

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

Don Baer has asked if you could inscribe copies of your
Morgan State Commencement Speech for the following
people:

Terry Edmonds
Michael Waldman
Dr. Earl S. Richardson (President of Morgan State)

Phil Caplan

TCM

Are these taken
care of?

Not logged in,
right?

Can we pitch?

on Second Thought
let's just
give to RM-
These have been signed
& distributed -

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT MORGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Hughes Field
Morgan State University
Baltimore, Maryland

May 18, 1997

Thank you. Dr. Richardson, Judge Cole, Governor Glendenning, Lieutenant Governor Kennedy-Townsend, Mr. Mayor, City Council President, other elected officials, Mr. Speaker, Senator Miller, Senator Sarbanes, Congressman Cardin and Congressman Cummings, my great partners, to the Board of Regents, to faculty, staff, to distinguished alumni, to the magnificent band and choir. I thought it was a great day when I got here, but I know it is now. Thank you very much.

To the members of the class of 1997, your family and your friends -- congratulations on this important day in your lives, the lives of your nation, and the life of this great institution.

Your diploma reflects a level of knowledge that will give you the chance to make the most of the rapidly unfolding new reality of the 21st century. It gives your country a better chance to lead the world toward a better place, and it reaffirms the historic mission of Morgan State and the other historically black colleges and universities of our great land.

When the doors of college were closed to all but white students, Morgan State and the nation's other historically black institutions of higher education gave young African Americans the education they deserved and the pride they needed to rise above cruelty and bigotry.

Today, these institutions still produce the lion's share of our black doctors and judges and business people, and Morgan State graduates most of the black engineers and scientists in the great state of Maryland.

I am here today not because Morgan State is just a great historically black university, it is a great American university. You have produced some of our nation's finest leaders -- your grads like Parren Mitchell, Kweisi Mfume and Earl Graves; judicial leaders like Judge Bell and Judge Cole; public servants like State Treasurer Dixon and on a very personal note, my fine assistant, Terry Edmonds, Class of 1972, the first African American ever to serve as a speechwriter for the President of the United States. There he is.

Now, you're getting too much applause now, Terry.

You graduate today into a world brimming with promise, enriched with opportunity. Our economy is the strongest in a generation, our unemployment the lowest in 24 years, with the largest decline in income inequality since the 1960s.

On Friday we finalized the details of an historic agreement with the leaders of Congress to balance the federal budget for the first time in nearly three decades, in a way that will keep our economy going and in balance with our values, caring for those in need, extending health care to 5 million more children, cleaning and preserving and restoring our environment, helping people to move from welfare to work, and, most important, funding the largest investment in education in a generation and the largest increase in higher education since the G.I. bill in 1945, more than 50 years ago.

It will open the doors of college to all, with the largest increase in Pell Grant scholarships in three decades, \$35 billion in tax relief to help families pay for higher education, including tax deductions for the cost of all education after high school, and our HOPE Scholarship tuition tax credits to make the first two years of college as universal by the year 2000 as a high school diploma is today.

And this agreement contains a major investment in science and technology, inspired in our administration by the leadership of Vice President Gore, to keep America on the cutting edge of positive change, to create the best jobs of tomorrow, to advance the quality of life of all Americans.

This is a magic moment, but like all moments it will not last forever. We must make the most of it. In commencement addresses across the nation this year, I will focus our attention on what we must do to prepare our nation for the next century, including how we can make sure that our rich diversity brings us together rather than driving us apart, and how we must meet our continuing obligation to lead the world away from the wars and Cold War of the 20th century through the present threats of terrorism and ethnic hatred, weapons proliferation and drug smuggling, to a more peaceful and free and prosperous 21st century.

But today here, I ask you simply to imagine that new century, full of its promise, molded by science, shaped by technology, powered by knowledge. These potent transforming forces can give us lives fuller and richer than we have ever known. They can be used for good or ill.

If we are to make the most of this new century, we -- all of us, each and every one of us, regardless of our background -- must work to master these forces with vision and wisdom and determination. The past half-century has seen mankind split the atom, splice genes, create the microchip, explore the heavens. We enter the next century propelled by new and stunning developments.

Just in the past year we saw the cloning of Dolly the sheep, the Hubble telescope bringing into focus dark corners of the cosmos never seen before, innovations in computer technology and communications, creating what Bill Gates calls "the world's new digital nervous system," and now cures for our most dreaded diseases -- diabetes, cystic fibrosis, repair for spinal cord injuries. These miracles actually seem within reach.

The sweep of it is truly humbling. Why, just last week we saw a computer named Deep Blue defeat the world's reigning chess champion. I really think there ought to be a limit to this. No computer should be allowed to learn to play golf. But, seriously, my friends, in science, if the last 50 years were the age of physics, the next 50 years will be the age of biology.

We are now embarking on our most daring explorations, unraveling the mysteries of our inner world and charting new routes to the conquest of disease. We have not and we must not shrink from exploring the frontiers of science. But as we consider how to use the fruits of discovery, we must also never retreat from our commitment to human values, the good of society, our basic sense of right and wrong.

Science must continue to serve humanity, never the other way around. The stakes are very high. America's future -- indeed, the world's future -- will be more powerfully influenced by science and technology than ever before. Where once nations measured their strength by the size of their armies and arsenals, in the world of the future, knowledge will matter most. Fully half the growth in economic productivity over the last half-century can be traced to research and technology.

But science is about more than material wealth or the acquisition of knowledge. Fundamentally, it is about our dreams. America is a nation always becoming, always defined by the great goals we set, the great dreams we dream. We are restless, questing people. We have always believed, with President Thomas Jefferson, that "freedom is the first born daughter of science." With that belief and with willpower, resources and great national effort, we have always reached our far horizons and set out for new ones.

Thirty-six years ago, President Kennedy looked to the heavens and proclaimed that the flag of peace and democracy, not war and tyranny, must be the first to be planted on the moon. He gave us a goal of reaching the moon, and we achieved it -- ahead of time.

Today, let us look within and step up to the challenge of our time, a challenge with consequences far more immediate for the life and death of millions around the world. AIDS will soon overtake tuberculosis and malaria as the leading infectious killer in the world. More than 29 million people have been infected, 3 million in the last year alone, 95 percent of them in the poorest parts of our globe.

Here at home, we are grateful that new and effective anti-HIV strategies are available and bringing longer and better lives to those who are infected, but we dare not be complacent. HIV is capable of mutating and becoming resistant to therapies, and could well become even more dangerous. Only a truly effective, preventive HIV vaccine can limit and eventually eliminate the threat of AIDS.

This year's budget contains increased funding of a third over two years ago to search for this vaccine. In the first four years, we have increased funding for AIDS research, prevention and care by 50 percent, but it is not enough. So let us today set a new national goal for science in the age of biology. Today, let us commit ourselves to developing an AIDS vaccine within the next decade. There are no guarantees. It will take energy and focus and demand great effort from our greatest minds. But with the strides of recent years it is not longer a question of whether we can develop an AIDS vaccine, it is simply a question of when. And it cannot come a day too soon.

If America commits to find an AIDS vaccine and we enlist others in our cause, we will do it. I am prepared to do all I can to make it happen. Our scientists at the National Institutes of Health and our research universities have been at the forefront of this battle.

Today, I'm pleased to announce the National Institutes of Health will establish a new AIDS vaccine research center dedicated to this crusade. And next month at the Summit of the Industrialized Nations in Denver, I will enlist other nations to join us in a worldwide effort to find a vaccine to stop one of the world's greatest killers. We will challenge America's pharmaceutical industry, which leads the world in innovative research and development to work with us and to make the successful development of an AIDS vaccine part of its basic mission.

My fellow Americans, if the 21st century is to be the century of biology, let us make an AIDS vaccine its first great triumph.

Let us resolve further to work with other nations to deal with great problems like global climate change, to break our reliance on energy-use destructive of our environment, to make giant strides to free ourselves and future generations from the tyranny of disease and hunger and ignorance that today still enslaves too many millions around the world. And let us also pledge to redouble our vigilance to make sure that the knowledge of the 21st century serves our most enduring human values.

Science often moves faster than our ability to understand its implications, leaving a maze of moral and ethical questions in its wake. The Internet can be a new town square or a new Tower of Babel. The same computer that can put the Library of Congress at our fingertips can also be used by purveyors of hate to spread blueprints for bombs. The same knowledge that is developing new life-saving drugs can be used to create poisons of mass destruction. Science can enable us to feed billions more people in comfort, in safety, and in harmony with our earth; or it can spark a war with weapons of mass destruction rooted in primitive hatreds.

Science has no soul of its own. It is up to us to determine whether it will be used as a force for good or evil. We must do nothing to stifle our basic quest for knowledge. After all, it has propelled from field to factory to cyberspace. But how we use the fruits of science and how we apply it to human endeavors is not properly the domain of science alone or of scientists alone. The answers to these questions require the application of ethical and moral principles that have guided our great democracy toward a more perfect union for more than 200 years now. As such, they are the province of every American citizen.

We must decide together how to apply these principles to the dazzling new discoveries of science. Here are four guideposts. First, science and its benefits must be directed toward making life better for all Americans -- never just a privileged few. Their opportunities and benefits should be available to all. Science must not create a new line of separation between the haves and the have-nots, those with and those without the tools and understanding to learn and use technology.

In the 21st century a child in a school that does not have a link to the Internet or the student who does not have access to a computer will be like the 19th century child without school

books. That is why we are ensuring that every child in every school, not matter how rich or poor, will have access to the same technology by connecting every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000.

Science must always respect the dignity of every American. Here at one of America's great black universities let me underscore something I said just a few days ago at the White House. We must never allow our citizens to be unwitting guinea pigs in scientific experiments that put them at risk without their consent and full knowledge.

Whether it is withholding a syphilis treatment from the black men of Tuskegee or the Cold War experiments that subjected some of our citizens to dangerous doses of radiation, we must never go back to those awful days in modern disguise. We have now apologized for the mistakes of the past; we must not repeat them -- never again.

Second, none of our discoveries should be used to label or discriminate against any group or individual. Increasing knowledge about the great diversity within the human species must not change the basic belief upon which our ethics, our government, our society are founded. All of us are created equal, entitled to equal treatment under the law.

With stunning speed, scientists are now moving to unlock the secrets of our genetic code. Genetic testing has the potential to identify hidden inherited tendencies toward disease and spur early treatment. But that information could also be used, for example, by insurance companies and others to discriminate against and stigmatize people.

We know that in the 1970s, some African Americans were denied health care coverage by insurers and jobs by employers because they were identified as sickle cell anemia carriers. We also know that one of the main reasons women refuse genetic testing for susceptibility to breast cancer is their fear that the insurance companies may either deny them coverage or raise their rates to unaffordable levels. No insurer should be able to use genetic data to underwrite or discriminate against any American seeking health insurance. This should not simply be a matter of principle, but a matter of law, period.

To that end, I urge the Congress to pass bipartisan legislation to prohibit insurance companies from using genetic screening information to determine the premium rates or eligibility of Americans for health insurance.

Third, technology should not be used to break down the wall of privacy and autonomy free citizens are guaranteed in a free society. The right to privacy is one of our most cherished freedoms. As society has grown more complex and people have become more interconnected in every way, we have had to work even harder to respect the privacy, the dignity, the autonomy of each individual.

Today, when marketers can follow every aspect of our lives, from the first phone call we make in the morning to the time our security system says we have left the house, to the video camera at the toll booth and the charge slip we have for lunch, we cannot afford to forget this most basic lesson.

As the Internet reaches to touch every business and every household and we face the frightening prospect that private information -- even medical records -- could be made instantly available to the world, we must develop new protections for privacy in the face of new technological reality.

Fourth, we must always remember that science is not God. Our deepest truths remain outside the realm of science. We must temper our euphoria over the recent breakthrough in animal cloning with sobering attention to our most cherished concepts of humanity and faith.

My own view is that each human life is unique, born of a miracle that reaches beyond laboratory science. I believe we should respect this profound gift. I believe we should resist the temptation to replicate ourselves. But this is a decision no President should make alone. No President is qualified to understand all of the implications.

That is why I have asked our distinguished National Bioethics Advisory Commission, headed by President Harold Shapiro of Princeton, to conduct a thorough review of the legal and ethical issues raised by this new cloning discovery. They will give me their first recommendations within the next few weeks, and I can hardly wait.

These, then, are four guideposts, rooted in our traditional principles of ethics and morals, that must guide us if we are to master the powerful forces of change in the new century. One, science that produces a better life for all and not the few. Two, science that honors our tradition of equal treatment under the law. Three, science that respects the privacy and autonomy of the individual. Four, science that never confuses faith in technology with faith in God.

If we hold fast to these principles, we can make this time of change a moment of dazzling opportunity for all Americans.

Finally, let me say again: science can serve the values and interests of all Americans, but only if all Americans are given a chance to participate in science. We cannot move forward without the voices and talents of everyone in this stadium, and especially those of you who are going on to pursue a career in science and technology.

African Americans have always been at the forefront of American science. This is nothing new. Nothing -- not slavery, not discrimination, not poverty -- nothing has ever been able to hold back their scientific urge or creative genius.

Benjamin Banneker was a self-taught mathematician, surveyor, astronomer, who published an annual almanac and helped to design the city of Washington. George Washington Carver was born a slave, but went on to become one of our nation's greatest agricultural scientists. Ernest Everett Just of Charleston, South Carolina, is recognized as one of our greatest biologists. Charles Drew lived through the darkest days of segregation to become a pioneer in blood preservation. And today you honor an African American doctor at Johns Hopkins University who is truly one of the outstanding physicians of our time.

All these people show us that we don't have a person to waste and our diversity is our greatest strength in the world of today and tomorrow. Now, members of the class of 1997, it is your time. It is up to you to honor their legacy, to live their dreams, to be the investigators, the doctors, and the scholars who will make and apply the discoveries of tomorrow, who will keep our science rooted in our values, who will fashion America's greatest days.

You can do it. Dream large. Work hard. And listen to your soul. Thank you and God bless you all.

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY HERNREICH

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN

SUBJECT: FDR MEMORIAL REMARKS

Here are the people who helped with the FDR Memorial remarks. It would be terrific if the President could sign copies to them. In addition, if possible, he should sign one "Bill Clinton" for the FDR Commission's copy ... for their archives, brochure, etc.

Doris Kearns Goodwin
307 Main Street
Concord, MA
01742

Geoffrey Ward
290 W End Avenue #17 C
New York, NY 10023

Hugh Gallagher
7600 Cabin Road
Cabin John, Maryland 20818

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
455 E. 51st St.
New York, NY
10022

Alan Brinkley
211 Central Park West Apt. 6H
New York, NY 10024

Blanche Wiesen Cook
34 Audobon Street
East Hampton, NY 11937

Robert McElvaine
201 Concord Drive
Clinton, Mississippi 39056

Bob Shrum
2833 McGill Terrace
Washington DC 20008

6-11-97

The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission
632 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington DC 20510

Martin Waldman
3 Wedgewood Court
Great Neck, NY 11023

(Nancy -- This one is optional! My 70-year old FDR-worshiping father e-mailed me 2 pages of speech suggestions, unsolicited, some of which made it into the speech -- and one of his lines was quoted by the New York Times in its coverage.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Phil-

Michael make some more
Edits and hopes
this can be done before
POTUS leaves for Europe.

THANKS,

Laura

Make edits
and return to me.

416197

ordered from

Jan

—

4/3

Ready for

another

edit!

Looks good. |

10 copies on

hand, please.

Phil
6/5

416197

Phil -

Here are the

Copies!

— C.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONY OF
THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL

West Potomac Park
Washington, D.C.

May 2, 1997

Thank you very much. Senator Inouye, Senator Hatfield; Your Highness; my longtime friend, David Roosevelt, and the members of the Roosevelt family; Mr. Vice President; to all those who have worked to make this day a reality.

Let me begin by saying to Senator Inouye and Senator Hatfield, the United States proudly accepts the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial. Fittingly, this is the first occasion of its kind in more than 50 years. The last time the American people gathered near here was in 1943 when President Franklin Roosevelt dedicated the memorial to Thomas Jefferson.

Today we honor the greatest President of this great American century. As has been said, FDR actually wanted no memorial. For years, none seemed necessary -- for two reasons: First, the America he built was a memorial all around us. From the Golden Gate Bridge to the Grand Coulee Dam; from Social Security to honest financial markets; from an America that has remained the world's indispensable nation to our shared conviction that all Americans must make our journey together, Roosevelt was all around us. Second, though many of us never lived under his leadership, many who did are still around, and we have all heard about him from our parents or grandparents -- some of us, as we pass WPA or CCC projects along country roads; some of us as we looked at the old radios that our parents and grandparents kept and heard stories about the Fireside Chats and how the people felt. Today he is still very real to millions upon millions of Americans, inspiring us, urging us on.

But the world turns and memories fade. And now, more than a half-century after he left us, it is right that we go a little beyond his stated wishes and dedicate this memorial as a tribute to Franklin Roosevelt, to Eleanor, and to the remarkable triumphs of their generation.

President Roosevelt said, "We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the 20th century, there came a time when men of goodwill found a way to unite and produce and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance and intolerance and slavery and war." This memorial

will be the embodiment of FDR's faith, for it will ensure that all future generations will know. It will ensure that they will all see the Happy Warrior keeping America's "rendezvous with destiny."

As we stand at the dawn of a bright new century, this memorial will encourage us, reminding us that whenever America acts with certainty of purpose and FDR's famous flexibility of mind, we have always been more than equal to whatever challenges we face.

Winston Churchill said that President Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history." He came from privilege, but he understood the aspirations of farmers and factory workers and forgotten Americans. He electrified the farms and hollows, but even more important, he electrified the nation, instilling confidence with every tilt of his head and boom of his laugh. His was an open, American spirit with a fine sense for the possible and a keen appreciation of the art of leadership. He was a master politician and a magnificent Commander-in-Chief.

And his partner was also magnificent. Eleanor Roosevelt was his eyes and his ears, going places he could not go to see things he would never see, to come back and tell him how things actually were. And her reports were formed as words in his speeches that touched little people all across America who could not imagine that the President of the United States knew how they lived and cared about them. She was his conscience and our nation's conscience.

Franklin Roosevelt's mission was to change America to preserve its ancient virtues in the face of new and unprecedented challenges. That is, after all, America's mission in all times of change and difficulty. The depth and sweep of it was unprecedented when FDR asked a shaken nation to put its confidence in him. But he had no doubt of the outcome.

Listen to what he said in September of 1932, shortly before he was elected for the first time. He proclaimed his faith: "Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demanded we recognize the new terms of an old social contract. New conditions imposed new requirements upon government and upon those who conduct government." That was his faith. He lived it, and we are here as a result.

With that faith, he forged a strong and unapologetic government, determined to tame the savage cycles of boom and bust, able to meet the national challenges too big for families and individuals to meet on their own. And when he restored

dignity to old age, when he helped millions to keep their farms or own their homes, when he provided the simple opportunity to go to work in the morning to millions, he was proving that the American Dream was not a distant glimmer, but something every American could grasp. And then that faith of his infused all of his countrymen.

With that faith he inspired millions of ordinary Americans to take responsibility for one another -- doing their part, in his words, through the National Recovery Administration, reclaiming nature through the Civilian Conservation Corps, gathering scrap, giving up nylons, and eventually storming the beaches at Normandy and Okinawa and Anzio.

With that faith, he committed our nation to lead the world, first as the arsenal of democracy, and then at the head of the great crusade to free the world from tyranny. Before the war began, his four freedoms set the foundation for the future and made it clear to the whole world that America's goal was not domination, but a dominion of freedom in a world at peace.

With that faith, as the war neared an end he would never see, he traced the very architecture of our future, from the G.I. Bill to the United Nations. Faith in the extraordinary potential of ordinary people sparked not only our victory over war, Depression and doubt, but it began the opening of doors and the raising of sights for the dispossessed in America that has continued down to the present day. It was that faith in his own extraordinary potential that enabled him to guide his country from a wheelchair. And from that wheelchair and a few halting steps, leaning on his son's arms or those of trusted aides, he lifted a great people back to their feet and set America to march again toward its destiny.

He said over and over again in different ways that we had only to fear fear itself. We did not have to be afraid of pain or adversity or failure, for all those could be overcome. He knew that, of course, because that is exactly what he did. And with his faith and the power of his example, we did conquer them all -- Depression, war and doubt.

Now, we see that faith again alive in America. We are grateful beyond measure for our own unprecedented prosperity. But we must remember the source of that faith. And again, let me say to Senator Inouye and others, by showing President Roosevelt as he was, we show the world that we have faith that in America, you are measured for what you are and what you have achieved, not for what you have lost. And we encourage all who face their difficulties and overcome them not to give into fear, but to believe in their possibilities.

And now again we need the faith of Franklin Roosevelt, in an entirely different time, but still no ordinary time, for in this time new livelihoods demand new skills. We have to fight against the enormous, destructive influences that still grip the lives of too many of our young people. We must struggle to make our rich racial, ethnic, and religious diversity a source of strength and unity when such differences are the undoing of millions and millions around the world. And we must fight against that nagging old doubt.

It is a strange irony of our time that here, at the moment of our greatest prosperity and progress in so many years -- in 1932, one in four Americans was out of work; this morning we learned that fewer than one in 20 Americans are out of work, for the first time in more than two decades -- when the pinnacle that Roosevelt hoped America would achieve in our influence and power has come to pass, we still, strangely, fight battles with doubts -- doubts that he would treat with great impatience and disdain; doubts that lead some to urge us to pull back from the world at the very first time since Roosevelt's time when we actually can realize his vision of world peace and world prosperity and the dominance of the ideals for which he gave his life.

Let us honor his vision not only with this memorial today, but by acting in the way he would tell us to act if he were standing here, giving this speech, on his knees, looking at us and smiling at us and telling us we know what we have to do. We are Americans. We must have faith. We must not be afraid. And we must lead.

The great legacy of Roosevelt is a vision and a challenge -- not a set of specific programs, but a set of commitments -- the duty we owe to ourselves, to one another, to our beloved nation, and increasingly, to our fellow travelers on this small planet.

Now we are surrounded by the monuments to the leaders who built our democracy. Washington, who launched our great experiment and created our Republic. Jefferson, who enshrined forever our creed that it is self-evident that we are all created equal, with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Lincoln, who gave his life to preserve Mr. Washington's republic and to make real Mr. Jefferson's words. And now, Franklin Roosevelt, who saved freedom from tyranny, who restored our republic, who defined Mr. Jefferson's creed to include freedom from want and fear. Today, before the pantheon of our democracy, let us resolve to honor them all by shepherding their legacy into a new century, into a new millennium.

Our mission is to prepare America for the time to come, to write a new chapter of our history, inspired always by the greatest source of hope in our history. Thomas Jefferson wrote the words, but Franklin Roosevelt lived them out every day. Today I ask you to remember what he was writing at Warm Springs when he died, that last speech: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

My fellow Americans, every time you think of Franklin Roosevelt put aside your doubts, become more American, become more like him, be infused with his strong and active faith.

God bless you. God bless America. And may God always bless the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

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Ready for
2nd Edits |

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONY OF
THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL

West Potomac Park
Washington, D.C.

May 2, 1997

*Make edits
and return
to me,
FW*

Thank you very much. Senator Inouye, Senator Hatfield; Your Highness; my longtime friend, David Roosevelt, and the members of the Roosevelt family; Mr. Vice President; to all those who have worked to make this day a reality. Let me begin by saying to Senator Inouye and Senator Hatfield, the United States proudly accepts the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial.

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He said over and over again in different ways that we had only to fear fear itself. We did not have to be afraid of pain or adversity or failure, for all those could be overcome. He knew that, of course, because that is exactly what he did. And with his faith and the power of his example, we did conquer them all -- depression, war and doubt.

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My fellow Americans, every time you think of Franklin Roosevelt put aside your doubts, become more American, become more like him, be infused with his strong and active faith.

God bless you. God bless America. And may God always bless the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

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with a strong and

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 5/14

To: Laura Cepps

From: The Staff Secretary

I've edited this.

Let me know if you think
it needs any further edits.

Phil

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONY OF
THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL

West Potomac Park
Washington, D.C.

May 2, 1997

Thank you very much. Senator Inouye, Senator Hatfield; Your Highness; my longtime friend, David Roosevelt, and the members of the Roosevelt family; Mr. Vice President; to all those who have worked to make this day a reality. Let me begin by saying to Senator Inouye and Senator Hatfield, the United States proudly accepts the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial.

Fittingly, this is the first occasion of its kind in more than 50 years. The last time the American people gathered near here was in 1943 when President Franklin Roosevelt dedicated the memorial to Thomas Jefferson.

Today we honor the greatest President of this great American century. As has been said, FDR actually wanted no memorial. For years, none seemed necessary -- for two reasons: First, the America he built was a memorial all around us. From the Golden Gate Bridge to the Grand Coulee Dam; from Social Security to honest financial markets; from an America that has remained the world's indispensable nation to our shared conviction that all Americans must make our journey together, Roosevelt was all around us.

Second, though many of us never lived under his leadership, many who did are still around, and we have all heard about him from our parents or grandparents -- some of us, as we pass WPA or CCC projects along country roads; some of us as we looked at the old radios that our parents and grandparents kept and heard stories about the Fireside Chats and how the people felt. Today he is still very real to millions upon millions of Americans, inspiring us, urging us on. But the world turns and memories fade. And now, more than a half-century after he left us, it is right that we go a little beyond his stated wishes and dedicate this memorial as a tribute to Franklin Roosevelt, to Eleanor, and to the remarkable triumphs of their generation.

President Roosevelt said, "We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the 20th century, there came a time when men of goodwill found a way to unite and produce and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance and intolerance and slavery and war." This memorial

will be the embodiment of FDR's faith, for it will ensure that all future generations will know. It will ensure that they will all see the "happy warrior" keeping America's rendezvous with destiny.

As we stand at the dawn of a bright new century, this memorial will encourage us, reminding us that whenever America acts with certainty of purpose and FDR's famous flexibility of mind, we have always been more than equal to whatever challenges we face.

Winston Churchill said that President Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history." He came from privilege, but he understood the aspirations of farmers and factory workers and forgotten Americans. He electrified the farms and hollows, but even more important, he electrified the nation, instilling confidence with every tilt of his head and boom of his laugh. His was an open, American spirit with a fine sense for the possible and a keen appreciation of the art of leadership. He was a master politician and a magnificent Commander-in-Chief.

And his partner was also magnificent. Eleanor Roosevelt was his eyes and his ears, going places he could not go to see things he would never see, to come back and tell him how things actually were. And her reports were formed as words in his speeches that touched little people all across America who could not imagine that the President of the United States knew how they lived and cared about them. She was his conscience and our nation's conscience.

Franklin Roosevelt's mission was to change America to preserve its ancient virtues in the face of new and unprecedented challenges. That is, after all, America's mission in all times of change and difficulty. The depth and sweep of it was unprecedented when FDR asked a shaken nation to put its confidence in him. But he had no doubt of the outcome.

Listen to what he said in September of 1932, shortly before he was elected for the first time. He proclaimed his faith: "Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demanded we recognize the new terms of an old social contract. New conditions imposed new requirements upon government and upon those who conduct government." That was his faith. He lived it, and we are here as a result.

With that faith, he forged a strong and unapologetic government, determined to tame the savage cycles of boom and bust, able to meet the national challenges too big for families and individuals to meet on their own. And when he restored

dignity to old age, when he helped millions to keep their farms or own their homes, when he provided the simple opportunity to go to work in the morning to millions, he was proving that the American Dream was not a distant glimmer, but something every American could grasp. And then that faith of his infused all of his countrymen.

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THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL

West Potomac Park
Washington, D.C.

May 2, 1997

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God bless you. God bless America. And may God always bless the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

Don Baer and Michael Waldman have asked that you inscribe copies of the Radio and Television Correspondent's Dinner Remarks to the following individuals who contributed to the speech:

Darrell Hammond (Saturday Night Live actor)
Marci Klein (SNL producer)
Thomas Mezzio (SNL Production Assistant)
Lorne Michaels (SNL Executive Producer)
Mark Katz
Michael Sheehan
Bob Shrum
Mark Davis
Matt Neuman
Philip Rosenthal
Joel Shapiro
Roy Teicher

Don Baer
Michael Waldman
Ann Lewis
Jordan Tamagni
Kevin Moran

Phil Caplan

Phil

*one to
Mark Davis
not signed*

6-3-97

SIGNED SPEECHES FOR RADIO AND TELEVISION CORRESPONDENTS DINNER

- Darrell Hammond--SNL Actor
- Marci Klein--SNL Producer
- Thomas Mezzio--SNL Production Assistant
- Lorne Michaels--SNL Executive Producer

30 Rockefeller Plaza
Seventeenth Floor
c/o Saturday Night Live
New York, NY 10012

- Mark Katz
40 West 72 Street, #121B
New York, NY 10023

- Michael Sheehan
1901 L Street NW
Fourth Floor
Washington, DC 20036

- Bob Shrum
2141 Wisconsin Avenue NW
Suite H
Washington, DC 20007

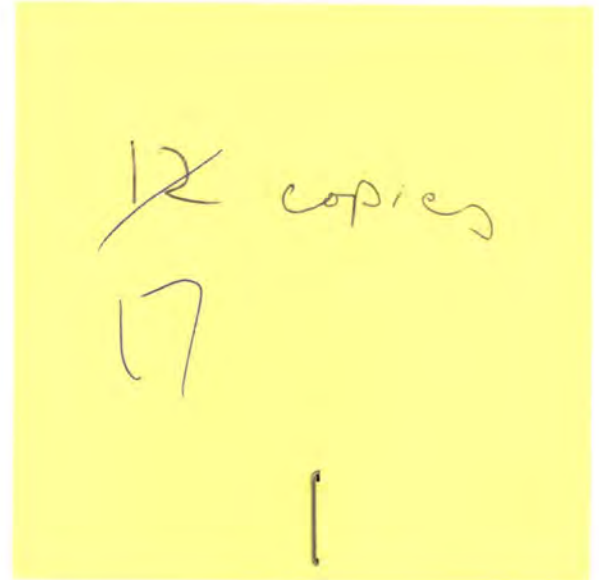
- Mark Davis
P.O. Box 1600
Studio City CA 91614

- Matt Neuman
Box 33
1438 N. Gower Street
Los Angeles, CA 90028

- Philip Rosenthal
2014 North Serrano Ave
Los Angeles, CA 90027

- Joel Shapiro
1 Oriole Place
Rye Brook, NY 10573

- Roy Teicher
6001 West 101 Place
Shawnee Mission, KS 66207





Kevin S. Moran

05/08/97 04:39:14 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Phillip Caplan/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Signed Speeches for Radio and Television Correspondents Dinner

Phil... Thanks for your patience with this. Here's the list:

Darrell Hammond -- SNL Actor
Marci Klein -- SNL Producer
Tom Mezzio -- SNL Production Assistant
Lauri Michels -- SNL Executive Producer
Al Franken
Mark Katz -- Consultant Speechwriter
Michael Sheehan -- Speech Coach
Bob Shrum -- Consultant
Mark Davis -- Contributor
Matt Neuman -- Contributor
Philip Rosenthal -- Contributor
Joel Shapiro -- Contributor
Roy Teicher -- Contributor

White House Staff

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Jordan Tamagni
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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
DURING THE RADIO AND TELEVISION
CORRESPONDENTS ASSOCIATION DINNER

The Washington Hilton Hotel
Washington, D.C.
April 10, 1997

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen, members of Congress, members of the press, fellow sufferers. (Laughter.) I would like to thank the Radio and Television Correspondents Association for inviting me this evening. I want to give Terry Murphy a special thanks for the kind introduction and, also, given my condition, I'd like to give a special thank-you to the Ridgewell Catering Company for bringing me here tonight. (Laughter.) Enough laughs.

I have come here tonight to speak about a topic of perennial concern in Washington, something we never get around to doing anything about. And that is the close, some would even say cozy relationship, between the rarified elite who make public policy and those who report on it. And on that topic, just let me say this: Congratulations, Andrea. (Laughter and applause.)

You know, that fella standing next to you in the newspaper photos a few days ago -- (laughter) -- he looked exactly like Alan Greenspan, only exuberant. (Laughter and applause.) I want all of you to know that, until recently, I had planned out a really dramatic entrance to this dinner. (Laughter.) And then, George Bush stole my thunder. (Laughter.) I mean, look at this -- this guy is 72 years old, he jumps out of a plane at 12,000 feet, he lands without a scratch. (Laughter.) I fall six inches, and I'm crippled for six months. It's ridiculous. (Applause.)

Now, as you might imagine, my injured knee adds complications to my schedule. In fact, you know, just when I was on the way over here tonight -- (laughter) -- as you have seen, my press secretary, Mike McCurry, just handed me a note. According to wire reports, former President Bush has just bungee-jumped off the Seattle Space Needle. (Laughter.)

That reminds me -- I was supposed to make another announcement tonight. Mr. Murphy has asked me to tell you that the Radio and Television Correspondents Association has decided to adopt the practices of the Democratic National Committee. (Laughter.) That means you can all pick up your \$1,000 refund checks on the way out tonight. (Laughter and applause.)

You know, I'm getting a little sick of these fundraising stories. (Laughter.) But here I am, I'm doing my best to do the job the American people sent me here to do. But with all this ruckus in Washington these days, we have to work harder and harder to be heard through the din. So my staff worked up a few new ideas that we thought might break through. I want you to be the judge. After all, it's your din. (Laughter.)

Here are the suggestions:

- o Take a cue from the TV show, "Ellen." Start a rumor that in the last presidential press conference of the season, my character will become a libertarian. (Laughter.)
- o Announce that we've discovered signs of life on Mars. We already tried that, and some of you bought it; I couldn't believe it. (Laughter and applause.)
- o Announce that I will fight Evander Holyfield. (Laughter.) Anytime, anyplace. (Laughter.)
- o Here's the Vice President's suggestion: Sign an executive order hiring people on welfare to install computers in our nation's classrooms, to e-mail messages to neighborhood watch volunteers, to use their cell phones to call 100,000 community police officers, to remind the 1 million literacy tutors to show up for work. (Laughter and applause.)
- o If all else fails, push myself down a flight of stairs. (Laughter.) As you know, that's the one we decided to go with. (Laughter.) It worked for a while and I would do it again. I may have to. (Laughter.) Thank you very much, Mike. (The President is handed a note.) (Laughter.)

Ladies and gentlemen, you will be pleased to learn that former President Bush -- (laughter) -- has just successfully jumped the Snake River Canyon on a rocket-powered motorcycle. (Laughter and applause.) Now, he's just taunting me. (Laughter.)

You know, one of the results of being bummed up for while is that I've gotten to watch a lot more television than normal, and I spent a day in the hospital just sort of channel-flipping, "surfing," that's what you call it now. And I was amazed at the way all these different channels struggled to accurately but uniquely cover my surgery. (Laughter.)

C-SPAN, of course, provided live, uninterrupted coverage of my injured knee -- (laughter) -- while C-SPAN 2 devoted full coverage to my other knee. (Laughter and applause.) Within an hour of the accident, CNN had composed ominous theme music -- (laughter) -- and put up a graphic, "Breaking News, Breaking Knees." (Laughter and applause.)

I knew it was going to be a major story when their "Headline News" devoted a full five seconds to it. (Laughter.) MSNBC immediately proclaimed itself the state-of-the-art global interactive command center for all leg-related news. (Laughter.) ESPN broke into the North Carolina-Colorado basketball game with a breathless bulletin that Greg Norman was just fine. (Laughter and applause.) PBS kept interrupting coverage of my knee for pledge drives. (Laughter.) For every \$100 donation, you got a commemorative X-ray of my leg. (Laughter.) Bob Novak went on "Crossfire" to argue the positive aspects of debilitating knee injuries for Democrats. (Laughter.) And then, there was MTV. All they wanted to know was, did I wear a hospital gown or pajamas. (Laughter.)

MR. MCCURRY: Another one. (The President is handed a note.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mike. (Laughter.) Ladies and gentlemen, President Bush has just had himself manacled, placed inside a padlocked trunk -- (laughter) -- and submerged off the coast of Kennebunkport. (Laughter.) The clock is ticking. (Laughter.) Our prayers are with him. (Laughter.)

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8:45 P.M. EDT

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DURING THE RADIO AND TELEVISION
CORRESPONDENTS ASSOCIATION DINNER

The Washington Hilton Hotel
Washington, D.C.
April 10, 1997

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END

8:45 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 4, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

It is my understanding that, during your lunch with the Vice President yesterday, you approved naming the VA hospital in Detroit for Rep. John Dingell.

On Monday, we'll have the appropriate paperwork drawn up -- a memorandum from you to Acting Secretary Goyer -- and executed on your behalf.

☐ Approve ☐ Disapprove ☐ Discuss

Phil Caplan *Phil*

Barbara -

per Phil -

I made a copy
of original memo
(attached). The copy
of the memo + the
background behind
it should go to OLM.

NSC got the
original.

fji - we don't
send staffing
background back to
NSC - that is why
I made another copy
of the original per Phil's

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 4, 1997

'97 JUN 4 PM3:05

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER *SB*
JOHN HILLEY *John Hilley*
BRUCE REED *Breche*
CHARLES RUFF *CR*SUBJECT: Response to Representative Maxine Waters Regarding
Programs to Combat Drug UsePurpose

To reply to a letter from Representative Waters.

Background

Maxine Waters wrote you with two general requests (Tab II). She is outraged at the sentencing disparity between crack and powder cocaine offenders, and she wants a timely and exhaustive answer to the allegations that CIA and DEA were involved with the Contras in bringing drugs into the United States. Your response lays out your policy on reviewing the sentencing guidelines. It also states that the CIA and Justice IG reports will be completed by the end of September. We have left unanswered her request for you to mention these topics at an earlier press conference, but we will provide copies of your response to General McCaffrey, AG Reno and George Tenet to make them aware of the importance you attach to these issues. CIA, Justice and ONDCP have all coordinated on this response.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Response to Representative Maxine Waters
Tab B Incoming Correspondencecc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Maxine:

Thank you for writing to share your views about the effect of drug trafficking on the African American community. I, too, am deeply concerned about the crack addiction, distribution and associated violence that continue to plague many American communities.

At the same time, I fully understand your concern about the substantial disparity between sentences for crack- and powder cocaine-related offenses. I commend the U.S. Sentencing Commission for moving forward with recommendations to Congress to reduce the disparity between crack and powder cocaine penalties. These recommendations, released on April 29 of this year, will be given serious consideration by my Administration. I have assigned Director McCaffrey and Attorney General Reno to review the Commission's recommendations and to report back to me with 60 days after their release.

With respect to allegations that CIA and DEA were involved with the Contras in bringing drugs into the United States, I remain committed to getting to the bottom of this story. We expect both the CIA and Justice reports to be thorough and completed by the end of September. We will then brief the relevant committees and undertake to make both reports public to the extent possible.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Attorney General, the Acting Director of Central Intelligence and General McCaffrey to stress my strong views on both these issues.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Maxine Waters
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0535

cc: Attorney General Reno
Acting Director of Central
Intelligence Tenet
General McCaffrey (ONDCP)

MARINE WATERS
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
25TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMUNITIES
BANKING AND FINANCIAL
SERVICES
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0535

PLEASE REPLY TO:
330 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
☐ WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0825
(202) 225-2201
FAX (202) 725-7854
DISTRICT OFFICE
10124 S. BROADWAY
SUITE 1
☐ LOS ANGELES, CA 90005
(213) 757-8900
FAX (213) 757-8908

February 24, 1997

1484

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

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In addition, there are two other issues which are of primary concern to Members of the Congressional Black Caucus and their constituents. Our community is outraged by the disparity in sentencing between crack and powder cocaine. We have been inundated with letters from prisoners, their families, and other concerned citizens who have seen extremely lengthy prison terms applied to small- and first-time offenders for crack-related offenses. It is impossible for us to discuss the problem of drugs in our communities without addressing this concern.

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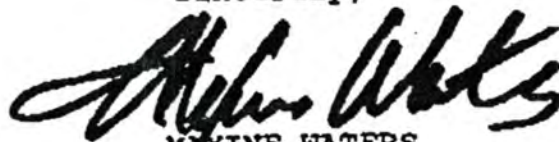
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President Clinton

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Thank you for your consideration of this matter. I look forward to working with you in the future.

Sincerely,



MAXINE WATERS

Jerry Jones 56625

McCullery needs court on sentencing

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 4, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-17-97

'97 JUN 4 10:05

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER *for*
JOHN HILLEY *John Hilley*
BRUCE REED *Breche*
CHARLES RUFF *CR*

SUBJECT: Response to Representative Maxine Waters Regarding
Programs to Combat Drug Use

Purpose

To reply to a letter from Representative Waters.

Background

Maxine Waters wrote you with two general requests (Tab II). She is outraged at the sentencing disparity between crack and powder cocaine offenders, and she wants a timely and exhaustive answer to the allegations that CIA and DEA were involved with the Contras in bringing drugs into the United States. Your response lays out your policy on reviewing the sentencing guidelines. It also states that the CIA and Justice IG reports will be completed by the end of September. We have left unanswered her request for you to mention these topics at an earlier press conference, but we will provide copies of your response to General McCaffrey, AG Reno and George Tenet to make them aware of the importance you attach to these issues. CIA, Justice and ONDCP have all coordinated on this response.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Response to Representative Maxine Waters
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Maxine:

Thank you for writing to share your views about the effect of drug trafficking on the African American community. I, too, am deeply concerned about the crack addiction, distribution and associated violence that continue to plague many American communities.

At the same time, I fully understand your concern about the substantial disparity between sentences for crack- and powder cocaine-related offenses. I commend the U.S. Sentencing Commission for moving forward with recommendations to Congress to reduce the disparity between crack and powder cocaine penalties. These recommendations, released on April 29 of this year, will be given serious consideration by my Administration. I have assigned Director McCaffrey and Attorney General Reno to review the Commission's recommendations and to report back to me with 60 days after their release.

With respect to allegations that CIA and DEA were involved with the Contras in bringing drugs into the United States, I remain committed to getting to the bottom of this story. We expect both the CIA and Justice reports to be thorough and completed by the end of September. We will then brief the relevant committees and undertake to make both reports public to the extent possible.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Attorney General, the Acting Director of Central Intelligence and General McCaffrey to stress my strong views on both these issues.

Sincerely,

M. Clinton

The Honorable Maxine Waters
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0535

cc: Attorney General Reno
Acting Director of Central
Intelligence Tenet
General McCaffrey (ONDCP)

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0535

February 24, 1997

1484

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

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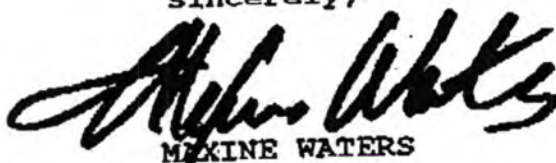
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Sincerely,



MAXINE WATERS

Levy Jones 56625

McClellan needs commitment on sentencing

b-9
checked
✓, unlocked

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 6-5

To: Alh

From: The Staff Secretary

Are you fine
with this
letter?

True

Put in
green
folder for
fotus
T.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

97 JUN 4 PM 3:05

June 4, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER *an*JOHN HILLEY *John Hilley*BRUCE REED *Breche*CHARLES RUFF *CR*

SUBJECT:

Response to Representative Maxine Waters Regarding
Programs to Combat Drug UsePurpose

To reply to a letter from Representative Waters.

Background

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RECOMMENDATION

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Attachments

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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WASHINGTON

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House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-0535

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Acting Director of Central
Intelligence Tenet
General McCaffrey (ONDCP)

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0535

February 24, 1997

1484

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The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
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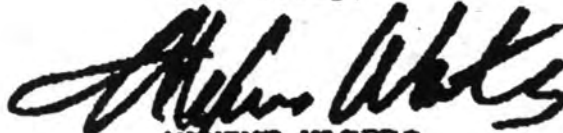
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MAXINE WATERS

Levy Jones 56625

McCaffrey needs consent on sentencing

Berger/Hilley/Reed/Ruff memo re
Response to Representative Waters
Regarding Programs to Combat Drug Use

6/9/97

Todd -

Do you need
this?

Carl

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 6-5

To:

Alh

From:

The Staff Secretary

Are you fine
with this
letter?

Todd

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 6-5

To: Albion

From: The Staff Secretary

Are you fine
with this
letter?



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

97 JUN 4 PM 3:05

June 4, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER *San B*JOHN HILLEY *John Hilley*BRUCE REED *Bruce Reed*CHARLES RUFF *CR*

SUBJECT:

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
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February 24, 1997

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1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
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Sincerely,


MAXINE WATERS

Jerry Jones 56625

McCaffrey needs consent on sentencing

220611



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1997

✓ 6-4-97

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TJS*
PHIL CAPLAN *FW*

SUBJECT: Cloning Policy Options -- Report of National Bioethics Advisory Committee

The attached Gibbons/Kagan memo (Bruce Reed is recused) urges you to follow the recommendation of the NBAC to submit legislation banning human cloning but permitting cloning of human tissue, including embryos. NBAC's cloning report is to be released Saturday, though the Washington Post reported on a leaked draft today. Jack/Elena also recommend that the U.S. support a modified version of a French proposal for a cloning paragraph in the G-8 communique.

NBAC Report/Legislation. NBAC concludes that it is morally unacceptable for anyone to try to create a child using the cloning technology that created Dolly. But NBAC finds that other forms of "human cloning" -- e.g., of DNA sequences, cell lines, tissues, embryos -- are appropriate and scientifically important, as is animal cloning. Therefore, NBAC calls for narrowly worded legislation barring anyone from trying to create a child through somatic cell nuclear transfer techniques. The legislation would sunset and, prior to the sunset, an oversight body would report on the state of the technology and social/ethical issues.

Likely Reaction. While there is a broad consensus emerging (including AMA and World Medical Association) that cloning humans is wrong, biotech and pharmaceutical industries will strongly oppose legislation as they fear it will impede research. The right-to-life community will oppose on the ground that the ban should extend further -- to the cloning of human embryos for research. *This issue, incidentally -- whether to allow the cloning of embryos for research -- is exactly what the Post honed in on this morning.* (Currently, the Administration bars the creation of embryos for federally funded research only, and has opposed legislation on the subject.)

Jack/Elena recommend that you announce your support for NBAC-type legislation and that you propose specific legislative language. (A possible event where you could accept the NBAC report and announce your position is under consideration for Monday, June 9.) *Rahm concurs.*

Approve____ Disapprove____ Discuss____

G-8 Communique. France proposes a paragraph embracing national and international bans on reproductive cloning. Jack/Elena recommend that we support this proposal, but with critical modifications along the lines of the NBAC proposal. If you approve, Dan Tarullo will seek to negotiate specific language, but cautions that agreement by all eight countries may be difficult.

Approve____ Disapprove____ Discuss____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

97 JUN 8 AM 8:28

May 29, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JACK GIBBONS
Assistant to the President for Science and Technology

ELENA KAGAN
Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

SUBJECT: CLONING POLICY OPTIONS

Two upcoming events create the need to develop a position on legislation banning the cloning of human beings. First, the National Bioethics Advisory Commission (NBAC) is about to complete the review you requested of the ethical and legal issues associated with cloning human beings. On Saturday, June 7, at its final public meeting, NBAC is expected to vote in favor of a legislative ban. Second, France has proposed that the Denver Summit communique include a paragraph urging countries to pass domestic legislative bans and to work together toward a global ban.

We recommend: (1) that you support domestic legislation banning human cloning, and that you announce specific legislation at the top of your June 10th press conference; and (2) that the U.S. support the gist of France's proposed cloning paragraph while insisting on critical modifications.

NBAC's Findings and Recommendations

In its draft final report, NBAC unanimously concludes that "it is morally unacceptable for anyone . . . to attempt to create a child" using the technology that created Dolly the sheep: somatic cell nuclear transfer -- that is, the transfer of the nucleus from an adult somatic (non egg or sperm) cell into an enucleated egg. NBAC bases this conclusion on safety concerns, finding that the technology is "likely to involve substantial risk to the potential child." The report also states that "serious ethical concerns... require a great deal more widespread and careful thought and public deliberation before this technology should be used."

NBAC also concludes, however, that other forms of "human cloning" -- such as the cloning of DNA sequences, cell lines, and tissues (which do not involve the creation of entire human beings) -- are scientifically important and not ethically problematic. Moreover, NBAC finds that animal cloning is ethically acceptable and promises important benefits. The Commission thus cautions that restrictions on cloning not impede these activities.

The Commission notes that current restrictions effectively prohibit federally funded and regulated entities from attempting to clone a human being through somatic cell nuclear transfer. However, fertility clinics and other privately-funded clinical and research establishments face no prohibition on human cloning, and NBAC questions whether some of these organizations will adhere to a voluntary moratorium.

Accordingly, NBAC's draft final report calls for carefully-worded national legislation prohibiting anyone from "attempting to create a child through somatic cell nuclear transfer techniques." The Commission specifies that the legislation should include a sunset provision and that, prior to the sunset date, an oversight body should review and report on the status of somatic cell nuclear transfer technology and the ethical and social issues associated with its use in humans. NBAC also recommends that the U.S. cooperate with other countries to enforce mutually-supported cloning restrictions.

National Legislation

We recommend that you embrace NBAC's proposal to establish a narrowly crafted time-limited legislative moratorium. Legislation is the only way to establish a comprehensive, enforceable prohibition on cloning entire human beings in all publicly and privately funded research and clinical activities. If carefully written, the ban will not preclude important research.

Reaction to proposed legislation will be mixed. A national and international consensus is emerging that attempting to apply the technology used to clone Dolly to humans is morally wrong. The American Medical Association has conveyed this view to NBAC, and the World Medical Association has issued a similar statement. Given NBAC's recommendation, we expect many in the scientific and ethics communities to accept a legislative moratorium.

But some who agree that cloning a human being using somatic cell nuclear transfer is morally unacceptable will oppose a legislated moratorium. In particular, the biotechnology and pharmaceutical industries strongly oppose legislation. These two industries are deeply concerned that a legislative debate will produce broadly drawn language that impairs critical research. Some academic researchers may share this view. Fertility clinics also may oppose legislation, but to date have not signaled a position.

Finally, some in the right-to-life community will argue from the other side that NBAC's proposed approach does not go far enough. This community will push for a comprehensive ban on the creation of embryos, through any means, for research purposes (i.e., not for the purposes of creating a child). The Administration has applied this restriction to federally-funded research, but opposed legislation on the subject. This is an issue NBAC declined to review, and we do not recommend revisiting it in this context.

We recommend that you announce your support for legislation and propose specific legislative language on June 10, at your scheduled press conference, three days after NBAC's

recommendation will become public. We anticipate that the release of NBAC's report will prompt Congressional hearings and legislative proposals. By acting quickly you can maintain your leadership on the issue and carefully frame the legislative debate, making clear the value of biotechnology research and the danger of overly broad regulation, while calling for the prohibition of an unethical use of a specific technology.

Approve ____ Disapprove ____

Group of Eight Statement on Cloning

France has proposed a paragraph for inclusion in the G-8 communique embracing national and international bans on "reproductive human cloning." Germany will support the statement; Canada will support it with some modification.

The U.S. biotechnology and pharmaceutical industries strongly oppose including any paragraph on cloning in the communique. They fear that it will not be carefully drafted and may inadvertently extend to the cloning of DNA, cells, and tissues as well as entire human beings. Further, industry is concerned that a statement on cloning ultimately could provide cover for protectionist efforts to restrict U.S. biotechnology products and activities.

Nevertheless, we recommend that the Administration support the French proposal with critical modifications. Specifically, we suggest that the U.S. insist on changes to: (1) affirm the potential medical and agricultural benefits of cloning technology; (2) limit the prohibition to the use of somatic cell nuclear transfer technology; and (3) propose a time-limited moratorium instead of a ban. USDA and HHS support this position.

Approve ____ Disapprove ____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/30 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/31SUBJECT: Cloning Policy, Options

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	McCURRY	☐	☒
BOWLES	☒	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
PODESTA	☒	☐	RUFF	☐	☐
MATHEWS	☒	☐	SMITH	☐	☐
RAINES	☒	☐	REED	☐	☐
BAER	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☒	☐
ECHAVESTE	☐	☐	LEWIS	☒	☐
EMANUEL <i>comment/attached policy</i>	☒	☐	YELLEN	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
HALE	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☐	HAWLEY	☐	☐
HIGGINS	☐	☐	VERVEER	☒	☐
HILLEY	☒	☐	RADD	☐	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	TARULLO <i>comment attached (email)</i>	☒	☐
BERGER	☒	☐		☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please advise

RESPONSE:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'97 MAY 30 PM4:58

May 29, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

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JACK GIBBONS

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Reaction to proposed legislation will be mixed. A national and international consensus is emerging that attempting to apply the technology used to clone Dolly to humans is morally wrong. The American Medical Association has conveyed this view to NBAC, and the World Medical Association has issued a similar statement. Given NBAC's recommendation, we expect many in the scientific and ethics communities to accept a legislative moratorium.

But some who agree that cloning a human being using somatic cell nuclear transfer is morally unacceptable will oppose a legislated moratorium. In particular, the biotechnology and pharmaceutical industries strongly oppose legislation. These two industries are deeply concerned that a legislative debate will produce broadly drawn language that impairs critical research. Some academic researchers may share this view. Fertility clinics also may oppose legislation, but to date have not signaled a position.

Finally, some in the right-to-life community will argue from the other side that NBAC's proposed approach does not go far enough. This community will push for a comprehensive ban on the creation of embryos, through any means, for research purposes (*i.e.*, not for the purposes of creating a child). The Administration has applied this restriction to federally-funded research, but opposed legislation on the subject. This is an issue NBAC declined to review, and we do not recommend revisiting it in this context.

We recommend that you announce your support for legislation and propose specific legislative language on June 10, at your scheduled press conference, three days after NBAC's recommendation will become public. We anticipate that the release of NBAC's report will prompt Congressional hearings and legislative proposals. By acting quickly you can maintain your leadership on the issue and carefully frame the legislative debate, making clear the value of

biotechnology research and the danger of overly broad regulation, while calling for the prohibition of an unethical use of a specific technology.

Approve ____ Disapprove ____

Group of Eight Statement on Cloning

France has proposed a paragraph for inclusion in the G-8 communique embracing national and international bans on "reproductive human cloning." Germany will support the statement; Canada will support it with some modification.

The U.S. biotechnology and pharmaceutical industries strongly oppose including any paragraph on cloning in the communique. They fear that it will not be carefully drafted and may inadvertently extend to the cloning of DNA, cells, and tissues as well as entire human beings. Further, industry is concerned that a statement on cloning ultimately could provide cover for protectionist efforts to restrict U.S. biotechnology products and activities.

Nevertheless, we recommend that the Administration support the French proposal with critical modifications. Specifically, we suggest that the U.S. insist on changes to: (1) affirm the potential medical and agricultural benefits of cloning technology; (2) limit the prohibition to "the use of somatic cell nuclear transfer technology to create a child;" and (3) propose a time-limited moratorium instead of a ban. USDA and HHS support this position.

Approve ____ Disapprove ____

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'97 MAY 30 PM 7:42

May 29, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JACK GIBBONS
Assistant to the President for Science and Technology

ELENA KAGAN
Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

SUBJECT: CLONING POLICY OPTIONS

Two upcoming events create the need to develop a position on legislation banning the cloning of human beings. First, the National Bioethics Advisory Commission (NBAC) is about to complete the review you requested of the ethical and legal issues associated with cloning human beings. On Saturday, June 7, at its final public meeting, NBAC is expected to vote in favor of a legislative ban. Second, France has proposed that the Denver Summit communique include a paragraph urging countries to pass domestic legislative bans and to work together toward a global ban.

We recommend: (1) that you support domestic legislation banning human cloning, and that you announce specific legislation at the top of your June 10th press conference; and (2) that the U.S. support the gist of France's proposed cloning paragraph while insisting on critical modifications.

NBAC's Findings and Recommendations

In its draft final report, NBAC unanimously concludes that "it is morally unacceptable for anyone . . . to attempt to create a child" using the technology that created Dolly the sheep: somatic cell nuclear transfer -- that is, the transfer of the nucleus from an adult somatic (non egg or sperm) cell into an enucleated egg. NBAC bases this conclusion on safety concerns, finding that the technology is "likely to involve substantial risk to the potential child." The report also states that "serious ethical concerns... require a great deal more widespread and careful thought and public deliberation before this technology should be used."

NBAC also concludes, however, that other forms of "human cloning" -- such as the cloning of DNA sequences, cell lines, and tissues (which do not involve the creation of entire human beings) -- are scientifically important and not ethically problematic. Moreover, NBAC finds that animal cloning is ethically acceptable and promises important benefits. The Commission thus cautions that restrictions on cloning not impede these activities.

The Commission notes that current restrictions effectively prohibit federally funded and regulated entities from attempting to clone a human being through somatic cell nuclear transfer. However, fertility clinics and other privately-funded clinical and research establishments face no prohibition on human cloning, and NBAC questions whether some of these organizations will adhere to a voluntary moratorium.

Accordingly, NBAC's draft final report calls for carefully-worded national legislation prohibiting anyone from "attempting to create a child through somatic cell nuclear transfer techniques." The Commission specifies that the legislation should include a sunset provision and that, prior to the sunset date, an oversight body should review and report on the status of somatic cell nuclear transfer technology and the ethical and social issues associated with its use in humans. NBAC also recommends that the U.S. cooperate with other countries to enforce mutually-supported cloning restrictions.

National Legislation

We recommend that you embrace NBAC's proposal to establish a narrowly crafted time-limited legislative moratorium. Legislation is the only way to establish a comprehensive, enforceable prohibition on cloning entire human beings in all publicly and privately funded research and clinical activities. If carefully written, the ban will not preclude important research.

Reaction to proposed legislation will be mixed. A national and international consensus is emerging that attempting to apply the technology used to clone Dolly to humans is morally wrong. The American Medical Association has conveyed this view to NBAC, and the World Medical Association has issued a similar statement. Given NBAC's recommendation, we expect many in the scientific and ethics communities to accept a legislative moratorium.

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Finally, some in the right-to-life community will argue from the other side that NBAC's proposed approach does not go far enough. This community will push for a comprehensive ban on the creation of embryos, through any means, for research purposes (i.e., not for the purposes of creating a child). The Administration has applied this restriction to federally-funded research, but opposed legislation on the subject. This is an issue NBAC declined to review, and we do not recommend revisiting it in this context.

We recommend that you announce your support for legislation and propose specific legislative language on June 10, at your scheduled press conference, three days after NBAC's

recommendation will become public. We anticipate that the release of NBAC's report will prompt Congressional hearings and legislative proposals. By acting quickly you can maintain your leadership on the issue and carefully frame the legislative debate, making clear the value of biotechnology research and the danger of overly broad regulation, while calling for the prohibition of an unethical use of a specific technology.

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Nevertheless, we recommend that the Administration support the French proposal with critical modifications. Specifically, we suggest that the U.S. insist on changes to: (1) affirm the potential medical and agricultural benefits of cloning technology; (2) limit the prohibition to "the use of somatic cell nuclear transfer technology ~~to create a child~~" and (3) propose a time-limited moratorium instead of a ban. USDA and HHS support this position.

Approve ____ Disapprove ____ ;

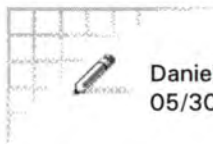
Attachment

France's Proposed Language for G-8 Communique

We have taken note with great concern of recent scientific experiments which could open the way to reproductive human cloning. We agree that the prohibition of any form of reproductive human cloning needs both strict domestic legislation and close international cooperation to adapt current international law. We are encouraged by the reflections underway within national ethics committees as well as in various regional and international fora. We are determined to give a strong impetus to their work with a view to arriving as soon as possible at a universal ban on reproductive human cloning.

Our Proposed Substitute Language

We have taken note that further development of the technology that enabled the recent cloning of a sheep offers the promise of enormous medical and agricultural benefits. We have also taken note with great concern that this scientific advance could open the way to using this technology (by which we mean somatic cell nuclear transfer technology) to create a child. We agree on the need for appropriate domestic legislation and close international cooperation to prohibit the use of somatic cell nuclear transfer to create a child while countries explore ethical and scientific implications in greater depth. We are encouraged by the reflections already underway within national ethics committees as well as in various regional and international fora. We are determined to give a strong impetus to their work with a view to arriving as soon as possible at a universal moratorium on the use of somatic cell nuclear transfer to create a child.



Daniel K. Tarullo
05/30/97 06:55:26 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Phillip Caplan/WHO/EOP
cc:
Subject: CLoning Memo to President

Phil--

I don't think it's either necessary or desirable to put to the President an option on language for the G-8 communique. Not necessary, because once we have a policy I can just negotiate language consistent with that policy. Not desirable, because it puts me in the position of having presidentially approved language that may or may not be susceptible to negotiation. In this case, for instance, it is unlikely that other countries would agree to highly technical language like "use of somatic cell nuclear transfer technology." Indeed, I'm not sure Japan will go along with anything until they understand all its implications, something they may or may not do prior to the Summit.

I suggest that you go ahead and get a policy approved by the President. Then I'll see if we can negotiate some language consistent with that policy. As a matter of course, I run language by affected agencies and offices, so DPC and OSTP would get a chance to comment on it.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'97 MAY 30 PM4:58

May 29, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED
JACK GIBBONS

SUBJECT: CLONING POLICY OPTIONS

Two upcoming events create the need to develop a position on legislation banning the cloning of human beings. First, the National Bioethics Advisory Commission (NBAC) is about to complete the review you requested of the ethical and legal issues associated with cloning human beings. On Saturday, June 7, at its final public meeting, NBAC is expected to vote in favor of a legislative ban. Second, France has proposed that the Denver Summit communique include a paragraph urging countries to pass domestic legislative bans and to work together toward a global ban.

We recommend: (1) that you support domestic legislation banning human cloning, and that you announce specific legislation at the top of your June 10th press conference; and (2) that the U.S. support the gist of France's proposed cloning paragraph while insisting on critical modifications.

NBAC's Findings and Recommendations

In its draft final report, NBAC unanimously concludes that "it is morally unacceptable for anyone . . . to attempt to create a child" using the technology that created Dolly the sheep: somatic cell nuclear transfer -- that is, the transfer of the nucleus from an adult somatic (non egg or sperm) cell into an enucleated egg. NBAC bases this conclusion on safety concerns, finding that the technology is "likely to involve substantial risk to the potential child." The report also states that "serious ethical concerns... require a great deal more widespread and careful thought and public deliberation before this technology should be used."

NBAC also concludes, however, that other forms of "human cloning" -- such as the cloning of DNA sequences, cell lines, and tissues (which do not involve the creation of entire human beings) -- are scientifically important and not ethically problematic. Moreover, NBAC finds that animal cloning is ethically acceptable and promises important benefits. The Commission thus cautions that restrictions on cloning not impede these activities.

The Commission notes that current restrictions effectively prohibit federally funded and regulated entities from attempting to clone a human being through somatic cell nuclear transfer. However, fertility clinics and other privately-funded clinical and research establishments face no

prohibition on human cloning, and NBAC questions whether some of these organizations will adhere to a voluntary moratorium.

Accordingly, NBAC's draft final report calls for carefully-worded national legislation prohibiting anyone from "attempting to create a child through somatic cell nuclear transfer techniques." The Commission specifies that the legislation should include a sunset provision and that, prior to the sunset date, an oversight body should review and report on the status of somatic cell nuclear transfer technology and the ethical and social issues associated with its use in humans. NBAC also recommends that the U.S. cooperate with other countries to enforce mutually-supported cloning restrictions.

National Legislation

We recommend that you embrace NBAC's proposal to establish a narrowly crafted time-limited legislative moratorium. Legislation is the only way to establish a comprehensive, enforceable prohibition on cloning entire human beings in all publicly and privately funded research and clinical activities. If carefully written, the ban will not preclude important research.

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But some who agree that cloning a human being using somatic cell nuclear transfer is morally unacceptable will oppose a legislated moratorium. In particular, the biotechnology and pharmaceutical industries strongly oppose legislation. These two industries are deeply concerned that a legislative debate will produce broadly drawn language that impairs critical research. Some academic researchers may share this view. Fertility clinics also may oppose legislation, but to date have not signaled a position.

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Approve ____ Disapprove ____

Attachment

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/30 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/31

SUBJECT: Cloning Policy Options

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	McCURRY	☐	☒
BOWLES	☒	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
PODESTA	☒	☐	RUFF	☐	☐
MATHEWS	☒	☐	SMITH	☐	☐
RAINES	☒	☐	REED	☐	☐
BAER	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☒	☐
ECHAVESTE	☐	☐	LEWIS	☒	☐
EMANUEL 	☒	☐	YELLEN	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
HALE	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☐	HAWLEY	☐	☐
HIGGINS	☐	☐	VERVEER	☒	☐
HILLEY	☒	☐	RADD	☐	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	TARULLO	☒	☐
BERGER	☒	☐		☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please advise

RESPONSE:

Looks fine.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'97 MAY 30 PM4:58

May 29, 1997

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Approve ____ Disapprove ____

Group of Eight Statement on Cloning

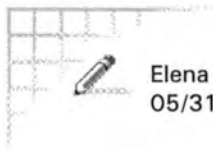
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Approve ____ Disapprove ____

Attachment



Elena Kagan
05/31/97 03:18:39 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Todd Stern/WHO/EOP, Phillip Caplan/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: cloning memo

I talked with Dan Turullo and he affirmed that we need do nothing more than take out the quotation remarks in the way I indicated on the copy I marked up. I gave Dan every opportunity to demand more, but he declined. He said he understood that limitation of the ban to a particular technology, etc. was part of our policy; I said it was; he said then that's what we should say to President -- we just shouldn't constrain him (Dan) by offering the President particular language. Thanks.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

June 4, 1997

✓ 6-4-97 97 JUN 4 PM 12:37

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON

FROM: Robert E. Rubin R.E.R.
SUBJECT: Your Dinner with German Chancellor Kohl

I would like to provide you with some background on the economic issues facing Germany, with EMU on the horizon, and related U.S. interests.

Germany's Economic Challenges

Chancellor Kohl's principal challenge is to generate sustained economic growth to lower Germany's high unemployment, while also bringing down the budget deficit.

- Over the past four years, Germany has grown at half of the U.S. rate. Most economists forecast growth of only 2-1/4% - 2-1/2% in 1997-98, not enough to bring down unemployment much.
- Jobs in Germany have fallen by nearly 1-1/2 million since 1993; unemployment is now over 11 percent.
- Chancellor Kohl faces enormous difficulties in getting parliamentary approval of tax reforms and structural reforms that are needed to increase investment and employment in Germany.

Prospects for EMU Growing Cloudy

Developments over the past two weeks have increased the uncertainty surrounding EMU and its implications for the rest of the world.

- Chancellor Kohl is an ardent supporter of EMU, but the German public is worried about replacing the DM with a potentially soft, inflationary euro (the chosen name of the new currency). To assuage German fears, Chancellor Kohl's government has consistently argued for a strict interpretation of the Maastricht criteria with the unstated intention of excluding inflationary, high-deficit countries like Italy. But both France and Germany, the two essential players in EMU, face difficulties in reaching the 3% budget target.
- Last month, Chancellor Kohl's government sparked a major political row with a plan to revalue gold held by the

Bundesbank and transfer the resulting profits to the government. This plan apparently provided a painless way of closing small budget gaps for 1997 and 1998. The Bundesbank denounced the plan and this week the government backed off from its proposal.

- Meanwhile, the Socialist victory in the French parliamentary elections poses a problem for Germany. The Socialists campaigned against EMU-inspired austerity. Prime Minister-elect Jospin stated after the election that he would insist on a broad EMU that includes countries such as Italy and Spain.

U.S. Interests in EMU

We have consistently supported European integration, but we have not explicitly endorsed EMU nor have we publicly commented on the specifics of how EMU is launched and which countries participate.

Our interests lie in seeing that sound and credible policies are adopted that will enable Europe to meet its economic challenges effectively. If Europe succeeds in addressing these challenges, we see no risks for the United States. However, we are concerned that in their attempt to meet the Maastricht criteria and in the transition to EMU, European governments have not and will not devote enough attention to their pressing need for labor market and competition reforms.

G-7

On a different subject, the only real leadership in international economic affairs comes from the G-7 Finance Ministers, who report to the G-7 Heads of State. It's important to keep this process intact. It works because these countries share the same perspective of developed economies. We are not asking you to raise this, but provide this in case it comes up.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 6-4

To: Sandy

From: The Staff Secretary

I've forwarded this
short note from Bob
Rosen to the
President. (The
NSC package went to
Rosen last night.)

TRD



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

June 4, 1997

'97 JUN 4 PM 12:37

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

THE DIRECTOR

57 MAY 80 PM4:38

The President

The White House

Submitted for your consideration is an FY 1998 budget amendment to provide an additional \$261 million for the Department of Defense (DoD) Health Program. This increase would cover shortfalls in two essential components of the Defense Health Program: the direct patient care component provided by DoD's own treatment facilities, and the managed care contract component known as TRICARE. The requested \$261 million, together with an additional \$13 million in savings within the Defense Health Program account, would provide a total of \$274 million, of which \$219 million would be for direct patient care and \$55 million would be for completing contracts with civilian providers in the TRICARE program network.

The Defense Health Program provides health care to active duty forces and other eligible beneficiaries in peacetime and maintains military readiness by providing medical support and services to the armed forces during military operations. This amendment would ensure that military beneficiaries continue to have access to quality health care.

The requested \$261 million increase in budget authority would be offset fully by reductions to funds requested for the Operation and Maintenance and Military Personnel pay accounts within DoD. The amounts proposed for reduction are in excess of DoD's requirements and reflect savings possible due to favorable updates of foreign currency rates. These reductions would have no impact on defense readiness. FY 1998 outlays would increase by \$7 million. This increase is consistent with the increased outlay amounts assumed in the Bipartisan Budget Agreement for the Department of Defense.

Also submitted for your consideration is a technical FY 1998 budget amendment that would update Department of the Interior General Provisions language concerning the Outer Continental Shelf oil and gas leasing moratoria. The General Provisions would be updated for the recently completed Minerals Management Service final plan for the Outer Continental Shelf Five-Year Oil and Gas Leasing Program, 1997-2002. The amended language continues the moratoria in the North Aleutian Bay of Alaska and the Mid-Atlantic and South-Atlantic Ocean. It also reflects inclusion in the five-year plan of a sale in a small area offshore Florida and Alabama that was previously under moratoria. The governors of Florida and Alabama have expressed their support for this sale, to be held in 2001.

I have carefully reviewed these proposals and am satisfied that they are necessary at this time. Therefore, I join the Secretaries of Defense and the Interior in recommending that you approve these requests by signing the enclosed letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'F. D. Raines', with a stylized flourish extending to the right.

Franklin D. Raines
Director

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The Speaker of the

House of Representatives

Sir:

I ask Congress to consider an FY 1998 budget amendment to cover a shortfall in the Department of Defense Health Program. The amendment would provide \$261 million in additional funds to ensure that all beneficiaries will have access to quality health care.

The Defense Health Program provides health care to active duty forces and other eligible beneficiaries, and maintains military readiness by providing medical support and services to the armed forces during military operations. The increased appropriation would be used to supplement direct patient care in the military treatment facilities and to implement the contracts that constitute the Department of Defense's managed care network, TRICARE.

The requested increase in budget authority is offset fully by reductions to requests for funds available to other accounts within the Department of Defense. These reductions would have no impact on defense readiness. FY 1998 outlays would increase by \$7 million. This increase is consistent with the increased outlay amounts assumed in the Bipartisan Budget Agreement for the Department of Defense.

In addition, I ask the Congress to consider a technical amendment that would update the Department of the Interior General Provisions for the recently revised five-year plan for Outer Continental Shelf oil and gas leasing.

The details of this request are provided in the enclosed letter from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. I concur with his comments and observations.

Sincerely,

Enclosures

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY

Bureau: OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

Heading: Defense Health Program

FY 1998 Budget
Appendix Page: 320

FY 1998 Pending Request: \$10,040,650,000 (Total)
\$ 9,766,582,000 (Operation and Maintenance)

Proposed Amendment: \$261,000,000 (Operation and Maintenance)

Revised Request: \$10,301,650,000 (Total)
\$10,027,582,000 (Operation and Maintenance)

(In the appropriations language under the above heading, delete "\$10,040,650,000" and substitute \$10,301,650,000; delete "\$9,766,582,000" and substitute \$10,027,582,000.)

This proposal would increase the appropriations request to a funding level that the Administration believes is necessary to ensure that all eligible beneficiaries have access to quality health care. The increase in funding would be applied to two essential components of the Defense Health Program: \$219 million would fund fully the direct patient care component; and, \$55 million would fund fully the Managed Care Support contract component.

The gross increase of \$274 million to these health care components would be offset partially by \$13 million in foreign currency adjustment savings within the Defense Health Program account. The net increase of \$261 million to the account would be offset fully by reductions to various Military Personnel and Operation and Maintenance accounts within the Department of Defense.

This proposed amendment would increase FY 1998 outlays by \$215 million.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY
Bureau: MILITARY PERSONNEL
Heading: Military Personnel, Army
FY 1998 Budget
Appendix Page: 297
FY 1998 Pending Request: \$20,529,257,000
Proposed Amendment: -\$37,000,000
Revised Request: \$20,492,257,000

This proposal would decrease the appropriations request to reflect savings from recent advantageous changes in foreign currency rates.

The proposed amendment would reduce FY 1998 outlays by \$35 million.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY
Bureau: MILITARY PERSONNEL
Heading: Military Personnel, Navy
FY 1998 Budget
Appendix Page: 298
FY 1998 Pending Request: \$16,510,118,000
Proposed Amendment: -\$9,000,000
Revised Request: \$16,501,118,000

This proposal would decrease the appropriations request to reflect savings from recent advantageous changes in foreign currency rates.

The proposed amendment would reduce FY 1998 outlays by \$9 million.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY
Bureau: MILITARY PERSONNEL
Heading: Military Personnel, Marine Corps
FY 1998 Budget
Appendix Page: 299
FY 1998 Pending Request: \$6,151,599,000
Proposed Amendment: -\$4,000,000
Revised Request: \$6,147,599,000

This proposal would decrease the appropriations request to reflect savings from recent advantageous changes in foreign currency rates.

The proposed amendment would reduce FY 1998 outlays by \$4 million.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY
Bureau: MILITARY PERSONNEL
Heading: Military Personnel, Air Force
FY 1998 Budget
Appendix Page: 300
FY 1998 Pending Request: \$17,166,556,000
Proposed Amendment: -\$12,000,000
Revised Request: \$17,154,556,000

This proposal would decrease the appropriations request to reflect savings from recent advantageous changes in foreign currency rates.

The proposed amendment would reduce FY 1998 outlays by \$11 million.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY

Bureau: OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

Heading: Operation and Maintenance, Air Force

FY 1998 Budget

Appendix Page: 309

FY 1998 Pending Request: \$18,910,785,000

Proposed Amendment: -\$43,000,000

Revised Request: \$18,867,785,000

(In the appropriations language under the above heading, delete "\$18,860,785,000" and substitute \$18,817,785,000.)

This proposal would decrease the appropriations request to reflect savings from recent advantageous changes in foreign currency rates.

The proposed amendment would reduce FY 1998 outlays by \$31 million.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY
Bureau: OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE
Heading: Operation and Maintenance, Defense-Wide
FY 1998 Budget
Appendix Page: 310
FY 1998 Pending Request: \$10,403,938,000
Proposed Amendment: -\$13,000,000
Revised Request: \$10,390,938,000

This proposal would decrease the appropriations request to reflect savings from recent advantageous changes in foreign currency rates.

The proposed amendment would reduce FY 1998 outlays by \$10 million.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Heading: General Provisions, Department of the Interior

FY 1998 Budget
Appendix Page: 651

FY 1998
Pending Request: ---

Proposed Amendment: Language

Revised Request: ---

(In Section 108 under the above heading, delete "leasing, or the approval or permitting of any drilling or other exploration activity," and insert offshore oil and natural gas preleasing, leasing, and related activities; delete Section 109 and Section 110 and substitute the following:)

Sec. 109. No funds provided in this title may be used by the Department of the Interior to conduct offshore oil and natural gas preleasing, leasing, and related activities in the Eastern Gulf of Mexico planning area for any lands located outside Sale 181, as identified in the final Outer Continental Shelf 5-Year Oil and Gas Leasing Program, 1997-2002.

Sec. 110. No funds provided in this title may be used by the Department of the Interior to conduct offshore oil and natural gas preleasing, leasing, and related activities in the Mid-Atlantic and South Atlantic planning areas.

This proposal would amend pending Interior Department general provisions concerning Outer Continental Shelf oil and gas leasing activities. It would make the provisions consistent with sales included in the final Outer Continental Shelf 5-Year Oil and Gas Leasing Program, 1997-2002. In addition, sales cited in the current Sections no longer exist. This proposal would also update the title of the 5-Year Plan.

This amendment would not affect the proposed budget totals.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY

Bureau: OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

Heading: Operation and Maintenance, Army

FY 1998 Budget

Appendix Page: 305

FY 1998 Pending Request: \$17,215,484,000

Proposed Amendment: -\$116,000,000

Revised Request: \$17,099,484,000

(In the appropriations language under the above heading, delete "\$17,165,484,000" and substitute \$17,049,484,000.)

This proposal would decrease the appropriations request to reflect savings from recent advantageous changes in foreign currency rates.

The proposed amendment would reduce FY 1998 outlays by \$87 million.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY

Bureau: OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

Heading: Operation and Maintenance, Navy

FY 1998 Budget

Appendix Page: 307

FY 1998 Pending Request: \$21,581,130,000

Proposed Amendment: -\$23,000,000

Revised Request: \$21,558,130,000

(In the appropriations language under the above heading, delete "\$21,531,130,000" and substitute \$21,508,130,000.)

This proposal would decrease the appropriations request to reflect savings from recent advantageous changes in foreign currency rates.

The proposed amendment would reduce FY 1998 outlays by \$18 million.

FY 1998 BUDGET AMENDMENT

Agency: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- MILITARY

Bureau: OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

Heading: Operation and Maintenance, Marine Corps

FY 1998 Budget

Appendix Page: 308

FY 1998 Pending Request: \$2,305,345,000

Proposed Amendment: -\$4,000,000

Revised Request: \$2,301,345,000

This proposal would decrease the appropriations request to reflect savings from recent advantageous changes in foreign currency rates.

The proposed amendment would reduce FY 1998 outlays by \$3 million.

'97 JUN 5 PM 1:10

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONto RM

June 5, 1997

6-5-97

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: John Podesta
Kathy Wallman
Robert Weiner

RE: Project Labor Agreement Presidential Memorandum

Attached for your signature is the Presidential Memorandum on Project Labor Agreements. As you may recall, in order to facilitate Secretary Herman's Senate confirmation, we agreed to issue the proposed Executive Order encouraging federal agencies to use project labor agreements, as a Presidential Memorandum instead. We also made other substantive changes, and agreed to further consultation with Congress before issuing the Memorandum.

During these consultations, Senator's Lott's staff objected to a nondiscrimination provision of the proposed Presidential Memorandum that prohibited discrimination against employees on a number of bases, including sexual orientation. Senator Lott stated through his staff that he would introduce legislation to reverse the Memorandum on this ground. He proposed that the Memorandum prohibit discrimination only to the extent it is barred by existing law. As you know, Title VII does not prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Rather than acceding to Senator Lott or staging a fight on this issue in the narrow context of Project Labor Agreements, we have struck the paragraph relating to discrimination against employees. Richard Socarides concurs in this outcome. It leaves us free to pursue through other means ENDA provisions of broader applicability than anything we could put in this Memorandum.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HEADS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

SUBJECT: Use of Project Labor Agreements for Federal
 Construction Projects

The National Performance Review and other executive branch initiatives have sought to implement rigorous performance standards, minimize costs, and eliminate wasteful and burdensome requirements. This Presidential memorandum continues those efforts, by encouraging departments and agencies in this Administration to consider project labor agreements as another tool, one with a long history in governmental contracting, to achieve economy and efficiency in Federal construction projects. Therefore, by the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America and to ensure the economical and efficient administration and completion of Federal Government construction projects, it is hereby directed as follows:

Section 1. Executive departments or agencies during this Administration authorized to award a contract for the construction of a facility to be owned by a Federal department or agency may, on a project-by-project basis, use a project labor agreement on a large and significant project, (a) where a project labor agreement will advance the Government's procurement interest in cost, efficiency, and quality and in promoting labor-management stability as well as compliance with applicable legal requirements governing safety and health, equal employment opportunity, labor and employment standards, and other matters, and (b) where no laws applicable to the specific construction project preclude the use of the proposed project labor agreement.

Section 2. If an executive department or agency during this Administration determines that use of a project labor agreement will serve the goals set forth in section 1(a) of this memorandum on a large and significant project, and that no law precludes the use of a project labor agreement on the project, the executive department or agency may require that

every contractor or subcontractor on the project agree, for that project, to negotiate or become a party to a project labor agreement with one or more appropriate labor organizations. The executive department or agency has discretion whether to include such a requirement.

Section 3. Any project labor agreement reached pursuant to this memorandum:

- (a) shall bind all contractors and subcontractors on the construction project through the inclusion of appropriate clauses in all relevant solicitation provisions and contract documents;
- (b) shall allow all contractors and subcontractors wishing to compete for contracts and subcontracts on the project to do so, without discrimination against contractors, subcontractors, or employees based on union or nonunion status;
- (c) shall contain guarantees against strikes, lockouts, and similar work disruptions;
- (d) shall set forth effective, prompt and mutually binding procedures for resolving labor disputes arising during the project;
- (e) shall provide other mechanisms for labor-management cooperation on matters of mutual interest and concern, including productivity, quality of work, safety, and health; and
- (f) shall fully conform to all applicable statutes, regulations, and Executive orders.

Section 4. This memorandum does not require an executive department or agency to use a project labor agreement on any project, nor does it preclude use of a project labor agreement in circumstances not covered here, including leasehold arrangements and federally funded projects. This memorandum also does not require contractors to enter into a project labor agreement with any particular labor organization.

Section 5. The heads of executive departments or agencies covered by this memorandum, in consultation with the Federal Acquisition Regulatory Council, shall establish, within 120 days of the date of this memorandum, appropriate written procedures and criteria for the determinations set forth in section 1.

Section 6. This memorandum is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by a nonfederal party against the United States, its departments, agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

Section 7. (a) "Construction" as used in this memorandum shall have the same meaning it has in section 36.102 of the Federal Acquisition Regulation.

(b) "Executive department or agency" as used in this memorandum means any Federal entity within the meaning of 40 U.S.C. 472(a).

(c) "Labor organization" as used in this memorandum shall have the same meaning it has in 42 U.S.C. 2000e(d).

(d) "Large and significant project" as used in this memorandum shall mean a Federal construction project with a total cost to the Federal Government of more than \$5 million.

Section 8. This memorandum shall be effective immediately, and shall apply to all solicitations issued after notice of establishment of the procedures and criteria required under section 5 of this memorandum.

X

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'87 JUN 5 PM 1:10

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: John Podesta
Kathy Wallman
Robert Weiner

RE: Project Labor Agreement Presidential Memorandum

Attached for your signature is the Presidential Memorandum on Project Labor Agreements. As you may recall, in order to facilitate Secretary Herman's Senate confirmation, we agreed to issue the proposed Executive Order encouraging federal agencies to use project labor agreements, as a Presidential Memorandum instead. We also made other substantive changes, and agreed to further consultation with Congress before issuing the Memorandum.

During these consultations, Senator's Lott's staff objected to a nondiscrimination provision of the proposed Presidential Memorandum that prohibited discrimination against employees on a number of bases, including sexual orientation. Senator Lott stated through his staff that he would introduce legislation to reverse the Memorandum on this ground. He proposed that the Memorandum prohibit discrimination only to the extent it is barred by existing law. As you know, Title VII does not prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Rather than acceding to Senator Lott or staging a fight on this issue in the narrow context of Project Labor Agreements, we have struck the paragraph relating to discrimination against employees. Richard Socarides concurs in this outcome. It leaves us free to pursue through other means ENDA provisions of broader applicability than anything we could put in this Memorandum.

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Use of Project Labor Agreements for Federal Construction Projects

The National Performance Review and other Executive Branch initiatives have sought to implement rigorous performance standards, minimize costs, and eliminate wasteful and burdensome requirements. This Presidential Memorandum continues those efforts, by encouraging departments and agencies in this Administration to consider project labor agreements as another tool, one with a long history in governmental contracting, to achieve economy and efficiency in federal construction projects.

Therefore, by the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America  and to ensure the economical and efficient administration and completion of Federal Government construction projects, it is hereby directed as follows:

Section 1. Executive departments or agencies in this Administration authorized to award a contract for the construction of a facility to be owned by a federal department or agency may, on a project-by-project basis, use a project labor agreement on a large and significant project, (a) where a project labor agreement will advance the government's procurement interest in cost, efficiency, and quality and in promoting labor-management stability as well as compliance with applicable legal requirements governing safety and health, equal employment opportunity, labor and employment standards and other matters, and (b) where no laws applicable to the specific construction project preclude the use of the proposed project labor agreement.

Section 2. If an executive department or agency during this Administration determines that use

of a project labor agreement will serve the goals set forth in section 1(a) of this Memorandum on a large and significant project, and that no law precludes the use of a project labor agreement on the project, the executive department or agency may require that every contractor or subcontractor on the project agree, for that project, to negotiate or become a party to a project labor agreement with one or more appropriate labor organizations. The executive department or agency has discretion whether to include such a requirement.

Section 3. Any project labor agreement reached pursuant to this Memorandum:

(a) shall bind all contractors and subcontractors on the construction project through the inclusion of appropriate clauses in all relevant solicitation provisions and contract documents;

(b) shall allow all contractors and subcontractors wishing to compete for contracts and subcontracts on the project to do so, without discrimination against contractors, subcontractors or employees based on union or non-union status;

>

(c) shall contain guarantees against strikes, lockouts, and similar work disruptions;

(d) shall set forth effective, prompt and mutually binding procedures for resolving labor disputes arising during the project;

(e) shall provide other mechanisms for labor-management cooperation on matters of mutual interest and concern, including

productivity, quality of work, safety, and health; and

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Section 5. The heads of executive departments or agencies covered by this Memorandum, in consultation with the Federal Acquisition Regulatory Council, shall establish, within 120 days of the date of this Memorandum, appropriate written procedures and criteria for the determinations set forth in Section 1.

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(c) "Labor organization" as used in this Memorandum shall have the same meaning it has in 42 U.S.C. § 2000e(d).

(d) "Large and significant project" as used in this Memorandum shall mean a federal construction project with a total cost to the federal government of more than \$5 million.

Section 8. This Memorandum shall be effective immediately, and shall apply to all solicitations issued after notice of the establishment of the procedures and criteria required under Section 5 of this Memorandum.

William J. Clinton

The White House
June __, 1997

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Use of Project Labor Agreements for Federal Construction Projects

The National Performance Review and other Executive Branch initiatives have sought to implement rigorous performance standards, minimize costs, and eliminate wasteful and burdensome requirements. This Presidential Memorandum continues those efforts, by encouraging departments and agencies in this Administration to consider project labor agreements as another tool, one with a long history in governmental contracting, to achieve economy and efficiency in federal construction projects.

Therefore, by the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America  and to ensure the economical and efficient administration and completion of Federal Government construction projects, it is hereby directed as follows:

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Section 2. If an executive department or agency during this Administration determines that use

of a project labor agreement will serve the goals set forth in section 1(a) of this Memorandum on a large and significant project, and that no law precludes the use of a project labor agreement on the project, the executive department or agency may require that every contractor or subcontractor on the project agree, for that project, to negotiate or become a party to a project labor agreement with one or more appropriate labor organizations. The executive department or agency has discretion whether to include such a requirement.

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(f) shall fully conform to all applicable statutes, regulations and

Executive orders.

Section 4. This Memorandum does not require an executive department or agency to use a project labor agreement on any project, nor does it preclude use of a project labor agreement in circumstances not covered here, including leasehold arrangements and federally funded projects. This Memorandum also does not require contractors to enter into a project labor agreement with any particular labor organization.

Section 5. The heads of executive departments or agencies covered by this Memorandum, in consultation with the Federal Acquisition Regulatory Council, shall establish, within 120 days of the date of this Memorandum, appropriate written procedures and criteria for the determinations set forth in Section 1.

Section 6. This Memorandum is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by a nonfederal party against the United States, its departments, agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

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(b) “Executive department or agency” as used in this Memorandum means any federal entity within the meaning of 40 U.S.C. § 472 (a).

(c) "Labor organization" as used in this Memorandum shall have the same meaning it has in 42 U.S.C. § 2000e(d).

(d) "Large and significant project" as used in this Memorandum shall mean a federal construction project with a total cost to the federal government of more than \$5 million.

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William J. Clinton

The White House
June __, 1997

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'97 JUN 5 PM 1:10

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: John Podesta
Kathy Wallman
Robert Weiner

RE: Project Labor Agreement Presidential Memorandum

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Rather than acceding to Senator Lott or staging a fight on this issue in the narrow context of Project Labor Agreements, we have struck the paragraph relating to discrimination against employees. Richard Socarides concurs in this outcome. It leaves us free to pursue through other means ENDA provisions of broader applicability than anything we could put in this Memorandum.

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Use of Project Labor Agreements for Federal Construction Projects

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William J. Clinton

The White House
June __, 1997

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'97 JUN 5 PM 1:10

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WASHINGTON

June 5, 1997

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Therefore, by the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America  and to ensure the economical and efficient administration and completion of Federal Government construction projects, it is hereby directed as follows:

Section 1. Executive departments or agencies in this Administration authorized to award a contract for the construction of a facility to be owned by a federal department or agency may, on a project-by-project basis, use a project labor agreement on a large and significant project, (a) where a project labor agreement will advance the government's procurement interest in cost, efficiency, and quality and in promoting labor-management stability as well as compliance with applicable legal requirements governing safety and health, equal employment opportunity, labor and employment standards and other matters, and (b) where no laws applicable to the specific construction project preclude the use of the proposed project labor agreement.

Section 2. If an executive department or agency during this Administration determines that use

of a project labor agreement will serve the goals set forth in section 1(a) of this Memorandum on a large and significant project, and that no law precludes the use of a project labor agreement on the project, the executive department or agency may require that every contractor or subcontractor on the project agree, for that project, to negotiate or become a party to a project labor agreement with one or more appropriate labor organizations. The executive department or agency has discretion whether to include such a requirement.

Section 3. Any project labor agreement reached pursuant to this Memorandum:

(a) shall bind all contractors and subcontractors on the construction project through the inclusion of appropriate clauses in all relevant solicitation provisions and contract documents;

(b) shall allow all contractors and subcontractors wishing to compete for contracts and subcontracts on the project to do so, without discrimination against contractors, subcontractors or employees based on union or non-union status;

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(c) shall contain guarantees against strikes, lockouts, and similar work disruptions;

(d) shall set forth effective, prompt and mutually binding procedures for resolving labor disputes arising during the project;

(e) shall provide other mechanisms for labor-management cooperation on matters of mutual interest and concern, including

productivity, quality of work, safety, and health; and

(f) shall fully conform to all applicable statutes, regulations and

Executive orders.

Section 4. This Memorandum does not require an executive department or agency to use a project labor agreement on any project, nor does it preclude use of a project labor agreement in circumstances not covered here, including leasehold arrangements and federally funded projects. This Memorandum also does not require contractors to enter into a project labor agreement with any particular labor organization.

Section 5. The heads of executive departments or agencies covered by this Memorandum, in consultation with the Federal Acquisition Regulatory Council, shall establish, within 120 days of the date of this Memorandum, appropriate written procedures and criteria for the determinations set forth in Section 1.

Section 6. This Memorandum is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by a nonfederal party against the United States, its departments, agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

Section 7. (a) "Construction" as used in this Memorandum shall have the same meaning it has in section 36.102 of the Federal Acquisition Regulation.

(b) "Executive department or agency" as used in this Memorandum means any federal entity within the meaning of 40 U.S.C. § 472 (a).

(c) "Labor organization" as used in this Memorandum shall have the same meaning it has in 42 U.S.C. § 2000e(d).

(d) "Large and significant project" as used in this Memorandum shall mean a federal construction project with a total cost to the federal government of more than \$5 million.

Section 8. This Memorandum shall be effective immediately, and shall apply to all solicitations issued after notice of the establishment of the procedures and criteria required under Section 5 of this Memorandum.

William J. Clinton

The White House
June __, 1997