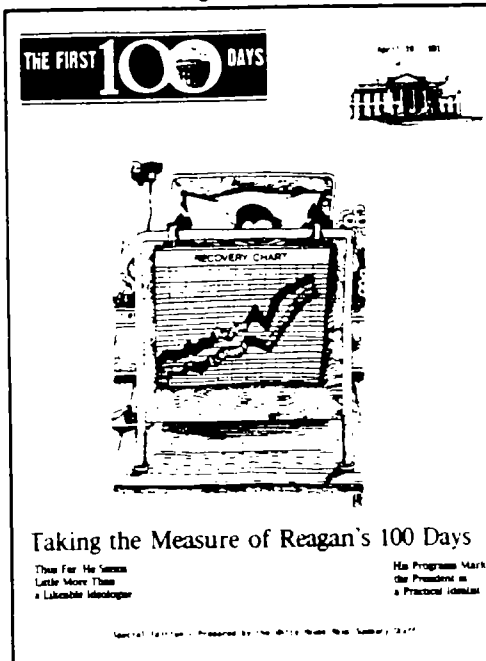
It summarizes, for example, a *Los Angeles Times* article written by Robert Shrum: "Reagan budget has its own sacred cows—to-bacco subsidies and oil depletion allowance—and a double standard when it comes to federal regulation—deregulation when it comes to worker health or safety, but deregulation has been all but forgotten in the trucking industry ever since the Teamsters endorsed Reagan-Bush."

Another story, written by Lisa Myers of *The Washington Star*, is summarized this way: "White House has been acutely aware that delegation of authority gives perception that the President is somewhat superfluous to his own Administration. Imperative to retain the idea that the President is in charge."

Originated by President Nixon, the news summary is a daily compilation of media commentary gathered by staff members of the White House press office. It is distributed each morning to high-ranking Administration officials, including—especially—the President

state, sponsored an international conference, made all the major decisions in domestic and foreign policy and never displayed fright or panic and rarely even bad temper."

From March to June 1933, the Emergency Banking Act, the Economy Act, the Farm Credit Act, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Home Owners' Loan Act and the Tennessee Valley Act and other important laws were adopted, the gold standard was abandoned and the Civilian Conservation Corps was established.



In the 100 days, Walter Lippmann noted, "We became again an organized nation confident of our power to provide for our own security and to control our own destiny."

Recently, Thomas G. (Tommy the Cork) Corcoran, one of the bright young lawyers attracted to Washington by Roosevelt, reminisced about the early New Deal era.

"People talk of Mr. Roosevelt's First 100 Days and all those laws that were enacted and programs put together," said Corcoran, who is now 80. "What

they forget is that many of them were declared unconstitutional or had to be redone."

But that made no difference, according to Corcoran: the important thing was that people were regaining confidence in themselves and the country.

THE ARBITRARY MILESTONE

The London Observer's Anthony Holden argued in a column that the 100-day mark is "the most arbitrary, not to say premature [milestone] available for judging of political leadership."

Ironically, the news media universally cite Reagan's First 100 Days in comparison with FDR's although, as Holden noted, the President is bent on erasing Roosevelt's "furious spate of liberal legislation" from the record.

Similarly, Richard L. Strout, writing as TRB in *The New Republic*, recalled the desperation of Americans in the early 1930s: "The country was near revolution... People were starving but farmer's couldn't sell food; people were cold but clothing factories were shut. Every bank was closed." Commenting on an analogy between Roosevelt's 100 days and Reagan's, Strout exclaimed, "How silly can you get?"

Nevertheless, the U.S. press has seldom been inhibited in making arbitrary or premature political assessments.

Perhaps the earliest review of the Reagan presidency was made by Lou Cannon of *The Washington Post* in a piece on Reagan's "first five days" in office. Not surprisingly, the article's subhead proclaimed, "President's staff struggling to gain control."

A rereading of Cannon's story shows that despite the frenetic activity of the Reagan Administration in its First 100 Days and the "smooth start" subsequently attributed to it by some reviewers, a major problem that afflicted it at the beginning continues to this day. Cannon reported that presidential aides were "struggling with the difficult task of speeding Reagan's lagging timetable on sub-Cabinet and other political appointments... [and an] aide said that security and ethics checks had taken longer than anticipated."

In its May 11 edition, more than 100 days later, *Time* quotes E. Pendleton James, assistant to the President for personnel, as offering the same excuse for what the magazine called "the molasses pace of presidential appointments."

Not content with merely making a 100 days assessment, Kraft jumped the gun and wrote a review of Reagan's performance after 60 days.

Published on March 19, 11 days before the assassination attempt, Kraft's column

stressed that "the Reagan Administration has started to lose definition and momentum." He explained that "a letdown of sorts was bound to follow Reagan's brilliant debut." Surveys and other indicators at the time suggest that Kraft was correct in his analysis. He was off the mark, however, in stating that Congress would accept "spending reductions that are serious, though not so drastic as those favored by the Administration." The overwhelming House vote on May 7 approving a budget resolution for next year that includes domestic spending cuts greater than those proposed by the President is evidence of Kraft's error. (See this issue p. 888.)

But Kraft had no way of foretelling Reagan's popular resurgence in the wake of the March 30 shooting.

The unofficial record in terms of news space devoted to Reagan's First 100 Days goes to the *Los Angeles Times*. In addition to a long piece by Jack Nelson, the newspaper's Washington bureau chief, it published two lengthy analyses in its "Opinion" section—one by Richard A. Viguerie, a prominent member of the New Right who is recognized as being attuned to Reagan's political philosophy, the other by Robert Shrum, press secretary to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., who presumably was speaking as a member of the opposition. A fourth article was written from the European viewpoint by Don Cook, the paper's Paris correspondent. Besides that, the newspaper published the results of a poll it had taken on Reagan's performance.

Both the Viguerie (as might be expected) and Shrum articles were favorable to Reagan.

"I have been pleased and in many respects pleasantly surprised," Viguerie wrote. Alluding to one "small criticism," he said, "Reagan could have made better use of his mandate at the beginning. He had great momentum from the election and he let much of it slow down. For a time, his new Administration seemed to lack any clear direction. The President and his advisers wanted to 'hit the ground running.' This did not happen."

Shrum acknowledged, "It is clear that America will work hard at liking this President even if his policies don't work."



As can be seen from a sampling of articles on President Reagan's First 100 Days, the news media were not completely in harmony in their assessments.

From Paris, Cook reported that most Europeans are taking a wait-and-see attitude. "Meanwhile," he wrote, "there is a sense of unease and apprehension, largely because the Administration has not defined any clear diplomatic objectives—what it intends to do and how it proposes it."

Joining the commemoration of Reagan's First 100 Days were the media polls.

An *ABC News-Washington Post* survey showed that Reagan's personal popularity is extremely high with the public, with the great majority approving his over-all performance and supporting his proposed spending and tax cuts. The survey indicated that the President's rating soared 11 points, to 73 per cent, immediately following the assassination attempt, just about the same level as when he entered his 100th day in office.

A *Los Angeles Times* poll similarly reflected the President's high standing with the public. Reagan received an 83 per cent approval rating in the poll at the turn of his First 100 Days, a 10-point jump since mid-March.

U.S. News & World Report took still another tack. It sought the opinion of Erwin C. Hargrove, director of the Institute for Public Policy Studies at Vanderbilt University and author of *The Power of the Modern Presidency* (Knopf, 1974). Asked what grade he would give Reagan for his first three months in

the White House, Hargrove replied: "I would give him an A—not necessarily in policy but certainly in political craftsmanship. Reagan has demonstrated, in a way that Jimmy Carter never did, that he understands how to be President. He knows that a President can deal only with a relatively small number of issues at a time. He also understands that his principal task is public leadership. Therefore, he has concentrated primarily upon economic policy and in particular on forming public opinion and developing working relationships with Congress."

Time magazine alone, of all the major news publications, decided not to publish a special section on Reagan's First 100 Days. "We made a conscious decision not to do it," said a member of the magazine's editorial staff. "We had said everything we wanted to say and we didn't want to simply do a reshuffle."

TELEVISION TREATMENT

Network television, not unnaturally, also marked Reagan's First 100 Days.

Of the three major networks, NBC made the greatest commitment to producing a program on the genesis of the Reagan presidency.

"We made the decision even before the inauguration," said Les Crystal, NBC vice president for news. "Here was an Administration that was given a fairly big mandate, that was proposing fun-

damental changes and going to reverse the trend of government. This had the potential of being very significant and becoming a really important story."

Assignments were given early on to producers and key correspondents. "All Roger Mudd, Marvin Kalb, Irving R. Levine, Judy Woodruff and others—had a daily preoccupation with it," Crystal said. Two camera crews were assigned specifically to the program, a network-designated "White Paper" called "Reagan: The First Hundred Days." From March 1 until the program was aired on April 23, five producers were assigned to it full time and one part time. Two researchers and eight tape editors worked on the show. Other technicians cataloged tapes for possible inclusion in the program and clipped articles for background information.

"We made editorial and physical contact with the White House very early," Crystal remarked. Originally, this was in connection with a show the network produced on *A Day in the Life of the President*. "It had the double purpose of helping us arrange the hundred days show," Crystal said. On Feb. 10, five NBC crews worked at the White House from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. shooting film, segments of which were used in both programs.

"The last six weeks were very hectic," Crystal reported. "There was the added factor of the shooting. As a result of that, we lost a scheduled interview with the President. But we decided to expand the program from 90 minutes to two hours."

A decision was also made not to broadcast the program chronologically but rather topically—foreign policy, military affairs, senior advisers, the economy and the shooting. The documentary included comments on Reagan and the presidency by noted governmental scholars, including James David Barber and George F. Reedy Jr.

At the conclusion, commentator Mudd summed up: "The March 30th shooting froze everything in place. In fact, the shooting is probably what most Americans will remember about the 100 days. And because he performed under fire that day as if it had been a movie, President Reagan made it difficult for all of us to think of him, ever again, as just another B-grade actor."

The program was broadcast in prime time, and *Washington Post* television critic Tom Shales, noted as a harsh reviewer, called it a "thorough and pungent report."

Said Crystal: "We got respectable ratings. We didn't look at it as a potential for attracting a big audience. The question is the kind of people who watched

it, the opinion makers and government leaders. We're very pleased with that."

CBS-TV didn't decide to produce a 100 days program until mid-February. "We had anticipated it and were logging practically everything filmed in Washington," reported Hal Haley, a senior producer with the network. "But it was really a crash program the last three weeks before the show ran. At the time, we were busy in El Salvador and with the Atlanta murders."

As Haley implied, CBS had not made an all-out commitment to do the show. Called "The First Three Months" and anchored by Dan Rather, it was broadcast in two parts, both late at night. The first part was shown at 11:30 p.m. Eastern Standard Time on Monday, April 20, and the second on Thursday, April 24, at the same time except in the Washington area, where it was not broadcast until 12:45 a.m. because it ran into a scheduling conflict with the

program like that wouldn't make much sense."

Strangely, Reagan's newsmaking qualities, amplified by the drama of the shooting, were major factors in prompting other news organizations to try to synthesize Reagan's First 100 Days.

EXPECTATIONS

Few of the commentaries on Reagan's 100 days made comparisons with Jimmy Carter. It is almost as though Reagan came directly to the White House from the Eisenhower or Roosevelt era.

Weisman, however, observed that "before the end of their first 100 days, John F. Kennedy had the Bay of Pigs and Jimmy Carter had already alienated his congressional allies and had been dramatically rebuffed by the Russians on his arms control initiative, setting negotiations back as much as a year for the ill-fated nuclear arms treaty."

Within his first three months, Carter

Ironically, the news media universally compare Reagan's First 100 Days with FDR's although, as one columnist noted, the President is bent on erasing Roosevelt's "furious spate of liberal legislation" from the record.

local CBS affiliate station.

The first part of "The First Three Months" dealt primarily with the White House staff organization, Reagan's economic proposals and the assassination attempt. The second part focused on foreign policy and Administration efforts to roll back federal regulations.

At the conclusion of the documentary, Rather said: "More than most Presidents, Ronald Reagan has staked out his programs early. He has given us, in these first three months, the blueprint by which his presidency will be judged."

In response to an inquiry about the show's late programming, Haley replied: "We would have liked more time. Showing it that late in Washington hurt us because that is where our logical audience was located. . . I don't know about the ratings except that we had to compete against Johnny Carson and ABC *Nightline*. We weren't happy with the time either. We have to take whatever the network gives us."

ABC-TV decided against a special program on Reagan's First 100 Days, preferring instead to feature Vice President Bush on the 11:30 p.m. *Nightline* show, moderated by Ted Koppel.

Explaining ABC's decision, Alan Raymond, a network spokesman, said: "Reagan's 100 days were so newsworthy in general, a summary piece would not add a lot to people's knowledge." And he added, "because of the shooting, a

had demonstrated that he was going to rely on style to gain support for his programs. But even that was to fail him before long. It quickly became apparent that he was presiding over a house in disarray and that he would run into trouble with his comprehensive energy plan and government reorganization schemes.

In contrast with Carter, Reagan's personal appeal is his Administration's trump suit. *The Los Angeles Times* poll, for example, showed that "the public generally thinks more highly of Reagan personally than they do of some of his programs." Reston said, "It is probably fair to say that he has disarmed more people with his personality than he has persuaded with his appointments or policies." And *Newsweek* said, "The bullet meant to kill him has thus made him a hero instead, floating above the contentions of politics and the vagaries of good news or bad."

But there are still the unconverted, who believe the most difficult phase of Reagan's presidency lies ahead and that his Administration will rise or fall on the workability of his programs and not on his persona.

As *Time's* Hugh Sidey wrote: "Reagan remains more of a promise than a fulfillment. . . In his 100 days, Reagan has merely set the stage. This drama is going to be far more than a one-act play." □

Comments on the President's Schedule
March 26, 1993

- * The pace of change: President Clinton and the 103rd Congress. Senate passage yesterday of the budget resolution - the broad outline of the President's economic plan - marks another major victory for the new directions economic plan to create jobs and boost incomes.
- * This is the fastest that action has ever been taken on any recent President's economic package during his first months in office:

Dates of Passage of Recent President's first economic packages

	<u>House</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>Conference</u>
President Clinton	3/18/93	3/25/93	
President Bush	5/4/89	5/4/89	5/18/89
President Reagan	5/7/81	5/12/81	5/21/81

- * Yesterday's action by the Senate, and last week's action by the House, guarantees passage of the budget resolution conference report before the Easter recess. This will be the earliest passage of a budget resolution in memory.
- * This says a great deal about the President's ability to enlist Congress in making passage of his economic program a top priority. Gridlock is being broken in Washington. The Washington Post said today that Washington is "impressed by Clinton's proficiency...his ability to connect with the voters."
- * In just two months in office, President Clinton and the 103rd Congress have moved quickly to improve the lives of the American people: just two weeks into the President's term, Americans saw the Family and Medical Leave Act signed into law -- it had been tied up for seven years! And, one month later, Congress and the President joined to provide extended unemployment benefits to Americans.
- * At the same point in his Presidency, the only legislation signed by Ronald Reagan was an increase in the federal debt limit.
- * The change in direction is clear. President Clinton is forging a consensus to turn government away from failed trickle-down policies and toward policies that will make a real difference for working men and women: real deficit reduction, and bold, visionary investments in America's economy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 18, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR: Ricki Seidman, Deputy Director of Communications
FROM:  Carter Wilkie, Communications Research
SUBJECT: Reagan's early achievements

In an earlier memorandum, I compared the pace of legislative change so far with previous presidencies. Here is a summary of Reagan's internal actions during his first 100 Days in office, taken from "Reagan's First 100 Days," by Steven R. Weisman, *New York Times Magazine*, April 26, 1981:

Mr. Reagan's achievements so far are contained in a package of proposals including 83 major program changes, 834 amendments to the budget this year and next, 151 lesser budgetary actions and 60 additional pieces of legislation. Not until March 31 did he sign *his first bill – cutting back dairy prices... [italics added]*

... his proposal to consolidate at least 75 different health, education and social service programs into a few big block grants, leaving the states to spend the money with no strings attached. This move toward a "new federalism"...

Turning to his critics, he asked, "Have they any alternative which offers a greater chance of balancing the budget, reducing and eliminating inflation, stimulating the creation of jobs and reducing the tax burden? And if they haven't, are they suggesting we can continue on the present course without coming to a day of reckoning in the very near future?..."

On Jan. 20, he gave an inaugural address devoted almost exclusively to the economy. He spoke to the nation on television Feb. 5, and addressed Congress in a joint session Feb. 18, presenting the bulk of his economic package on that date. By March 10, he had completed details of the package... the boldest attempt of modern times to redirect the resources of government...

In his very first days, Mr. Reagan therefore issued a blizzard of executive orders, lifting dozens of Government regulations, dismissing hundreds of Carter holdovers, setting a Federal hiring freeze and cutting back on travel, office redecoration, consultants and furniture procurement.

He met with everybody from the Congressional Black Caucus to the anti-abortionists. He spoke to the nation on television, addressed a joint session of Congress and let NBC film a day of his activities devoted to the economy for an hour-long special. Indeed, in two months, he met face to face with 400 Congressmen and ostentatiously courted the most powerful Democrat among them, Speaker of the House Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr...

As part of his effort to keep the focus on the economy, Mr. Reagan deliberately avoided speaking out on the controversial agreement that freed the hostages from Iran. He has deferred such promises as those to dismantle the Departments of Energy and Education, and he has tried to avoid embroilment in the abortion and crime issues.

Not once, meanwhile, has Mr. Reagan called for sacrifice. "Jimmy Carter talked about accepting shortages, and look where it got him," said an aide...

... just before Congress broke for Easter recess two weeks ago, some conservative Senate Republicans dealt the administration a setback by defecting on a key resolution in the Senate Budget Committee which didn't cut spending as fast as they wanted...

Strategy set in early memo

Upon taking office, the memo went on, Mr. Reagan should gear his actions to his call for renewed confidence in America and for passage of his economic program. He was warned not to use 'grand rhetoric' until his program was ready, and then to seek to lower expectations so that the public would understand that his goals could not be achieved quickly. "Finally, to provide real leadership, President Reagan must engage in a perennial campaign," the memorandum said and concluded: He should mount a daily barrage of speeches, directives and meetings to support his legislation, and he should forget any notion of being an "outsider" in the nation's capital.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 16, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR: Bruce Lindsey, Personnel
George Stephanopoulos, Communications

FROM: Carter Wilkie, Communications Research

SUBJECT: Correcting the Record on Reagan appointments

"OFF TO A SLOW START" read the table of contents in *National Journal* on April 4, 1981. The story was synopsisized:

President Reagan and his personnel director, E. Pendleton James, have come under fire for the President's appointments to top policy-making posts. They have been hit for moving too slowly and have been criticized from various quarters for picking the wrong people.

The following week, the same publication ran a small item near the back of that edition under the headline "The Appointment pace quickens":

More than a score of nominations were announced in less than a week, bringing to 112 the number of new nominations that the new Administration has submitted to the Senate after 11 weeks in office. By contrast, the Carter Administration had sent the Senate 161 names through its 11th week. [4/11/81, p.626]

But one month later, *National Journal* returned to the critique:

... a major problem that afflicted [the Reagan administration] at the beginning continues to this day. [Five days into the term Lou] Cannon reported that presidential aides were "struggling with the difficult task of speeding Reagan's lagging time-table on sub-Cabinet and other political appointments ... [and an] aide said that security and ethics checks had taken longer than anticipated.

In its May 11 edition, more than 100 days later, *Time* quotes E. Pendleton James, assistant to the President for personnel, as offering the same excuse for what the magazine called 'the molasses pace of presidential appointments'

-- Dom Bonafede, *National Journal*, 5/16/81, p.880

You Say You Want a Sub-Cabinet Post? Clear It with Marty, Dick, Lyn and Fred

Even before President Reagan was wounded, political, policy and legal barriers had slowed the process of selecting presidential nominees to sub-Cabinet jobs.

BY DICK KIRSCHTEN

In an Administration that started off with some fast and fancy footwork, Ronald Reagan's personnel recruiters have been sadly out of step.

The President drew raves for putting together a comprehensive economic program in his first 30 days, but he has drawn fire for being slow, even clumsy, in the staffing of his government.

The appointments process, like much of the rest of policy making in Washington, ground to a brief halt when Reagan was wounded in the chest on March 30 after delivering a speech at a local hotel. But even before the shooting, on only the 70th day of Reagan's presidency, his honeymoon was ruffled by persistent complaints about his appointments to top policy-making posts.

Conservatives howled that "true Reaganites" were being left out in the cold. There were bruised feelings among congressional Republicans whose candidates for jobs were left dangling. Members of Congress complained of the lack of sub-Cabinet officials to testify about the specifics of the President's economic proposals. Minority and women's groups grumbled about the preponderance of white, male appointees. And even some of the recipients of "plum" jobs chafed because of long delays in making their appointments official.

Much of this static is simply par for the course. The contest for top political jobs in a new Administration is always spirited, and there is no way that the selection process can avoid leaving disappointed candidates and constituencies in its wake.

But the criticisms of the Reagan personnel operation and of its director, E. Pendleton James, have been particularly harsh. The forces of the so-called New Right have called for his scalp, and

the bulk of the February issue of *Conservative Digest* was devoted to an attack on James and his staff and a demand that Reagan fire him.

A top Senate Republican aide described James as "in over his head" and predicted that "at some point he'll probably have to bite the bullet and step down." And a source within the White House, when asked about the trials and tribulations of the personnel staff, replied, "Never rule out the possibility of plain, old-fashioned incompetence."

James, the target of all of this vitriol, is standing his ground. He insisted in a recent interview that the appointments process was never intended to be "a footrace with past Administrations" but instead was carefully planned to produce professionally qualified officials whom Reagan "will be able to live with for four or eight years."

Footrace or not, the Reagan team had clearly hoped to do better than its immediate predecessor. The Carter Administration's recruiting had a somewhat rocky start when it got caught up in a turf struggle between aides Jack H. Watson Jr. and Hamilton Jordan. A February 1977 *National Journal* article about the Carter talent hunt queried: "Carter's Original Amateur Hour?"

Despite his reluctance to be drawn into a numbers game, James said he was finally driven to look them up, "and I found out that we are a little ahead."

In a *Washington Post* interview conducted on March 27, Reagan said he was disappointed in the "slowness in filling appointments" but said that the blame could be attributed in part to "new rules and regulations" that slow the clearance process. Like James, he asserted, "We're ahead, at this stage, of any [recent] Administration except Nixon's."

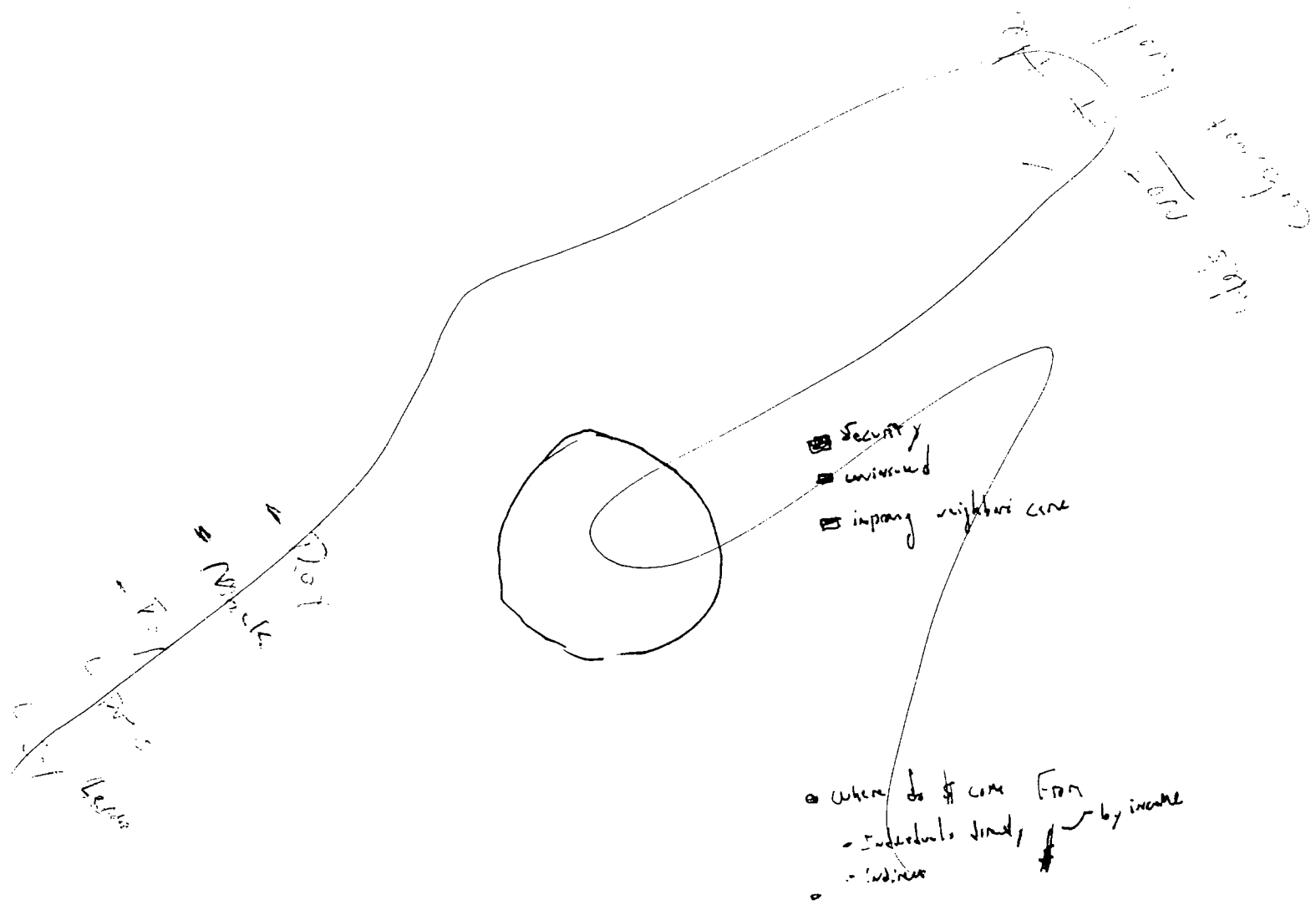
The official compilations of presidential documents published each week tell a different story. At the end of Carter's 10th week in office, 142 nominations requiring confirmation had been sent to the Senate. At the end of Reagan's 10th week, 95 had been submitted, two-thirds of Carter's total.

The official figures don't tell the whole story, according to James. As of March 9, he said, selections had been made for all 187 key sub-Cabinet posts that had been targeted for priority treatment. Of that number, however, 115 had not yet been announced because of delays in obtaining final clearances of one sort or another.

Those clearance procedures, in addition to FBI background checks and financial disclosure requirements, include several layers of White House political screening. Accordingly, there have been instances when candidates on whom both James's shop and a Cabinet Secretary agreed have ended up not getting the job.

Some of these last-minute political checks have been abrupt and resulted in adverse publicity. James confirmed one published account in which Reagan's political affairs adviser, Lyn Nofziger, charged into the White House mess "all agitated and excited" and demanded of James, "Why are you hiring this Democrat?"

Political checks by senior White House staffers, including policy advisers Martin Anderson and Richard V. Allen, have provided a channel for redressing some of the grievances of the militant right wing of the Republican Party. James, angered by the personal attacks on him and his aides, insists that the appointments system has not been altered. Last-minute changes, he said, "simply prove the system works, that we catch things before it is too late."



MEMORANDUM

TO: Mark Gearan
FROM: Andre Oliver *He*
RE: Secretary Brown's Trip to LA
DATE: 31 March 1993

The urban task force received a brief report from Jim Hackney, Bill Morton and Mary Leslie, who accompanied Sec. Brown on his recent trip to Los Angeles. A written memorandum is being prepared by the group, and the Secretary is also expected to brief the President at this morning's Cabinet meeting. No firm next steps were suggested.

They offered some superficial observations which I'd like to share.

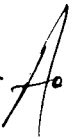
- o Generally, the group felt that the media was a key factor in the heightening of tensions in the area.
- o Visual evidence reinforced the knowledge that little rebuilding has been done in South Central.
- o Local officials universally agreed that:
 - the federal government should serve as the lead coordinator of governmental efforts to help Los Angeles
 - the federal government should allow for more local input on policy and programs affecting the city
 - Local coordination to rebuild the city has been poor at best
- o The Mayor's office noted that the formula for distributing funds for the summer jobs program does not suit Los Angeles' school year. A letter from the Mayor on this issue has been forwarded to Sec. Reich.
- o Most community organizations and local elected officials felt that an administration point person(s) should be named to interface with the various groups in LA (this is a touchy issue -- all agreed that the person needed to know the federal government, local government and groups, and be accepted by the disparate factions in Los Angeles). Secretary Brown committed to an administration representative in his visit.

Memo to Gearan
page two

- o Secretary Brown also met to Rep. Maxine Waters, whose focus is her own legislation to provide federal assistance to the 17-30 year old age group (most agree that this age group rarely receives governmental assistance, either through such efforts as summer job programs or JTPA assistance, etc.).

EOM.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mark Gearan
FROM: Andre Oliver 
RE: NAFTA
DATE: 31 March 1993

Tom Nides (a very entertaining speaker) of the USTR office gave a briefing on NAFTA at the political meeting today. Here's a summary:

- o Congress: As media reports indicate, the mood of the Congress is sketchy. 25 democratic congressmen are on record as against the agreement under any circumstances. Over 50 have indicated displeasure with the agreement, but are open to further discussion. There are anecdotal reports that many republicans who backed the bill under Bush may not vote for it. On the public liaison side, with the exception of CWA, unions are solidly against the agreement; business groups are fairly universal in their support.
- o Our position: USTR's position on the NAFTA right now is that support for the agreement lies in the ability of the US, Mexico and Canada to develop substantive "supplementals," or side agreements addressing the environmental, worker adjustment and surge provisions (surge provisions relate to market dumping of products -- such as Japan's dumping on computer chips in the US). As you know, the President has publicly based his support on the viability of producing satisfactory supplementals to NAFTA.
- o Timing of negotiations: Nides predicts that negotiations on the supplemental provisions could extend for several weeks, with a tentative agreement possible in June. Following a possible agreement the provisions would be incorporated into NAFTA, and could be submitted to the Hill. (Note: If the negotiations are successful, the timing of submission of the agreement to the Hill will be crucial; congressional staffers are already claiming that they're plates will be full with budget reconciliation, health care, etc. This issue begs for DCOS input when appropriate).

I will task myself to track this issue through Rahm's operation.

EOM. 

April 17, 1993

TO: Mack
FROM: Marilyn

I have forwarded the attached Rostenkowski letter to John Podesta to be forwarded to the President, as well as to ensure the drafting of a proper response.

Rosen -

Mark C

Gen S -

Rosen -

In (In) / DesL - Spill

RobS - Gen S, ...

DesL

100 days file

SAM M. GIBBONS, FLORIDA
J.J. PICKLE, TEXAS
CHARLES B. RANGEL, NEW YORK
FORTNEY PETE STARK, CALIFORNIA
ANDY JACOBS JR., INDIANA
HAROLD E. FORD, TENNESSEE
ROBERT T. MATSUI, CALIFORNIA
BARBARA B. KENNELLY, CONNECTICUT
WILLIAM J. COYNE, PENNSYLVANIA
MICHAEL A. ANDREWS, TEXAS
SANDER M. LEVIN, MICHIGAN
BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, MARYLAND
JIM McDERMOTT, WASHINGTON
GERALD D. KLECZKA, WISCONSIN
JOHN LEWIS, GEORGIA
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AMO HOUGHTON, NEW YORK
WALLY HERGER, CALIFORNIA
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MEL HANCOCK, MISSOURI
RICK SANTORUM, PENNSYLVANIA
DAVE CAMP, MICHIGAN

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6348

JANICE MAYES, CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR
CHARLES M. BRAIN, ASSISTANT STAFF DIRECTOR

PHILLIP D. MOSELEY, MINORITY CHIEF OF STAFF

April 16, 1993

Hon. Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write this letter to renew my pledge of support for your economic program and urge you to hang tough in pursuing it. The American economy needs this program if we are to be a world-class competitor. And America's cities especially need the boost that would be provided by the stimulus portion of your package. Deal with the Senate Republicans if you must. Negotiate on the details, but hold fast to your principles.

The press has accurately reported that I have some reservations about your program. I believe it can be perfected and will work to make it better. Many of my colleagues share my questions about the investment tax incentives you have proposed. But it would be a mistake to construe my questions as opposition. Rather they were my personal prediction of where the criticism would come from -- a prediction that has, sadly, come true.

It is vital that you win on this issue for reasons involving both politics and policy. You owe that to those of us in the House who voted for this program and you owe it to the people who elected you. The people demand leadership from the President. And you are leading us in the right direction.

The American people chose change when they elected you. Your program promises change. The posture of Congressional Republicans, who have dominated the deficit olympics for the past dozen years but now embrace unspecified austerity is disingenuous at best and dishonest at worst. If the American people supported the plan the Republicans now hint at, they would have re-elected George Bush.

While reasonable people may -- and will -- quibble about the details, the fact is that your program is the only truly national agenda in town. It makes significant strides toward deficit reduction while investing in both our long- and short-term needs.

Those of us with a strong interest in international trade are very sensitive to how competitive the world has become. If we don't have world-class factories staffed by world-class workers, America will become an also-ran in world economic competition. Our people did not elect a first-rate President to preside over our transition into a second-rate power. You know we can do better. My personal sense is that American pride has been challenged and that our people are ready to respond. They will follow if you strongly lead because they know your plan provides a road map for putting us back in first place.

Those of us who represent America's major cities are painfully aware of the impact of a dozen years of national neglect. Our cities are less civil and less attractive than they were a decade ago. Only the national government can help revive them. Your short-term stimulus program is a down payment on an obligation that has been ignored for too long.

Commentators properly stress the bond between you and the American people that was formed last year. You must simultaneously use this relationship and be loyal to it. Members of Congress stay in touch with their constituents, but only our President serves a national constituency. That is your strength and your responsibility. Exploit it. Those Members of Congress who cannot see the light should be made to feel the heat.

Some in Congress have grown to love gridlock. For others, it's a situation they can live with. But the American people are fed up with inaction -- and appropriately so. That's why they elected you. As long as you pursue the goal of making government work, they will be with you. And if the people are with you, the Congress will inevitably follow. Some elected officials may be slow, but few are stupid.

Sincerely yours,



Dan Rostenkowski
Chairman

In house file

100 days

POTUS / File
Reg N -
mark 6
Desk

April 16, 1993

Memorandum to the President

From: Al From

Subject: The Next 100 Days

Now that your first 100 days in office are nearly completed, I'd like to share some thoughts with you about how I see your Administration doing and what I believe you should do during the next 100 days.

For the last three months, I've remained silent -- publicly and privately -- trying to help when asked, offering some advice to my friends in the Administration, but otherwise staying out of your way. I told you before the election, I didn't want into the Administration (I still don't), and I thought your team ought to be able to get off to a running start with minimal interference from your friends on the outside.

With that brief introduction, here are my thoughts.

1. I believe your Administration has gotten off to a reasonably good, but yet very mixed start. You've done an awful lot of very good things -- including beginning action on all of the signature ideas I recommended during the transition. Getting your budget through Congress was a promising first step, though realistically -- as we're seeing on the stimulus -- the budget resolution is the easiest economic vote you'll have. And, clearly there is a great desire among everyone I talk with to see you succeed.

But I believe -- at least in the circles I run in -- there is a pervasive and growing perception that something about the Administration is not quite right. The grumbling is increasing. Among many moderate and conservative Democrats there is a growing feeling that you're just not dancing with the ones who brought you to the dance. Some of that is undoubtedly that some of the good things you've done have gored their particular sacred cows, but I believe the problem is deeper than that. And, I believed that is evidenced by your declining numbers in the polls.

2. I've given a lot of thought to why the discontent is bubbling now, and I believe there are three reasons. This is my synthesis.

First, I think that people -- including a lot of your political allies -- are having a hard time figuring out who you are and what you really stand for. Only once in your first three months -- in your State of the Union address -- did you really articulate clearly your New Democrat ideology. As the impact of that speech wore off and the messages from the White House became decidedly more mixed, voters (who after all are just getting to know you) have legitimately begun to wonder what you're really all about.

Think of it from the perspective of a typical member of the "forgotten" middle class you courted so assiduously during the campaign. What messages is he hearing? He's seen you drop that middle class tax cut and fight for a stimulus package that -- when you get past all the political rhetoric about the good or bad it will do -- is not likely to benefit him at all. His kids aren't likely to go to head start; he's not likely to see CDBG money; his kids are most likely vaccinated; and he's skeptical about the value of temporary public employment programs.

In addition, after telling him that you wouldn't raise his taxes, you've slapped him with an energy tax and, in the last few days, he's hearing you're thinking of another new (and hidden) tax -- all the while members of your own party are telling you that you didn't cut spending enough. Finally, he's concerned about the values message you've delivered so far, and the public institution he most respects (the military) is suspicious of you. All the while he'd still like you to succeed, but he has to question how you're different than the Democrats he's been voting against for a quarter century.

Second, after campaigning as an outsider, you appear to have adopted a decidedly inside strategy for getting your program through Congress. That is very dangerous for three reasons: it puts you on your weakest possible turf to fight for your programs; over time it will undermine your credibility as a proponent of real change; and it will threaten your ability to put together either a governing or political majority. We cannot forget that Congressional leadership was more lowly regarded than even George Bush -- and Congress is seen as the real guardians of the status quo.

In part, this problem stems from a misdiagnosis of the causes of gridlock. I believe gridlock was not simply the result of having a President and Congress of different parties. I believe it is a consequence of the failure of both the liberal (pre-Reagan) agenda as championed by Congress and Democratic interest groups and the Conservative Republican agenda running out of intellectual steam and becoming discredited. The voters rejected the Democratic approach in 1980 (and repeated that in 1984 and 1988) and the Republican approach in 1992. But the fact that you didn't win a majority and Perot got 19 percent should be seen as evidence that in 1992, voters weren't willing to go back to the old Democratic politics.

We need a new synthesis, a third way. That is the only way out of gridlock. You need to offer it and challenge Congress and the interest groups -- right and left -- to accept it. If you tailor your initiatives to what is acceptable to Congressional or interest group leaders, you'll never break gridlock or stamp out the Perot challenge. And, even worse, you'll never really solve the toughest problems facing our nation.

What troubles me most about taking an inside strategy is that it undermines your greatest political strengths. You are the greatest political talent I've ever seen.

But your strength is selling ideas and change to the American people, not arm wrestling with members of the Congress over grazing fee subsidies. If you took a tough program and sold it the way only you can to the American people, members of Congress would be afraid to undercut you for their special interest deals. If you signal that details of your program are easily negotiated, the special interests and their pals in Congress will nibble you to death.

The insider strategy also leaves moderate Democrats -- who you'll need more and more -- feel ignored and frustrated. Because the majority of both Caucuses (House and Senate) are liberal dealing almost exclusively with the Leadership and committee chairs almost invariably leads you left and to Democrats only strategies. You're strongest and most natural coalition should be built from the center out and include some Republicans, not for the left in. The bottom line is this: if the change you seek is indistinguishable from what the Congressional Democratic Leadership wants, it won't look like real change to the American people.

Third, you're in grave danger of re-exposing the soft values underbelly of the Democratic Party. You were able to run a campaign on "the economy stupid" because you were inoculated on values and cultural issues because of your stands on welfare, crime, reciprocal responsibility, against racial quotas, and other social issues. That didn't stop you from being able to come out for gays in the military or be solidly pro-choice, but it prevented the Republicans labelling you as culturally left and out of step like previous Democratic nominees. That took a major weapon from their arsenal.

With the emphasis on diversity (a lot of people read quotas) on appointments, gays in the military, and abortion being the dominant social issues in your first 100 days, many average Americans are going to begin questioning whether you really stand for their values. I think you are right on the issues, but you need to send clear balancing messages before you get tabbed as a Hollywood cultural liberal.

3. I believe the best way to reverse your slide and put yourself back on the road to building a true governing and political majority is to devote the next 100 days to a concerted strategy to define yourself on your terms to the American people.

Here are some suggestions of things I believe you ought to do:

First, begin your second 100 days with a speech -- or a series of speeches -- clearly articulating your New Democrat philosophy. You may want to use whatever commencement speeches you have for that purpose, and if you do, make sure the public knows that's what you're doing.

My feeling is that you ought to go back to your New Covenant message; now that you're in office you have the time to really explain the New Covenant and build

support for it. (I know the words "New Covenant" didn't focus group well, but "New Deal" probably would not have either when it was first introduced.)

At the very least you need to go back to the basic themes -- opportunity, responsibility, community -- that have always been the anchors of your message. And whether you use the words New Covenant or not, the first speech ought to define your social contract -- your understandings with the American people -- the way your first New Covenant speech did.

Will Marshall and I would be delighted to help you shape these speeches.

Second, while much of your effort will be on selling your health care plan, devote half of your time to driving your "different kind of Democrat" agenda into the American peoples' psyche.

You need to be viewed as pushing hard for two-year welfare, national service, tough anti-crime measures (remind people you're for the death penalty), re-inventing government, youth apprenticeship, school reform and charter schools, etc., so that people will really understand who you are and what you believe in.

The insiders will tell you not to put too much on your plate; they're wrong. As long as your many ideas are tied to a philosophy and re-inforce your main message, you can do many different things. Only when your actions are disparate and send different messages about who you are does doing too much become a problem.

Third, be ready to take on some fights and make some enemies. As long as the interest groups -- the guardians of the status quo on both sides of the aisle -- aren't complaining the American people aren't likely to think you're really changing much. Keep the fights on the issues, but make sure there's enough cut in your proposals to draw blood. Do it the way we did with the New Choice resolutions in Cleveland or the way you did it with Sister Souljah.

For example, I'd suggest you need to underscore the importance of the re-inventing government effort. I think you should ask the Vice President to come out of that exercise with a list of big cuts that will make up for the lack of cuts in your first budget. You ought to look at the re-inventing government project as an essential underpinning for everything else you want to do. To push the kind of activist government you want, you absolutely need to restore people's confidence in government which is now at an all time low. And only radical surgery is likely to do that. You ought to make sure the re-inventing government effort performs that surgery, even if it causes an uproar inside the beltway.

And, you should personally take charge of the welfare reform effort. Welfare reform was the most important promise you made during the campaign -- and the

Republicans will remember it if you don't. And, it is the single issue that demonstrates your willingness to break with old Democratic orthodoxy.

The best barometer of how well you're doing in the country is how much screaming there is from the insiders in Washington. The more screaming, the better you're doing in the country.

Fourth, you need to restore the values balance to your message. Here are some things you can do without needing to change any positions you've already taken.

- * Launch a government-wide campaign to discourage teen-age pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births, and then talk about that every time you talk about abortion.

- * Do whatever you're going to do on gays in the military, but do it quickly and decisively. If you stick with essentially the current compromise, call in the gay groups and tell them that's the best you can do right now and that if they want to continue to make it a big public issue, they're going to lose even that progress. If you go further, do it with a statement that behavior should be the criterion and that the gay community as well as the military needs to understand that.

- * Talk about the quality of your appointments and slightly cool the talk about diversity -- that point is already made.

Fifth, you need to spend more time doing what you do best -- taking your case to the people. There's an old rule in Washington that, in the battle between the whole and the parts, the parts always win. You need to change that -- and the way to do it is to go the people.

But do it in ways that give credence to your campaign promise to be a different kind of Democrat. Go to information age businesses and emphasize that private sector growth is the key to opportunity. Go to a welfare reform project or a charter school. Walk the beat with a community policeman. You know the drill.

You've heard much of the same from me before, but I believe what you need to do in the next 100 days is exactly what you did at key junctures in the campaign. You need to assure the American people that you are really a different kind of Democrat who shares their values and their anxieties and concerns. Since that's what you believe, it shouldn't be too hard to do.

I'd very much like to spend a half hour with you shortly to discuss this memo and anything else you'd like to discuss.