

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

February 3, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: COMMUNICATIONS

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION/BUDGET ROLL-OUT

Attached is a revised summary of State of the Union/Budget roll-out activities for the next two days, as reported by various offices during this morning's 8:30 a.m. senior staff meeting. Also attached are current talking points on the State of the Union address.

STATE OF THE UNION/BUDGET ROLL-OUT SCHEDULE
(as of Monday, February 3, 1997)

Monday, February 3

Principals:

POTUS/VP meeting with NGA at White House
POTUS/VP drop-by DGA Reception

Intergovernmental:

Governors stake-out after NGA roundtable meeting at White House

Cabinet:

Brief Cabinet public affairs directors on week-ahead (Haas, Raines)
Brief Cabinet on budget and State of the Union (Bowles, Raines, Sperling, Baer, Lewis)

Congress:

Brief Democratic press secretaries (McCurry, Lewis)

Public:

Phone briefing for economists (Bowles, Sperling, Raines, etc.)
Preview SOTU conference calls with national leaders (OPL -- list to come)
(Note: Sperling briefed business representatives last Thursday re: budget)

Tuesday, February 4

Principals:

POTUS -- State of the Union Address
VP -- lunch with network anchors

Intergovernmental:

Governors may attend SOTU, work on post-SOTU press

Cabinet:

Calls to major editorial boards (Media Affairs will assign)

Congress:

Briefing for Senate Democratic Caucus (Bowles, Rubin, Raines, Hilley)

Press:

Morning news shows (Shear)

3 pm: Meeting with network correspondents (Bowles, Raines)

4 pm: Brief WH reporters (Bowles, Raines)

Speech excerpts distributed for evening news

Talk radio interviews after speech

Wednesday, February 5

Principals:

POTUS travels to Georgia: HOPE Scholarships plus K-12 event

Intergovernmental:

Zell Miller with POTUS

Cabinet:

Pentagon briefs on budget, embargoed for Thursday

Press outreach -- as requested by Media Affairs (regional radio interviews, etc.)

Congress:

Max Cleland, Paul Coverdell invited to travel with POTUS

5-11 pm: Briefings for Hill Democrats (Rubin, Raines, Hilley, Lew, Robertson)

House Democrats

House Coalition Budget Group

Senate Legislative/Staff Directors

House Legislative/Staff Directors

Staff from Appropriations/Tax-writing/Budget committees

Medicare/Medicaid (Jennings/Tarplin/Vladek/Min)

Education-related committees (Apfel)

Welfare-related committees (DPC/OMB/HHS)

Senate Finance/House Ways and Means (Summers)

Press:

McCurry briefs wires on budget (embargoed)
Regional satellite tour, radio and network affiliate services
Conference calls with specialty press
Interview with JET Magazine

Public Outreach:

Breakfast with Business Roundtable chairs (Rubin, Sperling)
Conference for 200 constituency leaders (OPL)
Targeted outreach -- list to come (OPL)

TALKING POINTS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
Monday, February 3, 1997

A concrete action plan. In his Inaugural address, President Clinton presented his larger vision of preparing America for the 21st Century. In the State of the Union and budget, the President will present his clear, concrete and consistent action plan to implement that vision.

At a time of peace and prosperity, our great enemy is inaction. The President will emphasize the unique opportunity America faces to build on the strong economic foundation we have established, and also the importance of taking action now to share the 21st Century.

Balancing the budget to keep the economy strong and investing in critical priorities. The President will demonstrate that he has moved the country beyond the false choices of the past -- that we can finish the work of balancing the budget, to lower interest rates and keep the economy growing, while still investing in those things that help the American people thrive and our economy grow.

Working together with all sectors of society. The President will stress the responsibility shared by all sectors of society (states, localities, businesses, communities and families) to work together to meet our challenges. In his address, he will issue a call to action that must be answered by all Americans, and he will highlight those who are already stepping up to the challenge of preparing America for the 21st Century.

Key points to emphasize: education, leadership in the world and unity. The President's address will place a special focus on these three areas -- giving our children a world-class education for the 21st Century, remaining the world's indispensable nation, and forming a stronger, more perfect union here at home.

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS -- THEMATIC OUTLINE
Monday, February 3, 1997

1. Finishing the unfinished business of our country. The President will open with a strong statement of his determination to finish the job of balancing the budget, reforming welfare and reforming campaign finance laws, to lay the foundation for preparing America for the 21st Century.

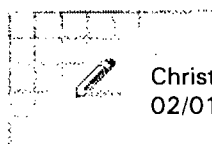
2. Strengthening education as the number-one priority. The President will emphasize that nothing is more important to preparing America for the 21st Century than giving our children a world-class education. That is why the President is proposing the largest education budget in history, providing record investments from pre-school to high school to college, and he is focussing on the responsibility all families and communities share to renew our schools at all levels. His address will place a special focus on the need to set the highest standards for students, teachers and schools.

3. Harnessing the powerful forces of knowledge, science, and technology. In the first State of the Union to be carried live over the Internet, the President will discuss his plans to spread the benefits of technology and research to all Americans, from our schools to our hospitals to our homes.

4. Building stronger families to help parents pass on their values to their children, and stronger communities to prepare America for the 21st Century. The President will talk about the need to strengthen America's families by expanding Family Leave, and continuing to expand access to health care step-by-step; and the need to strengthen our communities by revitalizing urban communities, protecting our environment, pressing the fight against crime and drugs, expanding national service and celebrating culture and the arts.

5. Keeping American leadership strong. The President will place a special focus on keeping America strong, by maintaining our role as the world's indispensable nation. This includes building an undivided, democratic Europe; building an Asian-Pacific community; prospering in the global economy; remaining a force for peace throughout the world; moving strongly against new threats to our security, and maintaining the tools to meet these challenges.

6. Remaining strong as One America. Following through on his Inaugural address, the President will issue a strong call for unity -- emphasizing that our diversity is a great strength as we move into the 21st Century.



Christopher C. Jennings
02/01/97 05:48:49 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject:

Attached is a one page uninsured stat sheet to help clarify any reference to the 40 million uninsured in the nation. If we are going to use the number, we should not suggest that all of the uninsured come from working families; it is a very large number, however, -- 85 percent. In addition, if you continue to use the sentence in the SOTU address, please make certain that you reference it prior to any discussion of POTUS health expansion initiatives. In the last document I saw, it was referenced after the listing of initiatives, making it seem that his proposal were not addressing the uninsured.

If we need any more health care references or need some quick fact checks, please call or page me at any time. I think the health care sections provide a good start, but need some work. Talk to you soon.



cj; uninsure.wp

Message Sent To:

Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP
Gene B. Sperling/OPD/EOP
Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP
Jonathan Prince/WHO/EOP
Laura K. Capps/WHO/EOP
Russell W. Horwitz/OPD/EOP
Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

Fact Sheet on the Uninsured

General Statistics

- 40.3 million Americans are uninsured.¹
- Fully 85% (34 million) of the uninsured are workers or are in families of workers.²

Uninsured Children Statistics

- Of the 40 million uninsured, 10 million are children.³
- Of that, 80% (8 million) of the uninsured children have a parent who is a worker.⁴
- Of the 10 million uninsured children, about 3 million are eligible for Medicaid but are not currently enrolled.⁵

Statistical Back-Up for Workers In-Between Jobs

- Almost 3 out of 5 people who lose their health insurance do so because of a change in their employment.⁶
- 45% of the children who lose their health insurance do so due to a change of employment of their parents.⁷

MEMORANDUM

January 28, 1997

TO: Bruce Reed, Elena Kagan, and Paul Weinstein
FR: Chris Jennings
RE: Health Care Language for the State of the Union

Attached is a rough draft on some possible language on health care initiatives for the State of the Union. Communications asked for this draft late last night. Clearly, we need to talk more about how we want to discuss our health initiatives. In particular, I would like you to focus on how we should talk about the Workers' In-Between Jobs Initiative and whether or not we should mention the Return to Work provisions which enable people with disabilities to keep their Medicare or Medicaid when they return to work.

Please call me with any comments or questions.

HEALTH CARE INITIATIVES

GENERAL

Last year Republicans and Democrats took an important first step towards improving our health care system by passing the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill enabling all Americans to keep their health insurance if they have to change jobs, even if someone in their family has been sick. This new law will protect the health of millions of families. But it was only a first step. We must continue to work on a bipartisan basis to take steps to improve our health care system.

EXPANDING COVERAGE FOR CHILDREN

The first thing we must do is find ways to guarantee that our nation's children have health coverage. Over 10 million children in America are currently uninsured. These children lack access to the basic health care services that all kids need to grow healthy and strong, and their families live in constant fear that they will not be able to afford care if they develop a serious illness.

Tonight I am proposing a series of initiatives that will help the three main groups of uninsured children. First is children who already qualify for health coverage under Medicaid, but are not currently enrolled. I am proposing to work with States and the private sector to reach out to these children.

Second is children in working families whose parents earn enough so that they do not qualify for Medicaid but are unable to afford health insurance. My budget provides support to States to fill the gaps for these uninsured children.

Another group is children whose parents who have lost their insurance because they have been laid off. These families have worked hard and played by the rules only to find out that they have lost their job, lost their health coverage, and lost their Kassebaum-Kennedy protections against discriminations from their health plans. My balanced budget plan provides temporary coverage for children and their families during this transition period giving them the security they need and giving all families peace of mind.

These initiatives, combined with our current Medicaid expansion for kids, cover up to five million children by the year 2001 as well as 2.5 million adults in-between jobs.

And finally to help people with disabilities return to work without risking their health care coverage, I am proposing a new initiative to empower these Americans by enabling them to keep their Medicare or Medicaid coverage when they return to work. [This is a little known provision in the President's budget that we may want to highlight. We can provide more background information if you want].

These proposal totals invest xxx in

MEDICARE REFORM

Both Republicans and Democrats must come together to preserve and strengthen our Medicare program. All of us have an obligation to find a common ground on this issue so that future generations can look forward to the high quality health care enjoyed by today's older Americans. I have already begun this bipartisan process by putting forth a Medicare proposal which extends the life of the Medicare Trust Fund until 2007 and modernizes and improves the Medicare program offering older Americans more choices of plans while still ensuring high quality care.

My Medicare plan also invests in preventive benefits to improve senior's health and reduce the incidence of disease. The plan covers annual mammograms, diabetics management, and covers certain immunizations protecting older Americans from pneumonia and influenza. [It also takes the first step towards improving long-term care services with a new Alzheimer's respite benefit to assist families of Medicare beneficiaries with Alzheimer's diseases.]

My proposal extends the life of the Medicare Trust Fund and improves health care for older Americans, but it does not place undue burdens on Medicare beneficiaries. Older Americans already spend on average one-fifth of their income on health care. As we work to strengthen the Medicare program, we must not do it at their expense.

FRAUD AND ABUSE

I am also asking Congress to join me in increasing our efforts to eliminate fraud and abuse from our health care system. In just the last four years, we have collected nearly \$23 billion in penalties, recoveries, and settlements in cases involving fraud and abuse. We must build on these successes. My budget contains a series of anti-fraud initiatives that will save another \$12 billion.

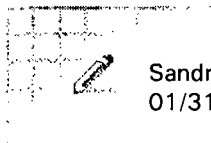
HEALTH CARE QUALITY

In the past few years, our health care system has undergone unprecedented change, raising concerns about how to maintain the high quality that Americans expect and deserve. Last year, Republicans and Democrats came together to enact the 48-hour rule, assures new mothers and their babies the option of a 48-hour post-delivery stay.

Recently, I took action to ensure that all Medicare and Medicaid health plans do not restrict communication between doctors and their patients. I also want to work with the Congress to pass legislation which will extend this anti-gag rule to all health plans.

We are also working to help ensure quality health care for the thousands of women who must fight breast cancer. Just last year over 50,000 Medicare beneficiaries had an inpatient mastectomy. There have been troubling reports that due to pressures from health plans, some women are currently released from the hospital only hours after their surgery. Today, I am asking Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna Shalala, to clarify that Medicare plans guarantee women the right to stay in the hospital 48 hours after a mastectomy. I will also lend my support to bipartisan legislation to guarantee this treatment option for women who must fight this disease and assure women a decent standard of care.

More can be done and should be done to guarantee high quality health care. I am going to charge the soon-to-be established, non-partisan, advisory commission to develop a patients' bill of rights for all health care consumers and to study ways to guarantee quality in our rapidly changing health care system.



Sandra L. Bublick Max
01/31/97 09:17:12 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Jonathan Prince/WHO/EOP

cc: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

Subject:

Here comes those health care inserts that Bruce just talked to you about. The main changes are:

1. A little lengthier Medicare insert that highlights the program a little more positively and includes



a reference to our reforms to strengthen the Trust Fund SOTU.13 ;

2. A slightly revised but important health care coverage expansion paragraph that a little more accurately reflects our policy (p.s. we cannot say we reduce the number of uninsured kids in half b/c by the time we get "up to" 5 million more kids it will not represent half the uninsured kids -- and no one will validate the half claim);

3. A revised quality insert that is along the lines of what Ann Lewis, Melanne and Pauline (for HRC), and the women's office wants. The second paragraph of this section also includes a reference to our Alzheimer's respite and mammography coverage provision; Gene Sperling said that the POTUS was interested in such an insert. (Bruce was not certain if it is a more Gene desire than the POTUS.)

Call me at 6-5560 or page me with any questions. Thanks.

cj

COMMENTS for the STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

MODERNIZE MEDICARE

Few programs, public or private, have such a positive impact on so many Americans as Medicare. Over the past thirty years, the Medicare program has made significant improvements in the health of millions of older and disabled Americans. Today, Americans over the age of 65 have a higher life expectancy than seniors in any other nation. As we approach the new millennium, we must work to bring the promise of this program to a new generation of Americans. My budget will modernize the program and bring it into the 21st century by offering beneficiaries more choices, providing better preventive care, and making structural reforms that will secure the financial future of the Trust Fund for a full decade from today.

BETTER HEALTH CARE

For our families to be strong, we must continue to give them access to affordable, quality health care -- step by step. And, our first step should be to provide adequate health care to our nation's children. It is a national disgrace that 10 million American children today do not have health insurance. My budget proposes to work with innovative state programs to cover up to 5 million children. It also will protect all working Americans by establishing a program to help pay the costs of health care for families when a parent temporarily loses a job; a child should never have to be without a doctor just because a parent is without a job.

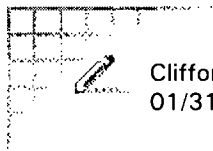
ASSURING QUALITY

We are also working to help ensure high quality health care. Last year, Republicans and Democrats came together to pass legislation to ensure that new mothers and their babies have the option of a 48-hour stay after birth. Since then, there have been troubling reports that due to pressures from health plans, some women fighting breast cancer are released from the hospital only hours after a mastectomy. Today, I am lending my support to bipartisan legislation to guarantee that women can stay in the hospital for 48 hours after a mastectomy. And because Medicare cover 1/3 of all mastectomies, I am also asking Secretary of Health and Human Services to clarify that Medicare provides this option to the over 50,000 elderly women who need it every year.

Recently, I took action to ensure that all Medicare health plans do not restrict communication between doctors and their patients. We should make certain that bipartisan "anti-gag" legislation before the Congress today is passed to ensure that

the same protection is provided to all Americans in all health plans. Our citizens expect and deserve the highest quality health care.

Let us pledge that we will all work together to ensure that their confidence in their health system is never undermined.



Clifford J. Gabriel
01/31/97 07:32:40 PM

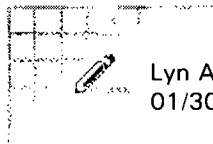
Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP
cc: John H. Gibbons/OSTP/EOP
Subject: Children's Initiative

Elena: Attached is some suggested wording for the State of the Union on a more comprehensive approach to health, social well being and cognitive development of children. I believe this captures what OSTP and DPC has agreed to do through the joint working group and adds some needed context to children's issues. I hope this is useful. Cliff

Besides raising educational standards, we must prepare all our children to learn. Over the next four years, my Administration will advance a comprehensive program on the health, social well-being, and cognitive development of children. We need to improve the health and nutrition of our children; to keep our children away from drugs, tobacco, and other substances and activities hazardous to their well-being; and to better understand the developmental aspects of learning. Research in these areas will play a critical role, just as it did in the development of the successful Head Start program. My balanced budget expands Head Start by one million children by 2002.

I am pleased to announce we will convene a White House Conference on Early Learning and the Brain this spring, to apply the newest scientific insights toward understanding how young children learn. It is never too early to learn, and we can never do too much to help them. I am also establishing a Children's Research Task Force that will link federal agencies, policy makers, and the scientific community to identify the most important needs and opportunities in child and family research.



Lyn A. Hogan
01/30/97 09:23:16 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP, Rahm I. Emanuel/WHO/EOP, Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP
cc: Cheryl M. Carter/WHO/EOP, Diana Fortuna/OPD/EOP
Subject: Eli Segal--SOTU Language on welfare reform



Bruce, Rahm, Elena, **ELI.4**

Eli asked me to draft some SOTU language for the corporate welfare to work entity -- I've attached it. Eli saw it last night and is very happy with it. Right now, he'd like to move ahead with the announcement, providing we can work out the CEO politics and leadership.

Bruce and Rahm -- I think you need to talk to Cheri about the CEOs as soon as possible.

Eli asked me to go back to Cheryl Mills and find out legally how specific the President can be about this new entity. Can he actually call for a 501 c 3? Can he actually appoint Eli--or what. I'll let you know.

Please let me know if you want me to rework/change the attached draft language.

As many of you know, I have worked for nearly a decade to reform this country's welfare system. As Governor of Arkansas and Chairman of the National Governors Association, I was committed to reforming welfare. Over the past four years as President, I have worked tirelessly to improve the lives of the millions of families stuck in poverty with no way out.

Then, last August, I was given the opportunity to sign a far reaching set of reforms that I believe offers those on welfare the opportunity to improve their lives and the lives of their children. I signed that legislation because I believe in my heart that it will make a positive difference in the lives of millions. I am publicly and **personally** committed to ensuring its success.

But I can't do it alone. That is why last summer I challenged all of you to help me move **at least** 1 million recipients off the welfare rolls by the year 2002. Again, I challenge you -- help me move 1 million welfare recipients into work. I call on religious organizations, community organizations, educational institutions, state government, neighborhood organizations, and others to rise to the challenge I have laid before you. And again, I call on the business community to step forward. As much as someone on welfare wants to work and as hard as she might try to find employment, if we don't offer jobs, our effort will fail.

Just a few weeks ago, I met with 14 CEOs committed to meeting my challenge. They and other CEOs pledged to hire welfare recipients and to use their leadership and profits to encourage others to do the same. And for these committed CEOs, there are thousands more I have heard from. I am heartened by this resurgence in corporate responsibility and corporate citizenship. But while these corporations are giving, they are getting back too. They have pledged to hire motivated, hard working individuals who ask **only** for a chance to succeed. These corporations know this. That is why they are involved.

And that is why I am thrilled to announce that XXX, XXX, and XXX, who are sitting in the audience tonight with the First Lady, have agreed to lead a corporate effort to help meet my challenge. Along with a dear and trusted friend of mine and the former head of the Corporation for National Service, Eli Segal, they will mobilize the business community to help put 1 million welfare recipients to work.

Some corporations will directly hire welfare recipients. Others, who may not have available jobs, will encourage and motivate different businesses to hire. Still others might fund specific programs, offer leadership, call on contacts, or recruit other corporations and their employees to the effort.

But whatever their role, of one thing I am sure. If every one of you watching and listening tonight pledges in some way to help those who simply need a chance, we

will far surpass the challenge to move 1 million welfare recipients to work. We will have met a more profound challenge: that of community and spirituality spread nationwide.

Draft 1/30/97 11:30am

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
STATE-OF-THE-UNION ADDRESS
UNITED STATES CAPITOL
FEBRUARY 4, 1997**

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice-President, Members of the 105th Congress, distinguished guests:

I come before you tonight to put forward a plan of action to prepare our people for the challenges of the next century.

We have much to be thankful for. With four years of solid growth, we have won back the strength of our economy. With crime, welfare rolls, teen pregnancy all falling, we are winning back our optimism, our faith that we can master our most difficult social challenges. America won the Cold War, and now we are helping to bring peace and prosperity unrivaled in history throughout the world.

It would be easy to be complacent, to rest at this moment. But we must not rest. We must not win these struggles only to lose this moment of opportunity.

Though we face no enemy bent on destroying us, the enemy of our time is inaction. The global economy, the Information Age, new careers, life-enhancing technology are ours to seize for our people. But if we do not take action, these opportunities could slip from our grasp or even be turned to our disadvantage in this vigorous new world of competition.

Our moment of opportunity is fleeting. A child born tonight will have almost no memory of the 20th Century. Everything she is likely to know firsthand about the progress of America, she will know because of the work we do now to help build the new century. We must focus on our responsibilities to help her and all our children build for the future.

My fellow Americans, the State of our Union is strong, but the opportunity before us is even stronger. So tonight, I issue a call to action -- action by this Congress, action by our states, action by all our people to prepare America for the 21st Century. To answer this call, we must have a new government for a new century, one that gives all our people the means and the power to make the most of their own lives; we must have a new sense of responsibility among all individuals, and we must have a new spirit of community across our nation.

This call to action summons us to work for stronger education and harness the forces of technology and science; to build stronger families and stronger communities; to keep America the world's strongest force for peace, freedom and prosperity. And above all, to build a stronger, more perfect union here at home.

As we prepare for these challenges, we must move quickly to finish the unfinished business before us: balancing our budget, finishing welfare reform, restoring our

democracy.

Over the last four years, we have made our economy grow, by investing in our people, expanding exports and cutting our deficit so it is now the smallest in the industrialized world. Now we must continue to keep our economy growing and interest rates low. We must finish the job of balancing the budget.

In two days, I will propose a detailed plan to balance the budget by 2002.

My plan provides targeted tax relief to pay for education -- to raise a child -- and to buy and sell a new home. The middle class deserves tax relief, and we must give it to them.

My plan proves we can meet all our obligations: lifting the burden of debt from our children and investing in education, training and other things to help them make the most of their lives. It proves we can build on the Vice President's work to modernize and reinvent government so it works better, even as it costs less.

We should not wait years for a constitutional amendment that could cripple our country in time of crisis; we should not wait another year for an agreement. Let this Congress finally balance the budget, and let it happen now -- not later, but now.

When we balance the budget, our job will not be done. In the near future, we must come together, in a bipartisan process, to preserve Social Security, and to reform Medicare to preserve its quality and choice. We must make sure these core programs are as strong for our children as they are for our parents.

There is a second piece of unfinished business for us here: We must make the permanent underclass a thing of the past, and finish the job of welfare reform.

We must build on last year's landmark welfare reform legislation, taking seriously our responsibility to make sure all people who should work, have the opportunity to work.

Our goal is to lift one million people from welfare to work by the Year 2000. Here is my plan: Tax credits to businesses that hire people off welfare. Incentives for companies and job placement firms that create jobs for welfare recipients. Transportation to help people get to work.

Beyond what we do here, I challenge every state: turn welfare checks into private sector paychecks. I challenge every religious congregation: hire someone off welfare. I am pleased that, since last autumn, a growing number of businesses have met my challenge to hire someone off welfare. And I am very pleased to announce tonight that [x] and [x] have agreed to lead a national mobilization of businesses to move people from welfare to work.

To everyone here, whether you supported this law or opposed it -- but especially those of us who supported it -- I say: We have a moral obligation to make sure people who now must

work can work.

And, we must join together to do what Republican and Democratic governors have asked, to restore help for legal immigrants who work hard, pay taxes, and obey the law.

A third piece of unfinished business continues to strain our democracy. Tonight, before the eyes of America, we should commit to passing bipartisan campaign finance reform.

We have just come through an election in which more money was raised and spent on races for Congress and the Presidency than ever before. This system is badly broken. Every one involved in it -- every one of us here -- must take responsibility for this system, and for fixing it.

Senators McCain and Feingold, Representatives Shays and Meehan, have reached across party lines to craft reform. It would curb spending, reduce the role of special interests, create a level playing field between challengers and incumbents and ban the large soft money contributions both parties receive. [And it does something we should have done a long time ago: It bans contributions from people who are not citizens.]

You know and I know: delay will mean the death of reform. We must work together to enact campaign finance reform, and we should do it by the day we celebrate the birth of our democracy, by July 4.

If we balance the budget, finish welfare reform, and enact campaign finance reform, we will have cleared the path to prepare America for the new century ahead.

Then, the most important thing we can do -- and my number one priority as President for the next four years -- is to work together to meet these goals: Every 8 year old will be able to read, every 12 year old will be able to log on to the Internet, every 18 year old will be able to go to college -- and American children must have the best education in the world.

My balanced budget makes an unprecedented commitment to stronger education -- \$42 billion next year. We are going to do our part here in Washington. But when it comes to education, that is nowhere near enough.

I have a plan we all must work on, a Plan for America's Schools, based on four principles, to which we must commit ourselves tonight. [hold up booklet]

First, we must set the highest national standards for education, and help our children reach them. Fourth graders must be able to read, and read well. Eighth graders must be able to do algebra. Twelfth graders must master a rigorous high school curriculum.

Over the next two years, we will develop a national fourth grade reading test and a national 8th grade math test, based on widely accepted, world-class standards. Tonight, I issue a

national challenge: By 1999, every state should require these national tests of basic skills. And to help make sure a high school diploma means something, we should provide the Third International Math and Science Survey -- the TIMSS test -- to every school district that wants it. Children all over the world have taken this test. We should give more of our high school students the chance to test themselves against students around the world.

Raising standards will not be easy. Some of our children will not be able to meet them at first. But the point is, this is how we will lift them up. These tests will help show us who needs extra help, and which schools need improvement. And these tests will help us end social promotion in America, so children move from grade to grade only when they are ready.

To help all our children read, I want a citizen army of one million volunteers to tutor those who need extra help. My balanced budget invests \$2.75 billion for this. Tonight, I am proud to announce that 60 college presidents have pledged tens of thousands of work study students to work one year as reading tutors.

These tests are far more than just tests of our children. This entire endeavor is a test of our nation, of our ability to step up to the challenges of the global economy and the Information Age. We must make American education, like America itself, the envy of the world.

We know our kids can learn. They can do this. But we have to make it possible for them to succeed. This is a challenge to every governor, every teacher, every educator, every parent, every business person in America. We know we can make this work, because we see examples of what works all across this country. Tonight, I am very pleased to have with us two students who scored among the best in the country on the TIMSS test, and their teacher. [Intro TIMSS]

[Teacher] reminds us why the second part of my plan is so important. My budget will help more than 100,000 teachers get national certification as master teachers. We must reward good teachers, and find ways to quickly and fairly remove those few who don't measure up. Now we have to do more to challenge the best of our young people to look at teaching as a career.

The second part of my plan calls on every state to let parents choose the right public school for their children. Innovation and competition will make our public schools better. We must do more to encourage teachers and parents to start public charter schools that set and meet the highest standards. My balanced budget doubles the funding set aside to help start charter schools, so by the Year 2000, there will be 3,000.

We cannot raise our children up in schools that are literally falling down. My budget includes \$5 billion to spur \$20 billion in school construction and modernization over the next four years.

Finally, we must press forward to make sure character education is a part of every curriculum. We cannot raise standards on every other subject if we fail to teach our children how to be good citizens. We should continue to promote order and discipline, supporting communities

that introduce school uniforms, impose curfews, enforce truancy laws, and get disruptive kids out of the classroom.

We must do our part, but the responsibility for success belongs to every American. Tonight, I pledge to take this plan to the country, to enlist America's support in this crusade for tomorrow's children. *[mention of Governors who might be present; legislature speeches?]*

To prepare our people for the 21st Century, we must make the 13th and 14th years of education -- at least two years of college -- as universal in America as high school is today.

My balanced budget does more than ever before to give college scholarships to deserving students, with the largest Pell Grant increase in 20 years.

And, to open the doors to college, we should cut taxes. My balanced budget includes America's HOPE scholarship, a \$1,500 tax credit for college tuition, enough to pay for the typical community college; a \$10,000 deduction for all education after high school; a tax-free IRA so families can save for college.

No working family need ever pay a nickel of taxes on money they save for college -- and I ask you to pass this so every American who works hard can go to college.

All our people must have the chance to learn new skills throughout their lives. The G.I. Bill for Workers will transform the confusing tangle of federal training programs into a single, simple skill grant that will go directly to workers. For too long, this bill has sat before you without action. Our worker training system does not work. It is time to fix it.

We should help parents teach their children in their earliest years. My balanced budget expands Head Start by one million children by 2002. I am pleased to announce we will convene a White House Conference on Early Learning and the Brain and the Vice President's Family Conference this spring, to apply the newest scientific insights toward understanding how young children learn. It is never too early to learn, and we can never do too much to help them.

To prepare America for the 21st century, we must harness these powerful forces of knowledge, science and technology to the service of all Americans.

This is the first State of the Union to be carried live over the Internet. But we have only scratched the surface of the computer revolution.

Last year, I challenged our nation to connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the Year 2000, bringing for the first time the same universe of knowledge to an isolated rural schoolhouse, an inner city high school, or a magnet school in a well-off suburb. My plan increases our Technology Literacy Fund by \$225 million. Last year, Vice-President Gore and I joined 20,000 volunteers to connect thousands of schools in California at the first of [tk] Net Days across America. This year, I challenge every state to have a Net Day. And I challenge

every computer company, communications company, and computer lover in America to join up.

We must build the second generation Internet. My balanced budget includes [\$100 million] to connect 100 universities and national labs with an Internet up to 1,000 times faster than today's -- powerful enough to connect patients in rural hospitals to America's best doctors and cutting edge medical equipment. We must work with the private sector to connect every children's hospital to the Internet as well, so a child in bed can stay in school. We should open the rich world of America's heritage and culture to even more of our people. Tonight, I am pleased to announce that we will be working with the private sector to put 10 million objects in the Smithsonian collection online.

In the last few years, medical breakthroughs have brought new hope to people suffering from spina bifida, AIDS, and cancer. My balanced budget includes a [tk]% increase in funding for our medical laboratories. *[Expected breakthroughs by 2000 to come from NIH]*

As we do all these things to harness the forces of science in our lives, we will press forward to explore the heavens. Through the Mars probes, the international space station, the project to explore the origins of life, we are inspiring our children to join the quest for new knowledge in the 21st Century, even as we discover practical applications that make life better here on Earth.

To prepare America for the 21st Century, we must build stronger families.

In the new century, with new pressures on people in the way they work and live, we must help parents raise strong families and pass on their values to their children.

Every parent must uphold their most sacred responsibility. We should make it a felony for any parent to cross state lines in an attempt to flee from his or her obligation to pay child support. And to America's fathers, let me say: child support is no substitute for the love and discipline your children need from you. You must be there for them.

For four years, the Family and Medical Leave Law has helped millions of our people. Now we should expand Family Leave so parents can take time off for parent teacher conferences or a child's routine checkup. We should pass flextime so workers can choose to be paid for overtime not only in income, but also with time off to be with their families.

For our families to be strong, we must continue, step-by-step, to give them access to affordable, quality health care. My balanced budget will extend health coverage to five million children -- cutting in half the number of uninsured children in America. It will help all people between jobs pay their premiums for up to six months. No child should be without a doctor just because a parent is without a job.

And we must never abandon our efforts to find ways to cover the 40 million Americans who still lack health insurance.

[Last year, we ended "drive-through deliveries," requiring that new mothers and their babies get at least 48 hours of hospital care. This year, we must enact the bipartisan legislation before you to end the dangerous and demeaning practice of drive-through mastectomies.]

We must continue our efforts to protect the health of our children -- and that means fighting to enforce our new rules to stop tobacco advertising aimed at children.

Beyond stronger education, beyond stronger families, to prepare America for the 21st Century, we must build stronger communities.

We must protect our environment and preserve our natural heritage for the 21st century. My balanced budget provides the resources to clean up over 500 toxic waste sites -- 2/3 of all those in America -- by the Year 2000. Our children should grow up next to parks, not poison.

Over the past four years, we saved Yellowstone from mining, established the largest national park south of Alaska in California's Mojave Desert; protected Utah's magnificent Grand Escalante Staircase; and we are working to save the Florida Everglades. Tonight, I am announcing a new category of protected national treasures -- the American Heritage Rivers. We protect our forests. We protect our deserts. We must also protect our cherished rivers -- and we will do it, starting now.

As we restore our communities, we must make sure taxpayers never again pay to clean up polluters' mess. I urge you to pass my proposal to make polluters live by this simple rule: if you pollute our environment, you clean it up.

Some of the worst pollution is in the heart of our cities. Our approach to renewing those neighborhoods, and poor communities across America, is to bring the full force of the private economy to bear -- to create jobs, spur investment by businesses and loans by banks, and restore hope. I urge you to pass the brownfields initiative, restoring contaminated properties to productive use, and to pass a new round of Empowerment Zones to spread economic growth to our poorest inner cities and rural communities.

And we, together, must pledge tonight that we will use these approaches -- including private sector tax incentives -- to renew this great capital city, so it is once again the proud face America shows the world.

In the fight for strong communities, nothing is more important than the fight against crime and violence. Serious crime has dropped five years in a row -- the longest decline in decades. The key has been community policing -- and we must finish the job of putting 100,000 police officers on the street. We should pass a Victims' Rights Amendment to the Constitution. We should set a goal to deport a record 100,000 criminals and other illegal aliens this year.

And, for the next four years, our goal must be to mount a full scale assault on juvenile crime. I will submit comprehensive legislation that declares war on criminal gangs, with new

prosecutors and tougher penalties; gives judges more power to crack down on gang members who intimidate witnesses; extends the Brady Bill so a minor who commits a violent crime will never be given the right to own a handgun; requires trigger safety locks to prevent unauthorized use; and provides resources to keep schools open late, on weekends, and in the summer, so young people have someplace to go and something to say yes to.

Helping young people through service is exactly why President Bush, General Colin Powell, and former Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros joined Vice President Gore and me at the White House to announce the Presidents's Summit of Service, to be held in Philadelphia in April. Out of that summit, we want to mobilize millions of Americans to serve our young people in thousands of ways. Already, AmeriCorps, our national service program, has helped 50,000 young people to work their way through college as they serve America. Citizen service belongs to no party or ideology. It is an American responsibility which all Americans should embrace in their daily lives. And I hope many more of our young people will take up that responsibility as well.

Our young people should never forget that their first responsibility is to take care of themselves.

My balanced budget includes the largest anti-drug effort ever: to stop drugs at their source, punish those who push them, and steer young people away.

Let me say a word directly to you, our children: As we work to build a strong future for you, you have to think about what kind of future you want to have for yourself. Nothing your parents do, nothing anyone can do, will keep drugs out of your hands if you set out to find them. Drugs are deadly. They will ruin your life. Don't let them. It's up to you.

And to prepare America for the 21st Century, we must master the forces of global change and keep American leadership strong in this new time.

Almost exactly fifty years ago -- on March 17, 1947 -- President Harry Truman stood before Congress and called for a national commitment to make America the free world's indispensable nation. We launched the Marshall Plan to rebuild our allies and former adversaries. We created the institutions and provided the resources that brought the West security and prosperity -- and victory in the Cold War. Because of those commitments, more people than ever before share the ideals that define America and the interests we defend.

Now, we face another time of change and moment of choice. We dismantled many of the blocs and barriers that divided the world for our parents. But we still must finish creating the new institutions and understandings that will make the world work for our children. We must commit ourselves anew to taking the steps that will keep America the indispensable nation for the entire world.

Our first task must be to build, for the very first time, an undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe. When Europe is stable, America is more secure. When Europe prospers, so

does America.

Nearly half a century ago, NATO strengthened struggling democracies and paved the way for prosperity in Europe's west. Now, we can do the same for Europe's east by opening NATO's doors to new democracies and building a strong NATO-Russia partnership. This summer, I will go to Madrid for a special NATO summit. Together, we, here, should commit our country to an expanded NATO by 1999, in which countries that were once our enemies become our allies to keep Europe united and at peace.

Second, in a global economy with global security challenges, America must look to the East no less than the West -- and build a true community of nations in the Asia Pacific. Our security demands it: Americans have fought three wars in Asia in living memory. Our prosperity requires it: more than 2 million American jobs depend on trade with Asia.

As we tear down trade barriers and build up our alliances, that Pacific community is taking shape. But we must not let our progress mask the peril that remains. We must dismantle North Korea's frozen nuclear program, as North Korea has agreed. I call on you to fund America's contribution to this effort. And we must advance peace talks between South Korea and North Korea to bridge the final divide of the Cold War.

We must pursue a deeper dialogue with China. An isolated, inward looking China is not in our interest. Instead, we must work together on common problems like weapons proliferation and deal with fundamental differences like human rights. As contacts grow . . . as markets expand and information flows . . . as China plays its rightful role in the world... a more open society can gain strength. I look forward to exchanging state visits with President Jiang -- not because we agree on everything, but because a constructive U.S.-China relationship matters to the world.

Third, the American people will only know true security if they have the opportunity to prosper in the global economy. These past four years, we made it our mission to open markets abroad and create good jobs at home. More than two hundred trade agreements later, America is once again the world's number one exporter and most competitive nation.

Now, we must build on that momentum throughout Asia and Latin America -- and to place the United States at the hub of the two most dynamic regions on earth. I am pleased to announce tonight that I will travel to Mexico in April, then to [tk] in May, to advance that goal. And I will work with Congress to make -- and enforce -- trade agreements that are good for America.

Fourth, we must continue to be an unrelenting force for peace -- from the Middle East to Northern Ireland to Africa. Considered risks for peace lessen the likelihood of more costly conflicts. It encourages other nations to focus on their people, not their arsenals. It helps build a community willing to tackle shared problems together.

In Bosnia, with American leadership, the killing has stopped -- but the habits of peace are

slow to take hold. That is why I agreed for our troops to take part in a smaller follow-on force that should complete its mission by June 1998. The force will help prevent hostilities from resuming so economic reconstruction and political reconciliation can accelerate -- and Bosnia's peace can become self-sustaining. Tonight, I ask Congress to continue its strong support for our troops. They are doing a remarkable job for America -- America must do right by them.

Fifth, we must move strongly against new threats to our security that respect no borders: weapons of mass destruction... terrorism... international crime and drug trafficking. The American people are more secure -- and should be proud -- because we have dramatically reduced the threat of weapons of mass destruction. We reached an historic accord to end nuclear testing for all time. We extended the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. With Russia, we made deep cuts in our nuclear arsenals and agreed to stop targeting each other's citizens. We are working to prevent nuclear materials from falling into the wrong hands and to rid the world of landmines.

But the American people will have no cause for pride if we fail the test of leadership that lies ahead: ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention. The Convention will make our troops safer from chemical attack. It will help us fight terrorism and isolate rogue states. That is why the Reagan Administration negotiated the Convention... the Bush Administration signed it... and XX nations have approved it. Together, let us make the Chemical Weapons Convention law -- and begin to banish poison gas from this earth.

Preparing America for the 21st century cannot be done on the cheap; the price of neglect would be far greater. We must maintain a strong and ready military -- and we will, by increasing weapons modernization funding 40 percent by the Year 2000. Our men and women in uniform have preserved our freedom in the past. They must have the equipment and training to preserve it in the future.

We must renew our commitment to America's diplomacy. Every dollar we devote to diplomacy and to the international financial institutions brings a sure return in security and savings. Yet international affairs spending totals just one percent of the federal budget -- versus sixteen percent when Harry Truman asked America to choose engagement over escapism. We have to do better.

The United Nations can help us spread the risks and the costs of leadership -- saving children's lives, sheltering refugees, giving peace a chance to take hold. Its new Secretary General is committed to reform. As the UN cuts waste and streamlines staff, the United States should pay our debts and our dues.

At the key points of the second half of this century, Republicans and Democrats have disagreed on specific policies. But we have always agreed on the need for American leadership. That bipartisan support has fortified our strength.

Before this month is out, I will ask the leadership of both houses and both parties to meet

with me to work on America's foreign policy agenda. The actions we take, much like the actions we took 50 years ago, will shape the lives of every American for decades to come.

Finally, perhaps our most important leadership of the world grows out of the power of our example -- and our ability to remain strong as One America.

People all over the world are splitting apart because of conflicts of race or religion or ethnicity. And this division is fueling the fanaticism of terror. We are the world's most diverse democracy. And the world looks to us to show it is possible to live and learn together across all differences.

We do this, not only for the world, but for our children. The global economy requires us to cooperate with, for the first time, on billions of people around the world who are different from us. Our diversity in this new era is not a weakness -- it is our greatest strength.

Despite this, we see evidence all around us that our work is not yet done. We have seen it in the awful resurgence of church burnings. We see it every day in the sullen, hopeless faces worn by too many of our youth. And too often, we see it in our corridors of business and halls of government. Too many people still spend their time trying to drive wedges between us -- black against white, haves against have nots, old immigrants against new.

But we also see signs of hope. Two men of faith are with us tonight who reflect the light of reconciliation that must shine in all our lives. Rev. Terrence Mackey is pastor of Mt. Zion AME Church in Greelyville, South Carolina. When his church was one of those destroyed by arson last year, Rev. Mackey refused to give in to bitterness. He and his neighbors -- people of different races and faiths -- joined together to rebuild that church. And I hope no one forgets the words he told his daughter when she asked him how anyone could set fire to their church. He told her, "They didn't burn down the church. They burned down the building in which we hold church. The church is inside all of us."

The second man is one of America's best known pastors, Rev. Robert Schuller. A few days before my second inauguration, Rev. Schuller suggested that I look at Isaiah 58:12, and it was on that verse that I placed my hand when I took the oath of office. It says: "Thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called, the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in." Rev. Mackey and Rev. Schuller teach us that no matter what our differences -- in our faiths, in our backgrounds, in our politics -- we all must be repairers of the breach. We may not all share a common past, but surely we share a common future. Those two men are sitting with my wife Hillary; I'd like them both to stand.

[Over two centuries ago, at the very end of the Constitutional Convention, one of the drafters posed this question: "Can you imagine that this vast country, [spreading across the continent], will 150 years [from now] remain one nation?" That is still the central question for America. Through all the changes we faced as a nation, we did stay together. And now we must imagine that we can do it again, that we can indeed form a more perfect union, despite all the forces of change swirling about us at this remarkable moment. *Cutable*]

This is hard work. But there is nothing more important we can do. Our unity is our greatest strength. It is the "foundation of many generations," the foundation of every other strength we must build for the 21st century.

We don't have a moment to waste. Tomorrow morning, there will be barely 1,000 days until the Year 2000. 1,000 days to prepare our people. 1,000 days to work together. 1,000 days to fulfill our promise. My fellow Americans, we must answer our call to action. Our obligation is clear. We have work to do.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.



04:27:35 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

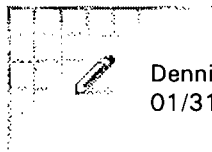
Subject: SOTU Comments

The drug paragraph is perfect but I have one suggestion. I would recommend that we add the PSA campaign to it. I think we will get some play out of it, especially if we are challenging the media. Right after the sentence that ends "steer young people away, " add:

"We have a responsibility to send a consistent anti-drug message to our children. My drug budget provides for a national media campaign so that our children hear that message again and again. I have a challenge to the media --- for every ad we show, match it with another. Turn up the volume.

Now let me say a word directly to you, our children....."

I have another call into Kent on the triggerlock and Brady.



Dennis K. Burke
01/31/97 06:15:39 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: More SOTU comments for Bruce

I talked to Kent Markus at Justice and here are his comments:

1. He wanted to know if we mention "civil rights" anywhere in the speech. The AG thinks it is an area that at the minimum just needs to be mentioned so that no one can accuse us of not mentioning it.

2. He wanted to know where we got the 100,000 criminal aliens goal -- I assumed Steve was looking into that and has been working w/ INS. He did note as an aside that saying "We should" is not as strong as just "Our goal is..."

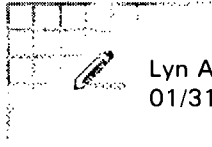
3. He recommends that we mentioned youth alcohol abuse somewhere -- it could fit at the end of "My balanced budget includes the largest anti-drug effort ever: to stop drugs at their source, punish those who push them, and steer young people away **from drugs and alcohol.**"

4. On the Youth Violence Bill paragraph, here are some points I talked through with him:

Change Brady/juvenile sentence to: "Extends the Brady law check to prevent violent juveniles from ever buying a handgun." The current sentence says "extends the Brady Bill so a minor" But technically Brady does not disqualify an individual from buying a handgun -- the 1968 Gun Act does that; Brady is a check of that disqualification. Not an earth-crushing distinction, but the rewrite is not bad rhetorically and more correct.

Change Safety lock sentence: "requires **gun** safety locks to **help** prevent **theft and tragic accidents.**" This takes out "trigger" which is awkward (and actually incorrect because the lock is not on the trigger). "Help" gives us some wiggle room in case someone claims these locks will have no impact. "Theft and tragic accidents" sounds better than "unauthorized use."

Provide resources sentence: wants us to add in this sentence "provides resources to **communities so they can deal with truancy, school violence, and** can keep schools...." AG wanted us to emphasize that the resources are going to the "community" and we have a grant program in the bill -- separate from the Afterschool program -- for anti-truancy, school violence programs, curfews, etc.



Lyn A. Hogan
01/31/97 12:08:34 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP
cc: Elena Kagan/OPD/EOP, Diana Fortuna/OPD/EOP, Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OPD/EOP
Subject: SOTU/Welfare Reform

Bruce,

I read the welfare piece in the SOTU draft. It just doesn't seem like the information or the tone are really adequate for what needs to be done on welfare reform in the SOTU.

I hope this is not too presumptuous of me, but I rewrote the welfare section, using what was there and adding to it. (I think it's pretty good.)



SOTU.WE

Comments on why I rewrote a few of the points: First, it is important that we clarify the wage subsidy piece to include the food stamp check. Second, we need to differentiate between job creation and job readiness/placement /retention. They really are two very distinct methods. Lumping them together confuses people, including employers, and we need to be able to emphasize job retention as a key to making welfare reform work. Third, I think we really need to say more about the corporate effort. What is in the speech now makes it seem insignificant. Fourth, I feel VERY strongly that we need to highlight asset development and IDAs as necessary to break the cycle of poverty. This will give us a real opportunity to work on asset development over the coming year. Fifth, it needs more heart!

If the President's two legacies are to be welfare reform and education, we need to continue to give welfare reform equal space to education reform instead of now downplaying welfare reform.

democracy.

Over the last four years, we have made our economy grow, by investing in our people, expanding exports and cutting our deficit so it is now the smallest in the industrialized world. Now we must continue to keep our economy growing and interest rates low. We must finish the job of balancing the budget.

In two days, I will propose a detailed plan to balance the budget by 2002.

My plan provides targeted tax relief to pay for education -- to raise a child -- and to buy and sell a new home. The middle class deserves tax relief, and we must give it to them.

My plan proves we can meet all our obligations: lifting the burden of debt from our children and investing in education, training and other things to help them make the most of their lives. It proves we can build on the Vice President's work to modernize and reinvent government so it works better, even as it costs less.

We should not wait years for a constitutional amendment that could cripple our country in time of crisis; we should not wait another year for an agreement. Let this Congress finally balance the budget, and let it happen now -- not later, but now.

When we balance the budget, our job will not be done. In the near future, we must come together, in a bipartisan process, to preserve Social Security, and to reform Medicare to preserve its quality and choice. We must make sure these core programs are as strong for our children as they are for our parents.

iana/lyn
There is a second piece of unfinished business for us here: We must make the permanent underclass a thing of the past, and finish the job of welfare reform.

We must build on last year's landmark welfare reform legislation, taking seriously our responsibility to make sure all people who ~~should~~ ^{can} work, have the opportunity to work.

Our goal is to lift one million people from welfare to work by the Year 2000. Here is my plan: Tax credits to businesses that hire people off welfare. Incentives for companies and job placement firms ~~that~~ ^{to} create jobs for welfare recipients. Transportation to help people get to work.

Beyond what we do here, I challenge every state: turn welfare checks into private sector paychecks. I challenge every religious congregation: hire someone off welfare. I am pleased that, since last autumn, a growing number of businesses have met my challenge to hire someone off welfare. And I am very pleased to announce tonight that [x] and [x] have agreed to lead a national mobilization of businesses to move people from welfare to work.

To everyone here, whether you supported this law or opposed it -- but especially those of us who supported it -- I say: We have a moral obligation to make sure people who now must

work can work.

And, we must join together to do what Republican and Democratic governors have asked, to restore help for legal immigrants who work hard, pay taxes, and obey the law.

A third piece of unfinished business continues to strain our democracy. Tonight, before the eyes of America, we should commit to passing bipartisan campaign finance reform.

We have just come through an election in which more money was raised and spent on races for Congress and the Presidency than ever before. This system is badly broken. Every one involved in it -- every one of us here -- must take responsibility for this system, and for fixing it.

Senators McCain and Feingold, Representatives Shays and Meehan, have reached across party lines to craft reform. It would curb spending, reduce the role of special interests, create a level playing field between challengers and incumbents and ban the large soft money contributions both parties receive. [And it does something we should have done a long time ago: It bans contributions from people who are not citizens.]

You know and I know: delay will mean the death of reform. We must work together to enact campaign finance reform, and we should do it by the day we celebrate the birth of our democracy, by July 4.

If we balance the budget, finish welfare reform, and enact campaign finance reform, we will have cleared the path to prepare America for the new century ahead.

Then, the most important thing we can do -- and my number one priority as President for the next four years -- is to work together to meet these goals: Every 8 year old will be able to read, every 12 year old will be able to log on to the Internet, every 18 year old will be able to go to college -- and American children must have the best education in the world.

My balanced budget makes an unprecedented commitment to stronger education -- \$42 billion next year. We are going to do our part here in Washington. But when it comes to education, that is nowhere near enough.

I have a plan we all must work on, a Plan for America's Schools, based on four principles, to which we must commit ourselves tonight. [hold up booklet]

First, we must set the highest national standards for education, and help our children reach them. Fourth graders must be able to read, and read well. Eighth graders must be able to do algebra. Twelfth graders must master a rigorous high school curriculum.

Over the next two years, we will develop a national fourth grade reading test and a national 8th grade math test, based on widely accepted, world-class standards. Tonight, I issue a

Lyn

Last August, I was given the opportunity to sign a far reaching set of reforms that I believe offers those on welfare the opportunity to improve their lives and the lives of their children. I signed that legislation because I believe in my heart that it will help make the permanent underclass a thing of the past. I am **personally** committed to ensuring its success.

But I can't do it alone. That is why last summer I challenged all of you to help me move **at least** 1 million recipients off the welfare rolls by the year 2000. Again, I challenge you. I call on religious organizations, the business community, state government, neighborhood organizations, and others to rise to the challenge I have laid before you. As much as someone on welfare wants to work and as hard as she might try to find employment, if we don't offer jobs, our efforts will fail.

Here is my plan: Tax credits to businesses that hire people off of welfare. Incentives for companies to create jobs. Incentives for job placement firms to prepare recipients for work, place them in jobs, and **help** them keep those jobs! Transportation to help get people to work. And asset based policies like Individual Development Accounts that allow the disadvantaged to save for a first home, higher education, or start a micro business -- all asset building that will help the poor **permanently** climb out of poverty.

Just a few weeks ago, I met with 14 CEOs committed to meeting my challenge. They and other CEOs pledged to hire welfare recipients and to use their leadership to encourage others to do the same. And for these committed CEOs, there are thousands more I have heard from. But while these corporations are giving, they are getting back too. They have pledged to hire motivated, hard working individuals who ask **only** for a chance to succeed. These corporations know this. **That** is why they are involved.

Tonight, I am pleased to announce that XXX, XXX, and XXX, who are sitting in the audience with the First Lady, have agreed to lead an effort to mobilize the business community around my challenge. I urge corporations from whom I haven't heard to join this effort.

Some corporations will directly hire welfare recipients. Some will turn the welfare and food stamp checks into private sector paychecks. Others, who may not have available jobs, will encourage and motivate different businesses to hire. Still others might fund specific programs, offer leadership, call on contacts, or recruit other corporations and their employees to the effort.

To everyone here, whether you supported this law or opposed it -- but especially to those of us who supported it -- I say: We have a moral obligation to make sure people who must work can work.

And we must join together to do what Republican and Democrat governors have asked: to restore help for legal immigrants who work hard, pay taxes, and obey the law.

File: POTU

STATE OF THE UNION 1997
POLICY OPTIONS OUTLINE
(provided by policy councils)
January 24, 1996

ML

To Do

1. Options memo / STAs
- ② Early learning EO (ME)
3. Teachers plan
- ④ Prayer B'fast / Relig. WTW mtg
- PR 5. Call Summers re CSE (Lester)
6. Patient Bill of Rts.
- ⑦ Truancy idea
- ⑧ Ask Dennis re drug campaign
- ⑨ BRATTON
- ⑩ 100,000 cop date
11. SURGEON GENERAL
12. S. Waldman re service ideas

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I. BALANCED BUDGET

Previously Announced

- Pledge to use line item veto (NEC)
- Opposition to balanced budget amendment (NEC)

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

- Support for balanced budget (NEC)
- Medicare reforms (NEC)

New and Approved

To be Decided

- Challenge or tactical move on balanced budget (NEC)
- Identifying items for line item veto (NEC/OMB)
- Discussion of entitlement reforms (NEC)

II. EDUCATION

Plan for America's Schools

K-12

Previously Announced

- Call for high standards (DPC)

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

- Charter schools: budget doubles money (DPC)
- Computers in classroom: \$2B in new budget (NEC/OVP)
- School construction (NEC)
- America Reads challenge: \$2.75B in budget (DPC/NEC)

New and Approved

To be Decided

- Call for national 4th grade literacy test and national 8th grade math test -- and 12th grade test as a graduation requirement? (DPC)
 - Announcement of state legislative campaign for testing and standards
 - Propose model legislation
 - Propose declaration of principles for K-12 school reform
 - Character Educ / Discipline / Parental involvement

Options
memo

Recruit governors to agree to model legislation or principles

Travel to state legislatures to campaign for passage of reform packages

- Use Goals 2000 funds to help states pay for tests
- Tie federal benefits, to students (college loans) or schools (Title I), to performance
- Begin testing and higher standards immediately in military schools
- Train every 6th grade teacher in Internet over one summer (NEC/OVP)
- Announce agreement of a group of college presidents to commit a certain number of work study students to literacy tutoring (NEC)

TEACHERS
Jim Hunt

NOT DAY 279

College

Previously Announced

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

- Hope scholarship (NEC)
- Tax free savings for college (NEC)
 - \$10,000 tax deduction
 - IRAs
- Pell Grant expansion (NEC/DPC)

New and Approved

To be Decided

Early learning

Previously Announced

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

New and Approved

- Announce White House Conference on the Brain (First Lady) → early March
- Announce VP family conference on parental involvement in early learning (OVP) — June 23

To be Decided

- Directive to agencies soliciting ideas on early learning (DPC/NEC)

In Kids in Headshot by 2002, Baby Start 0-3

Training

Previously Announced

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

- Skills grants/GI Bill for workers (NEC)

New and Approved

To be Decided

- Tax credit for training of dislocated workers (NEC)

III. UNDERCLASS

Welfare

Previously Announced

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

- Challenge Congress to pass welfare-to work legislation (DPC)
 - Tax credit to private sector employers
 - Tax credit to private job placement firms
- Challenge to states * WR fix

New and Approved

- Announce how many state plans have been approved, call on others to submit plans (DPC)

To be Decided

- Announce private sector initiative chaired by CEOs (DPC)
 - Announce 800 number for employers to call
- Include provisions to allow non-profits to sell tax credit to for-profits (DPC)
- Religious prayer b'fast

Child support

Previously Announced

- Challenge Congress to make it a felony to cross state lines to avoid paying support (DPC)

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

New and Approved

To be Decided

→ Ask Larry Summers
RE CSE

Urban and community development

Previously Announced

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

- Round Two of Empowerment Zones (NEC)
- More funding for Community Development Financial Institutions

New and Approved

(-DC)

To be Decided

IV. STRENGTHENING FAMILIES

Health care

Previously Announced

- *Workers in Transition*

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

New and Approved

- Children's Health Initiative: measures to reduce the number of uninsured children by 25-50%, in budget (DPC/NEC)

To be Decided

- Breast cancer benefits (Feinstein-D'Amato proposal) (DPC)
- Set goal of an AIDS vaccine by 2000 (Would cost \$5 billion) (OVP)
- *Patient Bill of Rts.* *- Human Genome Project*

↑

Home and work

Previously Announced

- Family leave expansion: allow time off for PTA meetings, routine doctor visits (DPC)
- Flextime: employees choose how to use their overtime (DPC)

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

↑

New and Approved

To be Decided

Protect children

Previously Announced

- Food safety: nationwide early warning system (DPC)
- Tobacco: first regs take effect in February (DPC)
- V-chip: first TVs in one year (OVP), ratings

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

New and Approved

To be Decided

- Cultural issues (i.e., record lyrics?)
- More on tobacco

Internet v-chip
Drug campaign
Skala + record lyrics

V. ENVIRONMENT

Previously Announced

- Make polluters pay (leg?) (OVP)

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

- Toxic waste cleanup: 500 sites, 2/3 by 2000 (OVP/NEC)
- Brownfields cleanup (OVP/NEC)

New and Approved

To be Decided

- Children's Health EO: order all regulators to ensure standards protect children (OVP)
- New national landmark designation for rivers: "American Heritage Rivers" (e.g., Mark Twain's Mississippi (OVP) *Natural River*)
- Expand Right-to-Know: require labeling on products if they cause disease (OVP)
- Income tax checkoff for national parks (OVP)

VII. POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL REFORM

Political reform

Previously Announced

- McCain-Feingold

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

New and Approved

To be Decided

- Electoral reform proposals (e.g., Election Day holiday, Internet voter registration, voting by mail) (DPC)
- Appoint FEC Chair (DPC)

Reinventing government

Previously Announced

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

New and Approved

- Set customer service goals for government by 2000: a series of new benchmarks for day-to-day performance (e.g., no lines in passport office, FBI fingerprints to local police in 12 hours instead of weeks) (OVP)

To be Decided

- Establish new goal for reduction in size of federal workforce by 2000; expected to pass current goal for 2000 this year (OVP)
- Air safety reforms: Announce three major recommendations from VP commission (OVP)
 - New satellite-based navigation system by 2005 (instead of 2015)
 - New, tougher standards for aging aircraft (for first time, test old wiring)
 - \$500 million in NASA funding for air safety R&D

VIII. CRIME

Previously Announced

- Victims' Rights Amendment (DPC)

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

New and Approved

- Juvenile justice bill (DPC)
 - Antigang initiative: \$\$ to prosecutors, tougher sentences
 - Brady expansion to youth offenses
 - Trigger safety lock
 - Antigang witness intimidation
 - After school care
 - Youth violence courts

To be Decided

- Bratton appointment as ^{DoJ} White House community crimefighting czar (community policing, crime watch) (DPC)
- Set date for 100,000 police on the streets (DPC)

Illegal immigration

Previously Announced

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

New and Approved

- 1,000 new border agents this year (in budget) (DPC)
- Speed up deportation of illegals (DPC)

To be Decided

- Challenge Congress to add more agents (DPC)

Drugs

Previously Announced

- Challenge Congress to implement drug testing for driver's license pilot proposal (leg?) (DPC)
- Reiterate steps taken to fight CA and AZ medial marijuana initiatives (DPC)

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

New and Approved

- Largest anti-drug budget ever (detail?) (DPC)

To be Decided

- Endorse national anti-drug campaign (e.g. Red Ribbon) (DPC) *Major ONDCP campaign*
- *Home drug kits* *- Surgeon General*

X. TECHNOLOGY

Previously Announced

Previously Announced, Now Budgeted

- Second generation Internet proposal (OVP/NEC)
- First part of space station goes up in 1997 (OVP)

New and Approved

- Spectrum allocation for law enforcement (NEC)

To be Decided

- "V-Chip" for Internet: voluntary agreement with providers and computer companies to give parents power to screen inappropriate content (OVP)
- Internet connection to children's hospitals (OVP)
- Speed up Human Genome Project: map DNA to help solve genetically-related diseases and defects (OVP)
- Set goal for Library of Congress to put all its old books online within 15 years

- Arts Millennium
- Eddie Mae:

XI. SERVICE

[new proposals to be drawn from Wofford memorandum to President]

• ~~the~~ US service

To be Decided

- Presidential Medal of Service for young people (akin to Presidential Physical Fitness award) (DPC)

XII. FOREIGN POLICY

[to be forwarded by NSC]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 17, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER

FROM: BRUCE REED 

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION

Listed below are proposed policy initiatives that you might want to include in the State of the Union address. I have discussed these initiatives in detail with Jonathan Prince in a series of meetings devoted to the speech. If you or he have further questions about any of the initiatives, please contact me or Elena.

Elementary and Secondary Education

(The NEC will provide you with proposals on higher education and lifetime learning.)

1. Standards. The President should challenge states and school districts to set rigorous standards for their students by adopting national tests in the core subjects of 4th grade reading and 8th grade math. These tests would provide parents with accurate information about school and student performance, which is the first step toward raising performance levels. The President also could announce that he is directing the Department of Defense to adopt these tests immediately in all military schools. He can also challenge every state to adopt higher standards for teachers and for schools, call for an end to social promotions, and call on every state to institute graduation exams so that high school diplomas mean something.

2. Charter schools. The President's budget doubles funding for charter schools. The President can repeat his challenge that every state adopt public school choice and charter school laws.

3. Information technology. The President should restate his goal of ensuring that every child in America has access to the information age by wiring every school to the Internet by the year 2000. In addition to highlighting the progress already made toward achieving this goal, the President could call on universities in all 50 states to provide technology and internet training for elementary school teachers.

4. After-school care. The President should announce his budget proposal to keep schools open late, which will keep young people off the streets and help the large number of working parents with latch-key kids. We hope soon to have the exact number of schools that the President's budget request would allow to remain open between 3:00 p.m. and 8 p.m.

Health

(The NEC will provide you with policy initiatives on Medicare coverage.)

1. Children's Health Initiative. The President should announce his Healthy Kids Initiative, which would give states the money to provide insurance coverage for a couple of million children and reduce the total number of uninsured children by one-quarter to one-third.

2. Health-care quality. The President can endorse legislation co-sponsored by Senators Feinstein and D'Amato that would help women with breast cancer to get insurance coverage for a number of services that are now not usually paid for, such as reconstructive surgery and second opinions. He can also call for an end to drive-by mastectomies -- i.e., discharging women who have undergone mastectomies before their pain and other post-operative problems have subsided.

Crime and Drugs

1. William Bratton and community policing. The President should demonstrate his commitment to the community policing revolution by appointing the nation's most successful cop, former NYPD Commissioner William Bratton, to a senior position in the White House or Justice Department. Bratton's assignment would be to help transform policing in the 30 largest cities with the most crime, starting with Washington, D.C. The President could point to Bratton sitting in the First Lady's box at the State of the Union.

2. Juvenile crime. The President should announce his package of juvenile crime initiatives, which includes cracking down on gangs (through stepped-up prosecutions), imposing tougher sentences, extending Brady background checks to violent juvenile offenses, requiring that guns have safety locks preventing unauthorized users from firing them, supporting local truancy and curfew initiatives, and creating youth violence courts.

3. Victims' Rights Amendment. The President should reiterate his support for the Victims' Right Amendment and challenge Congress to pass it.

4. Illegal immigration. The President should announce the addition of 1,000 new border agents this year and challenge Congress to grant authority to add still more agents. In addition, the President should announce a proposal to speed up the deportation of illegal aliens.

5. Anti-narcotics efforts. The President should announce the submission to Congress of the largest anti-drug budget ever. He should challenge Congress to pass legislation that would implement his pilot proposal to reduce adolescent drug use by requiring drug tests for a driver's license. And he should reiterate the steps he has taken to combat the ill-considered passage of the California and Arizona medical marijuana initiatives.

6. Brady. The President should announce new figures on the impact of the Brady law.

Welfare

1. Approving state welfare plans. The President should announce how many state welfare plans, with tough work requirements, have been approved by the Administration. He should highlight the best of those plans and call on the remaining states to submit similar proposals.

2. Welfare-to-work initiatives. The President should continue challenging Congress, the states, and the private sector to put welfare recipients to work. In addition to stating his legislative proposals (a \$400 million tax credit and \$3 billion for hiring incentives, placement vouchers, and work money), the President should announce the creation of new bipartisan national campaign, chaired by two CEOs (and run by Eli Segal) to mobilize businesses to hire welfare recipients. We may be able to announce, as part of this effort, the creation of an 800-number that would provide private employers interested in hiring people off welfare with needed information.

3. Child support. The President should challenge Congress to pass his proposal to make it a felony to cross state lines to avoid paying child support.

Families

1. V-chip. The President should note the one-year anniversary of the telecommunications bill, including its v-chip provision. He also should remind the Congress and the American people that as a result of that bill, in one more year -- i.e., in February 1998 -- every newly manufactured mid- or large-sized TV will include a v-chip.

2. Tobacco regulation. The President should announce that the first part of the FDA regulations on tobacco, which addresses sales of cigarettes to minors, goes into effect this month.

3. Food safety. The President should announce that he is putting in place a nationwide early-warning system to catch outbreaks of food-borne illness sooner and provide the data necessary to prevent outbreaks from happening in the first place.

4. White House Conference on Early Learning and the Brain. The President should announce a White House Conference on the Brain, to take place in March, which will highlight new scientific evidence on the importance of early learning. He can also announce that he has directed every federal agency to report back with a plan to advance this issue.

1/9/97

80TH Meeting - Elaine/Katie/Greg

Katie:

3 categories:

1) Toxics - Kalamazoo basin stop

- a) accel. Speeded cleanups - $\frac{2}{3}$ by 2000 in budget
- b) brownfields red in blighted urban areas - also budget
- c) common vt to know on chemicals - tying this into (reg init) could have rules - expanding # of cos. That will have to report -
- d) EO - focus on kids - when regulating

?? 2)

3) Global environment - link b/w env + nat. rec.

G7 in U1 This year

Focus - env / sustainable dev.

UN Gen'l Ass'y - also.

Anything in back of minds?

- Checkoff on tax forms for nat parks
- Restoring rivers

Greg:

97 - launched 1st part of space station

Ed. tech - V-chip - Feb 98 - 15" + over

we said -

connect all schools in emp zones in 96 - we did this.

state - generally - from 3% to 20%

classrooms/labs/hoops - we've said.

highly subsidized service to schools - still up in air

start by connected kids hoops - local schools - kids stay in school?!

no just d-private sector

Tech. prog - a few. But been successful

Any research - AIDS/ ~~low~~ cancer -

Drug research very weak

Telecom - arriv. of bill as Feb: challenged by to pass last yr. -

v-chip/ed rate /ed tech

Lucid - KEY space stati-
v-chip
ed tech
ch hosp

Elaine:

Diversifying - Promised 284,000 ^{FTE} cuts by 2000.

Now - 284,000 !

By 2000 - maybe 300,000 head count (not FTE)

14 rules of how we govern in a bal budget rule

Estab benchmarks for top govt services -

passports / nothing ss into / ~~etc~~ tax stuff

so not which better (not just costing here)

Not an experiment anymore - This is how the

way we run the govt

Family Partnership for Strong Families (NPR/DFC)

1x per yr - fed govt publish

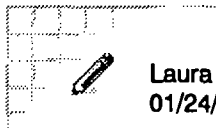
nat family indicators (like econ ^{measuring} health)

will bring of fam/hide

HTH - list of stat indicators already existing -

dev. new + more meaningful indicators.

Makes "what" govt - cost how we measure our progress.



Laura K. Capps
01/24/97 03:19:42 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Paul J. Weinstein Jr./OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: SOTU Research

Here's stuff that I need on education and crime. I already talked to Burke, but he sounded pretty busy. Michael and Jonathan are writing the first draft this weekend so the sooner we can pull some stats the better.

I know the education stuff should go to Mike Cohen, but I thought I would give it to you, as the SOTU dpc point person.

Call me when you have a chance,

Thanks 6-2554.

Laura

Education

K-12

- how do our schools rank globally?
- e.g.s of curriculum that needs to be toughened (see draft of today's spch)
- how many charter schools are there/ and how many will our budget allow for?
- success stories of charter schools
- # of kids in charter schools.
- confirm stat that the largest amount of kids entered school this year.
 - projections for the number of kids who will enter in 2000?

college

- how many ppl have we helped go to college/increase in college students
- how many people would not have been able to go to college
 - get info on Pell grants
 - Work study students
- what % of kids go to college today
- how did we make it more affordable?
- avg age of people in community college (I think it's in late 20s)

- how many comm colleges?
- when, really, did we make education universal
- get Princeton speech.
- who did we make college more affordable for?

school construction

- get stats from announcement/GAO report

Computers in classroom

- new stuff? What % of schools are connected now?
- net day california stuff S.F. and Oakland
- School vs. Home computers (stats?)

impact of parents reading to their children

of people involved in literacy tutoring

projections for the classroom size in the 21st century

Welfare

new stats

how many states approved?

RFK quotes on welfare (from the signing statemetn) and FDR too

synopsises and capsulizations

best plans around the country

#of actions that have been taken by the IRS.

Examples of companies who hire welfare recipients

anecdotal stories of welfare-to-work successes

PUEBLO Colorado speech on child support

Crime

- statistics
- how many fewer crimes & crime victims (NOT %%, but real ##s)
- lurid stories and names of gangs and gang incidents
- success stories of community policing -- especially NEW YORK
- # of sex predators caught
- new brady bill numbers
- assault weapons ban prosecutions
- # of those sentenced to the death penalty
- trigger lock proposal



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

January 16, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE REED AND JONATHAN PRINCE

From: Kathleen A. McGinty *BY for*

cc: Don Bear, Rahm Emanuel, Michael Waldman, Elena Kagan, Elaine Kamarck, Greg Simon

Subject: State of the Union policy ideas

*Bruce —
I like the children's
Health EO and the
Right-to-Know. And given
how closely allied these proposals
are to our own issue
agenda, it might make
sense to plug into
discussions — I guess
through Paul
Elizabeth.
Do you agree?
Elena*

Following are several options for new “bully pulpit” challenges or policy commitments on the environment, as requested in our meeting with Jonathan, Elena, Elaine and Greg.

As I noted at the cabinet retreat, the next four years present a unique opportunity with environmental policy to reaffirm basic American values for our families, our communities and our future. Specifically, actions we take during the second term can ensure that our food is safe, our water is pure, our air is clean; our natural heritage is maintained for future generations; and our global security is enhanced through sustainable development.

The following new ideas are designed to supplement existing commitments, which we suggest reaffirming in the speech but in the interest of space do not describe again in this memo. These commitments were announced at the Kalamazoo train event and include cleaning up 500 toxic waste sites, expanding the cleanup and redevelopment of urban “brownfields,” and strengthening environmental crimes enforcement to make polluters pay to clean up their mess.

As you will see from the following descriptions, these initiatives are in various stages of vetting. We can complete vetting for one or more of these announcements in time for the speech, but probably not for all of them at once. I will contact you shortly to see which you want me to pursue.

- **Income Tax Checkoff for National Parks.** President Clinton should make a stirring defense of national parks, forests, and monuments against those who would starve them for funds, open them to abuse, or sell them off. He should align himself with these highly popular icons, the value of which can be described in historic, environmental, economic, public health, and family recreation terms. As a specific step, President Clinton could announce a new income tax checkoff for national parks. National Parks are as American

as baseball and apple pie, and we ought to make them the best they can be -- despite increased wear and tear from ever-growing crowds.

Status: The income tax checkoff is in the early stages of vetting. Policy decisions include whether to pursue the concept itself and how to spend the money. It could be earmarked for new purchases, made available for cooperative ventures with local land trusts, or made available each year for a special purpose to be announced by the President (e.g., Headwaters this year, or reconstructing Yosemite after the floods) in order to discourage Congress from simply subtracting the new funds from each NPS appropriation.

Noteworthy side benefit: A stirring defense of national parks *and public lands* as an integral part of every American's birthright (as opposed to a defense of national parks alone) could also be very desirable to set the stage for this year's Congressional battles over reversing the President's Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, or selling off or devolving to the states national forests and BLM lands -- each of which are important recreational outlets across the country. For example, Forest Service programs pump \$130 billion into GDP each year and 77% is generated by recreation, compared to only 2.7% from timber.

- **American Heritage Rivers.** Many rivers in this country are inextricably linked to our history, literature, trade and commerce, indeed our entire culture. These rivers -- Mark Twain's Mississippi, Lewis and Clark's Yellowstone, the Hudson -- are our heritage. President Clinton could announce a new designation, *American Heritage River*. This designation could be President Clinton's signature stewardship creation, much as Teddy Roosevelt created the first Wildlife Refuge and established the first national forests.

The designation, by executive order, would probably not trigger regulatory action by itself; it would declare a national landmark, call on all Americans to work to restore these rivers and commit the federal government to work with local governments and citizens to ensure their protection. Most likely, the President would announce the new designation, *American Heritage River*, but not name rivers until a later date. Criteria for designating a river could include cultural, historic, economic, environmental importance and/or need for restoration. Mayors, historians, writers, citizens groups, etc., could have an opportunity to propose rivers for designation. Since each river's needs would be different, the executive order could direct all federal agencies to work with states and local communities to design regional restoration plans unique to each river.

Status: Proposed concept in memo for Cabinet retreat. Initial stages of vetting. Decisions include whether to pursue the concept, whether the President would announce the concept first, or only announce the concept if the executive order itself is ready, whether to propose rivers or ask for submissions, and the extent to which the designation is rhetorical and the extent to which it also carries specific federal commitments.

- **Children's Health Executive Order.** Because children are more susceptible than adults to certain types of environmental and other hazards they are not always sufficiently protected. By executive order, the President would order all regulatory agencies to ensure that their standards protect children. As the President often says, "No child should have to live near a toxic waste dump. No child should have to drink water contaminated with chemicals. No child should have to eat foods poisoned with pesticides."

Status: Proceeding with WH/interagency discussions on whether to proceed and how to define the order. It might make sense to announce the intent, rather than the final order.

- **Expand Family Right-to-Know.** This is the next step to fulfilling the Right-to-Know from the Kalamazoo train stop, where the President promised to expand right to know but did not offer details. The President could challenge Congress to pass legislation that would provide enhanced information to assist families in making informed choices about consumer products exposing children to toxic chemicals.

Status: Currently in WH/interagency discussion on whether to proceed at all and how aggressive to be. Less aggressive options can be taken by executive action.

- **Call for Global Cooperation on Environmental Issues.** One of the Clinton Administration's defining foreign policy accomplishments is the integration of environmental concerns into national security objectives. We recommend the President use the bully pulpit to issue a call for greater cooperation on global environmental issues in the foreign policy section of the remarks. We suggest something along the lines of the Australia remarks, "Pollution has contempt for borders -- that what comes out of a smokestack in one nation can wind up on the shores of another an ocean away. . . . We know that protecting the environment can affect not only our health and our quality of life, it can even affect the peace. In too many places, including those about which we read too often now on the troubled continent of Africa, abuses like deforestation breed scarcity, and scarcity aggravates the turmoil which exists all over the world."

Finally, there are a number of policy initiatives, such as mining reform or expanded incentives for endangered species protection, which we do not recommend including in the remarks, but might be included in a policy backgrounder accompanying the speech, if appropriate. Similarly, the method for pursuing some of these objectives, such as an omnibus environmental bill rather than statute-by-statute reauthorization, might be included in such a document. For more information about the rest of the agenda, contact me or my office.

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON WHITE HOUSE FELLOWSHIPS

1/13/97

Brice -

I hope this is useful - like I said, it is a sort of rough "Cliff Notes" of domestic policy assertions in SOU addresses. (I have copies of the full addresses)

I've also included a paper on the Reagan / Bush transition.

It seems that Clinton 1 - 2 transition has some interesting similarities - the opposition Congress; the conflicting public expectations; the nuanced "who stays, who goes" etc.

I also have a memo listing passages from presidential memoirs which describe the president's thoughts on transitions, SOU's & policy choices - happy to send you a copy.

1
Sally Sanford

1

Harvard University

John F. Kennedy School of Government

Domestic Policy Choice in the Modern Presidency
The State of the Union Address
by
Stefanie Sanford

This memo contains a list of the policy statements made in state of the union messages by presidents since Eisenhower. Where possible, I have made distinctions between legislative requests, budget requests and policy assertions. Where clear, I have reported the guiding principles for the term enunciated by the president in those addresses. In Paul Light's, The President's Agenda: Domestic Policy Choice from Kennedy to Reagan, he defines the president's agenda in terms of issues, alternatives and priorities, and uses the criteria of OMB i/a clearance and mention in at least one state of the union message in a president's term to indicate inclusion in the "president's agenda." Distinguishing between an enunciated priorities and specific legislative requests was difficult in most cases. Therefore, what is here is a list of domestic policies mentioned in those addresses, categorized whenever possible. Congressional Quarterly claimed in President Bush: The Challenge Ahead, that all modern presidents, with the exception of Kennedy, had experienced decreasing levels of legislative success as their terms progressed.

Occasionally, in these notes, I have added quotes that I found to be particularly telling or ironic, and notes where things paralleled issues or involved people I knew from Texas politics.

List of Specific Policy Items

Eisenhower

1953

"The time that this administration has been in office has been too brief to permit preparation of a detailed and comprehensive program of recommended action to cover all phases of the responsibilities that devolve upon our country's new leaders. Such a program will be filled out in the weeks ahead of us as, after appropriate study, I shall submit additional recommendations for your consideration."

Four aims:

- Application of America's influence in world affairs with such fortitude and such foresight that it will deter aggression and eventually secure peace;
- Establishment of a national administration of such integrity and such efficiency that its honor at home will ensure respect abroad;
- Encouragement of those incentives that inspire creative initiative in our economy, so that its productivity may fortify freedom everywhere;

Dedication to the well-being of all our citizens and to the attainment of equality of opportunity for all, so that our Nation will ever act with the strength of unity in every task to which it is called.

Outlined broad areas of interest, set agenda. Little substantive detail.

- Balanced budget.
- Tax reform.
- Elimination of wage and price controls.
- FBI investigations of federal appointees.
- Plans for resource conservation.
- Hawaii statehood.
- Special Agricultural Advisory Commission
- Taft Hartley amendments.
- End desegregation.
- Immigration reforms.
- OASDI expansion.
- Study on schools/classroom construction and federal funds to state and local governments.

1954

p. 286 Mandate

"I intended to ask the Congress to pass a variety of new laws which would set forth for the first time definitively the administration's thinking on many major public policies."

Legislative

- Forfeiture of citizenship for conviction of conspiring to overthrow the government
- Expansion of OASDI benefits and eligibility (+ 10 million beneficiaries)

- Improve Labor Management Relations Act
- Extend/expand unemployment insurance.
- Hawaii statehood.
- Constitutional amendment to lower voting age to 18.

Economic/budget

- Tax measures to stimulate consumer and business spending
- Grant in aid activities
- Strengthen old age and unemployment insurance measures
- Improved agriculture programs
- Public works plans "laid well in advance"

"This mere enumeration of these subjects implies the vast amount of study, coordination, and planning to say nothing of authorizing legislation, that altogether make our economic preparedness complete."

Tax reform -- 25 proposals.

Modified agriculture price supports

1955

Legislative

- Proposals to increase the attractiveness of a military career.
- Program to rebuild the civilian part of the arms forces.
- Interstate highway system
- Establish Office of Public Works in the EXOP
- Federal disaster assistance
- "A coordinated program to strengthen and improve existing health services."
- Proposals to address "gaps" in health services
 - measures to help facilitate construction of health facilities and reduce shortages of personnel
 - fight mental illness
 - improved services for crippled children and maternal and child health
 - better consumer protection under food and drug laws
 - strengthen programs to fight pollution
- Plan to help states deal with juvenile delinquency
- Increase in minimum wage (to \$0.90/hr.)
- Establish Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts.

Repeats:

- Conservation efforts: upper Colorado River Basin.

- Classroom shortages
- Agriculture policy.
- Extension of the Small Business Act of 1953
- Modifications to the Labor Management Relations Act
- Increase postal rates
- Hawaii statehood
- Voting age to 18
- Extension of the Reorganization Act
- Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

Budget

+ 35,000 new public housing units over 2 years.
Congressional and executive pay raise.

1956

"Many measures of great national importance recommended last year to the Congress still demand immediate attention:

Repeats:

- School construction
- Highway construction
- Health
- Immigration
- Water resources
- Labor Management Relations Act amendments
- Occupational safety
- Disaster relief.
- Interstate Highway system.
- Increase in minimum wage
- Housing proposals
- Hawaii statehood

"I expect the budget to be in balance during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956. I shall propose a balanced budget for the next fiscal year ending June 30, 1957."

Legislation

- Steps to speed the transition in agriculture
- Soil bank program
- Measures to strengthen individual commodity programs.

- Comprehensive legislative program for water conservation.
- Postal reform
- Further expansion of OASDI eligibility
- Federal pension disclosure
- increases in FHA mortgage insurance authority

1957

Repeats

Administration civil rights proposals

- Creation of bipartisan commission to investigate asserted violations
- Creation of civil rights division in DOJ
- Voting rights laws
- Laws to permit the Federal Government to seek from the civil courts preventive relief in civil rights cases.

Proposals

Broad national inquiry into the quality of financial institutions; with likely legislative proposals to follow.

Promise of future messages on:

- Financial and fiscal affairs
- Military and civil defenses
- Administration of justice
- Agricultural economy
- Domestic and foreign commerce
- Increase in postal rates
- Labor Management Act
- Natural resources
- HEW issues
- Atomic energy
- Public works
- "continued efforts to eliminate Government competition with the Businesses of taxpaying citizens."

1958

"There are two tasks confronting us that so far out weigh all others that I shall devote this year's message entirely to them: the first is to insure our safety through strength.

The second to do the constructive work of building a genuine peace....the Soviets are, in short, waging total cold war."

Proposals: Most concern defense, foreign policy, trade and foreign aid.

Domestic:

- A balanced program to improve our resources, involving an investment of about a billion dollars over a 4 year period. New activities at HEW to encourage improved teaching quality in crease related to national security.
- Fivefold increase in sums available to the National Science Foundation for the same purposes.

1959

Repeats

- Hawaii statehood
- Agriculture policy

Legislative

- Tax reform
- Line item veto
- Flexibility in extending federal credit
- Amend the Employment Act of 1946 to maintain buying power of the dollar

1960

"Among current problems that require solution participated in by citizens as well as Government:

- *Protect the public interest during prolonged labor management stalemates*
- *Come to grips with one sector of American agriculture.*
- *Threat of inflation and the ever-present tendency towards fiscal irresponsibility*
- *Denial of some of our citizens equal protection under the law.*

Repeats

- Agriculture policy -- to gear production more closely to markets, end surpluses and provide greater freedom in farm operations.
- Civil rights
- Education funds

Kennedy

1961

- Improvements in unemployment compensation through temporary increases in duration of benefits, food for families of unemployment, aid to their children; expansion of services of US employment offices; tax incentives for plant investment; raising and expanding of the minimum wage.
- Establishment of HUD.
- Federal grants for higher and public school education.
- Health care for the elderly under Social Security.
- "New legislative safeguards for juvenile crime."
- National Peace Corps.

1962

Legislative

- Manpower Training and Development Act.
- Youth Employment Opportunities Act.
- 8% tax credit for investment in machinery and equipment: "to spur modernization, growth and ability to compete abroad."
- "Presidential 'stand by' authority" to adjust personal income tax rates downward. (subject to congressional veto)
- Presidential stand by authority to accelerate Federal capital improvement programs (upon a given rise in the unemployment rate.)
- Permanent strengthening of the unemployment program.
- Comprehensive farm reform.
- New long range conservation and recreation program -- expansion of national forests and parks.
- Equal employment opportunity.
- Voting rights Act -- elimination of use of literacy tests and poll taxes.
- "new public welfare program," stressing services instead of support, rehabilitation instead of relief, and training for useful work instead of prolonged dependency.
- Aid to medical and dental colleges and the establishment of the National Institute of Health.
- Mass Immunization program; to prevent diphtheria, polio, whooping cough and tetanus.
- Improvements in the Food and Drug laws -- strengthening inspection and standards, halting unsafe and worthless products; preventing misleading labels, and cracking down on the sale of illicit sale of habit forming drugs.
- Health insurance for the elderly.
- A massive attack to eliminate adult illiteracy.

- Bills to improve educational quality;
- *Budget Elements*
 - Postal rate increase.
 - Tax reforms: to remove unwarranted preferences, apply dividends and interest to the same withholding as wages.
 - Extension of excise and corporate tax rates , with the exception of those taxes affecting transportation.
- Provide federal loans for the construction of academic facilities and federally financed scholarships.
- Repeat -- teacher salaries and public school aid.
- Space -- “Our aim is not simply to be first on the moon, any more than Charles Lindbergh’s aim was to be the first in Paris...our aim is to develop a new frontier of science, commerce and cooperation, the position of the United States and the Free World.”
- Five year Trade Expansion Action.

1963

Principles: Invest in youth; Safeguard the nation’s health; Protect the basic rights of citizens; Make best economical use of resources and facilities.

- Tax reduction/tax reform. Permanent reduction in personal tax rates, down to 14-65%. To be phased in incrementally over the next three years.
- *Repeats:* contribution to retirement health program through Social Security;
- increase numbers in medical and dental colleges;
- voting rights
- Federal aid to urban transit systems;
- Eliminate farm surpluses.
- Plan for future growth needs of national parks, wilderness reserves, etc.

Johnson

1964

Opening: sounds like Sorensen's work, with the Kennedy-esque "Let us" construction.
"Let this session of Congress be known as the session which did more for civil rights than the last hundred sessions combined; as the session which enacted the most far reaching tax cut of our time; as the session which declared an all-out war on human poverty and unemployment in these United States; as the session which finally recognized the health needs of all our older citizens; as the session in which reformed our tangled transportation and transit policies; as the session which achieved the most effective, efficient foreign aid program ever; and as the session in which helped build more homes, more schools, more libraries and more hospitals than any single session of Congress in the history of our Republic."

"Let us carry forward the plans and programs of John Fitzgerald Kennedy -- not because of our sorrow or sympathy, but because they are right."

Legislative

- Special effort in the chronically depressed areas of Appalachia.
- Expand area redevelopment program.
- Youth employment legislation to put youth to work on useful projects.
- Broaden food stamp program.
- National service corps (domestic peace corps)
- Modernize unemployment insurance.
- Establish a high level commission on automation.
- Extend minimum wage laws to additional 2 million workers.
- Special school aid funds and a new education program to improve the quality of teaching, training and counseling in "hardest hit areas."
- Hospital insurance for the elderly, financed by every worker and his employer through a \$1 per month additional contribution to social security. (Medicare)

- Revised housing and urban renewal program -- more housing for the poor and elderly, with the ultimate goal of a decent home for all Americans.
- Modernized mass transit.
- Billion tax cut, to create new jobs.
- Legislation authorizing the creation of a tripartite industry committee to determine on an industry by industry basis as to where a higher penalty rate for overtime would increase job openings without unduly increasing costs.
- Civil rights bill (pending).
- Open immigration -- by asking, "What can you do for our country?" rather than, "In what country were you born?"

1965

Toward The Great Society

Principles:

- A Growing Economy
- Opportunity for All
- To Enrich the Life of All
- The Government

Legislative

- Program in education to ensure that every American child the fullest development of mind and skills (Head Start) \$1.5 Billion.
- Massive attack on crippling and killing disease.
- National effort to help cities.
- Increase the beauty of American and end the poisoning of rivers and air.
- Develop distressed regions of the US.
- New efforts to control and prevent crime and delinquency.
- Eliminate every remaining obstacle to the right and opportunity to vote.
- Honor and support achievements of thought and the creations of art.
- All out campaign against waste and inefficiency.
- Substantial cut in excise taxes.
- Changes to Taft Hartely Act. (from 1960 and 1964 Democratic party platform.)

- New policy for the merchant marine.
 - High speed rail between urban centers. (interesting that Barnes and Connelly would end up as High speed rail lobbyists 30 years later in Texas.)
 - Civil Rights.
 - Immigration policy based on, "the work a man can do, not where he was born."
 - Community Centers to help the mentally ill and improve health care for school age children.
 - New programs of help for the basic community facilities and for neighborhood health and recreation centers.
 - R -- HUD.
 - Train law enforcement officers;
 - To put best techniques of modern science at their disposal;
 - Discover causes of crime and ways to prevent it. (LEAA)
 - Seek legal power to prevent air and water pollution.
 - River clean up.
 - White House conference on Natural Beauty. (imagine if Clinton were to call such a thing)
 - National Foundation on the Arts.
-
- Programs to encourage basic science, and especially focusing on the research to use oceans as a source for fresh water.
 - Review entire executive branch to ferret out waste, fraud and abuse.
 - Continuity of leadership in the event of presidential illness or death.
 - Reforms to the electoral college, to ensure that no elector can substitute his will for the will of the people.

Budget

- Raising benefit payments to the elderly;
- Double war against poverty.
- New support for dental and medical schools.

(see subsequent detailed proposals over the next 6 weeks for specifics in "national action.")

"A president does not shape a new and personal vision of America. He collects it from the scattered hopes of the American past."

1966

"We are engaged in a brutal and bitter conflict in Vietnam...It must be the center of our concerns."

New proposals

- Provide full resources to carry forward the health and education reforms enacted last year.
- Prosecute the war on poverty.
- New and daring direction to foreign aid.
- Program to rebuild the entire central and slum areas of cities.
- Attack poisoning of rivers.
- Fight crime by building up law enforcement and by revitalizing the federal system from prevention to probation.
- Outlaw discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.
- Create the Department of Transportation.
- Constitutional amendment to extend congressional terms to four years.
- Temporary restoration of the automobile and telephone excise tax reductions made effective 12 days ago.
- More effective withholding, speed up collections of corporate taxes and make other necessary simplifications.
- Non discriminatory jury selection.
- Community Development Districts.
-
- Improve unemployment insurance. (Taft Hartely revisions)
- "other proposals to stimulate and reward planning for the growth of metropolitan areas."
- Highway Safety Act.

- Consumer protection initiatives.
- Construction of supersonic aircraft.
- Campaign finance reform. -- including tax incentives for political contributions and removing unrealistic restrictions on contributions.
- Federal system commission.

"I believe that we can continue the Great Society while we fight in Vietnam."

1967

Beginning to focus more heavily on past tense.

Accomplishments of the past 3 years:

- Struck down legal barriers to equality.
- Improved education of 7 million deprived children and enabled 1 million students to go to college.
- Brought medical care to older people -- half million have already received treatment under Medicare.
- 3 million new jobs.
- 9 million new workers under minimum wage.
- Training programs for 1 million.
- Grants to 1000 communities to attack poverty.
- 1 million in Head Start.
- 1 million in Neighborhood Youth corps.
- 10 agency reorganizations.
- \$40 B in grants to state and local governments.
- 70% of federal expenditures for domestic social programs will be distributed through state and local governments.
- LEAA passage.

New proposals

- Creation of the Department of Business and Labor.
- Eliminate age discrimination.
- Proposals to end rural poverty.
- "self help assistance" to Indians and migrant farm workers.
- Right to privacy -- outlaw all wire tapping.

- Development of educational TV.
- Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967.
 - 90% of the cost of developing local plans
 - 60% of training costs
 - 50% of costs of building crime labs and police academies.
- Consumer Issues
 - cost of credit
 - power failures
 - household safety
 - natural gas safety

Budget

- Raise Social Security Payments overall avg. of 20%
- Raise the limits that retired workers can earn without losing SS income.
- Extend Medicare benefits to 1.3 million disabled under age 65.
- 6% Surcharge on corporate and individual income taxes -- to fund Vietnam.

"We are in the midst of a great transition -- a transition from narrow nationalism to international partnership..."

1968

Began this address with Vietnam and foreign policy -- most recommendations in the foreign policy area.

"Americans are as prosperous as men have ever been in recorded history Yet there is in the land a certain restlessness -- a questioning..."

Legislative

- Educational opportunity Act -- help disadvantaged go to college.
- Drug Control Act -- stricter penalties for LSD.
- Legislation to encourage veterans to devote themselves to public service. (ironically similar to our "Troops to Cops," initiative.
- New housing units for poor families.
- 6 Million units over the next 10 years.
- Child health care program.
- "vital consumer protection laws submitted by LBJ last year."
- New powers for the FTC.
- New safeguards for fish and poultry and safety of community water supplies.
- Protection against radiation from TV's (!) and other electronic equipment.

- New federal ADA's.
- Establishment of security commodity reserve.
- Programs to help farmers bargain.
- Programs for new aid and safety measures.
- Stem rising costs of medical care.

Budget

- Fully fund "Model Cities."
- Doubled Safe Streets request to \$100 M.
- \$2.1 billion manpower program -- a 24% increase over the current year.

Nixon

1969 Legislative proposals

Opted not to give a "state of the union" address, but rather a Special Message to the Congress on Forthcoming Legislative proposals.

"We are not beginning with "massive" programs that risk tripping over their own unreadiness."

Principles:

Commitment to the first five years of life.

Step by step plans , including careful projections of funding requirements.

Legislative

- Increase in Social Security benefits to cover cost of living increases.
- New measures to combat organized crime.
- Tax credits to engage the private sector in solving social problems.
- A program to increase the effectiveness of national drive for equal employment opportunity.
- Post Office reorganization.
- Home rule for DC.
- A start on sharing federal revenues with other levels of government.
- Far reaching new program for development of our airways , airports and mass transit.
- Comprehensive labor and manpower program, including job training and placement, improved unemployment insurance and proposals to guarantee job safety.
- Comprehensive tax reform.

- Created IGR division in EXOP. (several other reorganizations of the executive branch and the White House)

Welfare reform.

(more than “2 score” proposals)

(13 pieces of legislation related to organized crime)

Budget measures:

- Reduction of \$4 B below current services.
- continuation of income tax surcharge.
- Postponing the reduction in phone and care excise taxes.
- Enactment of user charges.
- Increase in postal rates.

“The crucial point here is that whereas in the past ‘leave it to the states’ was sometimes a signal for inaction by design, now ‘leave it to Washington’ has become too often a signal for inaction by default.”

1970

Begins with discussion of significance of then new decade, foreign policy and bringing peace to Vietnam.

On the 60's: *“Never has a nation seemed to have had more and enjoyed it less.”*

Still waiting enactment of “over 2 score proposals” submitted to Congress in the previous year. Plans to offer “at least a dozen more.”

Legislative

- Welfare reform -- and replace it with a system of income support, job training and work incentives.
- Assess and reform all institutions of government. “New Federalism”
- Balanced federal budget. “In the decade of the 60's the Federal Government spent \$57B more than it took in taxes.”
- Increased spending for law enforcement.
- \$10B nationwide clean waters program to put modern municipal waste treatment in every necessary area in America. “Clean air is not free, and neither is clean water.”
- Comprehensive new regulations ...that the price of goods should be made to include the costs of producing and disposing of them without damage to the environment.
- National Growth policy.

"It is no longer enough to live and let live. Now we must live and help live."

1971

"Tonight I shall present to the Congress six great goals. I shall not ask simply for more new programs in the old framework. I shall ask to change the framework of government itself..."

Goals:

- Enact proposals already before the congress.
- Full prosperity in peacetime.
- Continue the effort begun last year to restore and enhance the environment.
- Improve health care.
- Strengthen and renew state and local governments. (\$16B)
- Complete reform of the Federal Government itself.

35 pieces of proposed legislation were submitted by the president but not acted on by the congress. The most important, according to the president was welfare reform.

- Balance national growth and better use of land.
- A program to ensure that no one will be prevented from obtaining medical care by inability to pay.
- Increase and re-direction of aid to medical schools.
- Incentives to improve delivery of health services -- slow the growth of health care costs.
- New programs to encourage better preventative medicine.
- \$100M for an intensive effort to find a cure for cancer.
- Reduce cabinet departments from 12 to 8.
- Organize the departments around the great purposes of government rather than dividing them up by narrow subjects.

"This congress can be remembered for opening the way to a new American revolution -- a peaceful revolution in which power was turned back to the people -- in which government at all levels was refreshed and renewed and made truly responsive..."

1972

Early passages on foreign policy, the end of Vietnam -- and the need for maintaining a strong defense.

Enunciation of concept of global economy -- and the need to compete, not build a wall around America.

"90 major Administration proposals which still await action."

"Job creating tax proposal" was passed.

Legislative

- A new program of Federal partnership in technical R&D.
- Welfare reform.
- Government Reorganization.
- Revenue sharing with state and local governments.
- Special commission on school finance. (irony that Edgewood forced TX to act in 6 special sessions in 1990.)

"As we recover from the turmoil and violence of recent years, we learn once again to speak with one another instead of shouting at one another..."

1973

Opted to present the state of the union report in a series of messages during the early weeks of the 93rd Congress.

"It is vital at this time that we restore a greater sense of responsibility at the state and local level and among individual Americans."

Coming messages:

Economic affairs

Natural resources

Developing human resources

Health,

Education,

Crime,

Veterans

Opportunities.

Community development

Defense and foreign policy.

Ford

1974

Very spare style. Sounds more like a Speaker's report than a SOU address.

Proposals

- Bipartisan summit on inflation.
- Reduce federal spending by \$700M.
- Confirm Rockefeller.
- Defer federal pay raise.
- Windfall profits tax on the selling price of domestic crude oil.
- Improve the regulatory climate in the surface transportation industry.

1975

"I must say to you that the state of the union is not good. I've got bad news, and I don't expect much, if any applause."

Sent separate messages making recommendations for domestic legislation, extension of general revenue sharing and the Voting Rights Act.

- Will veto any new spending programs adopted by Congress.
- Program to restore surplus energy capacity.
- Plan to make US invulnerable to cutoffs in foreign oil.
- Using presidential powers to raise the fee on imported crude oil and petroleum products.
- Comprehensive energy tax program.
- Proposals to expedite nuclear leasing.
- Energy use R&D.
- Energy conservation mandates and incentives.

Budget

- One year tax reduction of \$16B. (cash rebate to business and individuals)
- Legislation to restrain the growth of existing programs.
- limit on Federal pay increases.
- All programs tied to CPI have a one year maximum 5% increase.

"America needs a new direction, which I have sought to chart here today -- a change of course which will: put the unemployed back to work; increase real income and production; restrain the growth of Federal Government spending; achieve energy independence; and advance the cause of world understanding."

1976

"Common sense tells me to stick to the steady course."

- Additional \$10 B tax cut, effective July 1.
- Job creation tax incentive in areas where the unemployment rate now runs over 7%.
- Additional housing assistance for 500,000 families.
- Plans to foster competition and bring down costs to consumers:
 - airlines
 - trucking
 - railroads
 - financial institutions
- Enabling the passing down of family farms and businesses
- Long term investments for moderate income families
- Catastrophic health insurance for everyone covered by Medicare.
- Combine 16 existing federal programs including Medicaid into a single \$10 B federal grant. (funds to be divided by formula to the states.)
- Increase in Social Security taxes.
- Continue job training and employment opportunity programs.
- Overhaul of food stamps.
- Crime bill -- new prisons, new ADA's, more judges and marshals; mandatory terms for crimes with guns, not gun control. Fixed sentences.

Carter

1977 Report from the White House

"We must face the fact that the energy shortage is permanent."

Legislative

- Creation of the department of Energy.
- Legislation which will reduce the risk of tanker spills.
- Economic Plan (balanced)
- tax cuts -- one time reduction .

- increased standard deduction.
- Tax incentives to businesses to expand output and hire more people.
- Several proposals to help cities
 - public service employment
 - increased money through revenue sharing
 - public works
- Training programs for disadvantaged groups.-- especially veterans.
- One- third reduction in the WH staff.
- Institute ceiling for the number of federal workers.
- Tax reform.
- Welfare reform.
- Ethics legislation.

Town hall meetings

Live radio call in shows.

Other messages: housing, health, crime, education, agriculture and others.

"Because of divisions in our country many of us cannot remember a time when we really felt united..."

"I am sure to make many mistakes."

1978

"Government cannot solve our problems, it can't set our goals, it cannot define our vision. Government cannot eliminate poverty or provide a bountiful economy or reduce inflation or save our cities or cure illiteracy or provide energy. And government cannot mandate goodness"

- Tax reform.
- Reduce tax burden by \$25B.
- Substantial increase in funds for public jobs for our young people -- and continue the public service employment programs at more than double the previous year.
- Program to encourage businesses to hire young and disadvantaged Americans.

In a separate written message to congress:

1. Welfare reform
2. Consumer protection
3. Basic educational skills
4. Urban policy

5. Reform of labor laws
6. National health care
7. Abolish almost 500 Federal advisory boards and commissions.
8. Civil service reform.

1979

"We cannot resort to simplistic or extreme solutions which substitute myths for common sense."

Legislative

- First steps to develop a national health plan. (reference to skyrocketing hospital costs).
- Regulatory reform of railroad, bus and trucking industries.
- Real wage insurance.
- Sunset law
- Public financing of campaigns.

Reagan

1981 (no SOTU, only the budget message)

- Cut the increase of government spending in half.
- Largest tax reductions (10%) and most sweeping tax changes this century.
- Took away government's "built in profit" from inflation. (indexing)
- Deregulating oil. :-)
- Federal strike force to combat waste and fraud in government.
- Defense build up.

1982

"We have an economic program in place, completely different from the artificial quick fixes of the past."

"So, I will not ask you to balance the budget on the backs of the American taxpayer..."

Proposals

- Dismantle the Department of Energy.
- "Eliminate ineffective subsidies for business."
- Cut federal workforce by 75,000.
- Return of \$47 B to the state and local government/feds take Medicaid and states take AFDC and food stamps.
- Responsible Clean Air Act

"Virtually every American who shops in a supermarket is aware of the daily fraud that takes place in the food stamp program...waste and fraud are serious problems..."

Proposed savings in entitlement programs will total \$63 B over the next 4 years. (without affecting social security)

"Don't let anyone tell you that America's best days are behind her, that the American spirit has been vanquished. We've seen it triumph too often in our lives to stop believing in it now."

1983

"The Federal budget is both a symptom and a cause of our current economic problems."

Bi partisan Social Security reform.

Principles for deficit reduction:

- Bipartisan
- Fair
- Prudent
- Realistic

Four part plan for economic growth and deficit reduction:

- Federal spending freeze. ("taken as a whole, the budget I'm proposing will increase no more than the rate of inflation.")
- Six month freeze in COLA's for social security and other retirement programs.
- One year freeze on a broad range of Federal civilian and military pension programs.
- "Adopt specific measures to control entitlement spending "food stamps."
- B in defense savings over the next five years.
- Stand by tax, limited to no more than 1% of GNP to start in FY 86 and last no longer than 3 years.
- Employment Act of 1983
- Extending unemployment benefits
- Special incentives to hire long term unemployed

- Programs for displaced workers
- Training and relo assistance
- Incentives for summer youth employment

Education Goals

- Block grants to states to upgrade math and science programs
 - Education savings accounts to encourage savings for college
 - Tuition tax credits for private and/or religious schools
 - Constitutional amendment allowing school prayer.
-
- "Regulatory reform"
 - "A responsible clean air act."
 - Enterprise zones.
-
- Extension the civil rights commission.
 - Encourage the expansion of private community child care.
 - Catastrophic illness insurance coverage for older Americans.
 - Comprehensive Federalism proposal.

1984

"Tonight we can report and be proud of one of the best recoveries in decades...the heart of America is strong, it's good and true. The cynics were wrong: America never was a sick society."

Legislative

"Begin to explore together we can make structural reforms to curb the built-in growth of spending"

- Balanced budget amendment.
 - Line item veto.
 - Regan -- a plan for simplifying the tax code
 - NASA -- manned space station.
 - Ruckelhaus -- plan for extending the Superfund
 - *Budget*
-
- \$50M in supplemental funding for EPA.
 - Double research funding for acid rain.

"I've never felt more strongly that America's best days and democracy's best days lie ahead. We're a powerful force for good."

1985

- Tax reform
- Reduce personal rates as low as possible
- Remove preferences
- Top rate maximum of 35%.
- Reduce corporate rates while maintaining incentives for capital formation.
- Record funding for R&D.
- Strategic Defense Initiative

R -- enterprise zones, youth employment opportunity, balanced budget amendment, line item veto.

Principles

- Social safety net for elderly, needy, disabled and unemployed will be left intact. Slowed growth of health care entitlements
- Maintain defense build up
- Reduce and/or eliminate costly government subsidies.

1986

Postponed due to the Challenger explosion.

"This week I will send you detailed proposals."

"We face those deficits because the Federal Government overspends."

Tax reform.

1987 Message to the Congress on "A Quest for Excellence."

Bush

1989 Address on Administration Goals Before a Joint Session of Congress

"....I don't propose to reverse direction. We're headed the right way, but we cannot rest."

Principles

- Attention to urgent priorities
- Investment in the future
- Attack the deficit
- No new taxes

Proposals

- 2 year budgets.
- Line item veto.
- Balanced budget amendment.
- B for the National Science Foundation
- Make the tax credit for R&D permanent.
- Create Task Force on Competitiveness
- B increase for NASA
- Capital gains tax cut.
- Education
- \$500M to reward merit schools;
- Presidential awards for best teachers;
- National Science Scholars;
- Encourage alternative certification

- B for AIDS education, prevention and research.
- \$1B to escalate the War on Drugs.
- Tough on crime proposals
- One year freeze on military budget.
- Tax deduction for adoption

Legislation

- New Clean Air Act.
- S&L bail out
- YES -- Youth Entering Service to America

"...a time of peace and prosperity is not the time to rest but a time to press forward, a time to invest in the future."

1990

"The events of the year just ended, the Revolution of 89 have been a chin reaction, changes so striking that it marks the beginning of a new era in the world's affairs."

Principles:

- Investment in America -- encourage the creation of capital
- Physical capital
- Intellectual capital
- Human capital
- Increase savings;
- Goals 2000 for education

Legislative

- Family Savings Plan
- HOPE -- housing initiative
- America the Beautiful -- expand national parks.
- Clean Air
- Child Care
- Educational Excellence Act
- Crime bill
- Farm bill
- Product liability
- Enterprise Zones
- Study of health care

1991

"Halfway around the world, we are engaged in a great struggle in the skies and on the seas and sands...what is at stake is more than one small country, it is a big idea -- a new world order."

Strong beginning on foreign affairs

Budget:

(all repeats)

tax free family savings accounts

penalty free IRA withdrawals for first time home buyers

capital gains tax cut.

Proposals

- Budget that promotes investment
- Goals 2000
- School choice
- Blueprint for a new highway system
- Investment in transportation infrastructure
- Permanent tax credit for R&D
- Comprehensive national energy strategy
- S&L /banking reform
- Enterprise zones
- Crime bill
- Health care prevention initiatives
- Term limits
- Elimination of PACs
- B block grant to states for domestic social spending
- Pursue/continue SDI

1992

"...the biggest thing that has happened in the world in my life, in our lives is this: By the grace of God, America won the Cold War."

"The primary problem is the economy."

Proposals

- Pass SDI
- Speed up pro-growth expenditures
- Transportation bill -- \$150 B for construction and maintenance.
- Change in federal tax withholding tables.
- Change in the alternative minimum tax.
- Creation of a new 14% investment tax allowance.
- No penalty for IRA withdrawals for 1st time home buyers.
- Real estate changes
- Capital gains tax cut
- \$.4.B in extension unemployment benefits.
- NAFTA
- Proposals for new American schools
- Permanent R&D tax credit
- Comprehensive crime bill

- HOPE
- Increased funding for Head Start
- Health insurance bill -- tax credit for health insurance of up to \$3750 for low income families.
- Freeze Federal domestic employment
- Caps on entitlements other than Social Security
- Line item veto
- End unfunded mandates
- Banking reform
- Civil justice reform
- National energy strategy
- Raise personal exemption by \$500 per child.
- Make student loan interest deductible
- IRA withdrawals for medical and education expenses

"There's a mood among us. People are worried. There's been talk of decline..."

Clinton

1993 Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on Administration Goals

"I well remember 12 years ago President Reagan stood at this very podium and told you and the American people that if our national debt were stacked in thousand dollar bills, the stack would reach 67 miles into space. Well, today that stack would reach 267 miles."

"Tonight I want to talk with you about what government can do because I believe that Government must do more."

"spending must be cut and taxes must be raised."

Proposals

- \$30 B in Investments (stimulus package)
- Permanent investment tax credit for firms with revenues under \$5m.
- Health care reform
- Immunization program for all children
- Expand WIC
- Head Start
- Americorps -- national service
- Expand EITC
- Crime bill -- 100,000 cops on the street
- Brady bill
- Campaign finance reform

- Motor voter
- Lobby registration
- Across the board freeze in federal salaries
- Cut 100,000 federal positions
- "Specific budget cuts."
- Raise top tax rate from 31-36%.
- Eliminate deduction for business entertainment expenses
- Increased taxes on wealthy Social security beneficiaries.
- BTU tax

"For 20 years, through administrations of both parties, incomes have stalled and debt has exploded and productivity has not grown as it should. We cannot deny the reality of our condition."

1994

The record

- Raised taxes on wealthy
- cut the deficit by 500B
- tax relief for low income people
- NAFTA
- Brady bill
- tax cuts for small business
- AIDs research and treatment
- WIC increases
- increased student loans
- Americorps
- investments in high tech
- motor voter
- Family and Medical leave
- Reinventing government
- increased EITC

Legislative

- Clean Water Act
- Superfund
- Safe Drinking Water Act
- Establish the Information Superhighway
- School to work initiatives
- Welfare reform

- Health care reform
- Campaign finance/lobby reform
- Crime bill -- copes, strikes and community policing, prevention
- Assault weapon ban

1995

"if we agree on nothing else tonight, we must agree that the American people certainly voted for change in 1992 and 1994. And as I look out at you, I know how some of you must have felt in 1992...I must say that we in both years, we don't hear America singing, we heard America shouting....I am frank to say that I have made my mistakes and I have learned the importance of humility in all human endeavor..."

Repeats:

- Lobby reform
- line item veto
- unfunded mandates
- Welfare reform
- Health care reform

New

New round of reinventing government

Middle class bill of rights

- tax cut for all education and training after high school
- cut taxes \$500 for families with children under 13
- IRA's -- tax free withdrawals for education, home, medical or care for parent.
- GI bill for American workers

Anti-terrorism bill

(used Reagan device of having everyday people in the gallery and talking about their heroism in the speech)

1996

"The era of big government is over."

Legislative

- V-chip
- Education technology Initiative
- Work Study
- Job Training Vouchers
- Working Family Tax Credits
- Fight Gangs
- Increased border patrols.

Sounded more like a state of the state address, issuing challenges to people and institutions on solving problems that are largely state responsibilities.