

# FOIA MARKER

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**Subgroup/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting

**Series/Staff Member:** Terry Edmonds

**Subseries:**

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**OA/ID Number:** 10986

**FolderID:**

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**Folder Title:**

3-4-96 Taylor City Hall Dedication MI [1]

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                       | DATE     | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------|
| 001. schedule            | Page of Schedule (partial) (1 page) | 02/29/96 | b(7)(E)     |
| 002. schedule            | Page of Schedule (partial) (1 page) | 03/01/96 | b(7)(E)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Speechwriting  
Terry Edmonds  
OA/Box Number: 10986

### FOLDER TITLE:

3-4-96 Taylor City Hall Dedication MI [1]

2006-0462-F  
ry661

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON  
TAYLOR CITY HALL DEDICATION  
TAYLOR, MICHIGAN  
MARCH 4, 1996**

**Acknowledgments:** Representative John Dingell for introduction; Mayor Cameron "Kim" Priebe [PREE-BEE]; Senator Carl Levin; Representatives Lynn Rivers, David Bonior, John Conyers, Barbara Rose Collins; The Taylor City High School Band.

It is great to be here with Congressman Dingell and all of you. I am glad we were able to reschedule this trip. As you know, I had planned to be here in November, but I had to postpone my visit due to the tragic assassination of my dear friend, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin.

It is a special privilege to share this stage with **John Dingell -- a legend here in Taylor and in the U.S Congress.** Forty years in the House -- 14 of them as Chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee. Has stood tall for the people of Michigan's 16th District: has been a leader in health care; in protecting millions of acres of wetlands and controlling pollution in the Great Lakes; in the passage of the landmark Americans with Disabilities Act; and in exposing and weeding out corruption and waste, including the infamous \$600 toilet seat.

**STRAIGHTFORWARD VISION WHEN I TOOK OFFICE**

American dream for all; strongest force for peace and freedom; continue come together around basic values.

How? Opportunity, responsibility, commitment to community.

**LAST THREE YEARS: AMERICA & WA.**

Economy strong: Lowest unemp/infl 27 yrs. 7.7 M new jobs: Nearly 1M in basic industries like autos & construction. Homeownership highest in 15 yrs. Exports growing faster than imports, 1st time in yrs. As for WA: Unempl. 8.2%, now 5.8%. New businesses increasing 8% per yr.

Reduced credit-crunch w/ lending increased \$6.2 billion. In last 3 years, WA has created 128,000 new jobs. You know exports mean jobs: 340,000 WA jobs supported by exports. Total exports 1995 = \$23.6 bill.

Same time: Still econ. insecurity: too many people working hrder w/out raise, downsizing.

Strongest force for peace & freedom: no missiles at children, Bosnia, Haiti, Somalia.

Same time: Brink of peace -- Rabin murdered, London bomb.

Coming together and values: welf, pov, crime, teen preg: all down.

Same time: Juv. crime, drugs, cigarettes up.

Right direction, but new challenges.

Why? Profound change: Info. Age, global economy.

**AGE OF POSSIBILITY**, unleashed by change.

More Americans, more chances to build future of their dreams.

Great change means great challenges. SOTU: must face them together.

Era big government over, can't go back to: Fend for yourselves. Instead, move forward: all Americans meet challenges together: families, schools, churches, businesses. *When we are together, we are never defeated; and when we are divided, we defeat ourselves.*

## **BUDGET**

Balance budget in that spirit: 7 years, protect values, modest tax cut.

Honor responsibilities: Medicare for elderly, Medicaid for children, disabled, education of children, health of environment.

To Congress: Coming back to work Monday. Finish job by Easter.

**SEVEN CHALLENGES** for future to seize promise of age of poss:

1. Cherish children, keep families together.

2. Take streets back from crime/gangs/drugs.

3. Leave environment safe and clean for next generation.

4. Maintain leadership fight for freedom and peace.

5. Make democracy work.

**AND ESPECIALLY: 6.** Provide all Americans w/education for new century. Renew schools, open college doors wider than ever. Working to do that: Expanding Head Start; Goals 2000; Direct lending & income contingent loans; Expanding Pell grants [12% of students at Shoreline]. Now we have to do more: Demand higher standards. Public school choice -- and let teachers form charter schools. Computers -- connected by 2000; College merit schol; 1M work study; right kind of tax cut: 10K for tuition.

**AND 7. Help every American willing to work achieve economic security.** Raise minimum wage, approaching 40-year low. Protect workers' pension. Access to health care, Kennedy-Kassebaum. Above all, start people early. Give H.S. students who decide they want to go into the workplace instead of to college the training they need. Shoreline does this w/ its Tech-Prep program w/ Boeing and its Professional Automotive Training Center, named best in nation by American Vocational Association and the automotive industry. For experienced workers, must have GI bill: Challenge Congress to consolidate 70 antiquated job-training programs into simple voucher worth \$2,600 for unemployed or underemployed workers to use as they please for community college tuition or other training. We need to get more Americans into places like Shoreline.

Businesses must be good partners w/ workers. Great e.g. right here: Microsoft, Starbucks, where employees who work 20 + hrs. a wk. get health coverage and stock options.

## **CONCLUSION**

Challenges as we move into future: Stronger families. Better education. Access to health care. Safer streets. A cleaner environment.

Can do all these things -- if we do them together. Meet any challenge, achieve any goal.

So don't be cynical: no excuse for inaction. Concentrate on tomorrow,  
vision of future, doing something to make it real.  
Lift up your sights, fight for our future, best is yet to come.

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Mayor Priebe also has a record any public official would be proud of. This magnificent new public works building is just one example of the revitalization taking place here. Since Mayor Priebe took office in 1981 you have built new roads. You now have one of the finest courthouses in Michigan. You've got a new modern police station. A new community library. And of course, the new jewel of your municipal complex -- and the reason we are all here today - - your new 45,000 square foot city hall.

[PRESENT FLAG]

At this time, I would like to present Mayor Priebe with this United States flag that has flown over the U.S. Capitol. Please accept this in dedication of your new city hall and the revitalized spirit of the city of Taylor. [Pause for applause]

Everything you have done is the result of the highest American ideals of teamwork and community. That's what I want to talk with you about today -- how America can do what you have done -- grow together to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Someone once said that the only constant is change. And it is clear that America is growing and changing. The question before us is not "if" but "how." For all of you, growth is not simply about ensuring that you have more material possessions. It is about the very idea of America as a place where there is room for everyone to have a shot at the American Dream, without hurting or blaming anyone else.

That's why for the past three years, I've had an economic strategy that puts people first. In fact, when I became President I had a clear vision, that I still hold today. I wanted this country to go into the 21st century as a nation in which every single American who was willing to work for it could have their shot at the American Dream. I wanted America to enter the 21st century as a nation that was coming together, not being driven apart. And I wanted America to remain the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world.

I don't believe you can have a successful economic policy unless you have a successful people policy. The only way to grow this economy and this nation for the challenges that lie ahead is to strengthen our families, encourage and reward work, and prepare each of us, and especially our children to compete and win in the new global economy. That's what we are doing.

As I said in my State of the Union, we live in an age of great possibility. More Americans will have more chances to build the future of their dreams than ever before. And we are seeing the evidence of this all around us.

I am proud of the fact that we've nearly cut the deficit in half. We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years. We have helped create almost 8 million new jobs -- nearly one million of them in basic industries like autos and construction. And half of those new jobs -- four million -- pay high wages, come with good benefits, and offer opportunities for advancement. Homeownership is at a 15-year high. And for the first time in years, American exports are growing faster than imports.

Michigan is reaping the benefits of this growth. Unemployment in this state has dropped from 7 percent to 5 percent. New business incorporations have increased 10 percent per year. In the last three years, Michigan has created over 311,000 new private sector jobs -- six-and-a-half times as many each year as during the previous four years.

And the auto industry has taken off during the past three years. For the first time since 1979 America is the world's number one auto producer. Auto employment is up, not just in Detroit, but in the thousands of parts and supply companies throughout Michigan that depend on robust auto production. A study last week, predicted over a quarter of a million new hirings by Chrysler, Ford and GM. Sales are up. Profits are up. And our auto exports to Japan went up 37 percent last year. That's not just good for Detroit. That's good for Taylor and the rest of Michigan. And it's good for America.

But, perhaps more important is the fact that the American people are coming together around our values again. The poverty and welfare rolls are down. Teen pregnancy is down. And crime is down. In Detroit, murders are down 13 percent; robberies are down 23 percent. Much of that is due to the growth of community policing which is working here and across the country to lower crime and raise the level of security in communities large and small.

But, even with all this progress, we know that many Americans are working harder and harder for less wages and they wonder if they and their children will be able to prosper in this

Friday PM draft

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“GROWING TOGETHER, GROWING APART”  
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It is a special privilege to share this stage with **John Dingell -- a legend here in Michigan and in the U.S. Congress.** I have had the pleasure of serving with him for three years, and here is what I have seen: no one is tougher or works harder for working families than John Dingell. He has led the fight for access to health care. He has protected millions of acres of wetlands and controlling pollution in the Great Lakes, and played a key role in the passage of the landmark Americans with Disabilities Act. And he has saved taxpayers billions of dollars by investigating and exposing waste and fraud -- and thanks to John Dingell, your government no longer buys \$600 toilet seats.

And **Mayor Priebe** has literally left his mark on this city. This magnificent new public works building is just one example of the revitalization taking place here. Since Mayor Priebe took office you have built new roads. You now have one of the finest courthouses in Michigan. You’ve got a new modern police station. A new community library. And of course, the new jewel of your municipal complex -- and the reason we are all here today -- your new 45,000 square foot city hall.

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for it could have their shot at the American Dream. I wanted America to remain the strongest force for peace and freedom in the world. And above all, I wanted us to come together as a people.

As I said in my State of the Union, we live in an age of great possibility. More Americans will have more chances to build the future of their dreams than ever before. And we are seeing the evidence of this all around us.

Let's look at the facts. We have the lowest combined rates of unemployment and inflation in 27 years. We have the lowest mortgage rates in a decade. We have helped create almost 8 million new jobs. And half of those new jobs -- four million -- pay high wages, come with good benefits, and offer opportunities for advancement. Homeownership is at a 15-year high. Three years ago, the construction industry had lost nearly 1 million jobs -- and in the past three years, we have gained nearly one million new construction jobs.

Michigan is reaping the benefits of this growth. Unemployment in this state has dropped from 7 percent to 5 percent. New business incorporations have increased 10 percent per year. In the last three years, Michigan has created over 311,000 new private sector jobs -- six-and-a-half times as many each year as during the previous four years.

And the auto industry has taken off during the past three years. For the first time since 1979, America is the world's number one auto producer. Auto employment is up, not just in Detroit, but in the thousands of parts and supply companies throughout Michigan that depend on robust auto production. A study last week by the University of Michigan predicted nearly 130,000 million new hirings by Chrysler, Ford and GM in Michigan alone over the next 7 years. Sales are up. Profits are up. And thanks in large measure to our trade agreements with Japan, our auto exports to Japan went up 37 percent last year. That's not just good for Detroit. That's good for Taylor and the rest of Michigan. And it's good for America.

But, perhaps more important is the fact that the American people are coming together around our values again. The poverty and welfare rolls are down. Teen pregnancy is down. And crime is down. In Detroit, murders are down 13 percent; robberies are down 23 percent. Much of that is due to the growth of community policing which is working here and across the country to lower crime and raise the level of security in communities large and small.

But, even with all this progress, we know that many Americans are working harder and harder for less wages and they wonder if they and their children will be able to prosper in this age of possibility. [Layoffs/downsizing/change.] We are in a period of profound change. As we move from the industrial age into an era dominated by technology and information, some are being uprooted, and many feel a new insecurity.

Now we have two choices. We can either stand together until this change benefits all Americans, or we can bury our heads in the sand or waste time pointing fingers, and suffer the consequences. How are we going to meet these challenges? The way we have always faced our future -- together as one America. The great lesson of our democracy is that when we are

together, we never fail. And when we are divided, we defeat ourselves.

In my State of the Union I outlined seven challenges that we must face together if we are going to seize the promise of the age of possibility. They are first, to cherish our children and strengthen our families; to take back our streets from crime, gangs and drugs; to leave the environment safe and clean for the next generation; to maintain our leadership in the fight for freedom and democracy; to shrink the size of government and make it work better; to provide all Americans with the education they will need for the new century; and finally, to help every American who is willing to work for it, achieve economic security. And that is what I especially want to talk to you about today.

Our nation, among all nations, believes that every person has the potential to thrive if they strive -- if they work hard and make the most of their opportunities. Central to this, throughout our history, has been a vigorously growing economy. Economic growth is not simply about ensuring that you have more material possessions. It is about the very idea of America as a place where there is room for everyone to have a shot at the American Dream, without hurting or blaming anyone else.

That's why for the past three years, I've had an economic strategy that puts people first. Our economic strategy was straightforward: We cut the deficit nearly in half. We put in place improved education and training for our people. We invested in technology. We expanded exports by opening markets to our goods and services through tough trade agreements. And we shrank the federal government, cut regulation, and made it work better and cost less.

I don't believe you can have a successful economic policy unless you have a successful people policy. The only way to grow this economy and this nation for the challenges that lie ahead is to strengthen our families, encourage and reward work, and prepare each of us, and especially our children to compete and win in the new global economy. That's what we are doing.

We must have a consistent, comprehensive strategy to help Americans grow together. In this new economy, the growth of workers and working families can not be a spectator sport. We need the skills and talents of all our people if we are going to succeed. The stakes are high. If we spread opportunity and skills, more Americans will share in prosperity and will be able to adjust to change.

But, if we fail to grow together, it will become easy for people to retreat into fear and blame and resentment. We must not let that happen. Two hundred years ago, Benjamin Franklin said, "If we do not hang together, we will hang separately." Today, we must grow together as a people, or we risk growing apart as a nation.

My fellow Americans, our economy is poised on the brink of a dramatic comeback story -- a period of robust and sustained growth that will rival our best moments. For two decades, the industrial midwest faced a long night of decline. Now, we are ready to beat the world. Once our economy was outdated, unable to compete; today, we are the most competitive economy in the world. Once, our great industries were under withering assault from new competitors; today, our

new high-tech industries lead the world, and our old industries have been revived. We now have the highest growth rate of any major economy. Our job is to spark the engine of growth, and to make sure that every American is a winner in the new economy.

We have made enormous progress -- but we must do more, to keep the economy growing and creating jobs. So, today I challenge the United States Congress in the next 60 days to pass a growth agenda for the American people.

Grow the economy by balancing the budget -- because we know that a balanced budget will lead to lower interest rates and fuel even more investments in our future.

Grow the economy by raising the minimum wage -- because workers who work for a living wage will be able to participate in our economy, and because we want to honor those who work hard.

Grow the economy by moving people from welfare to work -- because every person deserves an opportunity, and every person should take the responsibility to contribute to our economy.

Grow the economy by passing bipartisan health insurance reform.

Grow the economy by protecting workers. That means making health care portable from job to job; protecting worker pensions; and passing my GI Bill of Rights for workers.

Grow the economy by fully funding educational opportunities -- because in the global economy, every American should have the best schools and the best training that can last throughout a lifetime.

Grow the economy so we can grow together and not apart. I challenge Congress to pass a growth agenda for America. Do it for the people of Taylor, Michigan. Do it for all our people. And do it now.

[Conclusion drawn from Rochester, NH-vintage stump speech]

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That's what I want to talk with you about today -- how America can grow together to meet the challenges of the 21st century. One thing is clear: America is growing. The question before us is not "if" but "how." For all of you, growth is not simply about ensuring that you have more material possessions. It is about the very idea of America as a place where there is room for everyone to have a shot at the American Dream, without hurting or blaming anyone else.

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But, even with all this progress, we know that many Americans are working harder and harder for less wages and they wonder if they and their children will be able to prosper in this age of possibility. And as we move from the industrial age into an era dominated by technology and information, some are being uprooted, and many feel a new insecurity.

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TAYLOR, MICHIGAN  
MARCH 4, 1996**

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                       | DATE     | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------|
| 001. schedule            | Page of Schedule (partial) (1 page) | 02/29/96 | b(7)(E)     |

### **COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
Speechwriting  
Terry Edmonds  
OA/Box Number: 10986

### **FOLDER TITLE:**

3-4-96 Taylor City Hall Dedication MI [1]

2006-0462-F  
ry661

### **RESTRICTION CODES**

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

-- **The President** presents a United States Flag, formerly flown above the United States Capitol, to Mayor Priebe and then makes remarks.

-- Upon conclusion of remarks, the **President** works a ropeline and departs.

11:30 am-  
11:40 am

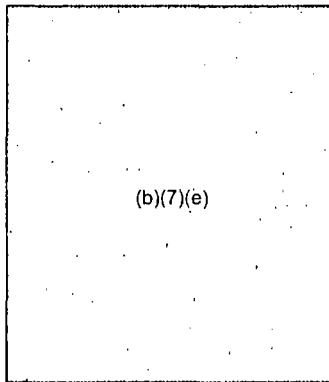
**POLICE PHOTOS/TAYLOR CITY COUNCIL GROUP  
PHOTO/VOLUNTEER PHOTOS  
HALLWAY  
Department of Public Works**

11:40 am

**THE PRESIDENT** departs Taylor City Department of Public Works via motorcade en route the Cobo Conference and Exhibition Center [drive time: 20 minutes]

12:00 pm

**THE PRESIDENT** arrives the Cobo Conference and Exhibition Center



[001]

**Greeters:** Terry McAuliffe, Finance Chairman, Clinton/Gore '96  
Laura Hartigan, Finance Director, Clinton/Gore '96

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if we are going to seize the promise of the age of possibility. They are first, to cherish our children and strengthen our families; to take back our streets from crime, gangs and drugs; to leave the environment safe and clean for the next generation; to maintain our leadership in the fight for freedom and democracy; to shrink the size of government and make it work better; to provide all Americans with the education they will need for the new century; and finally, to help every American who is willing to work for it, achieve economic security. How are we going to meet these challenges? The way we have always faced our future – together as one America. The great lesson of our democracy is that when we are together, we never fail. And when we are divided, we defeat ourselves.

We must have a consistent, comprehensive strategy to help Americans grow together. In this new economy, the growth of workers and working families can not be a spectator sport. We need the skills and talents of all our people if we are going to succeed. The stakes are high. If we spread opportunity and skills, more Americans will share in prosperity and will be able to adjust to change.

But, if we fail to grow together, it will become easy for people to retreat into fear and blame and resentment. We must not let that happen. Two hundred years ago, Benjamin Franklin said, "If we do not hang together, we will hang separately. Today, we must grow together as a people, or we risk growing apart as a nation.

So, today I challenge the United States Congress in the next 60 days to pass a growth agenda for the American people. Grow the economy by balancing the budget -- because we know that a balanced budget will lead to lower interest rates and fuel even more investments in our future.

Grow the economy by rewarding work. That means protecting the EITC, raising the minimum wage and ending welfare as we know it and replacing it with a system that moves people to work and protects children.

Grow the economy by protecting workers. That means making health care portable from job to job; protecting worker pensions; and passing my GI Bill of Rights for workers.

Grow the economy by fully funding educational opportunities. That means supporting life-long learning; expanding Head Start; Goals 2000; expanding Pell Grants; Direct lending and income contingency loans; demanding higher standards; public school choice; charter schools; computers in classroom by 2000; College merit scholarship; one million in work study; and the right kind of tax cut: \$10,000 for tuition.

Grow the economy so we can grow together and not apart.

The central task of this government must be a basic commitment to economic growth. I challenge Congress to rise above politics, put aside the primaries, look away from the election calendar, and pass a growth agenda for America. Do it for the people of Taylor, Michigan. Do it for all our people. And do it now. Thank you and God Bless you all.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO.<br>AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                       | DATE     | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------|
| 002. schedule            | Page of Schedule (partial) (1 page) | 03/01/96 | b(7)(E)     |

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Speechwriting  
Terry Edmonds  
OA/Box Number: 10986

### FOLDER TITLE:

3-4-96 Taylor City Hall Dedication MI [1]

2006-0462-F  
ry661

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



- Representative John Dingell makes remarks and introduces the President.
- The President presents a United States Flag, formerly flown above the United States Capitol, to Mayor Priebe and then makes remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the President works a ropeline and departs.

11:30 am-  
11:40 am

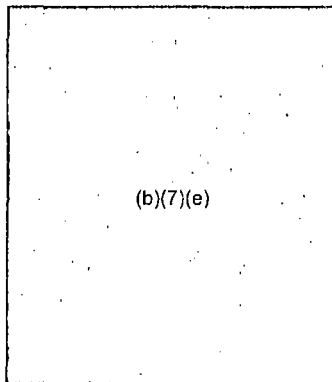
**POLICE PHOTOS/TAYLOR CITY COUNCIL GROUP  
PHOTO/VOLUNTEER PHOTOS  
HALLWAY  
Department of Public Works**

11:40 am

**THE PRESIDENT** departs Taylor City Department of Public Works via motorcade en route the Cobo Conference and Exhibition Center [drive time: 20 minutes]

12:00 pm

**THE PRESIDENT** arrives the Cobo Conference and Exhibition Center



[002]

**Greeters:** Terry McAuliffe, Finance Chairman, Clinton/Gore '96  
Laura Hartigan, Finance Director, Clinton/Gore '96

10:10 am

**THE PRESIDENT** departs Detroit/Wayne County Metro Airport via motorcade en route Taylor City Department of Public Works  
[drive time: 10 minutes]

10:20 am

**THE PRESIDENT** arrives Taylor City Department of Public Works

Greeters:

Mayor Cameron Priebe, Taylor, MI  
Mrs. Terrie Priebe and Family  
Mayor Frank Sall, Lincoln Park, MI  
Mayor Grant Alberts, Gibraltar, MI  
Mrs. Nancy Alberts  
Mark Steenbergh, Macomb County  
Democratic Chair  
Patricia Steenbergh  
Steve Yokich, International President of UAW  
Bob King, Regional Director of UAW  
Ed Scribner, President, Detroit AFL-CIO  
Mrs. Debbie Dingell  
Dorothy West, Clerk, Taylor City  
Wayne Avery, Treasurer, Taylor City  
Anthony Nicita, District Court Judge  
William Sutherland, District Court Judge

10:30 am-

11:30 am

**TAYLOR CITY HALL DEDICATION CEREMONY**

**MAIN HALL**

Department of Public Works

Remarks: Michael Waldman, Terry Edmonds

Event Coordinator: Patrick Steel

Staff Contact: John Hilley

**OPEN PRESS**

- Off-stage announcement of the President to "Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to Chief", accompanied by Mayor Priebe, Senator Levin, and Representative Dingell.

**NOTE:**

"Ruffles and Flourishes" and "Hail to the Chief" will be performed by the Taylor City High School Band.

- The Taylor City High School Band performs *the National Anthem*.
- Mayor Priebe makes remarks and introduces Senator Carl Levin.
- Senator Levin makes remarks and introduces Representative John Dingell.

- present flag  
at begin. of  
speech

- sorry I couldn't formally dedicate c.h. →  
weather intervened - brand new bldg, even if  
not c.h.

- present flag to mayor

PRESERVATION PHOTO COPY

January 11, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO DON BAER, MICHAEL WALDMAN, BRUCE REED

From: Gene Sperling  
cc: Laura Tyson, Secretary Reich  
Subject: Growing Together/Growing Apart Theme

I'm attaching the previous memo on this theme with a few extra paragraphs at the end to update it.

January 17, 1995

To: Don Baer  
From: Gene Sperling  
Re: SOU Economic Theme

## **GROWING TOGETHER OR GROWING APART:**

One possible theme for the State of the Union is the notion that we face a fundamental choice: *we can grow together or grow apart*. This would be the modern day parallel of the Ben Franklin line, we must hang together or we will hang separately. The advantage of this theme is that in five words it allows us to combine what is a positive economic message "growing together" and our social message -- of community, and opposition to the politics of division.

**GROWING TOGETHER:** Growing together has a double meaning that is extremely relevant to the challenges we face. Growing together calls for both the ingredients for growth and the results of growth.

**Ingredients for Creating Growth:** In the old economy -- and under the supply-side view -- on the most-well off and the CEOs drove growth. The more we empowered the well-off the more they would invest in the right opportunities and create growth that would trickle down. In the new economy, growth comes from the talents and skills of all American workers. Therefore, if we are to grow, we must grow from the workers up -- and grow together. Companies grow, when workers and managers commit to quality and innovation together. Countries grow, when all the workers have the talents and skills to contribute. Companies must be challenges to invest in their workers.

**Results of Growth:** The other logic to the growing together theme, is the results. We as Democrats believe that the overall growth of the nation is not the only thing that matters, but whether the working people of the nation are growing and prospering together. Bob Reich has "growing together and growing apart charts" where he shows that from 1950-1973, everyone at all classes grew together. From 1973 on, however, only the most well-off Americans grow, while average Americans saw their incomes fall. Our goal is that by Americans contributing to growth together, we will create a growth and prosperity that is more widely spread. Growing together also sends an important message on productivity. Currently, worker feel that productivity gains on the work-site can cost them their job. We should send the message to corporate America that we need to create workplaces where we at least do our best to see that workers share in productivity gains.

## **GROWING APART: Failure to Grow Together -- Giving the American Value**

**Component to Economic Growth:** Our vision of economic growth is not just one where Americans have a higher standard of living, but that by growing the economic pie we make room for more Americans to share in the American dream without anyone having to be displaced. The distinctive quality of the American dream depends on economic growth. The only way we can be the land of opportunity where everyone can enter the middle class without anyone having to be displaced is to have a growing economy. If we have an agenda that helps us grow together, that is what we can accomplish. But if we fail to invest in each other and fail to create a growing economy that everyone can share in, Americans will be more likely to be susceptible to the politics of division -- because they will see other gain at their expense.

Our choice therefore is to pull together and grow together or fall prey to the politics of division that will make us as a people grow apart -- not just economically -- but grow apart as people, as a community.

### **UPDATE NOTE: 1/11/96**

**Creates Proper Prism For Public to View Republican Efforts to Politicize Affirmative Action and Immigration and Other Divisive Republican Themes:** The theme also fits in well when we consider the attacks we are likely to get on affirmative action and immigration. Republicans are certainly likely to try to divide American with the politics of division and resentment. If we take these issues one at a time we will be moved on to their turf. We need to create a prism that causes the public to instantly see all such attacks as falling under the politics of division. Yet, even if we create this prism that exposes these issues as divisive, this only tears down their message without taking the issue back to our turf. What the "growing together and growing apart" theme does, is creates a prism that allows the public to see things through the perspective two contrasting paths: a positive economic growth strategy that will bring us together and a social division theme that will tear us apart.

**Allows Integrated Approach for Addressing Economic and Social Theme:** Furthermore, from a speechwriting point of view, we often have to segment and divide our speeches between economic and social issues. It is as if we first do economic and budget themes, and then find a clever segue to add-on social themes or simply save them for a different speech. "Growing together or growing apart," on the other hand, allows us to do speeches that weave our economic and social message into one integrated message because the whole point is to use both our economic and social message to show the contrasting directions we want to take the nation: united, stronger with room for everyone to thrive in the middle class vs. a divided nation where we grow apart and grow less economically because we are not utilizing the full strength of the nation.

**Values In Economic Growth:** The other point that is mentioned above but I want to emphasize is that this gives us a **value context to economic growth:** growth is not just about ensuring that Americans are doing well enough to buy VCRs and other material comforts: economic growth is a necessary ingredient to protecting the distinctive American value in the American dream: that with a growing economy we can make room for all Americans who work hard in the middle class without having do deny opportunity or wealth to anyone else.

SECTION: Vol. 255 ; Pg. 47; ISSN: 0276-9077

LENGTH: 15604 words

HEADLINE: America's changing economic landscape.

BYLINE: Fallows, James

BODY:

ON THE LAST DAY OF 1980, when Jimmy Carter had been defeated and the question of further political damage to him was moot, a commission that Carter had appointed, called the President's Commission for a National Agenda for the Eighties, issued a report, Urban America in the Eighties: Perspectives and Prospects. It was written in diplomatic, understated prose, which may initially have obscured the import of its message. Its meaning did not long remain concealed, however, for within days the report was taken in the northern half of the country as a declaration of war.

The clues to why this should be so lay in the report's introduction, which described economic life as ceaseless, churning change. Industries rose and fell--and so did empires, and so did cities. Nothing endured forever, and in the real world of economics it was vain to hope that anything would. "An

F/ THE Atlantic Monthly  
by James Fallows →

THEME OF article deals w/ migration  
and expansion of US as everything  
seems to be in decline... this article (not  
printed in full here) became thesis for a  
Book.

increasingly productive economy should be recognized as necessitating simultaneous painful growth and shrinkage, disinvestment and reinvestment," the report said. "Disinvestment" was another way of saying that industries might die and cities fade. The shape of America's cities reflected the painful growths and shrinkages that had already occurred, as immigrants arrived from the hinterland and from overseas, emigrants departed for the frontier, new classes rose and built temples to themselves, and other classes fell.

Yet somehow, the report mused, "the city is perceived as something that should be largely permanent and unchanging, reflecting continuity and stability, promising to be a lasting monument to society's achievements and failures, and serving as a testimony to the success with which people have hammered out relations among themselves." This vision of a city might seem appealing, the report concluded, but it was naive and unrealistic, and in the United States it had never been accurate.

And it could not be accurate now, according to the report, because the American economy was undergoing yet another transformation, one that was sure to make the nation's older cities more suitable for some functions and less for others. In particular, the big, broad-shouldered places from which America's twentieth-century industrial wealth had been wrung--Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit--could not expect to survive in their current form. There

area." All this happened, of course, after Frederick Jackson Turner declared the frontier "closed" and America's social safety valve eliminated. The United States, it turns out, has continued to have frontiers, which are to be found not in vacant tracts of land but in the social and economic fluidity created by industries on the rise.

Yes, the migration that built the industrial cities was also responsible for some of the most wrenching episodes in American Life. When Detroit's population boomed, many of its new citizens were blacks and whites from the South who had left their familiar plots of land in pursuit of Henry Ford's \$ 5 a day. Even when times were great in the auto industry, the migrants crowded into their new houses and never got over their longing for the comfortable, slow-paced hamlets where they could no longer afford to live. The most notorious migrations of our recent history--the flight of Okies from the Dust Bowl, immortalized by Dorothea Lange's photos and John Steinbeck's (as well as John Ford's) *Grapes of Wrath*, and the exodus of southern blacks to the cities--brought their share of suffering. This was especially so among the blacks, who reached the manufacturing belt just as its growth crested and who are now being left behind in declining cities.

But while American artists have captured the pain of migration, they have not dwelt on its benefits--such chores are left to literal-minded economists.



change that are now said to threaten it. Neaerly fifty years ago an economist named Glenn E. McLaughlin wrote a book called Growth of American Manufacturing Areas. It came out during the Depression, but it focused on the astonishing growth of American manufacturing power between 1899 and 1929. America's population was growing fast then, largely through immigration, and the number of manufacturing workers was growing almost 50 percent faster. Where was the growth concentrated? In the region that the Census Bureau calls East North Central, and that others now refer to as the Rust Belt.

The book depicted the nation's thirty-three industrial areas, the fast-growing, prosperous places where industry was moving in. With three exceptions, on the West Coast (Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle), they were all in the Northeast and the upper Midwest. Toledo, Scranton, Dayton, st. Louis, Youngstown, Detroit, Chicago--these were the upstart areas of America, the places that offered immigrants from Poland, Tennessee, Italy, and Georgia wages and opportunities they could not have found at home. Not even Houston in the 1970s grew so rapidly as Cleveland and Detroit did after the turn of the century. From 1900 to 1930 Detroit's population quintupled. In their rise, these new powers elbowed more-settled cities, and their products and jobs, out of the way. "Among areas, Boston and Albany have suffered much from these changes," McLaughlin said. "Up to 1919 Chicago"--including its steelmaking South Side--"probably profited more from shifts in industrial activity than any other

Their studies nearly unanimously conclude that people who pull up stakes fare better than those who stay behind. Indeed, John Kenneth Galbraith has said that migration is the only force that ever breaks the "equilibrium" of regional poverty. Certain people decide they will not be poor anymore, and they leave. Galbraith, himself a migrant from the hardscrabble of rural Canada, was talking mainly about the Third World, but his point seems also to apply to the United States.

For as long as accurate birth records have been kept (since the mid-nineteenth century), the proportion of Americans living outside the region of their birth has been fairly constant ("region" in this sense means one of four large Census Bureau divisions--Northeast, North Central, South, and West). Through the years about one in four American has moved to a region other than the one where he was born. Whatever the hardships they have endured, the ones who have moved have found better opportunities than the ones who have stayed put.

"Geographic movement is associated with superior occupational achievement, regardless of place of birth or destination," Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan said in their encyclopedic study *The American Occupational Structure*. "The data unequivocally show that migrants have more successful careers than men still living in the region of their birth. . . . In brief, men who remain the

of Roosevelt (a fourth volume is reportedly in progress), his celebrated studies of John and Robert Kennedy, his analysis of the modern presidency. Yet his first book was a highly regarded study of the 19th-century New England cleric and political activist Orestes Brownson. And probably his most influential work--a book that shaped scholarly discussion of an entire field for more than a generation--was *The Age of Jackson*, published in 1945 and recipient of the first of Schlesinger's two Pulitzer Prizes. (The second came 20 years later, for *A Thousand Days*.)

This new collection of essays reveals another area in which Schlesinger resists conventional categorization: his relationship to the dominant schools of interpretation within the historical profession. Politically, he is a well-known liberal, and his political convictions inform his scholarly work in countless ways. But liberalism takes many forms, and Schlesinger's does not fit neatly within any major scholarly camp. He has carved an interpretive niche for himself that is firmly his own.

In some respects, he is one of the last of the great "progressive" historians whose work dominated American scholarship during most of the period between World War I and World War II, and among whose most distinguished representatives was Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr. The progressives (whose ranks also included Charles A. Beard and Frederick Jackson Turner) saw American history

as a vast battleground in which economic or regional rivalries created continual conflicts and in which democratic elements fought constantly against the forces of entrenched privilege. Although the progressives never embraced the economic determinism of later Marxist historians, they did place economic inequality (and the struggles it inspired) at the center of the American past.

Among scholars of the postwar generation, the younger Schlesinger's own generation, the most powerful force in American historiography was a reaction against this approach and the emergence of what came to be known as "consensus" history. Consensus scholars emphasized not conflict but (in Richard Hofstadter's words) "the common climate of American opinion," the shared belief among almost all Americans in "the rights of property, the philosophy of economic individualism, the value of competition ... the economic virtues of capitalist culture." Conflicts there had been, to be sure, but they had rarely been fundamental conflicts. Americans were in basic agreement even when they thought they differed. Schlesinger never accepted, however, the approach that came to enchant so many of his contemporaries. He never believed that surface controversies are mere distractions from broader agreement. The battles that seemed important to their contemporaries, he has always argued, should seem equally important to historians. And in his most influential historical works--his study of Jacksonian politics, his history of the New Deal--he has emphasized not continuity and consensus, but the centrality of conflicts

10:20 am

*Tmm*  
**THE PRESIDENT** arrives Taylor City Department of Public Works

Greeters: Mayor Cameron Priebe, Taylor, MI  
Mrs. Terrie Priebe  
Mayor Bob Bennett, Livonia, MI  
Mayor Frank Sall, Lincoln Park, MI  
Mayor Ruth Canfield, Dearborn Heights, MI  
Mayor Grant Alberts, Gibraltar, MI  
Mrs. Nancy Alberts  
City Manager Dick Hubler, Alan Park, MI  
Mark Steenbergh, Macomb County Chair  
Patricia Steenbergh  
Steve Yokich, International President of UAW  
Bob King, Regional Director of UAW  
Ed Scribner, President, Detroit AFL-CIO  
Mrs. Debbie Dingell  
Father C. Michael Verscheaue

10:30 am-

11:30 am

**TAYLOR CITY HALL DEDICATION CEREMONY**

SITE TBA

Department of Public Works

Remarks: ~~Michael Waldman~~

Event Coordinator: Patrick Steel

Staff Contact: John Hilley

**OPEN PRESS**

- Off-stage announcement of the President, accompanied by Mayor Priebe, Senator Levin, Representative Dingell and Father C. Michael Verscheaue.
- Mayor Priebe introduces the Father C. Michael Verscheaue.
- Father C. Michael Verscheaue will offer the invocation.
- Mayor Priebe asks the local Color Guard to raise the flag.
- *The Star Spangled Banner* will be played.
- Mayor Priebe makes remarks and introduces Senator Carl Levin.
- Senator Levin makes remarks and introduces Representative John Dingell.
- Representative John Dingell makes remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes remarks.

*Now - Remarks*

8000

as of February 28, 1996 3:01pm

*- Rabin Assassination -  
Dept of Public Works building 6 mos.*

*was Chair - private  
Energy + Commerce  
Ann Catherine  
economic pieces*

Janet Mangonia-Dingell - Health Care

Leader on labor issues  
workers/

Dingell's staff -

5 Clinton Cops will be there - acknowledged Christa

Michigan unemployment down to 5.0

19TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Detroit News, Inc.  
The Detroit News

December 14, 1995, Thursday

SECTION: InsideNews;

LENGTH: 128 words

HEADLINE: Dingell marks 40th year as congressman

BYLINE: Lisa Zagaroli

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON -- Wednesday was the 40th anniversary of Rep. John Dingell's arrival in Congress. The Dearborn Democrat was first sworn in Dec. 13, 1955, after winning a special election to replace his father, who died while in office.

Dingell, 69, planned a low-key party with present and former staff members.

"It's a day much like any other day. My friends are taking it more seriously than I have," said Dingell, who has served the longest consecutive number of years in the House.

He cited a long list of positive changes in the country in the last 40 years. But he said he's most proud of his work on Medicare and his effort to persuade President Johnson to allocate money needed to save the Great Lakes through a major water pollution control act.

LOAD-DATE: December 14, 1995

7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Physician Executive

January, 1996

SECTION: Vol. 22 ; No. 1 ; Pg. 31; ISSN: 0898-2759

LENGTH: 6249 words

HEADLINE: The Clinton health care proposal: reform squandered again!

BYLINE: Goldfield, Norbert

BODY:

Several key ingredients are necessary for legislative success of any health care reform proposal. The most important of these is a forceful presidential commitment to a policy that can be readily articulated to the American public. At the same time, I take it as a given that interest groups always will be heavily involved in the shaping of health care reform. Thus, the key ingredients are both substantive and political. For reasons that are still unclear to me, neither of these salient ingredients occurred during the recent debate on health care reform. President Clinton has been unable to execute such a task, despite the fact that he is certainly an avid reader of history and, at least at the beginning of his administration, tried to familiarize himself with the leadership style of Ronald Reagan, whom he called the most "effective" President in recent American history. Tragically, President Clinton, unlike President Reagan, has had difficulty distilling complex policies into a forceful yet clear message.

#### The Path to the Clinton Proposal

As governor of Arkansas, President Clinton did not have much cause to think about health care policy or politics. He presided over the Arkansas Medicaid program, which, during his tenure, was one of the least generous in the country. From the Arkansas Medicaid program to the health care politics of the Presidential campaign, two events stand out: the election of Harris Wofford (D-Pa.) to the Senate and the perceived ability of the California Personal Retirement System (CALPERS) to control costs.

Sen. Harris Wofford was elected in 1990 to fill the unexpired term of Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.), who died in a helicopter crash. Wofford campaigned on the need for national health reform. He convincingly defeated Richard Thornburgh, who left his comfortable position as Attorney General in the Bush Administration, expecting an easy electoral victory against a liberal professor focusing on the unimportant issue of health reform. The unexpected election of Harris Wofford to the Senate propelled the health care reform issue into Presidential politics. Candidate Bill Clinton needed to respond to the popular rumblings that the election of Wofford unleashed.



The road to President Clinton's vision of "managed competition" began, as so many new policies do, in California, in the office of the State Insurance Commissioner, John Garamendi. Under CALPERS, a concerted effort was started to jawbone managed care companies into competition and stable, if not decreasing, health care premiums. The architects of the CALPERS approach believed that this could be translated to the national health care scene.

Walter Zelman, one of the key architects of the Clinton proposal, worked as Garamendi's key assistant. He faxed a July 1992 memo containing his recommendations surrounding health care politics in the Presidential campaign to Clinton aides in Little Rock. "Clinton should consider endorsing the notion of "managed competition. . . .A managed competition system could feature: direction by regionally based public-private purchasing corporations; consumer-friendly competition between health care plans/systems offering nearly identical benefits; payment of health care plans/systems on a capitated basis. . . .But advocacy of a specific reform path entails pitfalls. Most importantly, it forces one to deal with the question of who will pay or what tax will be raised. . . .A new health care system should be compatible with the American experience; i.e. government may need to guarantee access/security, but the delivery of health care should remain in private hands. Government may set some rules, but should not run the system. . . .Individuals should have a choice of physicians and health care systems. . . .Managed competition offers a specific policy approach that is not very controversial."

In this early proposal can be seen the seeds of eventual failure. With respect to the concept of universal coverage, Zelman and Garamendi may have been knowledgeable about the best program in the country that has forced down costs for a large segment of the population, but this segment of the population has characteristics that make it more easily amenable to significant cost control--its members are insured and employed in the area of the country with the most competition. Mercifully for the candidate, Clinton did not have to articulate the details of his plan. That could wait till after the election. In the meantime, candidate Clinton needed to remind voters that he was the candidate to most likely advance the cause of health care reform.

#### The Making of the Plan

Within days of the election, President Clinton began to put together the team that would formulate the administration's health care policy. Initially, the President announced that he would send a proposal to Congress within 90 days of his inauguration and expected passage of a health care reform bill by year's end.

While Zelman continued on as a key formulator of the Clinton plan, he was not the only leader of the health reform effort. The other significant players were Paul Starr, the Princeton academic and author of *The Making of the American Health Care System*; Ira Magaziner, who, according to virtually every newspaper account, consulted on numerous projects, many of which were inconclusive in terms of results; and, of course, the President's wife. On Jan. 25, 1993, a few days after the inauguration, Hillary Rodham Clinton was asked by the President to chair the health care reform task force.

With the selection of the leaders of the health reform effort, the work, under the management of Ira Magaziner, began in great earnest. An interagency

health care task force, together with hundreds of outside consultants, was asked to develop comprehensive health care reform legislation in the first 100 days of the administration. The work plan states on the first page: "The model that President-elect Clinton has proposed for health care in the United States does not exist anywhere in practice. The campaign proposal, while sensible conceptually, needs significant definition." The author of the memo, likely either Magaziner or one of his aides, identified the following work modules, which eventually became the task groups or clusters charged with coming up with specific portions of the legislation:

- \* Benefits package.
- \* Budget and caps.
- \* Insurance reforms, organization of the Health Insurance Purchasing Cooperatives (HIPCs).
- \* Health care quality assurance.
- \* Administrative savings, reimbursement systems, and patient information systems.
- \* Malpractice reform.
- \* Drug price controls.
- \* Organization of employer mandates and subsidies to employers.
- \* Organization and mandate for the national board.
- \* Ethical guidelines for the system.
- \* Integration of VA and DOD health care workforce development.

Leaving aside for a moment the issue of whether the appropriate interest groups were involved, how can one best assess the organizational structure for developing this complex piece of legislation? James Ukockis sent a memorandum to Marina Weiss, Secretary Bentsen's principal representative on the health care task force, and made the following assessment:

"As structured, the enterprise is going to rely upon the intellectual capital brought to it by the people involved. There will simply not be enough time to build intellectual capital. Yet, if the process is essentially one of reviewing existing work on health reform and to select the options to be in the President's program, the size of the effort seems to be significantly larger and more cumbersome than needed. These coordination problems have the potential to prove troublesome at best, and to damage the quality of the final product at worst. I am very anxious about our ability to do a creditable job under the constraints being imposed."

In other words, the organization of the health care task force constituted the worst of all possible worlds. Neither time nor resources were available to flesh out a health care plan that "did not exist anywhere." One of the many results of this challenge was legislation that came to almost 1,500 pages. No

President, even one with astounding leadership qualities, could present concisely and defend with clarity such a legislative behemoth.

Inadequate time and deficiency of resources led to the biggest obstacle to legislative success: options would be narrowed, with most decisions made a priori by the health care quartet. This would leave little room for political decision making. This problem is amply demonstrated in a memo detailing an interchange between a member of the task force and Magaziner: "Magaziner became impatient during my presentation on price controls. He was not interested in a balanced evaluation of the option. What he wanted was for someone to make the "best possible" case for a specific price control program. . . Mr. Magaziner then began an impassioned presentation of his own. . . It was his position that "the President must do something, there is no choice. In general, he wanted a "more constructive attitude" about the proposals, and urged a more creative effort to get around problems. After Mr. Magaziner left, David Cutler asked me to prepare to "sell" a specific price control proposal as best I could."

Another challenge, one that many others have already pointed out, is that the very notion of 500 academics and health policy wonks coming together to fashion a health care bill was simply ludicrous. Legislative consensus around the twin objectives of controlling costs and achieving universal coverage represents a political process. In one of the more laughable statements, but one that almost certainly reflected the Clinton perspective, the senior physician health policy advisor to Clinton, Arnold Epstein, stated after the health reform process died: "We tried to pay attention to developing the best policies and not pay attention to politics." Magaziner complained at the end of the ordeal that the political process destroyed the Clinton bill; he apparently does not realize that politics lies at the heart of the legislative process. "Politics" allowed opponents of health reform to define the health care bill before Clinton allies were able to define themselves. Almost immediately, the task force and its secret deliberative process led to political difficulty for Clinton. By Feb. 9, 1993, just two weeks after establishment of the task force, representatives of labor, large corporations, and the insurance industry came together to form the first of many groups to oppose the Clinton plan.

While there were difficulties on the cost side of the equation, the issue of the uninsured proved to be equally vexing. Four options were debated throughout the life of the task force: include the poor in the entities (HIPCs) that would manage competition at a state or regional level; delay including the poor by maintaining separate programs for them, such as Medicaid; separate the poor by maintaining a distinct public program for the poor; and provide an option whereby states would provide for the poor according to federal standards. The initial feeling within the work groups was that low-income individuals must be included in the ultimate structure of the HIPCs.

If low-income individuals were to be included, either immediately or eventually, within the HIPC structure, myriad questions needed to be addressed by the task force before final recommendations could be made. The sampling of questions/issues below provide a sense of the difficult issues that task force members grappled with:

\* If low-income individuals are to be phased in, should they be phased in without regard to their current Medicaid status, which varies from state to

state?

\* Should certain categories of individuals be included first? For instance, should pregnant women and children be included first?

\* Should newly entitled individuals be enrolled in HIPCs first and then existing Medicaid enrollees added? This would maintain Medicaid as a separate program?

\* Should a policy be adopted that, once enrolled in a HIPC, always enrolled? Thus, if individuals lose their jobs or change to employers that do not offer coverage, should the Clinton plan include regulations that would ensure their continued enrollment?

\* What entities should perform plan enrollment functions, such as income-testing and "eligibility?"

\* What special rules should be established for subsidizing the HIPC plan selection process to ensure that the low-income population has a choice of plans and does not default into the cheapest plans?

It became apparent by May 1993 that the 90-day deadline would not be met. At the same time, congressional Democratic leadership was struggling with other legislation, notably the deficit reduction package. The leadership asked the President to delay introduction of the bill. By September, the administration's health reform initiative was ready, and President Clinton gave a nationally televised speech on Sept. 22, where he announced, holding a "Health Security Card" as a backdrop, "Let us agree on this. Whatever else we disagree on, before this Congress finishes its work next year, you will pass, and I will sign, legislation to guarantee security to every citizen."

#### The Sale and Foreclosure on Health Care Reform

The selling of the plan began almost immediately. The First Lady testified, with great success, before several key congressional committees with jurisdiction over portions of the bill. She held town meetings around the country that were similarly well received. Not so successful was the "health care university" that the administration held for educational purposes for members of Congress. The need to have such a two-day forum did not bode well for members of Congress attempting to explain to constituents a bill more than a thousand pages long.

Two other challenges, one significant and the other fatal, came to the fore as soon as the bill was submitted to Congress. A significant problem was the number of congressional committees fighting for a piece of the bill. Unlike today's Republican-controlled House of Representatives, the Democratically controlled House and Senate of 1993 consisted of a not-so-powerful Speaker of the House and a Senate Majority Leader accompanied by very powerful committee chairmen. Though a significant obstacle, this issue was resolved by Speaker Tom Foley's (D-Wash.) giving the entire bill to all three House committees that had significant jurisdictional authority over the bill.

The second problem that rapidly emerged was that the President took his eye off the health care bill and became rapidly engaged in other legislation perceived to be as important as the health reform initiative. Thus, for example,

the President felt compelled to expend significant time and political capital on the NAFTA agreement. These and other legislative battles served to distract the country's attention away from the health care reform debate. The bill was extremely complex and very difficult to explain without the added difficulty of the President's ignoring his natural bully pulpit.

Support for the Clinton bill went from 67 percent after it was announced to a minority of 44 percent by the end of February 1994. The length of the President's bill did not allow him or his allies to define the terms of the debate, a debate that would quickly go against him as he began to focus on other issues. Future presidential candidate Phil Gramm's (R-Tex.) cry that welfare recipients must "get out of the cart and help the rest of us push" found resonance at the time in a public official's claim that "you can't expect the hard-working people of suburban Chicago to go into the same health care alliance as the crackheads in Chicago." Although this harsh rhetoric contributed to the demise of the President's bill, through his unwillingness or inability to focus on one or two key pieces of legislation, the President ultimately laid the framework for its defeat.

No votes were taken on any health care legislation until the end of May 1994, fully eight months after the President's address to Congress. Although the first vote was already too late for any significant health reform legislation to be passed, a good faith effort was maintained, and it appeared at the time that a bill could still emerge that would command the President's signature. The President learned that a compromise bill would have to be acceptable, one that would not provide for universal coverage.

On largely party line votes, the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations of the Education and Labor Committee on May 25 and the full Education and Labor Committee June 23 voted a support a Clinton-like health care plan. This patchwork piece of legislation, among other legislative accomplishments, would have established Medicare Part C to cover the poor. Not only did conservative Democrats join a united Republican opposition, but the leader of the single-payer forces also joined, thus dooming any change for success when and if the bill would come to the floor for a House vote.

Another ill omen came on June 28. Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.), son of the congressman who had fought for national health insurance under Truman, announced that he was unable to have the House Energy and Commerce Committee pass any bill. Similar to his father, Rep. Dingell preferred no bill to one that compromised on the issue of universal coverage.

The 100 members of the House who favored the single-payer will were very committed to their proposal. In fact, they were opposed to virtually every other bill on the table. Similar to what occurred in the 1968 debacle over the proposed Nixon legislation (which in many ways was much more comprehensive than the Clinton proposal), the liberal wing of the Democratic party contributed as much as conservative forces to the defeat of health reform. While Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) had learned his lesson from 1970 and actively supported a compromise, numerous diehard supporters of legislation that could never become law provided ample replacement for Kennedy's appreciation of the need to compromise.

In the Senate, the Labor and Human Resources Committee, chaired by Sen.

Kennedy, voted a bill out of committee that maintained the essence of Clinton's support of universal coverage. Numerous changes were made in the Clinton bill in an unsuccessful effort to obtain some Republican support, such as that of Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kan.).

Very early on, moderate Senate Republicans outlined their bottom line: no mandate on employers, no mandate on states requiring them to set up HIPCs, and no standard benefits package. In fact, the Republican position was bolstered by an unlikely ally, Sen. Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who claimed that there was no health care crisis at all! Universal coverage was not in the cards as far as the Senate Republican leadership was concerned. At least initially, universal coverage was a Democratic mantra. By the time it changed, it was getting too close to the November election, and the Republicans smelled electoral success if they could succeed in painting Clinton as ineffective.

In contrast to the bill reported out of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, the legislation produced by the Senate Finance Committee on July 2 was bipartisan and had a greater reliance on market forces. In lieu of universal coverage, the bill aimed for 95 percent coverage by the year 2002.

The Senate Minority Leader, Robert Dole (R-Kan.), offered the GOP proposal on June 29th. It did not even talk about universal coverage. Rather it spoke in terms of universal access. While subsidies were included in the GOP proposal, they were to be offered out of savings in the Medicare program.

Thus, by the beginning of July, the major committees had acted and most had not come up with Clinton's bottom line demand of universal coverage. The House and Senate leadership now stepped in to see whether a bill providing for universal coverage could obtain the necessary support for congressional passage. By July 21, Sen. George Mitchell (D-Maine) and Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) told the President that a bill requiring universal coverage would not pass Congress. Despite his acceptance of this inevitable state of affairs, the President was still attacked by the left for his abandonment. This forced the President to reconsider his political position. "Our position is exactly what the president said his position was. . . that he will veto any bill that didn't deliver universal coverage." The Boston Globe summarized well the box that President Clinton had put himself into: "Clinton is stuck in a dangerous political double-bind. In large part because of his own exertions, the public continues to be fired up about the goal of universal coverage. But neither voters nor lawmakers can agree on how to pay for it."

Rep. Gephardt took the first crack at crafting legislation that Congress could approve. Universal coverage was promised by 1999. The vehicle would be employer mandates and the Medicare Part C program envisioned by Rep. Pete Stark (D-Calif.). Sen. Mitchell, who had passed up an opportunity to become the next Supreme Court justice in an effort to ensure passage of health reform, released his bill on Aug. 2. Rather than aiming for universal coverage, the Mitchell bill aimed for 95 percent coverage by the year 2000. Employers did not have to kick in at all until 2002. Such a plan might have passed both the House and Senate several months earlier. With midterm elections looming and Southern Democrats in particular not perceiving any benefit to supporting legislation that came even close to universal coverage, the Mitchell bill was doomed. At the same time, liberals from the north would not settle for anything less than universal coverage. Time simply ran out.

While time would have likely run out in any event, both the House and Senate were distracted for a crucial period at the end of August when the House defeated the omnibus crime bill. The House reversed itself and passed a revised crime bill. The Senate stopped the health care debate in mid-tracks and turned its attention to the crime bill for a rancorous four-day debate. The Senate passed the crime bill on Aug. 25. On Aug. 26, Sen. Mitchell acknowledged that significant health care reform was dead for 1994. When the House and Senate returned after the August recess, all eyes were focused on the upcoming election. During the August recess, elected representatives heard that, with the upturn in the economy, their constituents did not perceive health care to be a crisis anymore.

#### Ample Criticism for All

This article does not fault interest groups, all of which had a dramatic impact on the health care debate. Rather, President Clinton should have known that interest groups would be actively involved. This article places the blame for the lack of health care reform squarely on the President. It is the President who was unable to articulate a coherent policy. It was the President who cobbled together health care advisors who could not develop a coherent message.

The "intellectual advisors" to President Clinton on health reform did not serve him well. No member of the quartet of senior health care decision makers (Hillary Clinton, Zelman, Magaziner, and Starr) was ever elected to public office. Only individuals who have had to undergo the rigors of an election can appreciate the importance of an intimate understanding of public opinion and an appreciation of its volatility. As documented throughout this series, the public needs to be listened to and molded if significant health reform is to have any chance of success. This can only happen under the tutelage of a politically savvy President. The Clinton White House delegated the task of selling the proposal to politically inept surrogates until it was too late.

Both the vision and the implementation were flawed. The vision foresaw legislation that would combine significant government and private interaction--a vision that has never achieved practical reality in the United States. Until late December, the outlines of managed competition were not frozen in stone. Two broad options were still available: either concentrate on the uninsured, thus forcing a significant government role in coverage for this group, or concentrate on reform of the system, thus driving down costs and encouraging more private players to cover the uninsured. The Clinton proposal tried to do both at the same time--and failed miserably at both.

The Clinton Administration's implementation of its legislative battle plan was flawed on three fronts. Instead of focusing on the issue of universal coverage, a concept the public could readily understand and support, the selling of the President's plan initially focused on the cost control side--"managed competition." The development process of the legislation was just as ridiculous as assignment of the key function of articulating the principles of managed competition to four unelected friends/advisors. The net result of such a political decision was that key decision makers and interest groups were not intimately involved from day one in the drafting of the legislation. Not only were key interest groups not involved from the start of the drafting of the

legislation, but potential allies on the Republican side of the aisle were not significantly involved until the very end of the health care debate, when virtually nothing of any consequence could pass both houses of Congress.

### The Future

The future is tragically here. For the present, the uninsured are increasing at a rate of 100,000 per month, an unmitigated tragedy. My reading of the 1994 elections is that Americans are committed to policies based on individualism rather than any sense of community. Community responsibility lies at the heart of traditional health insurance, with its attendant community ratings. Despite the very rapid growth of managed care, health insurance based on individualism

(aka medical savings accounts) is likely to become very popular--for the healthy, well-off. The Clinton health reform effort completely squandered the opportunity to significantly increase access to care.

Fee-for-service physicians are grasping at medical savings accounts as a last gasp effort to preserve their time-worn preeminence in the health care system. While this individualism has always been present, the cry has reached a crescendo. Analyses pertaining to government incompetence are shameless and almost always patently false. One needs to occasionally keep in mind that the Medicare program spends a fraction of its budget on administrative expenditures while keeping copayments at a minimum.

During the campaign for the Presidency, Clinton aides briefed the candidate on likely questions as he prepared for his debates with President Bush. The introduction to one of the briefing books of questions provides the reader with an understanding of when coverage for the uninsured may arrive:

"The Republicans talk about their idea of government, they have it easy. . . .this Republican philosophy reads: the role of government is to provide national defense. Other than that, it's every man, woman and child for his or her own self. . . .Only the strongest deserve to survive. We, the members of the Democratic party, take an entirely different view. . . .we take seriously the notion that government should not only be by the people and of the people, it should also be for the people. . . . Government, cooperation, agreement. These concepts only become oppressive when the air around these words, becomes fouled. It's like walking through the Arkansas hills on a fine spring day. . . .until all at once you start to smell a skunk."

While not quite an Arkansas skunk, the Clinton Presidency has been a failure on health reform. The reality is that it is extremely unlikely that any Republican White House will advocate significant expansion of coverage for the uninsured. Rockefeller and even Nixon would have been much too generous to the uninsured for the current breed of conservatives. New Democratic party leadership will need to emerge. This next Democratic presidency will not occur until voting patterns change. Such a President will need to have true leadership capabilities if he or she is to be elected. In the meantime, physician executives should think globally and act locally.

RELATED ARTICLE: A Health Care Reform Chronology(\*)



Jan. 25: President Clinton appoints Hillary Rodham Clinton to head a task force to daft a comprehensive overhaul of the nation's health care system. The goals: to provide universal coverage and cut rising health care costs. March 3: Rep. Jim McDermott (D-Wash) introduces a bill (H.R. 1200) to set up a Canadian-style, single-payer system. May: Task Force is disbanded; Clinton works with Cabinet members and top advisors to flesh out the plan. Sept. 22: Clinton unveils his long-awaited proposal in a nationally televised speech to a joint session of Congress. His bottom line: universal coverage. Oct. 6: Reps. Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.) and Fred Grandy (R-Iowa) introduce a bill (H.R. 3222) to increase coverage by reorganizing the health insurance market. Nov. 20: Clinton's 1,342-page health care bill is introduced (H.R. 3600, S. 1757). House leaders refer entire bill to three committees; two Senate panels compete to take the lead. Nov. 22: Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) introduces a bill (S. 1770) requiring that all Americans have health insurance by 2005.

1994

Jan. 25: In his State of the Union address, Clinton vows to veto any health bill that does not guarantee universal coverage. June 9: Senate Labor and Human Resources becomes the first full committee to complete work, voting 11-6 along mainly partisan lines to approve a bill modeled on Clinton's plan. June 23: House Education and Labor Committee votes 26-17 for an expanded version of Clinton's plan. To win the votes of the most liberal members, the committee also sends to the floor without recommendation a single-payer plan (H.R. 3690). June 28: House Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) notifies leadership that his panel, often seen as a bellwether of congressional opinion, cannot agree on a health care bill. June 30: House Ways and Means Committee approves a Clinton-style bill, 20-18. "No" votes include all 14 Republicans, joined by three conservative Democrats and one liberal. July 2: Senate Finance Committee approves the only bipartisan measure to emerge from a committee; the vote is 12-8. July 21: Democratic leaders tell Clinton his bill will have to be scaled back. July 29: Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) unveils a House leadership bill. Aug. 2: Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) releases a Senate Leadership bill. Aug. 9: The Senate begins floor debate on the Mitchell bill. Aug. 19: A rump group of senators, led by Chafee and John B. Breaux (D-La.), and known as the Mainstream Group, offers a bipartisan compromise. Aug. 25: After a bitter debate on the crime bill, the Senate starts its August recess without finishing a health care bill. The next day, Mitchell scraps his bill, conceding that comprehensive health care reform will not come in 1994. Sep. 26: Mitchell declares health care dead for the year, after a compromise bill that he negotiated with the Mainstream Group fails to attract enough votes. (\*) "Health Care Reform." Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 103rd Congress, 2nd Session. 1994, Volume L. p. 321.

RELATED ARTICLE: Pressures for National Reform Will Remain

Dr. Goldfield's article is a well-informed and well-documented account of why the 1994 attempt to provide comprehensive health care reform with universal access failed. He has documented his analysis with a number of salient and poignant comments.

However, in focusing on the tactical errors that were made by the President and his task force, Dr. Goldfield has given insufficient credit to what Newsweek

has documented as the \$ 300 million spent by self-interested groups--including, prominently, the insurance industry and the tobacco companies--to convince the American people that there really is no health care crisis and no need for fundamental change. Nor does he comment on the \$ 75 million that, according to Citizen Action, was spent by lobbyists in campaign contributions to selected members of Congress, also to defeat health care reform. Yet it is clear that outspending proponents of reform by well over 10 to 1 was an extremely significant factor in changing public opinion.

Nor does Dr. Goldfield sufficiently emphasize the importance of the lack of consensus on the part of those who wanted reform but who couldn't agree on a plan. He does mention the role of the single-payer movement, but there were prominent national organizations that said, "Yes BUT" and emphasized the "BUT."

In his well-documented review, Dr. Goldfield ends with a pessimistic prognosis, which I believe ignores the effect of the growing severity of lack of adequate health care protection for Americans, as more and more employers dump their insurance plans and Congress attempts to drastically reduce the numbers of citizens covered by Medicaid. For instance, the Children's Defense Fund estimates that 6 million children will be dumped from Medicaid coverage and left uninsured under the House version of "budget reform." For these reasons, the pressure for change will grow again.

Ideally, the President, if reelected, will learn from his experience and will look for a simpler step-by-step plan. And this time the American people will not allow themselves to be fooled by the defenders and beneficiaries of the status quo.

For those of us committed to bringing universal access to high-quality health care for every American--something that every major industrial nation on earth, except South Africa, has already provided--we believe a more optimistic prognosis is justified, and we will work hard to bring it about

#### RELATED ARTICLE: Reform Required Federal, State Roles

Colleen M. Grogan, PhD, Assistant Professor of Health Policy and Administration in the Department of Epidemiology and Public Health at Yale University, believes that, for health care reform to succeed, the states and the federal government could never do it alone," says Grogan. "Even plans that were talked about at the federal level had substantial state control, so that they would be similar to the Canadian system. The federal government would provide financial assistance to states, and they would set minimum regulatory requirements, such as universal coverage and a minimum benefits package. It would be completely up to the states as to how they wanted to structure their delivery."

States also rely on the involvement of the federal government, she says. "From a financial perspective, the states can't do it alone," explains Grogan. "Even Minnesota, which has been trying to do some of its programs alone, is trying to do it through Medicaid so it can get a federal matching rate. Hawaii has a waiver from the federal government, and that's how it was able to reduce its portion of uninsured. However, Hawaii has always had about 6 to 7 percent of its population uninsured."

Grogan says that, prior to the 1994 congressional and state elections,

states were talking about expanding eligibility and doing something about access. "But now what you really hear from state governments is that they're trying to control costs under Medicaid. Some states are still applying for waivers, but a number of states, such as Connecticut, are no longer interested, because they don't think they can afford it."

Grogan also points out that, if the federal government had no policy regulations, such as a minimum benefits package or some kind of eligibility minimum, there would be "vast inequities across the states. If past policies tell us something, they tell us that states do come up with very different benefit levels." States also vary in their fiscal and administrative capacity and in the level of professionalism in their legislatures, which after their ability to handle major health care reform, she adds.

"Managed care Medicaid is much more of a challenge than states envisioned," Grogan says. "In Connecticut, there are major questions about how it will monitor quality of care under the Medicaid managed care system. The information systems it needs to create are very daunting."

As for managed care Medicare, Grogan thinks pushing the elderly into these plans doesn't solve any problems. "The evidence for cost containment under Medicare risk-contracting or Medicare HMOs has not been convincing. They have not been able to save very much money."

Grogan's bottom line: "I think it's an artificial debate to talk about which should be in control--the states or the federal government. Neither can do without the other."

Norbert Goldfield, MD, is Medical Director, 3M/HIS, Wallingford, Conn. This article continues a series on national health care reform begun in the March-April 1992 issue of Physician Executive. Dr. Goldfield may be reached at 100 Barnes Rd., Wallingford, Conn. 06492. 203/949-6330.

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