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MS.
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To Carolyn Curiel
With thanks for
your fine work
on this speech
Bill Clinton

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

July 19, 1995

The Rotunda
National Archives

In recent weeks I have begun a conversation with the American people about our fate and our duty to prepare our nation not only to meet the new century, but to live and lead in a world transformed to a degree seldom seen in all of our history. Much of this change is good, but it is not all good, and all of us are affected by it. Therefore, we must reach beyond our fears and our divisions to a new time of great and common purpose.

Our challenge is twofold: first, to restore the American dream of opportunity and the American value of responsibility; and second, to bring our country together amid all our diversity into a stronger community, so that we can find common ground and move forward as one.

More than ever these two endeavors are inseparable. I am absolutely convinced we cannot restore economic opportunity or solve our social problems unless we find a way to bring the American people together. To bring our people together we must openly and honestly deal with the issues that divide us. Today I want to discuss one of those issues: affirmative action.

It is, in a way, ironic that this issue should be divisive today, because affirmative action was begun 25 years ago under a Republican president with bipartisan support. It began simply as a means to an end of enduring national purpose -- equal opportunity for all Americans.

So let us today trace the roots of affirmative action in our never-ending search for equal opportunity. Let us determine what it is and what it isn't. Let us see where it has worked and where it hasn't, and ask ourselves what we need to do now. Along the way, let us remember always that finding common ground as we move toward the 21st century depends fundamentally on our shared commitment to equal opportunity for all Americans. It is a moral imperative, a constitutional mandate, and a practical necessity.

There could be no better place for this discussion than the National Archives, for within these walls are America's bedrocks of our common ground -- the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights. No paper is as lasting as the

words these documents contain. So we put them in these special cases to protect the parchment from the elements. No building is as solid as the principles these documents embody, but we sure tried to build one with these metal doors 11 inches thick to keep them safe. These documents are America's only crown jewels. But the best place of all to hold these words and these principles is the one place in which they can never fade and never grow old -- in the stronger chambers of our hearts.

Beyond all else, our country is a set of convictions: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Our whole history can be seen first as an effort to preserve these rights, and then as an effort to make them real in the lives of all our citizens. We know that from the beginning, there was a great gap between the plain meaning of our creed and the meaner reality of our daily lives. Back then, only white male property owners could vote. Black slaves were not even counted as whole people, and Native Americans were regarded as little more than an obstacle to our great national progress. No wonder Thomas Jefferson, reflecting on slavery, said he trembled to think God is just.

On the 200th anniversary of our great Constitution, Justice Thurgood Marshall, the grandson of a slave, said, "The government our founders devised was defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war, and momentous social transformation to attain the system of constitutional government and its respect for the individual freedoms and human rights we hold as fundamental today."

Emancipation, women's suffrage, civil rights, voting rights, equal rights, the struggle for the rights of the disabled -- all these and other struggles are milestones on America's often rocky, but fundamentally righteous journey to close the gap between the ideals enshrined in these treasures here in the National Archives and the reality of our daily lives.

I first came to this very spot where I'm standing today 32 years ago this month. I was a 16-year-old delegate to the American Legion Boys Nation. That summer was a high-water mark on our national journey. That was the summer that President Kennedy ordered Alabama National Guardsmen to enforce a court order to allow two young blacks to enter the University of Alabama. As he told our nation, "Every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated; as one would wish his children to be treated."

Later that same summer, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, Martin Luther King told Americans of his dream that one day the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners would sit down together at the table of brotherhood; that one day his four little children would be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. His words captured the hearts and steeled the wills of millions of Americans. Some of them sang with him in the hot sun that day. Millions more, like me, listened and wept in the privacy of their homes.

It's hard to believe where we were just three decades ago. When I came up here to Boys Nation and we had this mock congressional session, I was one of only three or four southerners who would even vote for the civil rights plank. That's largely because of my family. My grandfather had a grade school education and ran a grocery store across the street from the cemetery in Hope, Arkansas, where my parents and my grandparents are buried. Most of his customers were black, were poor, and were working people. As a child in that store I saw that people of different races could treat each other with respect and dignity.

But I also saw that the black neighborhood was the only one in town where the streets weren't paved. And when I returned to that neighborhood in the late '60s to see a woman who had cared for me as a toddler, the streets still weren't paved. A lot of you know that I am an ardent movie-goer. As a child I never went to a movie where I could sit next to a black American. They were always sitting upstairs.

In the 1960s, believe it or not, there were still a few courthouse squares in my state where the rest rooms were marked "white" and "colored." I graduated from a segregated high school seven years after President Eisenhower integrated Little Rock Central High School. And when President Kennedy barely carried my home state in 1960, the poll tax system was still alive and well there.

Even though my grandparents were in a minority, being poor, Southern whites who were pro-civil rights, I think most other people knew better than to think the way they did. And those who were smart enough to act differently, discovered a lesson that we ought to remember today: Discrimination is not just morally wrong, it hurts everybody.

In 1960, Atlanta, Georgia, in reaction to all the things that were going on all across the South, adopted the motto, "The city too busy to hate." And however imperfectly over the

years, they tried to live by it. I am convinced that Atlanta's success -- it now is home to more foreign corporations than any other American city, and one year from today it will host the Olympics -- that success all began when people got too busy to hate.

The lesson we learned was a hard one. When we allow people to pit us against one another or spend energy denying opportunity based on our differences, everyone is held back. But when we give all Americans a chance to develop and use their talents, to be full partners in our common enterprise, then everybody is pushed forward.

My experiences with discrimination are rooted in the South and in the legacy slavery left. But I also lived with a working mother and a working grandmother when women's work was far rarer and far more circumscribed than it is today. We all know there are millions of other stories -- those of Hispanics, Asian Americans, Native Americans, people with disabilities, others against whom fingers have been pointed. Many of you have your own stories, and that's why you're here today -- people who were denied the right to develop and use their full human potential. And their progress, too, is a part of our journey to make the reality of America consistent with the principles just behind me here.

Thirty years ago in this city, you didn't see many people of color or women making their way to work in the morning in business clothes, or serving in substantial numbers in powerful positions in Congress or at the White House, or making executive decisions every day in businesses. In fact, even the employment want ads were divided, men on one side and women on the other.

It was extraordinary then to see women or people of color as television news anchors, or, believe it or not, even in college sports. There were far fewer women and minorities as job supervisors, or firefighters, or police officers, or doctors, or lawyers, or college professors, or in many other jobs that offer stability and honor and integrity to family life.

A lot has changed, and it did not happen as some sort of random evolutionary drift. It took hard work and sacrifices and countless acts of courage and conscience by millions of Americans. It took the political courage and statesmanship of Democrats and Republicans alike, the vigilance and compassion of courts and advocates in and out of government committed to the Constitution, to equal protection, and to equal opportunity. It took the leadership of people in business who knew that in the end we would all be better. It took the leadership of people in labor unions who knew that working people had to be recognized.

Some people, like Congressman Lewis here, put their lives on the line. Other people lost their lives. And millions of Americans changed their own lives and put hate behind them. As a result, today all our lives are better. Women have become a major force in business and political life and far more able to contribute to their families' incomes. A true and growing black middle class has emerged. Higher education has literally been revolutionized, with women and racial and ethnic minorities attending once overwhelmingly white and sometimes all male schools. In communities across our nation, police departments now better reflect the make-up of those whom they protect. A generation of professionals now serve as role models for young women and minority youth. Hispanics and newer immigrant populations are succeeding in making America stronger.

For an example of where the best of our future lies, just think about our space program and the stunning hook-up with the Russian space station this month. Let's remember that that program, the world's finest, began with heroes like Alan Shepard and Senator John Glenn, but it's also had American heroes like Sally Ride, Ellen Ochoa, Leroy Chiao, Guy Bluford and other outstanding, completely qualified women and minorities.

How did this happen? Fundamentally, because we opened our hearts and minds and changed our ways. But not without pressure -- the pressure of court decisions, legislation, executive action, and the power of examples in the public and private sectors. Along the way we learned that laws alone do not change society; that old habits and thinking patterns are deeply ingrained and die hard; and that more is required to really open the doors of opportunity. Our search to find ways to move more quickly to equal opportunity led to the development of what we now call affirmative action.

The purpose of affirmative action is to give our nation a way to address the systemic exclusion of individuals of talent, on the basis of their gender or race, from opportunities to develop, perform, achieve and contribute. Affirmative action is an effort to develop a systematic approach to open the doors of education, employment and business development opportunities to qualified individuals who happen to be members of groups that have experienced longstanding and persistent discrimination.

It is a policy that grew out of many years of trying to navigate between two unacceptable paths. One was to say simply that we declared discrimination illegal and that's enough. But that way still relegated blacks with college degrees to jobs as railroad porters and kept women with degrees under a glass ceiling with a lower paycheck.

The other path was simply to impose change by leveling draconian penalties on employers who didn't meet certain imposed, ultimately arbitrary, and sometimes unachievable quotas. That, too, was rejected out of a sense of fairness.

So a middle ground was developed that would change an inequitable status quo gradually, but firmly, by building the pool of qualified applicants for college, for contracts, for jobs, and giving more people the chance to learn, work and earn. When affirmative action is done right, it is flexible, it is fair, and it works.

I know some people are honestly concerned about the times affirmative action doesn't work, when it's done in the wrong way. There are times when some employers don't use it in the right way. They may cut corners and treat a flexible goal as a quota. They may give opportunities to people who are unqualified instead of those who deserve it. They may, in so doing, allow a different kind of discrimination. When this happens, it is also wrong. But it isn't affirmative action. And it is not legal.

When our Administration finds cases of that sort, we will enforce the law aggressively. The Justice Department files hundreds of cases every year, attacking discrimination in employment, including suits on behalf of white males. Most of these suits, however, affect women and minorities for a simple reason -- because the vast majority of discrimination in America is still discrimination against them. But the law does require fairness for everyone, and we are determined to see that that is exactly what the law delivers.

Let me be clear about what affirmative action must not mean and what I won't allow it to be. It does not mean -- and I don't favor -- the unjustified preference of the unqualified over the qualified of any race or gender. It doesn't mean -- and I don't favor -- numerical quotas. It doesn't mean -- and I don't favor -- rejection or selection of any employee or student solely on the basis of race or gender without regard to merit.

Like many business executives and public servants, my views on this subject are, more than anything else, the product of my personal experience. I have had experience with affirmative action, nearly 20 years of it now, and I know it works.

When I was Attorney General of my home state, I hired a record number of women and African American lawyers -- every one clearly qualified and exceptionally hardworking. As

Governor, I appointed more women to my Cabinet and state boards than any other governor in the state's history and more African Americans than all the governors in the state's history combined. No one ever questioned their qualifications or performance. And our state was better and stronger because of their service.

As President, I am proud to have the most diverse Administration in history in my Cabinet, my agencies and my staff. And I must say, I have been surprised at the criticism I have received from some quarters in my determination to achieve this.

In the last two and a half years, the most outstanding example of affirmative action in the United States, the Pentagon, has opened 260,000 positions for women who serve in our Armed Forces. I have appointed more women and minorities to the federal bench than any other president, more than the last two combined. And yet, far more of our judicial appointments have received the highest rating from the American Bar Association than any other Administration since those ratings have been given.

In our Administration, many government agencies are doing more business with qualified firms run by minorities and women. The Small Business Administration has reduced its budget by close to 40 percent, doubled its loan output, and increased the number of loans to women by more than 80 percent and to minority small business people by nearly sixty percent, without reducing the number of loans to white male business owners and without changing the loan standards for a single, solitary application. Quality and diversity can go hand in hand, and they must.

Affirmative action has also done more than just open the doors of opportunity to individual Americans. Most economists who study it agree that affirmative action has also been an important part of closing gaps in economic opportunity in our society, thereby strengthening the entire economy.

A group of distinguished business leaders told me just a couple of days ago their companies are stronger and their profits are larger because of the diversity and the excellence of their work forces achieved through intelligent and fair affirmative action programs. They said they had gone far beyond anything the government requires they had because managing diversity and individual opportunity and being fair to everybody is the key to their future economic success in the global marketplace.

Now, there are those who say that even good affirmative action programs are no longer needed; that it should be enough to resort to the courts or the Equal Employment Opportunity

Commission in cases of actual, provable, individual discrimination because there is no longer any systematic discrimination in our society. In deciding how to answer that let us consider the facts.

The unemployment rate for African Americans remains about twice that of whites. The Hispanic rate is still much higher. Women have narrowed the earnings gap, but still make only 72 percent as much as men do for comparable jobs. The average income for an Hispanic woman with a college degree is still less than the average income of a white man with a high school diploma.

According to the recently completed Glass Ceiling Report, sponsored by Republican members of Congress, in the nation's largest companies only six-tenths of one percent of senior management positions are held by African Americans, four-tenths of a percent by Hispanic Americans, three-tenths of a percent by Asian Americans; women hold between three and five percent of these positions. White males make up 43 percent of our work force, but hold 95 percent of these jobs.

Just last week, the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank reported that black home loan applicants are more than twice as likely to be denied credit as whites with the same qualifications; and that Hispanic applicants are more than one and a half times as likely to be denied loans as whites with the same qualifications.

Last year alone the federal government received more than 90,000 complaints of employment discrimination based on race, ethnicity or gender. Less than three percent were for reverse discrimination.

Evidence abounds in other ways of the persistence of the kind of bigotry that can affect the way we think, even if we're not conscious of it, in hiring and promotion in business and education.

Crimes and violence based on hate against Asians, Hispanics, African Americans and other minorities are still with us. And, I'm sorry to say, that the worst and most recent evidence of this involves a recent report of federal law enforcement officials in Tennessee attending an event literally overflowing with racism -- a sickening reminder of just how pervasive these kinds of attitudes still are.

By the way, I want to tell you that I am committed to finding the truth about what happened there and to taking appropriate action. If anybody who works in federal law enforcement thinks that that kind of behavior is acceptable, they ought to think about working someplace else.

Now, let's get to the other side of the argument. If affirmative action has worked and if there is evidence that discrimination still exists on a wide scale in ways that are conscious and unconscious, then why should we get rid of it as many people are urging? Some question the effectiveness or the fairness of particular affirmative action programs. I say to all of you, those are fair questions, and they prompted the review of our affirmative action programs, about which I will talk in a few moments.

Some question the fundamental purpose of the effort. There are people who honestly believe that affirmative action always amounts to group preferences over individual merit; that affirmative action always leads to reverse discrimination; that ultimately, therefore, it demeans those who benefit from it and discriminates against those who are not helped by it.

All of you have to decide how you feel about that, and all of our fellow countrymen and women have to decide as well. But I believe if there are no quotas, if we give no opportunities to unqualified people, if we have no reverse discrimination, and if, when the problem ends -- the program ends, that criticism is wrong. That's what I believe.

Now let's deal with what I really think is behind so much of this debate today. There are a lot of people who oppose affirmative action today who supported it for a very long time. I believe they are responding to the sea change in the experiences that most Americans have in the world in which we live.

If you say now you're against affirmative action because the government is using its power or the private sector is using its power to help minorities at the expense of the majority, that gives you a way of explaining away the economic distress that a majority of Americans honestly feel. It gives you a way of turning their resentment against the minorities or against a particular government program, instead of having an honest debate about how we all got into the fix we're in and what we're all going to do together to get out of it.

That explanation, the affirmative action explanation for the fix we're in is just wrong. It is just wrong. Affirmative action did not cause the great economic problems of the American middle class. And because most minorities or women are either members of that middle class or people who are poor who are struggling to get into it, we must also admit that affirmative

action alone won't solve the problems of minorities and women who seek to be a part of the American Dream. To do that, we have to have an economic strategy that reverses the decline in wages and the growth of poverty among working people. Without that, women, minorities and white males will all be in trouble in the future.

But it is wrong to use the anxieties of the middle class to divert the American people from the real causes of their economic distress -- the sweeping historic changes taking all the globe in its path, and the specific policies or lack of them in our own country that have aggravated those challenges. It is simply wrong to play politics with the issue of affirmative action and divide our country at a time when, if we're really going to change things, we have to be united.

I must say, I think it is ironic that some of those -- not all, but some of those who call for an end to affirmative action also advocate policies that will make the real economic problems of the anxious middle class even worse. If the real goal is economic opportunity for all Americans, why in the world would we reduce our investment in education from Head Start to affordable college loans? Why don't we make college loans available to every American instead?

If the real goal is empowering all middle class Americans and empowering poor people to work their way into the middle class without regard to race or gender, why in the world would the people who advocate that turn around and raise taxes on our poorest working families, or reduce the money available for education and training when they lose their jobs or they're living on poverty wages, or increase the cost of housing for lower-income, working people with children?

Why would we do that? If we're going to empower America, we have to do more than talk about it, we have to do it. And we surely have learned that we cannot empower all Americans by taking opportunity away from some Americans.

So to those who use this as a political strategy to divide us, we must say: no.

But to those who raise legitimate questions about the way affirmative action works, or who raise the larger question about the genuine problems and anxieties of all the American people and their sense of being left behind and treated unfairly, we must say, yes, you are entitled to answers to your questions. We must say yes to that.

That's why I ordered this review of all of our affirmative action programs; a review to look at the facts, not the politics of affirmative action. This review concluded that affirmative

action remains a useful tool for widening economic and educational opportunity. The model used by the military, the Army in particular -- and I'm delighted to have the Commanding General of the Army here today because he set such a fine example -- has been especially successful because it emphasizes education and training, ensuring that it has a wide pool of qualified candidates for every level of promotion. That approach has given us the most racially diverse and best-qualified military in our history. There are more opportunities for women and minorities there than ever before. And now there are over 50 generals and admirals who are Hispanic, Asian or African Americans.

We found that the Education Department had programs targeted on under-represented minorities that do a great deal of good with the tiniest of investments. We found that these programs comprised only 40 cents of every $1,000 in the Education Department's budget.

College presidents say that their schools benefit from diversity. If their colleges look like the world students are going to live and work in, and they learn from all different kinds of people things they can't learn in books, our systems of higher education are stronger.

On the other hand, every child, without regard to race or gender, needs the chance to go to college. Every child. That means every child has to have a chance to get affordable and repayable college loans, Pell Grants for poor kids and a chance to do things like join AmeriCorps and work their way through school. Every child is entitled to that. But that is not an argument <u>against</u> affirmative action, it's an argument <u>for</u> more opportunity for more Americans until everyone is reached.

This review also found that the executive order on employment practices of large federal contractors also has helped to bring more fairness and inclusion into the work force.

Since President Nixon's Administration, America has used goals and timetables to preserve opportunity and to prevent discrimination, to urge businesses to set higher expectations for themselves and to realize those expectations. But we did not and we will not use rigid quotas to mandate outcomes.

We also looked at the way we award procurement contracts under the programs known as set-asides. There's no question that these programs have helped to build up firms owned by minorities and women, who historically have been excluded from the old-boy networks in these areas. They have helped a new generation of

entrepreneurs to flourish, opening new paths to self-reliance and an economic growth in which all of us ultimately share. Because of the set-asides, businesses ready to compete have had a chance to compete, a chance they would not have otherwise had.

But as with any government program, set-asides can be misapplied, misused, even intentionally abused. There are critics who exploit that fact as an excuse to abolish all these programs, regardless of their effects. I believe they are wrong, but I also believe, based on our factual review, we clearly need some reform. So first, we should crack down on those who take advantage of everyone else through fraud and abuse. We must crack down on fronts and pass-throughs, people who pretend to be eligible for these programs and aren't. That is wrong.

We also, in offering new businesses a leg up, must make sure that the set-asides go to businesses that need them most. We must really look and make sure that our standard for eligibility is fair and defensible. We have to tighten the requirement to move businesses out of programs once they've had a fair opportunity to compete. The graduation requirement must mean something -- it must mean graduation. There should be no permanent set-aside for any company.

Second, we must, and we will, comply with the Supreme Court's Adarand decision of last month. In particular, that means focusing set-aside programs on particular regions and business sectors where the problems of discrimination or exclusion are provable and are clearly requiring affirmative action. I have directed the Attorney General and the agencies to move forward with compliance with Adarand expeditiously.

But I also want to emphasize that the Adarand decision did not dismantle affirmative action and did not dismantle set-asides. In fact, while setting stricter standards to mandate reform of affirmative action, it actually reaffirmed the need for affirmative action and reaffirmed the continuing existence of systematic discrimination in the United States.

What the Supreme Court ordered the federal government to do was to meet the same more rigorous standard for affirmative action programs that state and local governments were ordered to meet several years ago. And the best set-aside programs under that standard have been challenged and have survived.

Third, beyond discrimination we need to do more to help disadvantaged people and distressed communities, no matter what their race or gender. There are places in our country where the free enterprise system simply doesn't reach. It simply isn't working to provide jobs and opportunity. These areas in urban

and rural America are populated by racial minorities, but not entirely. To make this initiative work, I believe the government must become a better partner for people in places in urban and rural America that are caught in a cycle of poverty. And I believe we have to find ways to get the private sector to assume their rightful role as a driver of economic growth.

It has always amazed me that we have given incentives to our business people to help to develop poor economies in other parts of the world, our neighbors in the Caribbean, our neighbors in other parts of the world, which I have supported except when they have been abused, but we ignore the biggest source of economic growth available to the American economy, the poor economies isolated within the United States of America.

There are those who say, well, even if we made the jobs available people wouldn't work. They haven't tried. Most of the people in disadvantaged communities work today, and most of them who don't work have a very strong desire to do so. In central Harlem, 14 people apply for every single minimum-wage job opening. Think how many more would apply if there were good jobs with a good future. Our job is to connect disadvantaged people and disadvantaged communities to economic opportunity so that everybody who wants to work can do so.

We've been working at this through our empowerment zones and community development banks, through the initiatives of Secretary Cisneros and the Housing and Urban Development Department, and many other things that we have tried to do to put capital where it is needed. And now I have asked Vice President Gore to develop a proposal to use our contracting to support businesses that locate themselves in these distressed areas or hire a large percentage of their workers from these areas -- not to substitute for affirmative action, but to go beyond it, to do something that will help to deal with the economic crisis of America.

My fellow Americans, affirmative action has to be made consistent with our highest ideals of personal responsibility and merit, and our urgent need to find common ground, and to prepare all Americans to compete in the global economy.

Today, I am directing all our agencies to comply with the Supreme Court's Adarand decision, and also to apply the four standards of fairness to all our affirmative action programs that I have already articulated: No quotas in theory or practice; no illegal discrimination of any kind, including reverse discrimination; no preference for people who are not qualified for any job or other opportunity; and as soon as a program has succeeded, it must be retired. Any program that doesn't meet these four principles must be eliminated or reformed to meet them.

But let me be clear: Affirmative action has been good for America.

Affirmative action has not always been perfect, and affirmative action should not go on forever. It should be changed now to take care of those things that are wrong, and it should be retired when its job is done. I am resolved that that day will come. But the evidence suggests, indeed screams, that that day has not come.

The job of ending discrimination in this country is not over. That should not be surprising. We had slavery for centuries before the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. We waited another hundred years for the civil rights legislation. Women have had the vote less than a hundred years. We have always had difficulty with these things, as most societies do. But we are making more progress than many other nations.

Since, based on the evidence, the job is not done, here is what I think we should do. We should reaffirm the principle of affirmative action and fix the practices. We should have a simple slogan: Mend it, but don't end it.

Let me ask all Americans, whether they agree or disagree with what I have said today, to see this issue in the larger context of our times. President Lincoln said we cannot escape our history. We cannot escape our future either. And that future must be one in which every American has the chance to live up to his or her God-given capacities.

The new technology, the instant communications, the explosion of global commerce have created enormous opportunities and enormous anxieties for Americans. In the last two and a half years, we have seen seven million new jobs, more millionaires and new businesses than ever before, high corporate profits, and a booming stock market. Yet, most Americans are working harder for the same or lower pay. And they feel more insecurity about their jobs, their retirement, their health care, and their children's education. Too many of our children are exposed to poverty and welfare, violence and drugs.

These are the great challenges for our whole country on the homefront at the dawn of the 21st century. We've got to find the wisdom and the will to create family-wage jobs for all the people who want to work; to open the door of college to all Americans; to strengthen families and reduce the awful problems to which our children are exposed; to move poor Americans from welfare to work.

This is the work of our Administration -- to give the people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives, to give families and communities the tools they need to solve their own problems. But let us not forget affirmative action didn't cause these problems. And it won't solve them. And getting rid of affirmative action certainly won't solve them.

If properly done, affirmative action can help us come together, go forward and grow together. It is in our moral, legal and practical interest to see that every person can make the most of his or her life. In the fight for the future, we need all hands on deck. And some of those hands still need a helping hand.

In our national community we're all different, but we're all the same. We want liberty and freedom. We want the embrace of family and community. We want to make the most of our own lives and we're determined to give our children a better one. Today there are voices of division who would say forget all that. Don't you dare. Remember we're still closing the gap between our founders' ideals and our reality. But every step along the way has made us richer, stronger and better. And the best is yet to come.

Thank you very much. And God bless you.

Original to George S
Copy to ORM

Mike
7-26-95

To George
With Thanks for
your support
Work on This—
Bill Clinto

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It is, in a way, ironic that this issue should be divisive today, because affirmative action was begun 25 years ago under a Republican president with bipartisan support. It began simply as a means to an end of enduring national purpose -- equal opportunity for all Americans.

So let us today trace the roots of affirmative action in our never-ending search for equal opportunity. Let us determine what it is and what it isn't. Let us see where it has worked and where it hasn't, and ask ourselves what we need to do now. Along the way, let us remember always that finding common ground as we move toward the 21st century depends fundamentally on our shared commitment to equal opportunity for all Americans. It is a moral imperative, a constitutional mandate, and a practical necessity.

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words these documents contain. So we put them in these special cases to protect the parchment from the elements. No building is as solid as the principles these documents embody, but we sure tried to build one with these metal doors 11 inches thick to keep them safe. These documents are America's only crown jewels. But the best place of all to hold these words and these principles is the one place in which they can never fade and never grow old -- in the stronger chambers of our hearts.

Beyond all else, our country is a set of convictions: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Our whole history can be seen first as an effort to preserve these rights, and then as an effort to make them real in the lives of all our citizens. We know that from the beginning, there was a great gap between the plain meaning of our creed and the meaner reality of our daily lives. Back then, only white male property owners could vote. Black slaves were not even counted as whole people, and Native Americans were regarded as little more than an obstacle to our great national progress. No wonder Thomas Jefferson, reflecting on slavery, said he trembled to think God is just.

On the 200th anniversary of our great Constitution, Justice Thurgood Marshall, the grandson of a slave, said, "The government our founders devised was defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war, and momentous social transformation to attain the system of constitutional government and its respect for the individual freedoms and human rights we hold as fundamental today."

Emancipation, women's suffrage, civil rights, voting rights, equal rights, the struggle for the rights of the disabled -- all these and other struggles are milestones on America's often rocky, but fundamentally righteous journey to close the gap between the ideals enshrined in these treasures here in the National Archives and the reality of our daily lives.

I first came to this very spot where I'm standing today 32 years ago this month. I was a 16-year-old delegate to the American Legion Boys Nation. That summer was a high-water mark on our national journey. That was the summer that President Kennedy ordered Alabama National Guardsmen to enforce a court order to allow two young blacks to enter the University of Alabama. As he told our nation, "Every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated; as one would wish his children to be treated."

Later that same summer, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, Martin Luther King told Americans of his dream that one day the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners would sit down together at the table of brotherhood; that one day his four little children would be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. His words captured the hearts and steeled the wills of millions of Americans. Some of them sang with him in the hot sun that day. Millions more, like me, listened and wept in the privacy of their homes.

It's hard to believe where we were just three decades ago. When I came up here to Boys Nation and we had this mock congressional session, I was one of only three or four southerners who would even vote for the civil rights plank. That's largely because of my family. My grandfather had a grade school education and ran a grocery store across the street from the cemetery in Hope, Arkansas, where my parents and my grandparents are buried. Most of his customers were black, were poor, and were working people. As a child in that store I saw that people of different races could treat each other with respect and dignity.

But I also saw that the black neighborhood was the only one in town where the streets weren't paved. And when I returned to that neighborhood in the late '60s to see a woman who had cared for me as a toddler, the streets still weren't paved. A lot of you know that I am an ardent movie-goer. As a child I never went to a movie where I could sit next to a black American. They were always sitting upstairs.

In the 1960s, believe it or not, there were still a few courthouse squares in my state where the rest rooms were marked "white" and "colored." I graduated from a segregated high school seven years after President Eisenhower integrated Little Rock Central High School. And when President Kennedy barely carried my home state in 1960, the poll tax system was still alive and well there.

Even though my grandparents were in a minority, being poor, Southern whites who were pro-civil rights, I think most other people knew better than to think the way they did. And those who were smart enough to act differently, discovered a lesson that we ought to remember today: Discrimination is not just morally wrong, it hurts everybody.

In 1960, Atlanta, Georgia, in reaction to all the things that were going on all across the South, adopted the motto, "The city too busy to hate." And however imperfectly over the

years, they tried to live by it. I am convinced that Atlanta's success -- it now is home to more foreign corporations than any other American city, and one year from today it will host the Olympics -- that success all began when people got too busy to hate.

The lesson we learned was a hard one. When we allow people to pit us against one another or spend energy denying opportunity based on our differences, everyone is held back. But when we give all Americans a chance to develop and use their talents, to be full partners in our common enterprise, then everybody is pushed forward.

My experiences with discrimination are rooted in the South and in the legacy slavery left. But I also lived with a working mother and a working grandmother when women's work was far rarer and far more circumscribed than it is today. We all know there are millions of other stories -- those of Hispanics, Asian Americans, Native Americans, people with disabilities, others against whom fingers have been pointed. Many of you have your own stories, and that's why you're here today -- people who were denied the right to develop and use their full human potential. And their progress, too, is a part of our journey to make the reality of America consistent with the principles just behind me here.

Thirty years ago in this city, you didn't see many people of color or women making their way to work in the morning in business clothes, or serving in substantial numbers in powerful positions in Congress or at the White House, or making executive decisions every day in businesses. In fact, even the employment want ads were divided, men on one side and women on the other.

It was extraordinary then to see women or people of color as television news anchors, or, believe it or not, even in college sports. There were far fewer women and minorities as job supervisors, or firefighters, or police officers, or doctors, or lawyers, or college professors, or in many other jobs that offer stability and honor and integrity to family life.

A lot has changed, and it did not happen as some sort of random evolutionary drift. It took hard work and sacrifices and countless acts of courage and conscience by millions of Americans. It took the political courage and statesmanship of Democrats and Republicans alike, the vigilance and compassion of courts and advocates in and out of government committed to the Constitution, to equal protection, and to equal opportunity. It took the leadership of people in business who knew that in the end we would all be better. It took the leadership of people in labor unions who knew that working people had to be recognized.

Some people, like Congressman Lewis here, put their lives on the line. Other people lost their lives. And millions of Americans changed their own lives and put hate behind them. As a result, today all our lives are better. Women have become a major force in business and political life and far more able to contribute to their families' incomes. A true and growing black middle class has emerged. Higher education has literally been revolutionized, with women and racial and ethnic minorities attending once overwhelmingly white and sometimes all male schools. In communities across our nation, police departments now better reflect the make-up of those whom they protect. A generation of professionals now serve as role models for young women and minority youth. Hispanics and newer immigrant populations are succeeding in making America stronger.

For an example of where the best of our future lies, just think about our space program and the stunning hook-up with the Russian space station this month. Let's remember that that program, the world's finest, began with heroes like Alan Shepard and Senator John Glenn, but it's also had American heroes like Sally Ride, Ellen Ochoa, Leroy Chiao, Guy Bluford and other outstanding, completely qualified women and minorities.

How did this happen? Fundamentally, because we opened our hearts and minds and changed our ways. But not without pressure -- the pressure of court decisions, legislation, executive action, and the power of examples in the public and private sectors. Along the way we learned that laws alone do not change society; that old habits and thinking patterns are deeply ingrained and die hard; and that more is required to really open the doors of opportunity. Our search to find ways to move more quickly to equal opportunity led to the development of what we now call affirmative action.

The purpose of affirmative action is to give our nation a way to address the systemic exclusion of individuals of talent, on the basis of their gender or race, from opportunities to develop, perform, achieve and contribute. Affirmative action is an effort to develop a systematic approach to open the doors of education, employment and business development opportunities to qualified individuals who happen to be members of groups that have experienced longstanding and persistent discrimination.

It is a policy that grew out of many years of trying to navigate between two unacceptable paths. One was to say simply that we declared discrimination illegal and that's enough. But that way still relegated blacks with college degrees to jobs as railroad porters and kept women with degrees under a glass ceiling with a lower paycheck.

The other path was simply to impose change by leveling draconian penalties on employers who didn't meet certain imposed, ultimately arbitrary, and sometimes unachievable quotas. That, too, was rejected out of a sense of fairness.

So a middle ground was developed that would change an inequitable status quo gradually, but firmly, by building the pool of qualified applicants for college, for contracts, for jobs, and giving more people the chance to learn, work and earn. When affirmative action is done right, it is flexible, it is fair, and it works.

I know some people are honestly concerned about the times affirmative action doesn't work, when it's done in the wrong way. There are times when some employers don't use it in the right way. They may cut corners and treat a flexible goal as a quota. They may give opportunities to people who are unqualified instead of those who deserve it. They may, in so doing, allow a different kind of discrimination. When this happens, it is also wrong. But it isn't affirmative action. And it is not legal.

When our Administration finds cases of that sort, we will enforce the law aggressively. The Justice Department files hundreds of cases every year, attacking discrimination in employment, including suits on behalf of white males. Most of these suits, however, affect women and minorities for a simple reason -- because the vast majority of discrimination in America is still discrimination against them. But the law does require fairness for everyone, and we are determined to see that that is exactly what the law delivers.

Let me be clear about what affirmative action must not mean and what I won't allow it to be. It does not mean -- and I don't favor -- the unjustified preference of the unqualified over the qualified of any race or gender. It doesn't mean -- and I don't favor -- numerical quotas. It doesn't mean -- and I don't favor -- rejection or selection of any employee or student solely on the basis of race or gender without regard to merit.

Like many business executives and public servants, my views on this subject are, more than anything else, the product of my personal experience. I have had experience with affirmative action, nearly 20 years of it now, and I know it works.

When I was Attorney General of my home state, I hired a record number of women and African American lawyers -- every one clearly qualified and exceptionally hardworking. As

Governor, I appointed more women to my Cabinet and state boards than any other governor in the state's history and more African Americans than all the governors in the state's history combined. No one ever questioned their qualifications or performance. And our state was better and stronger because of their service.

As President, I am proud to have the most diverse Administration in history in my Cabinet, my agencies and my staff. And I must say, I have been surprised at the criticism I have received from some quarters in my determination to achieve this.

In the last two and a half years, the most outstanding example of affirmative action in the United States, the Pentagon, has opened 260,000 positions for women who serve in our Armed Forces. I have appointed more women and minorities to the federal bench than any other president, more than the last two combined. And yet, far more of our judicial appointments have received the highest rating from the American Bar Association than any other Administration since those ratings have been given.

In our Administration, many government agencies are doing more business with qualified firms run by minorities and women. The Small Business Administration has reduced its budget by close to 40 percent, doubled its loan output, and increased the number of loans to women by more than 80 percent and to minority small business people by nearly sixty percent, without reducing the number of loans to white male business owners and without changing the loan standards for a single, solitary application. Quality and diversity can go hand in hand, and they must.

Affirmative action has also done more than just open the doors of opportunity to individual Americans. Most economists who study it agree that affirmative action has also been an important part of closing gaps in economic opportunity in our society, thereby strengthening the entire economy.

A group of distinguished business leaders told me just a couple of days ago their companies are stronger and their profits are larger because of the diversity and the excellence of their work forces achieved through intelligent and fair affirmative action programs. They said they had gone far beyond anything the government requires they had because managing diversity and individual opportunity and being fair to everybody is the key to their future economic success in the global marketplace.

Now, there are those who say that even good affirmative action programs are no longer needed; that it should be enough to resort to the courts or the Equal Employment Opportunity

Commission in cases of actual, provable, individual discrimination because there is no longer any systematic discrimination in our society. In deciding how to answer that let us consider the facts.

The unemployment rate for African Americans remains about twice that of whites. The Hispanic rate is still much higher. Women have narrowed the earnings gap, but still make only 72 percent as much as men do for comparable jobs. The average income for an Hispanic woman with a college degree is still less than the average income of a white man with a high school diploma.

According to the recently completed Glass Ceiling Report, sponsored by Republican members of Congress, in the nation's largest companies only six-tenths of one percent of senior management positions are held by African Americans, four-tenths of a percent by Hispanic Americans, three-tenths of a percent by Asian Americans; women hold between three and five percent of these positions. White males make up 43 percent of our work force, but hold 95 percent of these jobs.

Just last week, the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank reported that black home loan applicants are more than twice as likely to be denied credit as whites with the same qualifications; and that Hispanic applicants are more than one and a half times as likely to be denied loans as whites with the same qualifications.

Last year alone the federal government received more than 90,000 complaints of employment discrimination based on race, ethnicity or gender. Less than three percent were for reverse discrimination.

Evidence abounds in other ways of the persistence of the kind of bigotry that can affect the way we think, even if we're not conscious of it, in hiring and promotion in business and education.

Crimes and violence based on hate against Asians, Hispanics, African Americans and other minorities are still with us. And, I'm sorry to say, that the worst and most recent evidence of this involves a recent report of federal law enforcement officials in Tennessee attending an event literally overflowing with racism -- a sickening reminder of just how pervasive these kinds of attitudes still are.

By the way, I want to tell you that I am committed to finding the truth about what happened there and to taking appropriate action. If anybody who works in federal law enforcement thinks that that kind of behavior is acceptable, they ought to think about working someplace else.

Now, let's get to the other side of the argument. If affirmative action has worked and if there is evidence that discrimination still exists on a wide scale in ways that are conscious and unconscious, then why should we get rid of it as many people are urging? Some question the effectiveness or the fairness of particular affirmative action programs. I say to all of you, those are fair questions, and they prompted the review of our affirmative action programs, about which I will talk in a few moments.

Some question the fundamental purpose of the effort. There are people who honestly believe that affirmative action always amounts to group preferences over individual merit; that affirmative action always leads to reverse discrimination; that ultimately, therefore, it demeans those who benefit from it and discriminates against those who are not helped by it.

All of you have to decide how you feel about that, and all of our fellow countrymen and women have to decide as well. But I believe if there are no quotas, if we give no opportunities to unqualified people, if we have no reverse discrimination, and if, when the problem ends -- the program ends, that criticism is wrong. That's what I believe.

Now let's deal with what I really think is behind so much of this debate today. There are a lot of people who oppose affirmative action today who supported it for a very long time. I believe they are responding to the sea change in the expe-riences that most Americans have in the world in which we live.

If you say now you're against affirmative action because the government is using its power or the private sector is using its power to help minorities at the expense of the majority, that gives you a way of explaining away the economic distress that a majority of Americans honestly feel. It gives you a way of turning their resentment against the minorities or against a particular government program, instead of having an honest debate about how we all got into the fix we're in and what we're all going to do together to get out of it.

That explanation, the affirmative action explanation for the fix we're in is just wrong. It is just wrong. Affirmative action did not cause the great economic problems of the American middle class. And because most minorities or women are either members of that middle class or people who are poor who are struggling to get into it, we must also admit that affirmative

action alone won't solve the problems of minorities and women who seek to be a part of the American Dream. To do that, we have to have an economic strategy that reverses the decline in wages and the growth of poverty among working people. Without that, women, minorities and white males will all be in trouble in the future.

But it is wrong to use the anxieties of the middle class to divert the American people from the real causes of their economic distress -- the sweeping historic changes taking all the globe in its path, and the specific policies or lack of them in our own country that have aggravated those challenges. It is simply wrong to play politics with the issue of affirmative action and divide our country at a time when, if we're really going to change things, we have to be united.

I must say, I think it is ironic that some of those -- not all, but some of those who call for an end to affirmative action also advocate policies that will make the real economic problems of the anxious middle class even worse. If the real goal is economic opportunity for all Americans, why in the world would we reduce our investment in education from Head Start to affordable college loans? Why don't we make college loans available to every American instead?

If the real goal is empowering all middle class Americans and empowering poor people to work their way into the middle class without regard to race or gender, why in the world would the people who advocate that turn around and raise taxes on our poorest working families, or reduce the money available for education and training when they lose their jobs or they're living on poverty wages, or increase the cost of housing for lower-income, working people with children?

Why would we do that? If we're going to empower America, we have to do more than talk about it, we have to do it. And we surely have learned that we cannot empower all Americans by taking opportunity away from some Americans.

So to those who use this as a political strategy to divide us, we must say: no.

But to those who raise legitimate questions about the way affirmative action works, or who raise the larger question about the genuine problems and anxieties of all the American people and their sense of being left behind and treated unfairly, we must say, yes, you are entitled to answers to your questions. We must say yes to that.

That's why I ordered this review of all of our affirmative action programs; a review to look at the facts, not the politics of affirmative action. This review concluded that affirmative

action remains a useful tool for widening economic and educational opportunity. The model used by the military, the Army in particular -- and I'm delighted to have the Commanding General of the Army here today because he set such a fine example -- has been especially successful because it emphasizes education and training, ensuring that it has a wide pool of qualified candidates for every level of promotion. That approach has given us the most racially diverse and best-qualified military in our history. There are more opportunities for women and minorities there than ever before. And now there are over 50 generals and admirals who are Hispanic, Asian or African Americans.

We found that the Education Department had programs targeted on under-represented minorities that do a great deal of good with the tiniest of investments. We found that these programs comprised only 40 cents of every $1,000 in the Education Department's budget.

College presidents say that their schools benefit from diversity. If their colleges look like the world students are going to live and work in, and they learn from all different kinds of people things they can't learn in books, our systems of higher education are stronger.

On the other hand, every child, without regard to race or gender, needs the chance to go to college. Every child. That means every child has to have a chance to get affordable and repayable college loans, Pell Grants for poor kids and a chance to do things like join AmeriCorps and work their way through school. Every child is entitled to that. But that is not an argument <u>against</u> affirmative action, it's an argument <u>for</u> more opportunity for more Americans until everyone is reached.

This review also found that the executive order on employment practices of large federal contractors also has helped to bring more fairness and inclusion into the work force.

Since President Nixon's Administration, America has used goals and timetables to preserve opportunity and to prevent discrimination, to urge businesses to set higher expectations for themselves and to realize those expectations. But we did not and we will not use rigid quotas to mandate outcomes.

We also looked at the way we award procurement contracts under the programs known as set-asides. There's no question that these programs have helped to build up firms owned by minorities and women, who historically have been excluded from the old-boy networks in these areas. They have helped a new generation of

entrepreneurs to flourish, opening new paths to self-reliance and an economic growth in which all of us ultimately share. Because of the set-asides, businesses ready to compete have had a chance to compete, a chance they would not have otherwise had.

But as with any government program, set-asides can be misapplied, misused, even intentionally abused. There are critics who exploit that fact as an excuse to abolish all these programs, regardless of their effects. I believe they are wrong, but I also believe, based on our factual review, we clearly need some reform. So first, we should crack down on those who take advantage of everyone else through fraud and abuse. We must crack down on fronts and pass-throughs, people who pretend to be eligible for these programs and aren't. That is wrong.

We also, in offering new businesses a leg up, must make sure that the set-asides go to businesses that need them most. We must really look and make sure that our standard for eligibility is fair and defensible. We have to tighten the requirement to move businesses out of programs once they've had a fair opportunity to compete. The graduation requirement must mean something -- it must mean graduation. There should be no permanent set-aside for any company.

Second, we must, and we will, comply with the Supreme Court's Adarand decision of last month. In particular, that means focusing set-aside programs on particular regions and business sectors where the problems of discrimination or exclusion are provable and are clearly requiring affirmative action. I have directed the Attorney General and the agencies to move forward with compliance with Adarand expeditiously.

But I also want to emphasize that the Adarand decision did not dismantle affirmative action and did not dismantle set-asides. In fact, while setting stricter standards to mandate reform of affirmative action, it actually reaffirmed the need for affirmative action and reaffirmed the continuing existence of systematic discrimination in the United States.

What the Supreme Court ordered the federal government to do was to meet the same more rigorous standard for affirmative action programs that state and local governments were ordered to meet several years ago. And the best set-aside programs under that standard have been challenged and have survived.

Third, beyond discrimination we need to do more to help disadvantaged people and distressed communities, no matter what their race or gender. There are places in our country where the free enterprise system simply doesn't reach. It simply isn't working to provide jobs and opportunity. These areas in urban

and rural America are populated by racial minorities, but not entirely. To make this initiative work, I believe the government must become a better partner for people in places in urban and rural America that are caught in a cycle of poverty. And I believe we have to find ways to get the private sector to assume their rightful role as a driver of economic growth.

It has always amazed me that we have given incentives to our business people to help to develop poor economies in other parts of the world, our neighbors in the Caribbean, our neighbors in other parts of the world, which I have supported except when they have been abused, but we ignore the biggest source of economic growth available to the American economy, the poor economies isolated within the United States of America.

There are those who say, well, even if we made the jobs available people wouldn't work. They haven't tried. Most of the people in disadvantaged communities work today, and most of them who don't work have a very strong desire to do so. In central Harlem, 14 people apply for every single minimum-wage job opening. Think how many more would apply if there were good jobs with a good future. Our job is to connect disadvantaged people and disadvantaged communities to economic opportunity so that everybody who wants to work can do so.

We've been working at this through our empowerment zones and community development banks, through the initiatives of Secretary Cisneros and the Housing and Urban Development Department, and many other things that we have tried to do to put capital where it is needed. And now I have asked Vice President Gore to develop a proposal to use our contracting to support businesses that locate themselves in these distressed areas or hire a large percentage of their workers from these areas -- not to substitute for affirmative action, but to go beyond it, to do something that will help to deal with the economic crisis of America.

My fellow Americans, affirmative action has to be made consistent with our highest ideals of personal responsibility and merit, and our urgent need to find common ground, and to prepare all Americans to compete in the global economy.

Today, I am directing all our agencies to comply with the Supreme Court's Adarand decision, and also to apply the four standards of fairness to all our affirmative action programs that I have already articulated: No quotas in theory or practice; no illegal discrimination of any kind, including reverse discrimination; no preference for people who are not qualified for any job or other opportunity; and as soon as a program has succeeded, it must be retired. Any program that doesn't meet these four principles must be eliminated or reformed to meet them.

But let me be clear: Affirmative action has been good for America.

Affirmative action has not always been perfect, and affirmative action should not go on forever. It should be changed now to take care of those things that are wrong, and it should be retired when its job is done. I am resolved that that day will come. But the evidence suggests, indeed screams, that that day has not come.

The job of ending discrimination in this country is not over. That should not be surprising. We had slavery for centuries before the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. We waited another hundred years for the civil rights legislation. Women have had the vote less than a hundred years. We have always had difficulty with these things, as most societies do. But we are making more progress than many other nations.

Since, based on the evidence, the job is not done, here is what I think we should do. We should reaffirm the principle of affirmative action and fix the practices. We should have a simple slogan: Mend it, but don't end it.

Let me ask all Americans, whether they agree or disagree with what I have said today, to see this issue in the larger context of our times. President Lincoln said we cannot escape our history. We cannot escape our future either. And that future must be one in which every American has the chance to live up to his or her God-given capacities.

The new technology, the instant communications, the explosion of global commerce have created enormous opportunities and enormous anxieties for Americans. In the last two and a half years, we have seen seven million new jobs, more millionaires and new businesses than ever before, high corporate profits, and a booming stock market. Yet, most Americans are working harder for the same or lower pay. And they feel more insecurity about their jobs, their retirement, their health care, and their children's education. Too many of our children are exposed to poverty and welfare, violence and drugs.

These are the great challenges for our whole country on the homefront at the dawn of the 21st century. We've got to find the wisdom and the will to create family-wage jobs for all the people who want to work; to open the door of college to all Americans; to strengthen families and reduce the awful problems to which our children are exposed; to move poor Americans from welfare to work.

This is the work of our Administration -- to give the people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives, to give families and communities the tools they need to solve their own problems. But let us not forget affirmative action didn't cause these problems. And it won't solve them. And getting rid of affirmative action certainly won't solve them.

If properly done, affirmative action can help us come together, go forward and grow together. It is in our moral, legal and practical interest to see that every person can make the most of his or her life. In the fight for the future, we need all hands on deck. And some of those hands still need a helping hand.

In our national community we're all different, but we're all the same. We want liberty and freedom. We want the embrace of family and community. We want to make the most of our own lives and we're determined to give our children a better one. Today there are voices of division who would say forget all that. Don't you dare. Remember we're still closing the gap between our founders' ideals and our reality. But every step along the way has made us richer, stronger and better. And the best is yet to come.

Thank you very much. And God bless you.

Original to Alexis
Copy to ORM

Mike
7/26/95

To Alexis
With thanks for your fine work on this
Bill Clinton

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

July 19, 1995

The Rotunda
National Archives

In recent weeks I have begun a conversation with the American people about our fate and our duty to prepare our nation not only to meet the new century, but to live and lead in a world transformed to a degree seldom seen in all of our history. Much of this change is good, but it is not all good, and all of us are affected by it. Therefore, we must reach beyond our fears and our divisions to a new time of great and common purpose.

Our challenge is twofold: first, to restore the American dream of opportunity and the American value of responsibility; and second, to bring our country together amid all our diversity into a stronger community, so that we can find common ground and move forward as one.

More than ever these two endeavors are inseparable. I am absolutely convinced we cannot restore economic opportunity or solve our social problems unless we find a way to bring the American people together. To bring our people together we must openly and honestly deal with the issues that divide us. Today I want to discuss one of those issues: affirmative action.

It is, in a way, ironic that this issue should be divisive today, because affirmative action was begun 25 years ago under a Republican president with bipartisan support. It began simply as a means to an end of enduring national purpose -- equal opportunity for all Americans.

So let us today trace the roots of affirmative action in our never-ending search for equal opportunity. Let us determine what it is and what it isn't. Let us see where it has worked and where it hasn't, and ask ourselves what we need to do now. Along the way, let us remember always that finding common ground as we move toward the 21st century depends fundamentally on our shared commitment to equal opportunity for all Americans. It is a moral imperative, a constitutional mandate, and a practical necessity.

There could be no better place for this discussion than the National Archives, for within these walls are America's bedrocks of our common ground -- the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights. No paper is as lasting as the

words these documents contain. So we put them in these special cases to protect the parchment from the elements. No building is as solid as the principles these documents embody, but we sure tried to build one with these metal doors 11 inches thick to keep them safe. These documents are America's only crown jewels. But the best place of all to hold these words and these principles is the one place in which they can never fade and never grow old -- in the stronger chambers of our hearts.

Beyond all else, our country is a set of convictions: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Our whole history can be seen first as an effort to preserve these rights, and then as an effort to make them real in the lives of all our citizens. We know that from the beginning, there was a great gap between the plain meaning of our creed and the meaner reality of our daily lives. Back then, only white male property owners could vote. Black slaves were not even counted as whole people, and Native Americans were regarded as little more than an obstacle to our great national progress. No wonder Thomas Jefferson, reflecting on slavery, said he trembled to think God is just.

On the 200th anniversary of our great Constitution, Justice Thurgood Marshall, the grandson of a slave, said, "The government our founders devised was defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war, and momentous social transformation to attain the system of constitutional government and its respect for the individual freedoms and human rights we hold as fundamental today."

Emancipation, women's suffrage, civil rights, voting rights, equal rights, the struggle for the rights of the disabled -- all these and other struggles are milestones on America's often rocky, but fundamentally righteous journey to close the gap between the ideals enshrined in these treasures here in the National Archives and the reality of our daily lives.

I first came to this very spot where I'm standing today 32 years ago this month. I was a 16-year-old delegate to the American Legion Boys Nation. That summer was a high-water mark on our national journey. That was the summer that President Kennedy ordered Alabama National Guardsmen to enforce a court order to allow two young blacks to enter the University of Alabama. As he told our nation, "Every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated; as one would wish his children to be treated."

Later that same summer, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, Martin Luther King told Americans of his dream that one day the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners would sit down together at the table of brotherhood; that one day his four little children would be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. His words captured the hearts and steeled the wills of millions of Americans. Some of them sang with him in the hot sun that day. Millions more, like me, listened and wept in the privacy of their homes.

It's hard to believe where we were just three decades ago. When I came up here to Boys Nation and we had this mock congressional session, I was one of only three or four southerners who would even vote for the civil rights plank. That's largely because of my family. My grandfather had a grade school education and ran a grocery store across the street from the cemetery in Hope, Arkansas, where my parents and my grandparents are buried. Most of his customers were black, were poor, and were working people. As a child in that store I saw that people of different races could treat each other with respect and dignity.

But I also saw that the black neighborhood was the only one in town where the streets weren't paved. And when I returned to that neighborhood in the late '60s to see a woman who had cared for me as a toddler, the streets still weren't paved. A lot of you know that I am an ardent movie-goer. As a child I never went to a movie where I could sit next to a black American. They were always sitting upstairs.

In the 1960s, believe it or not, there were still a few courthouse squares in my state where the rest rooms were marked "white" and "colored." I graduated from a segregated high school seven years after President Eisenhower integrated Little Rock Central High School. And when President Kennedy barely carried my home state in 1960, the poll tax system was still alive and well there.

Even though my grandparents were in a minority, being poor, Southern whites who were pro-civil rights, I think most other people knew better than to think the way they did. And those who were smart enough to act differently, discovered a lesson that we ought to remember today: Discrimination is not just morally wrong, it hurts everybody.

In 1960, Atlanta, Georgia, in reaction to all the things that were going on all across the South, adopted the motto, "The city too busy to hate." And however imperfectly over the

years, they tried to live by it. I am convinced that Atlanta's success -- it now is home to more foreign corporations than any other American city, and one year from today it will host the Olympics -- that success all began when people got too busy to hate.

The lesson we learned was a hard one. When we allow people to pit us against one another or spend energy denying opportunity based on our differences, everyone is held back. But when we give all Americans a chance to develop and use their talents, to be full partners in our common enterprise, then everybody is pushed forward.

My experiences with discrimination are rooted in the South and in the legacy slavery left. But I also lived with a working mother and a working grandmother when women's work was far rarer and far more circumscribed than it is today. We all know there are millions of other stories -- those of Hispanics, Asian Americans, Native Americans, people with disabilities, others against whom fingers have been pointed. Many of you have your own stories, and that's why you're here today -- people who were denied the right to develop and use their full human potential. And their progress, too, is a part of our journey to make the reality of America consistent with the principles just behind me here.

Thirty years ago in this city, you didn't see many people of color or women making their way to work in the morning in business clothes, or serving in substantial numbers in powerful positions in Congress or at the White House, or making executive decisions every day in businesses. In fact, even the employment want ads were divided, men on one side and women on the other.

It was extraordinary then to see women or people of color as television news anchors, or, believe it or not, even in college sports. There were far fewer women and minorities as job supervisors, or firefighters, or police officers, or doctors, or lawyers, or college professors, or in many other jobs that offer stability and honor and integrity to family life.

A lot has changed, and it did not happen as some sort of random evolutionary drift. It took hard work and sacrifices and countless acts of courage and conscience by millions of Americans. It took the political courage and statesmanship of Democrats and Republicans alike, the vigilance and compassion of courts and advocates in and out of government committed to the Constitution, to equal protection, and to equal opportunity. It took the leadership of people in business who knew that in the end we would all be better. It took the leadership of people in labor unions who knew that working people had to be recognized.

Some people, like Congressman Lewis here, put their lives on the line. Other people lost their lives. And millions of Americans changed their own lives and put hate behind them. As a result, today all our lives are better. Women have become a major force in business and political life and far more able to contribute to their families' incomes. A true and growing black middle class has emerged. Higher education has literally been revolutionized, with women and racial and ethnic minorities attending once overwhelmingly white and sometimes all male schools. In communities across our nation, police departments now better reflect the make-up of those whom they protect. A generation of professionals now serve as role models for young women and minority youth. Hispanics and newer immigrant populations are succeeding in making America stronger.

For an example of where the best of our future lies, just think about our space program and the stunning hook-up with the Russian space station this month. Let's remember that that program, the world's finest, began with heroes like Alan Shepard and Senator John Glenn, but it's also had American heroes like Sally Ride, Ellen Ochoa, Leroy Chiao, Guy Bluford and other outstanding, completely qualified women and minorities.

How did this happen? Fundamentally, because we opened our hearts and minds and changed our ways. But not without pressure -- the pressure of court decisions, legislation, executive action, and the power of examples in the public and private sectors. Along the way we learned that laws alone do not change society; that old habits and thinking patterns are deeply ingrained and die hard; and that more is required to really open the doors of opportunity. Our search to find ways to move more quickly to equal opportunity led to the development of what we now call affirmative action.

The purpose of affirmative action is to give our nation a way to address the systemic exclusion of individuals of talent, on the basis of their gender or race, from opportunities to develop, perform, achieve and contribute. Affirmative action is an effort to develop a systematic approach to open the doors of education, employment and business development opportunities to qualified individuals who happen to be members of groups that have experienced longstanding and persistent discrimination.

It is a policy that grew out of many years of trying to navigate between two unacceptable paths. One was to say simply that we declared discrimination illegal and that's enough. But that way still relegated blacks with college degrees to jobs as railroad porters and kept women with degrees under a glass ceiling with a lower paycheck.

The other path was simply to impose change by leveling draconian penalties on employers who didn't meet certain imposed, ultimately arbitrary, and sometimes unachievable quotas. That, too, was rejected out of a sense of fairness.

So a middle ground was developed that would change an inequitable status quo gradually, but firmly, by building the pool of qualified applicants for college, for contracts, for jobs, and giving more people the chance to learn, work and earn. When affirmative action is done right, it is flexible, it is fair, and it works.

I know some people are honestly concerned about the times affirmative action doesn't work, when it's done in the wrong way. There are times when some employers don't use it in the right way. They may cut corners and treat a flexible goal as a quota. They may give opportunities to people who are unqualified instead of those who deserve it. They may, in so doing, allow a different kind of discrimination. When this happens, it is also wrong. But it isn't affirmative action. And it is not legal.

When our Administration finds cases of that sort, we will enforce the law aggressively. The Justice Department files hundreds of cases every year, attacking discrimination in employment, including suits on behalf of white males. Most of these suits, however, affect women and minorities for a simple reason -- because the vast majority of discrimination in America is still discrimination against them. But the law does require fairness for everyone, and we are determined to see that that is exactly what the law delivers.

Let me be clear about what affirmative action must not mean and what I won't allow it to be. It does not mean -- and I don't favor -- the unjustified preference of the unqualified over the qualified of any race or gender. It doesn't mean -- and I don't favor -- numerical quotas. It doesn't mean -- and I don't favor -- rejection or selection of any employee or student solely on the basis of race or gender without regard to merit.

Like many business executives and public servants, my views on this subject are, more than anything else, the product of my personal experience. I have had experience with affirmative action, nearly 20 years of it now, and I know it works.

When I was Attorney General of my home state, I hired a record number of women and African American lawyers -- every one clearly qualified and exceptionally hardworking. As

Governor, I appointed more women to my Cabinet and state boards than any other governor in the state's history and more African Americans than all the governors in the state's history combined. No one ever questioned their qualifications or performance. And our state was better and stronger because of their service.

As President, I am proud to have the most diverse Administration in history in my Cabinet, my agencies and my staff. And I must say, I have been surprised at the criticism I have received from some quarters in my determination to achieve this.

In the last two and a half years, the most outstanding example of affirmative action in the United States, the Pentagon, has opened 260,000 positions for women who serve in our Armed Forces. I have appointed more women and minorities to the federal bench than any other president, more than the last two combined. And yet, far more of our judicial appointments have received the highest rating from the American Bar Association than any other Administration since those ratings have been given.

In our Administration, many government agencies are doing more business with qualified firms run by minorities and women. The Small Business Administration has reduced its budget by close to 40 percent, doubled its loan output, and increased the number of loans to women by more than 80 percent and to minority small business people by nearly sixty percent, without reducing the number of loans to white male business owners and without changing the loan standards for a single, solitary application. Quality and diversity can go hand in hand, and they must.

Affirmative action has also done more than just open the doors of opportunity to individual Americans. Most economists who study it agree that affirmative action has also been an important part of closing gaps in economic opportunity in our society, thereby strengthening the entire economy.

A group of distinguished business leaders told me just a couple of days ago their companies are stronger and their profits are larger because of the diversity and the excellence of their work forces achieved through intelligent and fair affirmative action programs. They said they had gone far beyond anything the government requires they had because managing diversity and individual opportunity and being fair to everybody is the key to their future economic success in the global marketplace.

Now, there are those who say that even good affirmative action programs are no longer needed; that it should be enough to resort to the courts or the Equal Employment Opportunity

Commission in cases of actual, provable, individual discrimination because there is no longer any systematic discrimination in our society. In deciding how to answer that let us consider the facts.

The unemployment rate for African Americans remains about twice that of whites. The Hispanic rate is still much higher. Women have narrowed the earnings gap, but still make only 72 percent as much as men do for comparable jobs. The average income for an Hispanic woman with a college degree is still less than the average income of a white man with a high school diploma.

According to the recently completed Glass Ceiling Report, sponsored by Republican members of Congress, in the nation's largest companies only six-tenths of one percent of senior management positions are held by African Americans, four-tenths of a percent by Hispanic Americans, three-tenths of a percent by Asian Americans; women hold between three and five percent of these positions. White males make up 43 percent of our work force, but hold 95 percent of these jobs.

Just last week, the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank reported that black home loan applicants are more than twice as likely to be denied credit as whites with the same qualifications; and that Hispanic applicants are more than one and a half times as likely to be denied loans as whites with the same qualifications.

Last year alone the federal government received more than 90,000 complaints of employment discrimination based on race, ethnicity or gender. Less than three percent were for reverse discrimination.

Evidence abounds in other ways of the persistence of the kind of bigotry that can affect the way we think, even if we're not conscious of it, in hiring and promotion in business and education.

Crimes and violence based on hate against Asians, Hispanics, African Americans and other minorities are still with us. And, I'm sorry to say, that the worst and most recent evidence of this involves a recent report of federal law enforcement officials in Tennessee attending an event literally overflowing with racism -- a sickening reminder of just how pervasive these kinds of attitudes still are.

By the way, I want to tell you that I am committed to finding the truth about what happened there and to taking appropriate action. If anybody who works in federal law enforcement thinks that that kind of behavior is acceptable, they ought to think about working someplace else.

Now, let's get to the other side of the argument. If affirmative action has worked and if there is evidence that discrimination still exists on a wide scale in ways that are conscious and unconscious, then why should we get rid of it as many people are urging? Some question the effectiveness or the fairness of particular affirmative action programs. I say to all of you, those are fair questions, and they prompted the review of our affirmative action programs, about which I will talk in a few moments.

Some question the fundamental purpose of the effort. There are people who honestly believe that affirmative action always amounts to group preferences over individual merit; that affirmative action always leads to reverse discrimination; that ultimately, therefore, it demeans those who benefit from it and discriminates against those who are not helped by it.

All of you have to decide how you feel about that, and all of our fellow countrymen and women have to decide as well. But I believe if there are no quotas, if we give no opportunities to unqualified people, if we have no reverse discrimination, and if, when the problem ends -- the program ends, that criticism is wrong. That's what I believe.

Now let's deal with what I really think is behind so much of this debate today. There are a lot of people who oppose affirmative action today who supported it for a very long time. I believe they are responding to the sea change in the expe-riences that most Americans have in the world in which we live.

If you say now you're against affirmative action because the government is using its power or the private sector is using its power to help minorities at the expense of the majority, that gives you a way of explaining away the economic distress that a majority of Americans honestly feel. It gives you a way of turning their resentment against the minorities or against a particular government program, instead of having an honest debate about how we all got into the fix we're in and what we're all going to do together to get out of it.

That explanation, the affirmative action explanation for the fix we're in is just wrong. It is just wrong. Affirmative action did not cause the great economic problems of the American middle class. And because most minorities or women are either members of that middle class or people who are poor who are struggling to get into it, we must also admit that affirmative

action alone won't solve the problems of minorities and women who seek to be a part of the American Dream. To do that, we have to have an economic strategy that reverses the decline in wages and the growth of poverty among working people. Without that, women, minorities and white males will all be in trouble in the future.

But it is wrong to use the anxieties of the middle class to divert the American people from the real causes of their economic distress -- the sweeping historic changes taking all the globe in its path, and the specific policies or lack of them in our own country that have aggravated those challenges. It is simply wrong to play politics with the issue of affirmative action and divide our country at a time when, if we're really going to change things, we have to be united.

I must say, I think it is ironic that some of those -- not all, but some of those who call for an end to affirmative action also advocate policies that will make the real economic problems of the anxious middle class even worse. If the real goal is economic opportunity for all Americans, why in the world would we reduce our investment in education from Head Start to affordable college loans? Why don't we make college loans available to every American instead?

If the real goal is empowering all middle class Americans and empowering poor people to work their way into the middle class without regard to race or gender, why in the world would the people who advocate that turn around and raise taxes on our poorest working families, or reduce the money available for education and training when they lose their jobs or they're living on poverty wages, or increase the cost of housing for lower-income, working people with children?

Why would we do that? If we're going to empower America, we have to do more than talk about it, we have to do it. And we surely have learned that we cannot empower all Americans by taking opportunity away from some Americans.

So to those who use this as a political strategy to divide us, we must say: no.

But to those who raise legitimate questions about the way affirmative action works, or who raise the larger question about the genuine problems and anxieties of all the American people and their sense of being left behind and treated unfairly, we must say, yes, you are entitled to answers to your questions. We must say yes to that.

That's why I ordered this review of all of our affirmative action programs; a review to look at the facts, not the politics of affirmative action. This review concluded that affirmative

action remains a useful tool for widening economic and educational opportunity. The model used by the military, the Army in particular -- and I'm delighted to have the Commanding General of the Army here today because he set such a fine example -- has been especially successful because it emphasizes education and training, ensuring that it has a wide pool of qualified candidates for every level of promotion. That approach has given us the most racially diverse and best-qualified military in our history. There are more opportunities for women and minorities there than ever before. And now there are over 50 generals and admirals who are Hispanic, Asian or African Americans.

We found that the Education Department had programs targeted on under-represented minorities that do a great deal of good with the tiniest of investments. We found that these programs comprised only 40 cents of every $1,000 in the Education Department's budget.

College presidents say that their schools benefit from diversity. If their colleges look like the world students are going to live and work in, and they learn from all different kinds of people things they can't learn in books, our systems of higher education are stronger.

On the other hand, every child, without regard to race or gender, needs the chance to go to college. Every child. That means every child has to have a chance to get affordable and repayable college loans, Pell Grants for poor kids and a chance to do things like join AmeriCorps and work their way through school. Every child is entitled to that. But that is not an argument <u>against</u> affirmative action, it's an argument <u>for</u> more opportunity for more Americans until everyone is reached.

This review also found that the executive order on employment practices of large federal contractors also has helped to bring more fairness and inclusion into the work force.

Since President Nixon's Administration, America has used goals and timetables to preserve opportunity and to prevent discrimination, to urge businesses to set higher expectations for themselves and to realize those expectations. But we did not and we will not use rigid quotas to mandate outcomes.

We also looked at the way we award procurement contracts under the programs known as set-asides. There's no question that these programs have helped to build up firms owned by minorities and women, who historically have been excluded from the old-boy networks in these areas. They have helped a new generation of

entrepreneurs to flourish, opening new paths to self-reliance and an economic growth in which all of us ultimately share. Because of the set-asides, businesses ready to compete have had a chance to compete, a chance they would not have otherwise had.

But as with any government program, set-asides can be misapplied, misused, even intentionally abused. There are critics who exploit that fact as an excuse to abolish all these programs, regardless of their effects. I believe they are wrong, but I also believe, based on our factual review, we clearly need some reform. So first, we should crack down on those who take advantage of everyone else through fraud and abuse. We must crack down on fronts and pass-throughs, people who pretend to be eligible for these programs and aren't. That is wrong.

We also, in offering new businesses a leg up, must make sure that the set-asides go to businesses that need them most. We must really look and make sure that our standard for eligibility is fair and defensible. We have to tighten the requirement to move businesses out of programs once they've had a fair opportunity to compete. The graduation requirement must mean something -- it must mean graduation. There should be no permanent set-aside for any company.

Second, we must, and we will, comply with the Supreme Court's Adarand decision of last month. In particular, that means focusing set-aside programs on particular regions and business sectors where the problems of discrimination or exclusion are provable and are clearly requiring affirmative action. I have directed the Attorney General and the agencies to move forward with compliance with Adarand expeditiously.

But I also want to emphasize that the Adarand decision did not dismantle affirmative action and did not dismantle set-asides. In fact, while setting stricter standards to mandate reform of affirmative action, it actually reaffirmed the need for affirmative action and reaffirmed the continuing existence of systematic discrimination in the United States.

What the Supreme Court ordered the federal government to do was to meet the same more rigorous standard for affirmative action programs that state and local governments were ordered to meet several years ago. And the best set-aside programs under that standard have been challenged and have survived.

Third, beyond discrimination we need to do more to help disadvantaged people and distressed communities, no matter what their race or gender. There are places in our country where the free enterprise system simply doesn't reach. It simply isn't working to provide jobs and opportunity. These areas in urban

and rural America are populated by racial minorities, but not entirely. To make this initiative work, I believe the government must become a better partner for people in places in urban and rural America that are caught in a cycle of poverty. And I believe we have to find ways to get the private sector to assume their rightful role as a driver of economic growth.

It has always amazed me that we have given incentives to our business people to help to develop poor economies in other parts of the world, our neighbors in the Caribbean, our neighbors in other parts of the world, which I have supported except when they have been abused, but we ignore the biggest source of economic growth available to the American economy, the poor economies isolated within the United States of America.

There are those who say, well, even if we made the jobs available people wouldn't work. They haven't tried. Most of the people in disadvantaged communities work today, and most of them who don't work have a very strong desire to do so. In central Harlem, 14 people apply for every single minimum-wage job opening. Think how many more would apply if there were good jobs with a good future. Our job is to connect disadvantaged people and disadvantaged communities to economic opportunity so that everybody who wants to work can do so.

We've been working at this through our empowerment zones and community development banks, through the initiatives of Secretary Cisneros and the Housing and Urban Development Department, and many other things that we have tried to do to put capital where it is needed. And now I have asked Vice President Gore to develop a proposal to use our contracting to support businesses that locate themselves in these distressed areas or hire a large percentage of their workers from these areas -- not to substitute for affirmative action, but to go beyond it, to do something that will help to deal with the economic crisis of America.

My fellow Americans, affirmative action has to be made consistent with our highest ideals of personal responsibility and merit, and our urgent need to find common ground, and to prepare all Americans to compete in the global economy.

Today, I am directing all our agencies to comply with the Supreme Court's Adarand decision, and also to apply the four standards of fairness to all our affirmative action programs that I have already articulated: No quotas in theory or practice; no illegal discrimination of any kind, including reverse discrimination; no preference for people who are not qualified for any job or other opportunity; and as soon as a program has succeeded, it must be retired. Any program that doesn't meet these four principles must be eliminated or reformed to meet them.

But let me be clear: Affirmative action has been good for America.

Affirmative action has not always been perfect, and affirmative action should not go on forever. It should be changed now to take care of those things that are wrong, and it should be retired when its job is done. I am resolved that that day will come. But the evidence suggests, indeed screams, that that day has not come.

The job of ending discrimination in this country is not over. That should not be surprising. We had slavery for centuries before the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. We waited another hundred years for the civil rights legislation. Women have had the vote less than a hundred years. We have always had difficulty with these things, as most societies do. But we are making more progress than many other nations.

Since, based on the evidence, the job is not done, here is what I think we should do. We should reaffirm the principle of affirmative action and fix the practices. We should have a simple slogan: Mend it, but don't end it.

Let me ask all Americans, whether they agree or disagree with what I have said today, to see this issue in the larger context of our times. President Lincoln said we cannot escape our history. We cannot escape our future either. And that future must be one in which every American has the chance to live up to his or her God-given capacities.

The new technology, the instant communications, the explosion of global commerce have created enormous opportunities and enormous anxieties for Americans. In the last two and a half years, we have seen seven million new jobs, more millionaires and new businesses than ever before, high corporate profits, and a booming stock market. Yet, most Americans are working harder for the same or lower pay. And they feel more insecurity about their jobs, their retirement, their health care, and their children's education. Too many of our children are exposed to poverty and welfare, violence and drugs.

These are the great challenges for our whole country on the homefront at the dawn of the 21st century. We've got to find the wisdom and the will to create family-wage jobs for all the people who want to work; to open the door of college to all Americans; to strengthen families and reduce the awful problems to which our children are exposed; to move poor Americans from welfare to work.

This is the work of our Administration -- to give the people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives, to give families and communities the tools they need to solve their own problems. But let us not forget affirmative action didn't cause these problems. And it won't solve them. And getting rid of affirmative action certainly won't solve them.

If properly done, affirmative action can help us come together, go forward and grow together. It is in our moral, legal and practical interest to see that every person can make the most of his or her life. In the fight for the future, we need all hands on deck. And some of those hands still need a helping hand.

In our national community we're all different, but we're all the same. We want liberty and freedom. We want the embrace of family and community. We want to make the most of our own lives and we're determined to give our children a better one. Today there are voices of division who would say forget all that. Don't you dare. Remember we're still closing the gap between our founders' ideals and our reality. But every step along the way has made us richer, stronger and better. And the best is yet to come.

Thank you very much. And God bless you.

Original to Chris Foley
Copy to ORM

Mike
7/26/95

To Chris Foley
with appreciation
for your excellent
work on this
Bill Clinton

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

July 19, 1995

The Rotunda
National Archives

In recent weeks I have begun a conversation with the American people about our fate and our duty to prepare our nation not only to meet the new century, but to live and lead in a world transformed to a degree seldom seen in all of our history. Much of this change is good, but it is not all good, and all of us are affected by it. Therefore, we must reach beyond our fears and our divisions to a new time of great and common purpose.

Our challenge is twofold: first, to restore the American dream of opportunity and the American value of responsibility; and second, to bring our country together amid all our diversity into a stronger community, so that we can find common ground and move forward as one.

More than ever these two endeavors are inseparable. I am absolutely convinced we cannot restore economic opportunity or solve our social problems unless we find a way to bring the American people together. To bring our people together we must openly and honestly deal with the issues that divide us. Today I want to discuss one of those issues: affirmative action.

It is, in a way, ironic that this issue should be divisive today, because affirmative action was begun 25 years ago under a Republican president with bipartisan support. It began simply as a means to an end of enduring national purpose -- equal opportunity for all Americans.

So let us today trace the roots of affirmative action in our never-ending search for equal opportunity. Let us determine what it is and what it isn't. Let us see where it has worked and where it hasn't, and ask ourselves what we need to do now. Along the way, let us remember always that finding common ground as we move toward the 21st century depends fundamentally on our shared commitment to equal opportunity for all Americans. It is a moral imperative, a constitutional mandate, and a practical necessity.

There could be no better place for this discussion than the National Archives, for within these walls are America's bedrocks of our common ground -- the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights. No paper is as lasting as the

words these documents contain. So we put them in these special cases to protect the parchment from the elements. No building is as solid as the principles these documents embody, but we sure tried to build one with these metal doors 11 inches thick to keep them safe. These documents are America's only crown jewels. But the best place of all to hold these words and these principles is the one place in which they can never fade and never grow old -- in the stronger chambers of our hearts.

Beyond all else, our country is a set of convictions: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Our whole history can be seen first as an effort to preserve these rights, and then as an effort to make them real in the lives of all our citizens. We know that from the beginning, there was a great gap between the plain meaning of our creed and the meaner reality of our daily lives. Back then, only white male property owners could vote. Black slaves were not even counted as whole people, and Native Americans were regarded as little more than an obstacle to our great national progress. No wonder Thomas Jefferson, reflecting on slavery, said he trembled to think God is just.

On the 200th anniversary of our great Constitution, Justice Thurgood Marshall, the grandson of a slave, said, "The government our founders devised was defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war, and momentous social transformation to attain the system of constitutional government and its respect for the individual freedoms and human rights we hold as fundamental today."

Emancipation, women's suffrage, civil rights, voting rights, equal rights, the struggle for the rights of the disabled -- all these and other struggles are milestones on America's often rocky, but fundamentally righteous journey to close the gap between the ideals enshrined in these treasures here in the National Archives and the reality of our daily lives.

I first came to this very spot where I'm standing today 32 years ago this month. I was a 16-year-old delegate to the American Legion Boys Nation. That summer was a high-water mark on our national journey. That was the summer that President Kennedy ordered Alabama National Guardsmen to enforce a court order to allow two young blacks to enter the University of Alabama. As he told our nation, "Every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated; as one would wish his children to be treated."

Later that same summer, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, Martin Luther King told Americans of his dream that one day the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners would sit down together at the table of brotherhood; that one day his four little children would be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. His words captured the hearts and steeled the wills of millions of Americans. Some of them sang with him in the hot sun that day. Millions more, like me, listened and wept in the privacy of their homes.

It's hard to believe where we were just three decades ago. When I came up here to Boys Nation and we had this mock congressional session, I was one of only three or four southerners who would even vote for the civil rights plank. That's largely because of my family. My grandfather had a grade school education and ran a grocery store across the street from the cemetery in Hope, Arkansas, where my parents and my grandparents are buried. Most of his customers were black, were poor, and were working people. As a child in that store I saw that people of different races could treat each other with respect and dignity.

But I also saw that the black neighborhood was the only one in town where the streets weren't paved. And when I returned to that neighborhood in the late '60s to see a woman who had cared for me as a toddler, the streets still weren't paved. A lot of you know that I am an ardent movie-goer. As a child I never went to a movie where I could sit next to a black American. They were always sitting upstairs.

In the 1960s, believe it or not, there were still a few courthouse squares in my state where the rest rooms were marked "white" and "colored." I graduated from a segregated high school seven years after President Eisenhower integrated Little Rock Central High School. And when President Kennedy barely carried my home state in 1960, the poll tax system was still alive and well there.

Even though my grandparents were in a minority, being poor, Southern whites who were pro-civil rights, I think most other people knew better than to think the way they did. And those who were smart enough to act differently, discovered a lesson that we ought to remember today: Discrimination is not just morally wrong, it hurts everybody.

In 1960, Atlanta, Georgia, in reaction to all the things that were going on all across the South, adopted the motto, "The city too busy to hate." And however imperfectly over the

years, they tried to live by it. I am convinced that Atlanta's success -- it now is home to more foreign corporations than any other American city, and one year from today it will host the Olympics -- that success all began when people got too busy to hate.

The lesson we learned was a hard one. When we allow people to pit us against one another or spend energy denying opportunity based on our differences, everyone is held back. But when we give all Americans a chance to develop and use their talents, to be full partners in our common enterprise, then everybody is pushed forward.

My experiences with discrimination are rooted in the South and in the legacy slavery left. But I also lived with a working mother and a working grandmother when women's work was far rarer and far more circumscribed than it is today. We all know there are millions of other stories -- those of Hispanics, Asian Americans, Native Americans, people with disabilities, others against whom fingers have been pointed. Many of you have your own stories, and that's why you're here today -- people who were denied the right to develop and use their full human potential. And their progress, too, is a part of our journey to make the reality of America consistent with the principles just behind me here.

Thirty years ago in this city, you didn't see many people of color or women making their way to work in the morning in business clothes, or serving in substantial numbers in powerful positions in Congress or at the White House, or making executive decisions every day in businesses. In fact, even the employment want ads were divided, men on one side and women on the other.

It was extraordinary then to see women or people of color as television news anchors, or, believe it or not, even in college sports. There were far fewer women and minorities as job supervisors, or firefighters, or police officers, or doctors, or lawyers, or college professors, or in many other jobs that offer stability and honor and integrity to family life.

A lot has changed, and it did not happen as some sort of random evolutionary drift. It took hard work and sacrifices and countless acts of courage and conscience by millions of Americans. It took the political courage and statesmanship of Democrats and Republicans alike, the vigilance and compassion of courts and advocates in and out of government committed to the Constitution, to equal protection, and to equal opportunity. It took the leadership of people in business who knew that in the end we would all be better. It took the leadership of people in labor unions who knew that working people had to be recognized.

Some people, like Congressman Lewis here, put their lives on the line. Other people lost their lives. And millions of Americans changed their own lives and put hate behind them. As a result, today all our lives are better. Women have become a major force in business and political life and far more able to contribute to their families' incomes. A true and growing black middle class has emerged. Higher education has literally been revolutionized, with women and racial and ethnic minorities attending once overwhelmingly white and sometimes all male schools. In communities across our nation, police departments now better reflect the make-up of those whom they protect. A generation of professionals now serve as role models for young women and minority youth. Hispanics and newer immigrant populations are succeeding in making America stronger.

For an example of where the best of our future lies, just think about our space program and the stunning hook-up with the Russian space station this month. Let's remember that that program, the world's finest, began with heroes like Alan Shepard and Senator John Glenn, but it's also had American heroes like Sally Ride, Ellen Ochoa, Leroy Chiao, Guy Bluford and other outstanding, completely qualified women and minorities.

How did this happen? Fundamentally, because we opened our hearts and minds and changed our ways. But not without pressure -- the pressure of court decisions, legislation, executive action, and the power of examples in the public and private sectors. Along the way we learned that laws alone do not change society; that old habits and thinking patterns are deeply ingrained and die hard; and that more is required to really open the doors of opportunity. Our search to find ways to move more quickly to equal opportunity led to the development of what we now call affirmative action.

The purpose of affirmative action is to give our nation a way to address the systemic exclusion of individuals of talent, on the basis of their gender or race, from opportunities to develop, perform, achieve and contribute. Affirmative action is an effort to develop a systematic approach to open the doors of education, employment and business development opportunities to qualified individuals who happen to be members of groups that have experienced longstanding and persistent discrimination.

It is a policy that grew out of many years of trying to navigate between two unacceptable paths. One was to say simply that we declared discrimination illegal and that's enough. But that way still relegated blacks with college degrees to jobs as railroad porters and kept women with degrees under a glass ceiling with a lower paycheck.

The other path was simply to impose change by leveling draconian penalties on employers who didn't meet certain imposed, ultimately arbitrary, and sometimes unachievable quotas. That, too, was rejected out of a sense of fairness.

So a middle ground was developed that would change an inequitable status quo gradually, but firmly, by building the pool of qualified applicants for college, for contracts, for jobs, and giving more people the chance to learn, work and earn. When affirmative action is done right, it is flexible, it is fair, and it works.

I know some people are honestly concerned about the times affirmative action doesn't work, when it's done in the wrong way. There are times when some employers don't use it in the right way. They may cut corners and treat a flexible goal as a quota. They may give opportunities to people who are unqualified instead of those who deserve it. They may, in so doing, allow a different kind of discrimination. When this happens, it is also wrong. But it isn't affirmative action. And it is not legal.

When our Administration finds cases of that sort, we will enforce the law aggressively. The Justice Department files hundreds of cases every year, attacking discrimination in employment, including suits on behalf of white males. Most of these suits, however, affect women and minorities for a simple reason -- because the vast majority of discrimination in America is still discrimination against them. But the law does require fairness for everyone, and we are determined to see that that is exactly what the law delivers.

Let me be clear about what affirmative action must not mean and what I won't allow it to be. It does not mean -- and I don't favor -- the unjustified preference of the unqualified over the qualified of any race or gender. It doesn't mean -- and I don't favor -- numerical quotas. It doesn't mean -- and I don't favor -- rejection or selection of any employee or student solely on the basis of race or gender without regard to merit.

Like many business executives and public servants, my views on this subject are, more than anything else, the product of my personal experience. I have had experience with affirmative action, nearly 20 years of it now, and I know it works.

When I was Attorney General of my home state, I hired a record number of women and African American lawyers -- every one clearly qualified and exceptionally hardworking. As

Governor, I appointed more women to my Cabinet and state boards than any other governor in the state's history and more African Americans than all the governors in the state's history combined. No one ever questioned their qualifications or performance. And our state was better and stronger because of their service.

As President, I am proud to have the most diverse Administration in history in my Cabinet, my agencies and my staff. And I must say, I have been surprised at the criticism I have received from some quarters in my determination to achieve this.

In the last two and a half years, the most outstanding example of affirmative action in the United States, the Pentagon, has opened 260,000 positions for women who serve in our Armed Forces. I have appointed more women and minorities to the federal bench than any other president, more than the last two combined. And yet, far more of our judicial appointments have received the highest rating from the American Bar Association than any other Administration since those ratings have been given.

In our Administration, many government agencies are doing more business with qualified firms run by minorities and women. The Small Business Administration has reduced its budget by close to 40 percent, doubled its loan output, and increased the number of loans to women by more than 80 percent and to minority small business people by nearly sixty percent, without reducing the number of loans to white male business owners and without changing the loan standards for a single, solitary application. Quality and diversity can go hand in hand, and they must.

Affirmative action has also done more than just open the doors of opportunity to individual Americans. Most economists who study it agree that affirmative action has also been an important part of closing gaps in economic opportunity in our society, thereby strengthening the entire economy.

A group of distinguished business leaders told me just a couple of days ago their companies are stronger and their profits are larger because of the diversity and the excellence of their work forces achieved through intelligent and fair affirmative action programs. They said they had gone far beyond anything the government requires they had because managing diversity and individual opportunity and being fair to everybody is the key to their future economic success in the global marketplace.

Now, there are those who say that even good affirmative action programs are no longer needed; that it should be enough to resort to the courts or the Equal Employment Opportunity

Commission in cases of actual, provable, individual discrimination because there is no longer any systematic discrimination in our society. In deciding how to answer that let us consider the facts.

The unemployment rate for African Americans remains about twice that of whites. The Hispanic rate is still much higher. Women have narrowed the earnings gap, but still make only 72 percent as much as men do for comparable jobs. The average income for an Hispanic woman with a college degree is still less than the average income of a white man with a high school diploma.

According to the recently completed Glass Ceiling Report, sponsored by Republican members of Congress, in the nation's largest companies only six-tenths of one percent of senior management positions are held by African Americans, four-tenths of a percent by Hispanic Americans, three-tenths of a percent by Asian Americans; women hold between three and five percent of these positions. White males make up 43 percent of our work force, but hold 95 percent of these jobs.

Just last week, the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank reported that black home loan applicants are more than twice as likely to be denied credit as whites with the same qualifications; and that Hispanic applicants are more than one and a half times as likely to be denied loans as whites with the same qualifications.

Last year alone the federal government received more than 90,000 complaints of employment discrimination based on race, ethnicity or gender. Less than three percent were for reverse discrimination.

Evidence abounds in other ways of the persistence of the kind of bigotry that can affect the way we think, even if we're not conscious of it, in hiring and promotion in business and education.

Crimes and violence based on hate against Asians, Hispanics, African Americans and other minorities are still with us. And, I'm sorry to say, that the worst and most recent evidence of this involves a recent report of federal law enforcement officials in Tennessee attending an event literally overflowing with racism -- a sickening reminder of just how pervasive these kinds of attitudes still are.

By the way, I want to tell you that I am committed to finding the truth about what happened there and to taking appropriate action. If anybody who works in federal law enforcement thinks that that kind of behavior is acceptable, they ought to think about working someplace else.

Now, let's get to the other side of the argument. If affirmative action has worked and if there is evidence that discrimination still exists on a wide scale in ways that are conscious and unconscious, then why should we get rid of it as many people are urging? Some question the effectiveness or the fairness of particular affirmative action programs. I say to all of you, those are fair questions, and they prompted the review of our affirmative action programs, about which I will talk in a few moments.

Some question the fundamental purpose of the effort. There are people who honestly believe that affirmative action always amounts to group preferences over individual merit; that affirmative action always leads to reverse discrimination; that ultimately, therefore, it demeans those who benefit from it and discriminates against those who are not helped by it.

All of you have to decide how you feel about that, and all of our fellow countrymen and women have to decide as well. But I believe if there are no quotas, if we give no opportunities to unqualified people, if we have no reverse discrimination, and if, when the problem ends -- the program ends, that criticism is wrong. That's what I believe.

Now let's deal with what I really think is behind so much of this debate today. There are a lot of people who oppose affirmative action today who supported it for a very long time. I believe they are responding to the sea change in the expe-riences that most Americans have in the world in which we live.

If you say now you're against affirmative action because the government is using its power or the private sector is using its power to help minorities at the expense of the majority, that gives you a way of explaining away the economic distress that a majority of Americans honestly feel. It gives you a way of turning their resentment against the minorities or against a particular government program, instead of having an honest debate about how we all got into the fix we're in and what we're all going to do together to get out of it.

That explanation, the affirmative action explanation for the fix we're in is just wrong. It is just wrong. Affirmative action did not cause the great economic problems of the American middle class. And because most minorities or women are either members of that middle class or people who are poor who are struggling to get into it, we must also admit that affirmative

action alone won't solve the problems of minorities and women who seek to be a part of the American Dream. To do that, we have to have an economic strategy that reverses the decline in wages and the growth of poverty among working people. Without that, women, minorities and white males will all be in trouble in the future.

But it is wrong to use the anxieties of the middle class to divert the American people from the real causes of their economic distress -- the sweeping historic changes taking all the globe in its path, and the specific policies or lack of them in our own country that have aggravated those challenges. It is simply wrong to play politics with the issue of affirmative action and divide our country at a time when, if we're really going to change things, we have to be united.

I must say, I think it is ironic that some of those -- not all, but some of those who call for an end to affirmative action also advocate policies that will make the real economic problems of the anxious middle class even worse. If the real goal is economic opportunity for all Americans, why in the world would we reduce our investment in education from Head Start to affordable college loans? Why don't we make college loans available to every American instead?

If the real goal is empowering all middle class Americans and empowering poor people to work their way into the middle class without regard to race or gender, why in the world would the people who advocate that turn around and raise taxes on our poorest working families, or reduce the money available for education and training when they lose their jobs or they're living on poverty wages, or increase the cost of housing for lower-income, working people with children?

Why would we do that? If we're going to empower America, we have to do more than talk about it, we have to do it. And we surely have learned that we cannot empower all Americans by taking opportunity away from some Americans.

So to those who use this as a political strategy to divide us, we must say: no.

But to those who raise legitimate questions about the way affirmative action works, or who raise the larger question about the genuine problems and anxieties of all the American people and their sense of being left behind and treated unfairly, we must say, yes, you are entitled to answers to your questions. We must say yes to that.

That's why I ordered this review of all of our affirmative action programs; a review to look at the facts, not the politics of affirmative action. This review concluded that affirmative

action remains a useful tool for widening economic and educational opportunity. The model used by the military, the Army in particular -- and I'm delighted to have the Commanding General of the Army here today because he set such a fine example -- has been especially successful because it emphasizes education and training, ensuring that it has a wide pool of qualified candidates for every level of promotion. That approach has given us the most racially diverse and best-qualified military in our history. There are more opportunities for women and minorities there than ever before. And now there are over 50 generals and admirals who are Hispanic, Asian or African Americans.

We found that the Education Department had programs targeted on under-represented minorities that do a great deal of good with the tiniest of investments. We found that these programs comprised only 40 cents of every $1,000 in the Education Department's budget.

College presidents say that their schools benefit from diversity. If their colleges look like the world students are going to live and work in, and they learn from all different kinds of people things they can't learn in books, our systems of higher education are stronger.

On the other hand, every child, without regard to race or gender, needs the chance to go to college. Every child. That means every child has to have a chance to get affordable and repayable college loans, Pell Grants for poor kids and a chance to do things like join AmeriCorps and work their way through school. Every child is entitled to that. But that is not an argument <u>against</u> affirmative action, it's an argument <u>for</u> more opportunity for more Americans until everyone is reached.

This review also found that the executive order on employment practices of large federal contractors also has helped to bring more fairness and inclusion into the work force.

Since President Nixon's Administration, America has used goals and timetables to preserve opportunity and to prevent discrimination, to urge businesses to set higher expectations for themselves and to realize those expectations. But we did not and we will not use rigid quotas to mandate outcomes.

We also looked at the way we award procurement contracts under the programs known as set-asides. There's no question that these programs have helped to build up firms owned by minorities and women, who historically have been excluded from the old-boy networks in these areas. They have helped a new generation of

entrepreneurs to flourish, opening new paths to self-reliance and an economic growth in which all of us ultimately share. Because of the set-asides, businesses ready to compete have had a chance to compete, a chance they would not have otherwise had.

But as with any government program, set-asides can be misapplied, misused, even intentionally abused. There are critics who exploit that fact as an excuse to abolish all these programs, regardless of their effects. I believe they are wrong, but I also believe, based on our factual review, we clearly need some reform. So first, we should crack down on those who take advantage of everyone else through fraud and abuse. We must crack down on fronts and pass-throughs, people who pretend to be eligible for these programs and aren't. That is wrong.

We also, in offering new businesses a leg up, must make sure that the set-asides go to businesses that need them most. We must really look and make sure that our standard for eligibility is fair and defensible. We have to tighten the requirement to move businesses out of programs once they've had a fair opportunity to compete. The graduation requirement must mean something -- it must mean graduation. There should be no permanent set-aside for any company.

Second, we must, and we will, comply with the Supreme Court's Adarand decision of last month. In particular, that means focusing set-aside programs on particular regions and business sectors where the problems of discrimination or exclusion are provable and are clearly requiring affirmative action. I have directed the Attorney General and the agencies to move forward with compliance with Adarand expeditiously.

But I also want to emphasize that the Adarand decision did not dismantle affirmative action and did not dismantle set-asides. In fact, while setting stricter standards to mandate reform of affirmative action, it actually reaffirmed the need for affirmative action and reaffirmed the continuing existence of systematic discrimination in the United States.

What the Supreme Court ordered the federal government to do was to meet the same more rigorous standard for affirmative action programs that state and local governments were ordered to meet several years ago. And the best set-aside programs under that standard have been challenged and have survived.

Third, beyond discrimination we need to do more to help disadvantaged people and distressed communities, no matter what their race or gender. There are places in our country where the free enterprise system simply doesn't reach. It simply isn't working to provide jobs and opportunity. These areas in urban

and rural America are populated by racial minorities, but not entirely. To make this initiative work, I believe the government must become a better partner for people in places in urban and rural America that are caught in a cycle of poverty. And I believe we have to find ways to get the private sector to assume their rightful role as a driver of economic growth.

It has always amazed me that we have given incentives to our business people to help to develop poor economies in other parts of the world, our neighbors in the Caribbean, our neighbors in other parts of the world, which I have supported except when they have been abused, but we ignore the biggest source of economic growth available to the American economy, the poor economies isolated within the United States of America.

There are those who say, well, even if we made the jobs available people wouldn't work. They haven't tried. Most of the people in disadvantaged communities work today, and most of them who don't work have a very strong desire to do so. In central Harlem, 14 people apply for every single minimum-wage job opening. Think how many more would apply if there were good jobs with a good future. Our job is to connect disadvantaged people and disadvantaged communities to economic opportunity so that everybody who wants to work can do so.

We've been working at this through our empowerment zones and community development banks, through the initiatives of Secretary Cisneros and the Housing and Urban Development Department, and many other things that we have tried to do to put capital where it is needed. And now I have asked Vice President Gore to develop a proposal to use our contracting to support businesses that locate themselves in these distressed areas or hire a large percentage of their workers from these areas -- not to substitute for affirmative action, but to go beyond it, to do something that will help to deal with the economic crisis of America.

My fellow Americans, affirmative action has to be made consistent with our highest ideals of personal responsibility and merit, and our urgent need to find common ground, and to prepare all Americans to compete in the global economy.

Today, I am directing all our agencies to comply with the Supreme Court's Adarand decision, and also to apply the four standards of fairness to all our affirmative action programs that I have already articulated: No quotas in theory or practice; no illegal discrimination of any kind, including reverse discrimination; no preference for people who are not qualified for any job or other opportunity; and as soon as a program has succeeded, it must be retired. Any program that doesn't meet these four principles must be eliminated or reformed to meet them.

But let me be clear: Affirmative action has been good for America.

Affirmative action has not always been perfect, and affirmative action should not go on forever. It should be changed now to take care of those things that are wrong, and it should be retired when its job is done. I am resolved that that day will come. But the evidence suggests, indeed screams, that that day has not come.

The job of ending discrimination in this country is not over. That should not be surprising. We had slavery for centuries before the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. We waited another hundred years for the civil rights legislation. Women have had the vote less than a hundred years. We have always had difficulty with these things, as most societies do. But we are making more progress than many other nations.

Since, based on the evidence, the job is not done, here is what I think we should do. We should reaffirm the principle of affirmative action and fix the practices. We should have a simple slogan: Mend it, but don't end it.

Let me ask all Americans, whether they agree or disagree with what I have said today, to see this issue in the larger context of our times. President Lincoln said we cannot escape our history. We cannot escape our future either. And that future must be one in which every American has the chance to live up to his or her God-given capacities.

The new technology, the instant communications, the explosion of global commerce have created enormous opportunities and enormous anxieties for Americans. In the last two and a half years, we have seen seven million new jobs, more millionaires and new businesses than ever before, high corporate profits, and a booming stock market. Yet, most Americans are working harder for the same or lower pay. And they feel more insecurity about their jobs, their retirement, their health care, and their children's education. Too many of our children are exposed to poverty and welfare, violence and drugs.

These are the great challenges for our whole country on the homefront at the dawn of the 21st century. We've got to find the wisdom and the will to create family-wage jobs for all the people who want to work; to open the door of college to all Americans; to strengthen families and reduce the awful problems to which our children are exposed; to move poor Americans from welfare to work.

This is the work of our Administration -- to give the people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives, to give families and communities the tools they need to solve their own problems. But let us not forget affirmative action didn't cause these problems. And it won't solve them. And getting rid of affirmative action certainly won't solve them.

If properly done, affirmative action can help us come together, go forward and grow together. It is in our moral, legal and practical interest to see that every person can make the most of his or her life. In the fight for the future, we need all hands on deck. And some of those hands still need a helping hand.

In our national community we're all different, but we're all the same. We want liberty and freedom. We want the embrace of family and community. We want to make the most of our own lives and we're determined to give our children a better one. Today there are voices of division who would say forget all that. Don't you dare. Remember we're still closing the gap between our founders' ideals and our reality. But every step along the way has made us richer, stronger and better. And the best is yet to come.

Thank you very much. And God bless you.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/17/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Route to Helen Good

July 15, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached are two Mark Mellman items:

- A poll on attitudes towards environmental regulations in Delaware, Virginia, Nevada, Arkansas, North Dakota and Nebraska. The poll, conducted last month, shows that voters opposed a Congressional roll-back of environmental regulations by substantial margins.

- An analysis of a "dial group" conducted on swing voters in Baltimore on June 21, showing that your ratings improved dramatically when participants were shown clips of your speeches. The group was also shown clips of Senator Dole.

Original Brochure ret'd To Idea

Todd Stern
Phil Caplan



ATTITUDES TOWARD ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS FROM A SURVEY OF 500 VOTERS IN EACH OF SIX STATES

DELAWARE
VIRGINIA
NEVADA
ARKANSAS
NORTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA

JUNE 1995

THE MELLMAN GROUP, INC. 1054 31ST STREET NW, SUITE 530 WASHINGTON, DC 20007 (202) 625-0370 FAX (202) 625-0371

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Sid/Doo
This - might
be a good idea

July 20, 1995

Alice L. Walton
Chairman/President
Llama Company
Suite 302
One McIlroy Plaza
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701

Dear Alice:

Thanks for your letter of July 17 and for your invitation to speak at The Asia Society's Annual Dinner in New York this fall. I'm grateful for your thoughtfulness. While I never know what the schedule will hold, I have shared your letter with Billy Webster, my scheduler, for his consideration.

I hope you're well, and I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

Clinton

cc scheduling
NSC as well

Jean de Zabaleta

Llama Company®

Alice L. Walton
Chairman/President

July 17, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House, West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

As a Trustee of The Asia Society, I would like to invite you to be the guest of honor and speaker at the Society's Annual Dinner to be held in New York City on Wednesday, October 25, 1995. The dinner will follow the observance in New York of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and will also commemorate the Society's 40th anniversary.

We have also invited several Asian heads of government to join us for this special occasion. President Ramos of the Philippines has accepted our invitation and Prime Ministers Goh of Singapore and Bhutto of Pakistan have indicated their strong interest in attending. In addition, the audience will include 1,000 distinguished Americans from the fields of business, media, the arts and education.

I believe that this dinner could provide you with the appropriate platform for a major statement on U.S./Asian policy, especially since the dinner will take place just a few weeks before the third APEC Leaders meeting in Osaka, Japan.

The Asia Society was founded in 1956 as a non-profit, non-political organization to educate Americans about Asia. Over the years, the Society's programs have reached a wide range of individuals -- Asia specialists, educators, journalists, business and government leaders, students, and the general public. Today, as the economic, political, and cultural role of Asia on the world stage expands rapidly, The Asia Society's mission has broadened to also strengthen lines of communication between Asians and Americans.

I hope very much that it will be possible for you to accept this invitation as it would be a great honor and privilege for the Society to host this event with your presence.

Sincerely,

Alice L. Walton

ALW/lh

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-95

cc: Melanne Verveer

Terms of Estrangement

Burger and Blackmun: The Boyhood Pals Who Thought

By Finlay Lewis

WARREN E. BURGER'S eulogists paid tribute last month to the late chief justice, citing his passionate devotion to the Constitution and to the orderly administration of justice. As he was buried, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor also underscored his pivotal role in averting a constitutional crisis over President Nixon's Watergate tapes.

Standing among the mourners was retired justice Harry A. Blackmun, 86, his head bowed in grief over the death at 87 of his boyhood friend from Minnesota. Blackmun's emotions at that moment must have been particularly complex because he was also one of Warren Burger's legacies—and major disappointments. Their differences as jurists mirrored a personal estrangement that Blackmun, it may well be, was able to reconcile only upon Burger's death.

Nixon's decision in 1970 to pluck Blackmun from the relative obscurity of the 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals was partly based on Burger's assurances that Blackmun would be a willing and unswerving recruit in Nixon's campaign to help recast the Supreme Court in a more conservative mold. That turned out to be a colossal misjudgment. By the time Blackmun announced his retirement 24 years later, he had become the senior member of the court's liberal wing.

Blackmun's search for his own judicial voice shattered the notion that he and Burger would function together as the "Minnesota Twins."

That tag line seemed particularly offensive to Blackmun, who resented the notion that he would follow in lock-step with the chief justice. "It did kind of irk me a little bit because, you know, who follows whom on decisions up here?" Blackmun said in an interview nine years ago with the Minneapolis Star and Tribune.

Over the years, their friendship became increasingly strained. Although Blackmun served as best man when Burger and his wife, Elvera, were married in 1933, the two couples had little do with each other socially once the husbands began serving together on the court. Blackmun would complain, sometimes not terribly privately, about Burger's heavy-handed leadership; the chief justice must have been disappointed by losing Blackmun's vote on key rulings.

In a remark that seemed to underscore the ambiguous nature of their relationship, Blackmun observed that Burger "is a very domineering person, and he gets away with it much of the time, but we all love him just the same. It's part of his personality. One doesn't change from fourth grade on, I guess."

"When the relationship soured, I was surprised at how fast it deteriorated," said George Frampton, a former Blackmun law clerk who was also interviewed by the Minneapolis paper in 1986. "There did come a time when the justice became very resentful of the chief."

For his part, Burger acknowledged that a chill had crept into their relationship. "It's a natural phenomenon," he said during an interview shortly before his 1986 retirement. "Life changes when you get in a job like this."

"I think Burger hoped to move the court to the right more than he succeeded in doing and that maybe part of his hope included Blackmun," said Yale University law professor Harold Koh, who clerked for Blackmun in 1981-82. "So, in some sense, his inability to influence Blackmun to move as much as he would have liked maybe was a microcosm for the way his entire relationship with the court unfolded."

Blackmun was not the first justice to confound the expectations of his political benefactors—Oliver Wendell Holmes, Felix Frankfurter and Earl Warren all disappointed the presidents who had appointed them.

Thirteen years after Blackmun's nomination and confirmation, the Harvard Law Review would conclude that he had undergone a "remarkable transformation." If that's what it was, the change didn't happen all at once. During his first few years on the court, Blackmun acquired an unflat-

Finlay Lewis is a correspondent for Copley News Service and for 22 years worked as a reporter for the Minneapolis Star Tribune.

ght They Knew Each Other

tering reputation as being less Burger's Minnesota Twin than his acolyte, voting with him about 80 percent of the time.

The pivotal moment in his career may have been his authorship of the 1973 decision in the *Roe v. Wade* abortion case, which held that pregnant women have a constitutional privacy right to seek abortions relatively unfettered by state restrictions until the final trimester. Burger sided with Blackmun in that case.

From that point on, the law review magazine discerned a shift in Blackmun's perspective away from a deference for the prerogatives of institutions like state bar

As teenagers, they had worked together as counselors at a YMCA camp and often faced each other as rivals across a tennis net. Those seem to be the memories on Blackmun's mind these days.

associations, police departments and local welfare offices toward an increasing concern with the plight of the underdog and downtrodden.

It may also have rankled Blackmun that despite Burger's concurrence in the abortion decision, the chief justice seemed less than wholeheartedly committed to defending the *Roe* ruling—which became the touchstone of Blackmun's career.

"If you read [Burger's] concurring opinion then, it was sort of lukewarm, in a way," said Blackmun. "He [was] troubled by it."

A 1977 case, *Beal v. Doe*, demonstrated their legal differences on an issue related to the *Roe* decision. Burger, in the majority, held that states did not have to pay for an indigent woman's abortion. In an angry dissent, Blackmun declared, "There is 'another world' out there, the existence of which the court, I suspect, either chooses to ignore or fears to recognize."

But Koh argued that Blackmun's growing separation from the conservative, judicial-restraint wing of the Burger court had little to do with any personal resentments toward the chief justice. Blackmun's evolution as an heir to the liberal mantle of retired Justice William Brennan reflected the emergence of convictions and commitments that Blackmun carried with him to the high court, Koh said.

That was certainly Hubert Humphrey's view.

When the staunch Minnesota liberal learned that Nixon intended to advance a more conservative jurisprudence by placing Harry Blackmun on the court, Humphrey exclaimed, "The president is in for a big surprise."

Blackmun, as it turned out, had worked as a campaign volunteer when Humphrey ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Minneapolis in 1943.

"I rang a few doorbells for him, and Hubert never forgot that," recalled Blackmun, who in his pre-judicial days described himself as an Eisenhower Republican with moderate independent tendencies. "I guess he knew me pretty well."

As history would show, Humphrey apparently knew Blackmun even better than Warren Burger, Blackmun's boyhood friend. The two justices first met nearly 80 years ago at the Van Buren Elementary School in a lower middle-class neighborhood of Dayton's Bluff in St. Paul.

Burger was a dedicated GOP activist, whose political dabblings began in the 1930s. He was first attracted to politics through the career of a young county attorney in South St. Paul named Harold E. Stassen who, with Burger's backing, ultimately won the governorship. Usually working quietly in the background, Burger later set his focus on more ambitious goals, working to secure the 1952 Republican presidential nomination for Dwight D. Eisenhower. Short of crucial votes at the Republican convention, Ike prevailed after Burger helped him win a pivotal credentials fight and then influenced the Minnesota delegation to swing its support behind the general.

"I was never a behind-the-scenes operator the way Warren Burger was," Blackmun said.

After attending different high schools, Blackmun worked his way through Harvard College and then its law school as a scholarship student, while Burger attended more plebeian institutions—taking night classes at the University of Minnesota and the St. Paul College of Law. Although hired by different Twin Cities law firms, their friendship resumed as they launched their personal careers.

All the while, the two men stayed in touch. When Nina Totenberg, the veteran legal-affairs reporter now with National Public Radio, interviewed Blackmun's mother after he was nominated for the high court, she learned that the chief justice and Blackmun talked law and politics by telephone at least once a week.

Later on, however, Blackmun found ways—some not very subtle—to challenge what he evidently regarded as Burger's authoritarian grip on court life. That seemed to be his motive when Blackmun granted a televised interview in his chambers to Daniel Schorr, then with the Cable News Network, on Thanksgiving Day 1983. Allowing television cameras on to court premises was rare enough. But Blackmun's gesture seemed especially defiant in view of Burger's hostility as chief justice to TV cameras, whether trained on Supreme Court sessions or even on his appearances before the American Bar Association.

In recalling the interview, Schorr said that Blackmun selected the date and made all the logistical arrangements, leaving Schorr with the impression of a covert operation meant to elude Burger's notice.

Whatever their personal differences, the death of Warren Burger seems to have hit Blackmun hard. In the days immediately following, Justice Blackmun told friends that he was devastated by the slipping away of a man whose life had been so closely intertwined with his own. During their teenage years, Blackmun recalled, they had worked together as counselors at a YMCA camp on the Wisconsin shore of Lake St. Croix and often faced each other as rivals across a tennis net.

Those seem to be the memories on Blackmun's mind these days, not the edgy strains of a lifelong relationship exposed by the Supreme Court's intense and unique pressures that may have caused two justices from Dayton's Bluff to regard each other with unexpected disappointment.

LLAMA COMPANY
One McIlroy Plaza, Suite 302
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701
Telephone: (501) 444-4095
Fax: (501) 444-4042

DATE: July 17, 1995

TO: Betty Curry

Office of the President of the United States

FAX # OF RECEIVING PARTY: (202) 456-6703

FROM: Alice Walton

****

Betty:

Could you please bring the attached letter to President Clinton's attention.

TOTAL # OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER): 2

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 25, 1995

The original NSC memo, signed letter to Harry Belefonte, and all the remaining unsigned letters are being held in the Staff Secy's office awaiting Mr. Lake's instructions to dispatch them

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/25/95

3955

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1995 95 JUL 20 P3:44

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
PATRICK GRIFFIN

SUBJECT: Letters on Unaccompanied Haitian Minors at Guantanamo Bay

Purpose

To respond to letters from "Guantanamo Watch," the Congressional Black Caucus and Representatives Hastings, Meek, Ros-Lehtinen and Shaw.

Background

Guantanamo Watch, a loose coalition of activists from the entertainment industry, sent you a letter last month urging that the Haitian unaccompanied minors who remained at Guantanamo (then about 140) be permitted U.S. entry. They enclosed a similar letter from members of the Congressional Black Caucus. In addition, Reps. Hastings, Meek and Ros-Lehtinen separately sent letters urging U.S. entry for the Haitian children.

Rep. Clay Shaw, on the other hand, urged against U.S. resettlement of the Haitian children who remained at Guantanamo. He apparently had the mistaken impression that we intended to bring all the children to the U.S. regardless of where their parents resided.

Disposition of the Minors

During the last week of June, we paroled into the United States most of the 125 children who then remained at Guantanamo, generally because UNHCR was not able to locate parents or close family members in Haiti and thus could not determine that return to Haiti was in the best interests of these children.

The majority of the 200 other unaccompanied Haitian children who had been at Guantanamo before late June were returned to Haiti based on a UNHCR determination that such return was in their best interests.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

At this point, some 20 Haitian children remain at Guantanamo on medical hold and we have met our goal of completing the process by June 30.

The attached letters describe our actions and policy on this issue. Each is individually tailored to respond to variations in the incoming correspondence.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters to Guantanamo Watch, the Congressional Black Caucus and Reps. Hastings, Meek, Ros-Lehtinen and Shaw at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Guantanamo Watch, Members of the Congressional Black Caucus and Reps. Hastings, Meek, Ros-Lehtinen and Shaw

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Harry Belefonte:

Thank you for your recent letter urging U.S. entry for the Haitian unaccompanied minors who remained at Guantanamo last month.

I am pleased to report that all the unaccompanied Haitian minors, except for a small number who are on medical hold, were moved out of Guantanamo by June 30. As you may know, over 120 unaccompanied minors have been admitted to the United States, including 85 who entered at the end of last month. The Department of Justice's Community Relations Service will ensure that these children obtain suitable sponsorship, since many of them do not have parents or close relatives in the United States.

As this process comes to a close, let me emphasize that we have sought to resolve these cases in a humane manner consistent with international practice and in cooperation with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Where we were able to determine that a child's parents or closest relatives lived in Haiti, the child was generally reunited with his or her family members. Where such reunification was not possible, we permitted U.S. admission. While this process was often a complicated one, we believe that it has been most responsive to the needs of the displaced children.

Thank you again for your expression of interest and concern regarding this issue.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Mr. Harry Belefonte
Guantanamo Watch
127 West 24th Street, 7th Floor
New York, New York 10011

Marcia - find this letter in the system please - Eric

guantanamo watch 127 west 24th street, 7th floor
new york, new york 10011 telephone 212-807-6800 fax 212-807-6830

467B cc-MM

June 9, 1995

URGENT TELEFAX
202-456-2883 456-6703 direct

President Bill Clinton
The White House

Dear President Clinton:

We, the undersigned, collectively and unequivocally endorse the attached letter to you from members of the Congressional Black Caucus regarding the remaining 150-160 unaccompanied Haitian minors incarcerated at the U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

Nearly half of the original group of Haitian children in the unaccompanied minors camp have been forcibly repatriated to Haiti. It has been determined by fact-finding missions that a substantial number of these kids were erroneously sent back, and presently live in conditions of squalor and danger.

Relatives of these children and resettlement agencies based in the U.S. have already been contacted, and are ready and willing to accept responsibility for the detained group of minors at Guantanamo.

President Clinton, we beseech you to grant parole to these Haitian children. This small, humanitarian measure will make an eternal difference in these innocent lives.

Sincerely yours on behalf of the Guantanamo Watch Membership,

Harry Belafonte Diana Choi Edwidge Danticat

Robert DeNiro Jonathan Demme Laura Dern

(MORE)

Katherine Dunham

Danny Glover

Charles Ogletree

Anna Hamilton Phelan

Michelle Pfeiffer

Tim Robbins

Julia Roberts

Randall Robinson

Mercedes Ruehl

Susan Sarandon

Nancy Seltzer

Edward Saxon

Mary Steenburgen

Bono Vox

Jack Lemmon

Gregory Peck

attachments

Guantanamo Watch Membership
as of June 9, 1995

Diahnne Abbott
Aerosmith (Tom Hamilton, Joey Kramer, Joe Perry, Steven Tyler, Brad Whitford)
Robert Altman
John Amos
George Armitage
Lauren Bacall
Joan Baez
Antonio Banderas
Mimi Barthelemy
Angela Bassett
Jennifer Beals
Ed Begley Jr.
Harry Belafonte
Julie Belafonte
Yannick Bellon
Robert Benton
Luc Béraud
Michael Besman
Rubén Blades
Grace Blake
Roy Blount, Jr.
Bob Bookman
Rachid Bouchared
Kader Boukhanef
Ron Bozman
Jaques Bral
Catherine Breillat
Charles Burnett
David Byrne
John Cale
Hugh B. Cave
Clayton Campbell
Robert Castle
Kate Castle
Kim Cattrall
Hugh B. Cave
Diana Choi
Elie Chouraqui
Leonard Cohen
Stephen Collins
Martha Coolidge
Francis Ford Coppola
Alain Corneau
Signe Corriere
Jonathan Cott
Miguel Courtois
Kirsten Coyne
Robert Cray
John Cusack
B. Real - Cypress Hill
Anne-christine D'Adesky
Edwidge Danticat
Gérard Darmon
Danny Darst
Julie Dash
Ossie Davis
Ruby Dee
Jonathan Demme
Ted Demme
Robert DeNiro
Claire Denis
Suzanne de Passe
Laura Dern
Jérôme Diamant-Bergen
Mayor David Dinkins
Jacques Dorfman
Bill Duke
Griffin Dunne
Patrick Dupond
Charles Dutton
Bob Dylan
Sister Carole East
Hillard Elkins
Robert Enrico
Nora Ephron
Julius Erving
Jacques Fansten
Felicia Farr
Mike Farrell
Howard Feuer
Roberta Flack
Naomi Foner
Milos Forman
Gil Friesen
Samuel Fuller
Peter Gabriel
Costa Gavras
Richard Gere
Allen Ginsburg
José Giovanni
Lesli Linka Glatter
Danny Glover
Jeff Goldblum
Shalom Gorewitz
Denys Granier-Deferre
Dick Gregory
Richard Guay
Stephen Gyllenhaal
Victor Haïm
Christopher Hampton
Philippe Harel
Deborah Harry
Beth Henley
Laurent Heynemann
Dustin Hoffman
Agnieszka Holland
Anthony Hopkins
Reginald Hudlin
Warrington Hudlin
Gale Anne Hurd
Mick Jagger
Pierre Jallaud
Alain Jessua
Norman Jewison
Pierre Jolivet
Quincy Jones
Roger Kahane
Liliane de Kermadec
Irvin Kershner
Callie Khouri
Madison L. King
KRS-1
Christine Lahti
Christa Lang
Queen Latifah
Norman Lear
Patrice Leconte

Guantanamo Watch Membership
as of June 9, 1995

Spike Lee
Jack Lemmon
Hervé Lievre
Delroy Lindo
Nashormeh Lindo
Marceline Loridan-Ivens
Sidney Lumet
Bonnie Lutz
Sarah Maldoror
Louis Malle
Jean-Pierre Marchand
Branford Marsalis
Wynton Marsalis
Mathilda May
Mark Medoff
Jo Menell
Jeanne Moreau
Richard Morse
Aaron Neville
Charles Neville
Cyril Neville
Paul Newman
Mike Nichols
Rick Nicita
Olivier Nollin
Ron Nyswaner
Gérard Oury
Sarah Jessica Parker
Gordon Parks, Sr.
Phil Parmet
Alexandra Paul
Gregory Peck
Elizabeth Peña
Jacques Perrin
Laurent Perrin
Anna Hamilton Phelan
Lou Diamond Phillips
Johnny Planco
Robert Plant
Marc Platt
Samuel Lucas Platt
Olden Polynice
Barry Primus
Bob Rafelson
Bonnie Raitt
Arnold Raphaël
Robert Redford
Lou Reed
Ken Regan
Judith Réval
Keith Richards
Jason Robards
Tim Robbins
Julia Roberts
Amy Robinson
Phil Alden Robinson
Annie Ross
Mercedes Ruehl
Sade
Anton Sanko
Susan Sarandon
Nancy Savoca
Edward Saxon
Tom Schulman
Seal
Maurice Sendak
Jöel Séria
Coline Serreau
Roderick Spencer
Steven Spielberg
Mary Steenburgen
Rob Birch, Nick Hallam: Stereo MC's
Sting
Oliver Stone
Rose Styron
Lisa Summerour
Ted Tally
James Taylor
Lily Taylor
Susan Taylor
Francis Temple
Beverly Todd
Robert Townsend
Blair Underwood
Gus Van Sant
Steven Van Zandt
Bono Vox
Paula Wagner
Fred Ward
Dionne Warwick
Denzel Washington
Rob Wasserman
Sigourney Weaver
Robin Williams
Victoria Williams
Hal Willner
Robert E. Wise
Alfré Woodard
Joanne Woodward
George C. Wolfe
Laura Ziskin

cc: Cheryl Little, Esq. - Florida Rural Legal Services
First Lady Hilary Clinton
Attorney General Janet Reno
Samuel Berger, Deputy National Security Advisor
Seth Waxman - Associate Deputy Attorney General
Taylor Branch
Secretary of State Warren Christopher
Congressional Black Caucus
Ted Danson
Senator Christopher Dodd
Marian Wright Edelman - Children's Defense Fund
Sharon Gelman - Hollywood Policy Center
Kathy Engel/David Lerner - Riptide Communications
Steve Forrester - Haitian Refugee Center
Neils Frenzen
Senator Tom Harkin
Ann Hess
Quincy Jones
Rep. Joseph Kennedy
Anthony Lake, National Security Advisor
Ken Lubecker - CRS, U.S. Dept. of Justice
Rep. Carrie Meek
Johnny McCalla - National Coalition for Haitian Refugees
Leila McDowell - McKinney & McDowell Associates
Senator Patrick Moynihan
Rep. Major Owens
Rep. Charles Rangel
Michael Ratner, Esq. - Center for Constitutional Rights
Robert Redford
Eric Schwartz - National Security Council
Mildred Trouilliot
Maggie Williams - Chief of Staff for First Lady Hilary Clinton

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

June 7, 1995

President Bill Clinton
The White House, Office of the President
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Last summer, 368 Haitian children who fled their homeland by boat arrived at the U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay unaccompanied by any adult. Although 23 of these children have been paroled into the U.S., about 175 of them have been forcibly returned to Haiti.

There is now compelling evidence that many of the repatriated children are living in conditions of abandonment, danger, and poverty which cannot conceivably have been in their "best interest." The children still being detained at Guantanamo would presumably face similar perils within Haiti but they have a strong support system available to them in the U.S. This system includes close relatives in most cases and agencies which have a long record of successfully resettling unaccompanied children.

Your Administration has already paroled Cuban children from Guantanamo into the U.S. on the basis of hardships which have been at least as extreme for the Guantanamo Haitian children. To mitigate what has already been a serious humanitarian tragedy--as well as to avoid the appearance of a double standard--we urge you to parole Guantanamo's Haitian children into the U.S. with all possible haste. We are counting on you to do the right thing.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: JIM DORSKIND

Fax Number: 6-2993 Phone Number:

FROM: TODD STERN

SUBJECT: MEMO

DATE: 7-25-95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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122288

5694

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

July 25, 1995

95 JUL 25 P12 : 32

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Award of Presidential Medal of Freedom to Major Richard J. Meadows, USA (Ret.)

Purpose

To obtain your approval to award the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Major Richard J. Meadows for his exceptional service in the U.S. Special Forces and for his extraordinary contributions after he retired from military service. General Downing (USCINCSOC) and Ambassador Alan Holmes (Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict) strongly support the approval of the award and its presentation prior to Major Field's imminent death from leukemia.

Background

Major Meadows is a legend in the Special Forces. Enlisted in the Army at the age of 15, he volunteered for the Korean War where he became the youngest Master Sergeant of the war. After Korea, he volunteered for Army Special Forces and over the next decade trained friendly forces in Germany, Panama, Britain, Denmark, Norway, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic. He deployed to Aman, Arabia and to Oman to assist in the apprehension of terrorists and gun-runners.

In 1961, Major Meadows trained and assisted the Laotian Mao Tribe. In 1965 he volunteered for Vietnam and the innocuously named Studies and Observation Group (SOG). As a SOG reconnaissance team leader, he lead numerous cross-border forays, and on his very first mission into Laos, he captured an entire battery of Russian artillery being moved to South Vietnam. Major Meadows brought back the artillery's percussion mechanisms, providing the first hard evidence of large-scale North Vietnamese infiltration to the South.

General Westmoreland was so impressed by the successful missions planned and executed by Major Meadows that he awarded him a battlefield commission to Captain, the first such commission of the Vietnam War and one of only several which Westmoreland was to award in his four years as commander of American forces in Vietnam.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

During his two tours in Vietnam (Major Meadows volunteered for a second tour in Vietnam in 1967 and was again assigned to SOG) he led more than two dozen missions behind enemy lines -- four into North Vietnam and the rest in Laos, calling in air strikes on the Ho Chi Minh trail, capturing North Vietnamese soldiers for interrogation and rescuing downed American pilots.

In 1970, Major Meadows returned to North Vietnam as the assault leader sent to rescue American POWs held at Son Tay, 23 miles outside Hanoi. The raid was executed flawlessly, but unknown to U.S. intelligence the American POWs had been moved four months earlier. Meadows' assault group purposely crash-landed their helicopter into the compound, killing over fifty guards during the daring thirty minute surprise attack.

After retiring from the Army in 1977, Major Meadows was sent as the point man to Teheran to reconnoiter the target locations for the failed Desert One hostage rescue mission. Masquerading as an Irish businessman, he arranged for the rental of a warehouse and the purchase of vehicles needed for the secret transfer of the special forces to Teheran on their final leg. When the mission was aborted, he made his way to safety.

Drawing upon his unique special forces experience, Major Meadows was later chosen to be one of six planners who conceptualized and established the assessment, selection and validation process of the elite DELTA Force.

RECOMMENDATION

That you award the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Major Meadows and recognize his lifetime of brave and especially meritorious service to the security interests of the nation.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON July 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We have received the following information items:

- **McCurry memo on distribution of your speeches.** The Press/Media Affairs office sent your Georgetown speech to more than 4,000 press outlets, including: top 200 ed boards; general religious publications; Catholic; Baptist, Jewish, African American; Hispanic; environmental; labor, education; gay/lesbian; and Italian. Your Religious Freedom speech and directive was sent to more than 2,000 press outlets, including: general religious; Jewish, Catholic; Baptist, education, African American; parenting publications; Hispanic; and women.

- **Ickes/O'Connor memo on Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA).** In response to your inquiry about June 5 U.S. News article on DEA that described "near-mutinous attitude toward Administrator Thomas Constantine." Janet Reno has been working closely with Constantine and feels confident that the article is misleading and incorrect. Deputy AG Jamie Gorelick is also working closely with Constantine; she meets with him bi-weekly to ensure top-level coordination between DEA and Justice.

- **McGinty note on Forest Plan Update booklet.** In response to your question, Katie notes that the numbers and assertions in the booklet have not been challenged so far. The booklet was distributed at the Portland economic conference and a box of booklets was given to the Office of Forestry and Economic Development in Portland to distribute to their contacts.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 JUL 19 A 9:43

July 19, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: **SUSAN BROPHY** SB

SUBJECT: **CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE**

Attached for your review is a letter from Sen. Bumpers regarding Vietnam.

Show NSC
No Thanks

Copy sent to
NSC by
Staff Secretary's
Office.

DALE BUMPERS
ARKANSAS

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

1/14/95

Bill,

As you know, Harkin, Lautenberg & I spent last week in Vietnam & Thailand. Bob Wilson, & the American Chamber of Commerce in Thailand are lusting for you to put Thailand on your agenda when you go to Asia. Hope you can. Bangkok is the biggest sweat you'll ever get — modern as NYC.

Normalization will prove to be most politically, widely & economically.

DB

TS
PC
SW
AW
JA
MS
CC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 JUL 25 P2:53

July 24, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL BLUE PASSHOLDERS

FROM: JODIE TORKELSON
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

SUBJECT: Closure of West Wing Tours

Due to the Korean State Dinner, the West Wing will be closed to tours on Thursday, July 27, 1995.

Please call the Staff Tour Information Line at x62002 for updated information regarding West Wing tours.

Thank you for your cooperation.

TS
PC
SW
AW
JA
MS
CC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1995 JUL 25 P2:53

MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE OFFICE EMPLOYEES
OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT EMPLOYEES
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT EMPLOYEES

FROM: LEON PANETTA
CHIEF OF STAFF

SUBJECT: Security and Access for Volunteers

Given that summer is a time when many new volunteers are available for assignments in the White House Office, I believe it is important to reiterate policies related to bringing volunteers into our offices. It is extremely important that all volunteers be registered and screened by the Volunteer Office **before** they are permitted to begin working in the Complex. It is equally important that if you need the assistance of volunteers, you contact the Volunteer Office to make the appropriate arrangements.

The following guidelines are to be followed with respect to all persons desiring to volunteer on the Complex.

1. Any person expressing interest in volunteering should be directed to Mr. Claude Taylor, Director of the Volunteer Office, Room 22 OEOB, (202) 456-5455.

2. Under no circumstances should volunteers be cleared as appointments in order to work in your offices. All volunteers are cleared through the Volunteer Office.

3. All requests for badges or building access for volunteers should be sent to Mr. Taylor. For security reasons, badges and building access for volunteers is strictly controlled. Under no circumstances should staff submit such requests directly to White House Personnel Security or Management and Administration. They will be denied.

4. In the event a staff member brings volunteers into the Complex without authorization from the Volunteer Office, the volunteer may be asked to leave and the staff member will be cited for a security violation.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-95

7/20

MR PRESIDENT:

Please help liberate Cuba from the tyranny of Fidel Castro. Cubans will remember you as freeing their homeland, and flock to the Democratic Party.

Sincerely,

LIDIA F. RODRIGUEZ
3731 SW 29ST
MIAMI, FL 33134
Cuban-American
Registered Democrat

P.S.
You know me as
"Lidia from Miami"

7/25/95
Todd –
Send to Dorskind
for reply?
Yes ✓
No ___
C.

Robert S. McIntyre

Are the Rich Really Overtaxed?

Laura Amazing BC
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.24.95

James K. Glassman ["The Rich Already Pay Plenty," op-ed, July 11] thinks he has discovered what's wrong with our nation's tax system: "The poor, the lower-middle class and even the middle-middle class pay only a tiny proportion of federal income taxes." To rectify this perceived problem, he offers a simple solution: big tax increases on low- and middle-income families, and big tax cuts for the rich.

That, of course, would be the result from Rep. Dick Armey's "flat tax," which Glassman endorses. Armey's plan entails giant new loopholes for the wealthy—as Glassman notes, "Armey's plan exempts all investment income and capital gains from taxation at the individual level"—and cuts the top tax rate about in half. Thus the rich would pay a lower rate on less of their incomes. No one can doubt that this double bonanza would mean a huge tax reduction for the rich, nor, by simple arithmetic, that middle- and low-income families would have to pay a lot more to make up the difference.

So what is Glassman's case for such a gigantic tax shift? First of all, he finds the progressivity of the current income tax "astounding." The top one percent, he complains, pays 26 percent of total federal income taxes while garnering a mere 13 percent of the total income. I'm not sure why that seems offensive, but in any event the figures are considerably less stark when the full range of taxes is taken into account.

The top one percent's share of all federal taxes—income, Social Security, excise taxes etc.—is only 18 percent. Its share of federal, state and local taxes combined is less than 16 percent, only slightly more than its 13 percent share of total income. The result of this small sacrifice on the part of the wealthy is that the bottom 40 percent of the population, with 13 percent of total income, pays just under 10 percent of the total taxes. (Families in the middle ranges pay tax shares a bit below their income shares; those in the upper middle to near rich pay a slightly higher share.)

Were progressivity in the federal income tax abandoned, as Glassman and Armey propose, then the rich's share of taxes would be far less than their share of total income, leaving middle- and lower-income people to pay a considerably greater share.

That's only fair, maintains Glassman, since the rich don't get much in the way of benefits from government anyway.

The fact is, though, that the rich benefit greatly from government. No one's fate hinges more on the quality of public education, for example, than that of employers (generally a very well-off group). Likewise, businesses need good roads both to transport their goods and to get their workers to the job. National defense and police defend not only our lives and liberty but also our property—an item of which the wealthy enjoy the lion's share.

Taking Exception

More fundamentally, we have organized our society so that wide differences in wealth and income are inevitable. Within reason, that may be a good overall economic strategy. But it does not imply that we can't take at least modest steps, through the tax code among other means, to mitigate the most egregious disparities. The fact that the rich have gotten much richer over the past two decades, while incomes in the middle and lower ranges have stagnated or fallen, would seem to indicate a need for more progressivity, not less.

To be sure, as Glassman points out, hard work often plays a major role in huge success. But so do accidents of birth, inheritance and countless other kinds of just plain good luck. For every self-made millionaire, there are many, many others who work very hard but aren't so lucky. Why should we raise their taxes to reduce the obligations of the most fortunate?

Trickle-down, answers Glassman: "Armey and other Republicans are trying to address a serious problem—the lack of savings and investment in this country." Glassman seems to have forgotten that this approach was tried—and failed—in the late '70s and early '80s. Tax changes in those years showered tax breaks on corporations and the rich in the name of enhancing investment. But while the tax "incentives" sharply reduced the progressivity of the federal tax system, they did not improve the savings or investment rate.

Instead, we saw an orgy of tax sheltering and an explosion in government borrowing that we are still paying for. Eventually, even Ronald Reagan grew weary of his "supply-side revolution" and helped undo part of its damage with the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

Glassman's final argument for a flat tax is his oddest: that anyone who takes up the "class warfare" cudgels to resist the flat tax's middle-class tax increases is doomed politically. That's because, he says with no obvious irony, a big middle-class tax boost is wildly popular with the general public. "Americans like it," he insists, "because it's equitable."

Well, we'll see. There's no doubt that, in principle, most Americans claim to favor a simpler tax code—mainly because they're convinced that the current complexity works in favor of the well-off. But when the public discovers that the Armey-Glassman version of simplicity includes several-thousand-dollar tax increases on most families, I'd guess the bloom will quickly be off the flat-tax rose. (That's what's happened every time a flat tax has been put forward before, in the mid-'70s, the mid-'80s and, most recently, by Jerry Brown in the 1992 presidential campaign.)

Fortunately, if the public really does want simpler taxes, it now has a progressive alternative. House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) wants to close loopholes and put most families in the 10 percent tax bracket. But to avoid adding to the deficit, he retains graduated rates—up to 34 percent for the most well-off people. This approach has the notable advantage of cutting middle-class taxes rather than increasing them.

Thanks to Gephardt, if tax simplification is a major issue in the 1996 elections, voters will be able to choose between higher and lower taxes as part of the bargain. Unlike Glassman, I wouldn't bet on most people voting to pay more.

The writer is director of Citizens for Tax Justice, a lobbying group for tax reform.

attorney general today not ...
she was the best-qualified person ...
the land, but because the post, for ...
some reason, was reserved for a ...
woman. Reno was the third ap-
proached.

Such a president could not abandon affirmative action without looking like a political hack—or, an even more cynical interpretation, incurring the wrath of Jesse Jackson. But it is also true that civil rights has long been Bill Clinton's core cause, the one he cited in his famous 1969 letter explaining why he was ducking service in Vietnam. He opposed the war, he wrote, "with a depth of feeling I had reserved solely for racism." As Arkansas governor, he had implemented affirmative action programs.

In theory, Wilson is right—although, I think, for the wrong reasons. It's time to end affirmative action, to reject the divisive formulas that are its essence and that contradict the American creed. But to authorize a program one year and condemn it the next smacks of political opportunism. The same applies to Bob Dole, another affirmative action foe whose zeal seems directly connected to his candidacy. He would embrace the veil for women if militant Islam were a force in the Republican primaries.

It damns Clinton with faint praise to exult that he has stuck to his principles. He has really done more than that, though. He reminded us all that affirmative action, no matter what one might think of it, was not the loony idea of social engineers but a reasonable response to centuries of slavery, racism and impoverishment. That history and his own experience as a southerner are the very good reasons Bill Clinton reached the wrong conclusion about affirmative action. It's also why I feel better about Clinton being wrong than about some of his critics being right.

Chief Counsel
to the Chairman

U.S. MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD
Washington, D.C. 20419

95 JUL 25 P2:43

Dear Todd, July 24, 1995

As I mentioned, both Howell Heflin and Hank Brown, also on Judiciary, were seeking the nomination of Ben Erdreich to fill the upcoming vacancy on the Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit.

Attached is the letter from Senator Brown. You should have already received a copy of the Heflin letter.

If you have any suggestions let me know.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Steve Katz

To
Vicki
RADD

Fyi,
Todd

HANK BROWN
COLORADO

COMMITTEES:
BUDGET
FOREIGN RELATIONS
JUDICIARY

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0604

July 19, 1995

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you consider nominees for the vacancy on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, I wanted to draw your attention to Ben Erdreich.

You appointed Ben Erdreich to serve you as Chairman of the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board in 1993. The decisions of that adjudicatory agency comprise almost one half of the cases reviewed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit. This adjudicatory experience, in which Ben has excelled, in addition to his excellent academic and professional credentials, make Ben a superb selection for this Court.

Prior to your appointment of Ben Erdreich to the Chairmanship, he served in the Congress for ten years. I was honored to serve with him in the U.S. House. He is a thoughtful, brilliant attorney whose appointment would reflect great credit on any administration.

There are too few individuals like Ben Erdreich who continue to deepen their commitment to the law and public service. As Chairman of the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, Ben has demonstrated an extraordinary judicial aptitude, and he has improved the Board's efficiency in handling a heavy volume of more than 9,000 cases annually. The Board has a high affirmance rate by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit, and several of Ben's dissenting opinions have been adopted as guiding legal interpretations by the Court.

Ben's academic and professional qualifications are superlative, and in 1978 and 1979 he was recommended to President Jimmy Carter as one of the most qualified individuals for a federal judgeship. In the succeeding years Ben has accrued experience as a government executive, congressman and adjudicator, which, I believe, make him more valuable to the federal bench than ever.

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

I would appreciate your serious consideration of Ben Erdreich for the upcoming vacancy on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit. I am pleased to strongly recommend him.

Sincerely,

Hank Brown
United States Senator

HB/jkm

cc: Judge Abner Mikva

To: Jennifer Klein

J—

Phil got a copy of this & wanted to be sure you saw.

me

Draft

News From the

MEDICARE COMMUNICATIONS GROUP

A Project of the House Republican Conference

June 8, 1995

Dear Republican Colleague:

During the Memorial Day recess Frank Luntz attended several town hall meetings and focus groups on Medicare. The attached memo summarizes the key findings from these meetings.

The Frank Luntz memo underscores that we must continue to stress our four basic themes:

1. Medicare is going bankrupt
2. Republicans are committed to saving Medicare
3. We will spend more money -- an additional $1600 per person
4. We are listening and want ideas from constituents.

We hope this information is helpful and please give any us a call if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Dan Miller

Jim McCrery

Jim Greenwood

~~Republicans are committed to protecting, preserving and strengthening Medicare~~

THE LUNTZ RESEARCH COMPANIES
Luntz Research & Strategic Services ■ The Public Opinion Company ■ Luntz Corporate ■ Luntz Worldwide

Memorandum

To: Interested Parties
From: Frank Luntz
Re: Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Communicating Medicare
Date: June 7, 1995

"We have a problem with the national attitude. There is a feeling that, if I can get it, why not take it. You see it in Medicare every day."

"We are the patriots of America. We're the ones who hang our flags out on Memorial Day. Why should we be the ones who are asked to sacrifice yet again?"

With the help of the ***United Seniors Association***, we have conducted more than a half dozen focus groups and three town hall meetings with pre-retirees and current Medicare recipients during the Memorial Day recess and over the past few weeks. This memo summarizes our key findings. We hope it will assist you in future communication efforts.

AT THE BEGINNING

1. <u>You MUST communicate to your supporters as well as the overall senior community.</u> <u>Keep in mind that seniors are very "pack-oriented" and are very susceptible to following one very dominant person's lead.</u> You must ensure that balance exists at each town meeting, and be careful to keep individual anecdotes or isolated incidents from dominating (and driving) the process.

2. <u>Distribute the Summary of the Trustees' Report to everyone over age 50</u>. If you can't get a hold of enough copies of the actual summary, xerox the key passages and distribute them to your constituents *as they arrive* for your meetings, or place them on their seats before they arrive. Nothing is more credible and powerful than the report itself, and informing your constituents of the Trustees' findings *(reading to them word-for-word the most egregious conclusions)* must be at the core of your communication strategy.

3. You absolutely must tell people at the outset that the Trustees include high-level Clinton Administration officials -- list who they are by name. Your audience will recognize many of the names, and that will give credibility to your defense that your efforts to strengthen Medicare are non-partisan. Remind your constituents that these Trustees warned in last year's report that Medicare was headed for bankruptcy. We cannot wait any longer to begin the rescue of the system.

4. Personalize YOUR interest in Medicare. This must take place at the very beginning of your presentation. Reassure your seniors that this issue affects you personally, and not just in theory (otherwise you may come across as an accountant rather than a human being). Talk about your parents, relatives or life-long friends currently on Medicare. For those of you in your late 50s or early 60s, you can talk about your own countdown to the day you yourself will qualify.

5. Your Number One Priority is to save Medicare. "Saving, preserving and strengthening" Medicare needs to be repeated as the central theme at the beginning, during the session and at the close. Let your seniors know that you personally will not allow a program for 37 million people to go bankrupt by ignoring its current problems.

GENERAL COMMUNICATION TIPS

There are certain communication *rules* that apply to Medicare that don't apply to other issues. Words are especially important, and setting the right tone at the outset is critical.

1. You MUST appear bi-partisan. The responses in our recent Town Halls say it all:

   - *"We sent you all to Washington to work for us, not play sides! We want the best for all people, Democrats and Republicans. You need to work together for the good of all the country."*

   - *"The unity of both parties is essential. A new broom sweeps cleaner."*

   Partisanship also affects whether or not people trust the Medicare numbers you offer. Right now, the Trustees' Report is the most credible source because it lacks partisan identification (CBO credibility is questionable because of the word "Congressional" -- and no one knows what the initials mean by themselves). Be careful not to come across too harshly against the Dems, but it is acceptable to ask rhetorically for President Clinton's help.

2. Don't talk about "improving" Medicare – you are strengthening it. We cannot afford to raise expectations, but that's exactly what you will do if you tell seniors you're going to "improve" Medicare. When seniors hear the words *improve* and *Medicare* in the same sentence, they immediately think of lower deductibles, free prescription drugs, subsidized hearing aids and eye glasses, cheaper in-home care, and reductions in everything else they now have to pay for. ***The quickest path to defeat is to overpromise seniors.***

3. The newspaper is still very important to seniors. Seniors diligently read the newspaper, and they often clip articles about fraud and abuse involving Medicare. This is one issue where print media is as important as television or radio – if not more so. Consequently, clip several local newspaper articles about Medicare waste and/or fraud and bring them to your town hall meetings to distribute to attendees. The word will spread rapidly.

4. Seniors read their mail and scrutinize their hospital and doctor bills. Everyone has a story to tell, though none as poignant as this one:

> *"I went in for eye surgery and they charged me for an autopsy. I complained and they came back and said, 'I'm sorry Mrs. Colby but that should have been for an EKG.' I told them I didn't have one of those either."*

We were bombarded with anecdotes of over-billing, double-billing and false-billing. Ask your constituents to write your office with their accounts of abuse and also devote the first fifteen minutes of your meeting to "fraudtoids." Beginning this way helps pave the way for the following arguments about the need for change, while also letting you know at the outset who's with you and who's against you.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

The public in general, and the older population in particular, is moving in our direction, but it has been and will continue to be a slow, deliberate process. Seniors are distrustful of Washington, know their own strength as a political constituency, and simply do not believe their elected officials will turn their back on a such a strong voting block.

Knowledge

1. No one believes Medicare will actually go bankrupt. A growing number of seniors are familiar with the current Medicare debate, but they still enter the room skeptical. They have great difficulty trusting the government's numbers when they feel they've been lied to in the past (and proposed changes in how COLAs are calculated are making it worse).

2. Seniors will not even consider changes in Medicare until they're convinced the system's going broke. Before talking about new options the need for reform must be clarified. *Between now and the July 4th recess, you need to concentrate on educating the public on the problems with Medicare rather than talking about your solutions.* We will be hit hard in September if we have not laid the groundwork for our ultimate proposals.

3. Explain what bankruptcy really means, and why dipping into general revenues to sustain Medicare is not an option.

4. The difference between Medicare and Medicaid is still not widely known. As a recent front page *Washington Times* headline can attest, few people distinguish between Medicare and Medicaid. It is therefore not surprising that even when quoting written articles, seniors also don't know the difference between the two. Make sure you explain the difference early in your presentation.
Seniors particularly hate the idea that legal and illegal aliens are receiving government benefits in general, and Medicare or Medicaid in particular.

5. Remind audiences about changes in retirement patterns over the past thirty years. Seniors know their life expectancy is significantly longer now than it was in the 1960s. They recognize they will be spending more years in retirement, and are therefore taking more out of the system. This begins to build the case for Medicare transformation.

Cost/Financing

> *"I know I live in a never-never land. I don't care about the medical charges because I'm not paying for them."*
>
> *"The hospital tells me, 'Why are you worried about costs. You don't pay for it. Medicare does.' It's that attitude that causes prices to go up."*

This is at the crux of our argument. If we can't prove that Medicare is going bankrupt, we'll never be able to sell our solutions. Plan on spending no less than 30 minutes – and up to an hour – discussing the numbers alone. You cannot move on until your audience fully understands the financial ramifications.

1. Seniors realize that they're getting a great deal. Understandably, they're reluctant to give it up. It is therefore necessary to explain that while they may like what they have *now*, it won't be there *in the future* unless real changes are made. This is why so much effort must be devoted to the simple task of explaining that Medicare is going broke.

2. Seniors use specific figures to make their points. So should we. When discussing waste and over-billing, a surprising number of seniors point to $10 aspirins, $150 eye exams, and can remember the cost of their hospital bill to the penny. They have the ability to remember the cost of a single drug and a particular procedure because they *personalize* rather than *globalize* their medical care. We must do the same. Informing Medicare recipients that the average couple will take out over $100,000 more from Medicare than they have contributed to the system personalizes Medicare's impending bankruptcy (use exact numbers) in the same manner as a $10 aspirin personalizes its abuses.

3. The potential need for increasing premiums by 300% is the "Killer Stat." No one knows this, but the information is believed. After seniors are presented with the financial information on Medicare, they will inevitably ask for the consequences. Showing them the chart about what happens to Medicare if it goes bankrupt immediately disrupts the complacent atmosphere. The possibility that Medicare premiums will increase by 300% is simply not acceptable to seniors -- and they will do anything to prevent this from happening. (Note: The other options, such as increasing taxes on working class families, produce virtually no reaction.)

4. Even if YOU keep Medicare and the budget separate, your constituents may not. Be prepared. As more than one participant volunteered, "*Republicans say they're going to balance the budget in seven years, but they also tell us that Medicare is going broke in seven years. Is this just a coincidence?*" We are strengthening Medicare because we are committed to its survival. We are balancing the budget for our children and the next generation of Americans. We will succeed on both counts because we must succeed on both counts.

Waste, Fraud & Abuse

The same people who believe eliminating foreign aid will balance the budget also believe that eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse will solve the Medicare problem. For seniors, the government may be the enemy, but the real emotional venom is reserved for doctors and hospitals. What a paradox -- the very people who help keep them alive are the very people they hate the most. Everyone has a story or complaint:

- *"The doctors -- they all want a piece of the pie; just yesterday, the doctor charged me $150 just to look at my nose."*

- *"The medical profession is milking Medicare -- the doctors, drug suppliers and others in the medical industry. They're making too much money. They all don't need to drive a Mercedes or BMW. Some should be driving Chevys."*

1. Separate waste (defensive medicine) from fraud (deliberate defrauding) from abuse (double billing, mis-billing). When seniors complain about "waste, fraud and abuse," they actually mean three very distinct problems with the current Medicare system. To seniors:

Waste involves the unnecessary and costly tests and procedures that recipients have to undergo because the doctors and hospitals are practicing defensive medicine. Seniors have only limited sympathy for doctors and hospitals in this situation. *"Why don't we go after the medical community to decrease their fees, or at least stop recommending so many tests."*

Fraud is the deliberate attempt by doctors and hospitals to milk Medicare for every dime. Seniors want these people prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. *"Some of these doctors keep having their patients come back and come back and come back, and it's positively unnecessary."*

Abuse is the non-deliberate billing mistakes that Medicare recipients believe take place all the time. Well over half of all seniors have personal experience with Medicare abuse -- and they all want to talk about it. *"Why can't the government train personnel to pull medical records like the income tax and check to see if doctors or hospitals overcharge? Maybe doctors and hospitals would be more careful if they thought they would be checked."*

Understand that the combination of "waste, fraud and abuse" has produced a virulent anti-physician mentality in the eyes of seniors.

2. **Waste, fraud, and abuse cuts two ways.** We must be careful not to suggest to seniors that Medicare will be fine if we eliminate all the waste, fraud and abuse in the system. Seniors are willing to accept the need for reform because of the many problems they see with the system, but they will not understand why they have to pay more for what they have now even after all the waste, fraud and abuse is eliminated.

OTHER FINDINGS

1. **"Choice" is not a high priority with seniors.** Medicare recipients are less concerned with choice of plans than they are with stability and maintaining their current doctor-patient relationship. This is especially true with older seniors. They must be told again and again that they will be able to maintain their current Medicare situation if they so choose.

2. **Don't raise the Social Security issue.** Seniors with good memories recall when Congress told them Social Security was going broke. They remember that Congress made changes to the system, and they don't expect to have to revisit it anytime soon. Any mention of future problems with Social Security only angers seniors and makes them less willing to discuss changing the Medicare system.

AT THE END

1. **Let your constituents know that other seniors' groups exist.** Show your seniors that AARP is not the only seniors' representative on Capitol Hill or nationwide. Bring information about the *United Seniors Association* and other groups who are doing good work on behalf of the elderly, and encourage people to investigate alternative points of view. The more we educate seniors to AARP alternatives, the more successful we will be.

2. **Remind your audience that Republicans want to "*INCREASE* spending but at a slower rate."** This language works. Remind your constituents that only in Washington is an increase from $4,800 to $6,400 (a 33% increase) per recipient defined as a cut.

3. **Republicans must be seen as the party of hope; the party that took on the problems of Medicare head-on.** It is the Democrats who are using "scare tactics" by allowing a program to go broke, to be riddled with waste and fraud, to become overly bureaucratized without offering a solution or even acknowledging a problem -- all just to score political points. Republicans *will* find a solution. For our efforts to be successful, *we have to make the status quo a worse option than change.*

4. You must solicit citizen input. *"Government seems to be trying and is willing to listen to us old guys,"* said one town hall participant. Public opinion and input must be a key component of the process. Allowing seniors -- and not just Washington insiders -- to work on creating a strengthened Medicare system will help these seniors accept changes to the system.

5. You must have the last word in this debate.

> *"I have gone from a negative opinion to a more positive one. I think you will make progress on this matter."*

This is what we need to hear. For too many seniors, it will be the last word that ultimately sways them. We need it to be ours. Don't end your town meetings, interviews, or public communication efforts on a down note. Do not assume that just because AHA or AARP hasn't targeted your district, or that only two people came up and talked to you about Medicare last week, that you are out of the woods. This issue is *live* and will remain so right up until Election Day.

Tallahassee Democrat
Tuesday, June 27th

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-95

Hickel/Florida — we have to try
hard — BC

It looks like hard times ahead for Florida Democrats

And for Bill Clinton, too, if he can't break the growing GOP stranglehold on Florida's presidential vote.



Tom Fiedler
MIAMI HERALD

To appreciate how far the Democratic Party has fallen across the South in recent years, historian William Leuchtenburg recalls the words of a Southern party chairman some years back who learned that the Republican candidate in a statewide race had managed to collect a few hundred votes out of the tens of thousands cast.

"I do not know where he got them," the old Democrat fumed. "I was astonished to know that the Republican votes were cast — and I was shocked to learn they were counted!"

Only vestiges of that one-party rule persist in the most rural corners of Florida. And there it applies only to campaigns for such local offices as sheriff, county commission and school board.

Even these rural Democrats are voting increasingly for Republican candidates for governor, the U.S. Senate and the presidency. Today, it's fair to say, the Florida Democratic Party is struggling against a riptide, in real danger of being swept away in the 1996 election cycle.

If money talks, then the GOP talks loudest

This shouldn't be the case, at least not on the weight of conventional wisdom. For starters, there ought to be tremendous value in occupying the White House, the world's most prestigious and powerful pulpit. And this should be particularly valuable for Florida, which has benefited greatly from President Clinton's attention. Look what Ronald Reagan did for the GOP.

Perhaps even more important, a Democratic governor presides in Florida, at least theoretically in position to manipulate the levers to benefit his party. And arguably Florida's most popular politician, U.S. Sen. Bob Graham, remains a Democrat.

But all that seems for naught in boosting Democratic Party's fortunes.

Florida Democrats recently celebrated at the annual Jefferson-Jackson Dinner, a fund-raising banquet that is typically the highlight of the year. The evening was rated a huge success, largely because of the fiery oratory of James Carville, the manic 1992 Clinton campaign manager. The take totaled about $200,000.

Contrast that with the Republican Party's banquet a week before. Three GOP presidential candidates showed up to work the crowd (each raising $100,000 for the party's treasury).

The featured speaker at the sold-out event was House Speaker Newt Gingrich. And the take totaled $1.2 million.

Now I'll concede that money isn't always a fair barometer. But to stand at the back of the hall at both events was to gauge a distinct difference in mood.



Confident Republicans, tentative Democrats

There was no doubting that the Republicans believed their party to be nearly invincible, suffused with a righteous cause, energetic leaders and inspired followers. They were like street fighters hollering, "Let me at 'em!"

The Democrats, even during an evening of ostensible celebration, struggled against self-doubt, seeking reassurance from Carville that their beliefs were valid and that their leader, Bill Clinton, could wage a good battle.

I'm not sure they got it.

To add to the angst, many in the party's leadership were embroiled that weekend in a nasty struggle for power in which Democratic officeholders — led by Gov. Lawton Chiles — were pitted against many party activists for control of Democratic Party policy.

George Will once observed that a political party in power tries to change the country; a political party out of power tries to change the rules. The paradox with Florida Democrats is that, although they theoretically hold the power, they are tinkering with the rules.

Weighing against the Democrats, too, is a gathering load of voter-registration figures that don't bode well for the party's future.

When the so-called Motor Voter law took effect Jan. 1 (letting eligible Americans sign up to vote when they applied for driver licenses or social-service benefits), the conventional wisdom again held that Democrats should benefit.

The majority of these nonvoters were thought to be less affluent and thus more sympathetic to Democratic positions. Republicans fought the measure for years, dreading its impact.

They needn't have bothered. In the first five months of the law's operation, 104,000 Floridians have registered Republican and 87,000 have registered Democrat. Notably, more people (95,000) have registered as independent voters or in minor parties than have signed up with the Democrats.

My point is this: At a time when the Florida Democratic Party should be in its best position since 1980 to draw new support, it is flailing. The implications couldn't be greater.

Carville told the party leaders that Florida was vital to Clinton's re-election, perhaps second only to California in its importance. Assuming that Texas (with its new GOP governor, George W. Bush) is now lost to Democrats, Clinton has nowhere to go other than Florida to get the electoral votes he needs.

That could be like Lee having to go to Gettysburg.

It's too soon, of course, to write the Florida Democratic Party's obituary. Much can change in 16 months, including the moods at party banquets. In the meantime, though, if I were the Democratic chairman, I'd start looking for the old-fashioned way of not counting those Republican ballots.

VP THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Surely we can use this to help steer NIST —

BK

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Mr. President THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 7-25-95

I wanted to ~~speak briefly~~ with you:

(1) News of discovery of an entirely new form of matter! The work was done at a small lab of NIST, closely associated with the University of Colorado. How ironic that some in Congress are trying to do away with DOC and NIST. The discovery is in the top few of the 20th century.

(2) My editorial from the same issue of Science magazine, in which I speak to the current crisis of federal support for R+D.

Thanks for meeting with PCAST this week. It was very important.

Jack Gibbons
7/13/95

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-95

THE "HOLY GRAIL" OF QUANTUM PHYSICS

Federal Researchers First to Observe New State of Matter;
Bose-Einstein Condensation Demonstrated in NIST Laboratory

The July 14, 1995 issue of *Science* magazine reports that researchers at the federal laboratories of the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) of the Department of Commerce are the first to create an entirely new state of matter.

Following predictions made by Albert Einstein more than 75 years ago, the research team from NIST and the University of Colorado cooled atoms of rubidium to the lowest temperatures ever achieved -- just billionths of a degree above absolute zero. Trapped in a rotating magnetic field at this super-low temperature, the atoms "condense" -- they virtually stop movement and the quantum-mechanical waves that describe each atom spread out and merge until the entire gas is locked in the same quantum state. In effect, the atoms lose their separate identities and become one super atom.

The atoms were cooled in a magnetic "trap" that kicks out the hottest atoms, leaving only the coldest behind -- the same way that coffee cools off as active hot water molecules escape the cup as steam, leaving the cool ones behind. This state of matter cannot exist naturally, because even the depths of space are warmer than the temperature needed to create Bose-Einstein condensation, the researchers explain.

What they discovered when the atoms were supercooled this way was a new state of matter with as-yet-undescribed properties -- except the researchers know it's unlike anything else in the universe.

Rather than relying on expensive gear and large equipment, the NIST team beat other researchers around the world to this achievement through ingenuity and creativity, hallmarks of the best of the federal laboratory workforce. The experiment cost less than $50,000, but depended upon a number of previously developed techniques.

Practical applications are not yet known, but the researchers say the condensate is to ordinary matter as laser light is to light from a light bulb. Few uses for the laser were anticipated at the time of its discovery, either, they point out.

The research effort also points to the value of federal-university partnerships. The research team worked as part of JILA, a joint program of NIST and the University of Colorado at Boulder. Both the principal physicists are employees of NIST and are actively involved in teaching undergraduate and graduate students at CU-Boulder.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-95

SCIENCE

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EDITORIAL

The Politics of Science

Fifty years ago, in his office at the Carnegie Institution on 16th Street here in Washington, D.C., Vannevar Bush was putting the finishing touches on a document that was to be the blueprint for U.S. science and technology for the rest of the century. Bush was writing for a world of change and transition, a world where the only clear enemy was Communism and the battle was waged in terms of technological superiority.

We approach the 21st century in a similar period of sweeping change, although we have different enemies than those Bush envisioned. They are not armies; they are new and emerging diseases. They are not missiles, but the threat of rapid global climate change. They are not tanks and submarines; they are poverty, crime, and economic stagnation.

In culture and society, change can be a good force. Change is critical to a democracy and essential to a freely governed people. Change—in the United States and abroad—brought President Clinton into office in 1992, and the last congressional election told us that the tides of change have not yet abated.

For the nation's science and technology enterprise, there is no resisting these forces of change. The nation's domestic discretionary budget will be cut and cut dramatically. It will not be possible at any time in the foreseeable future to return to the days when each annual federal budget brought expansive increases in science funding and new starts for grand and expensive scientific projects. We must learn to do more with less—less money, fewer facilities, fewer researchers.

The current debates over science funding are not about who would preserve the status quo and who would advocate change. There will be no "business as usual"; the spendthrift budgets of the 1980s and early 1990s were unsustainable and mortgaged much of our national future. To pay that inherited mortgage, we already have made significant changes in the federal research system by downsizing, restructuring, and deregulating. We will need to do even more.

Rather, the question is one of balance: How do we balance the many competing needs of this nation as it enters the 21st century, and in doing so, how do we ensure that research and development (R&D) remain national priorities? We have to balance science funding with funding for hospitals, education, police, and housing. We have to balance our R&D portfolio with funding for environmental protection, antiterrorist activities, and military preparedness.

We will have to balance our zeal for budget cutting with the need to invest in our future. The mechanism we will use to balance national priorities is the political process, and the debate over how and with what speed these changes are accomplished is a political debate. Because science and technology have enjoyed much bipartisan support in the past, many in the research community have come to view science as a sacred cow that is somehow removed from the political agenda. But political debate is one of the inescapable consequences of political change. It is how we shape and define ourselves as a nation committed to democracy.

In the end, it will not be enough for us to simply repeat the arguments of Vannevar Bush in favor of putting money aside for science. It also will not be productive to lament the "politicization" of science. Money is scarce, and the scarcer it becomes, the sharper become the politics of how it is spent. We should instead be grateful that research stands as high as it does on the political agenda; it is a mark of the value of science to the U.S. public that the Administration and the Congress are struggling over how best to support R&D. We must use this period of change to secure a productive and peaceful future for the nation.

There are those who believe that scientists should stay out of politics. This is not a luxury we have; in truth, it is a luxury we never had. Each of us needs to be a partisan for science, to embrace a partisanship born of hope for the future. It is not partisanship based on party ideology but on concern over the possibility that the work of generations that has put us at the forefront of world science and technology could be undone in a few budget cycles. It is a personal partisanship based on conviction, and such partisanship is the moral calling of every citizen in a democracy.

John H. Gibbons
Assistant to the President for Science and Technology

POTUS
PM
Cmy
Copy:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 JUL 24 A10 : 33

July 22, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-25-95

To: Leon Panetta
Erskine Bowles
Harold Ickes
George Stephanopoulos
Don Baer
Mike McCurry
Gene Sperling
Michael Waldman

Fr: Todd Stern

Re: "Common Ground" Speech on Budget

I think we got it right today - there is no common ground in DC but only in the USA, I think. BK

I'm probably whistling into the wind, but I want to at least register my view that putting our Monday budget speech into a "common ground" framework is a mistake for several reasons.

First, it simply isn't true and isn't remotely credible to say "that for years there has been common ground on investing in education...preserving the environment and consumer safety, keeping the tax system fair." What about the Reagan revolution, whose first commandment was to slash domestic spending, environmental and consumer regulation, school lunches, etc.? What about David Stockman's strategy to "defund the left?" What about James Watt and Anne Gorsuch? What about calls during the '80s to kill the Department of Education? What about Dan Quayle's Competitiveness Council? What about all of our own rhetoric since the 1992 campaign attacking not just the budget deficit, but the investment deficit and education deficit that our predecessors left us?

Second, if common ground starts to mean everything, it will quickly mean nothing. It is a phrase with great resonance in the realm of real values -- race relations; school prayer; civic discourse, etc. If it is stretched to provide a framework to fit economic/budgetary matters, it will lose its force. The key -- or at least *a* key -- to good communications is clarity: people should understand clearly and immediately what we are talking about when we use a signature phrase like common ground, but they won't if we try to expand it beyond it's clear meaning.

Third, to say we are doing a "common ground speech on the budget" will be confusing. There will be a risk that, whatever we mean, people and press will hear this tag line and think we are trying to "come and reason together" with Dole, Gingrich, etc. And it seems to me that that isn't what we're trying to do at all right now. The excellent budget working group that Erskine is heading up, with Gene leading the charge, is engaged in hand-to-hand

combat. To turn Jesse Jackson's phrase upside down, we *are* on a battleground when it comes to the budget (a battle over whose vision of deficit and spending priorities wins the hearts and minds of the American people), so why introduce "common ground" language there?

The President is situated right now as leading the nation in a voice-lowering moral conversation about finding common ground, while fighting for a middle-class Democratic way of balancing the budget and defending our priorities. That's clear and clean. Why not keep it that way?

DEMOCRATIC★NATIONAL★COMMITTEE

Donald L. Fowler
National Chair

Christopher J. Dodd
General Chair

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMEN

95 JUL 25 PM 1:12

PH 202-863-8121
FAX 202-863-8174

FAX COVER SHEET

DATE: July 25 TIME: _____

TO: Carol for Jim Doskin

FAX: 456-2215 # OF PAGES (including cover): 2

FROM: Susan Lavine

SUBJECT: Condolence Letter

IF YOU HAVE ANY TROUBLE WITH THIS TRANSMISSION,
PLEASE CALL Susan AT (202) 863-8172

COMMENTS: _____

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___ **PLEASE VERIFY RECEIPT OF THIS DOCUMENT IMMEDIATELY**

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863-8000

TO: Jim Dorskin
c/o Carol 456-2215

95 JUL 25 P1:16

FROM: Susan Lavine

RE: Condolence Letter

DATE: July 25, 1995

Reverand Jesse Jackson has requested a condolence letter to be read at the funeral of Mrs. Esther Thompson. Apparently she was, "a nameless, faceless giant. A living sacrifice, enriching and galvanizing us from the worst of history." Although elderly she was very involved in the get out the vote efforts and in voter registration for Jessie Jackson, Harold Washington, and the '92 Clinton-Gore campaign. Her funeral will be Thursday in Chicago. Reverand Jackson will be speaking. This request from Reverand Jackson was given to me by Minyon Moore.

Please forward any questions to Minyon Moore at (202)863-7112. The letter should be faxed to Minyon who will forward it to Reverand Jackson at Operation Push, 930 East 50th, Chicago, Illinois 60611.

Sent by fax to Jim Dorskind
7/25/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: JIM DORSKIND

Fax Number: 6-2993 **Phone Number:**

FROM: TODD STERN

SUBJECT: CONDOLENCE LETTER

DATE: 7-25-95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

MESSAGE:

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.24.95

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/17/95

4585

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 JUL 14 P1:17

July 14, 1995

PLEASE STAFF

Please supply short memo outlining other options, per POTUS question at bottom. Thanks.
→ please send copy of this memo at attachment.
Peter Bass

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
PATRICK GRIFFIN

SUBJECT: Letter from Senator Packwood, Representative Wyden, et al. Concerning Foreign Spent Nuclear Fuel

Purpose

To respond to a letter urging you to block the importation of spent nuclear fuel from foreign reactors.

Background

Senator Packwood and Representatives Wyden, Furse and Bunn of Oregon oppose a proposal to return U.S.-origin spent nuclear fuel from foreign research reactors to the United States. Admitting that spent fuel into the U.S. would advance our nonproliferation objectives because it contains over four metric tons (i.e., around 180 weapons-worth) of highly enriched uranium (HEU). Moreover, the Department of Energy's efforts to help convert foreign research reactors from HEU to safer, low-enriched uranium depends on our willingness to take back the spent fuel from these reactors. (That is why, in PDD-13, you directed the Secretary of Energy to accelerate this spent fuel takeback program.)

What are our other options

Portland, Oregon is a possible port of entry for spent nuclear fuel coming from East Asia. The Department of Energy is currently circulating a draft environmental impact statement to affected municipalities for comment. A recommendation from the Secretary of Energy on a plan for the final disposition of this material is expected by the end of the year.

While this program supports an important nonproliferation objective and has received the backing of a number of arms control and environmental NGOs, it has met opposition from municipalities that are potential transit or storage points.

What are our other options?

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the proposed responses at Tab A.

Attachments
Tab A Proposed Letters
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

07/17
The original Lake memo, including the signed letter to Senator Pack, and the several letters that are waiting to be signed, are all being held in Staff Secy's ofc awaiting your instructions on how to handle.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter concerning the disposition of spent nuclear fuel from foreign research reactors.

The Department of Energy, in consultation with the Department of State, is currently reviewing a proposal on the disposition of spent nuclear fuel of U.S. origin from foreign nuclear facilities. As this material contains over four metric tons of highly enriched uranium -- enough for as many as 180 nuclear weapons -- it is critical to our national security to see that it does not fall into the wrong hands. I am committed to the safe disposition of this material as part of our nonproliferation strategy.

I understand your environmental and cost concerns. As our laws require, the Department of Energy will take fully into account such concerns and any others received as comments from the municipal authorities in potential ports of entry on the proposed plan and its environmental impact.

Finally, I also can assure you that no non-U.S. origin material -- such as that currently in North Korea -- is being considered for shipment to the United States under this program.

Thank you for sharing your views on this important issue.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

The Honorable Bob Packwood
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

#114458
4585

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

May 1, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

We are writing to express our strong opposition to the U.S. Department of Energy's proposal for the United States to import spent nuclear fuel from foreign research reactors. The goal of this policy of reducing the potential for proliferation of nuclear weapons is laudable. However, it makes no sense for DOE to propose to import spent nuclear fuel from North Korea and other foreign countries when the United States has not determined how to manage the spent nuclear fuel generated in this country. In addition, DOE's proposal raises several additional concerns.

First, the sites where DOE proposes to store foreign nuclear fuel are ill-suited to handle this material. The Hanford Nuclear Reservation and the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory already have major environmental problems with storage of nuclear wastes. In fact, DOE's recent Baseline Environmental Management Report estimated that the costs of cleaning up existing contamination at the Hanford and INEL sites is over $60 billion. With budget pressures challenging DOE's ability to comply with cleanup schedules the Department is legally obligated to meet, we are concerned about DOE undertaking additional waste management responsibilities that could impede current cleanup activities.

Second, we question the cost effectiveness of importing spent nuclear fuel for management in the United States. DOE's estimates of the total cost of acceptance and storage of foreign fuels in the United States range from $1.4 to 1.65 billion. By comparison, DOE's analysis states that "in countries that do not have an existing nuclear infrastructure, it would cost tens of millions of dollars per country to set up a secure area, purchase storage casks, transfer the spent fuel to the cask, and maintain a secure area for 40 years." Accordingly, it would appear that the United States could fund the overseas storage of spent fuel for the same or lower cost as importing and managing this material at U.S. facilities. Moreover, overseas storage would have no domestic environmental impact.

Third, DOE's analysis of the potential hazards associated with importing and managing foreign nuclear fuel in the United States minimizes the risks to U.S. workers and the general public. DOE apparently limited its analysis to the risk of radiation exposure from accidents occurring during shipment of nuclear materials and ignored the threat of nuclear shipments becoming the target of a terrorist action in this country. Because much of the spent nuclear fuel can be directly used in nuclear weapons, terrorist groups may try to hijack or sabotage shipments of this material. The tragic consequences that could result if this material were to fall into the wrong hands would seem to warrant additional security measures to prevent this from occurring. However, DOE is proposing to off-load foreign nuclear fuel at public ports in Portland, Oregon, Tacoma, Washington and other large cities and to transport the fuel using commercial rail or truck carriers.

A final concern arises from DOE's willingness to make special arrangements for DOE facilities to accept responsibility for storage of spent nuclear fuel from foreign reactors when there is currently no DOE facility accepting spent fuel from domestic reactors.

In short, we seriously question the wisdom of implementing DOE's current proposal to import foreign spent nuclear fuel in the United States given the absence of a suitable facility for managing these wastes, the potential hazards to U.S. workers and the general public, and the costs of implementing this proposal.

Thank you for your consideration and we look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Ron Wyden
RON WYDEN
Member of Congress

Bob Packwood
BOB PACKWOOD
United States Senator

ELIZABETH FURSE
Member of Congress

JIM BUNN
Member of Congress

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.24.95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) **Stern/Caplan memo summarizing various information items.**

(B) **Affirmative Action press and outreach plan, plus clips.** Memo from George, Alexis and Julia Moffett on the pre- and post- speech press and outreach efforts. Selected editorials responding to your speech -- most quite favorable, a few critical.

(C) **Lake memo on assistance to Rapid Reaction Force.** A few weeks ago, you authorized congressional consultations on the exercise of your Sec. 614 waiver authority to permit the provision of equipment to countries participating in the Rapid Reaction Force in Bosnia. Those consultations disclosed such strong opposition that Tony now counsels against invoking Sec. 614. He says that the transfer of equipment can be structured in legal terms as support to the U.N., with the U.S. in fact transferring the equipment directly to the allies on behalf of the U.N.

(D) **Lake note on USA TODAY BRAC article.** Some of the numbers on job loss in the July 7 were mistaken. For example, Utah would *gain* 12,406 jobs, rather than losing that amount. (Many of these gains would come from McClellan.) Similarly, Oklahoma and South Carolina would gain the number of jobs indicated (7,472 and 5008, respectively), not lose them.

(E) **Lake memo comparing 1990 and 1995 Haitian elections.** Tony disagrees with Rep. Goss's claim that the 1990 elections worked better than 1995's. The 1995 elections covered 2,000 offices, compared to 676 in 1990, so they were more challenging logistically and politically. There were fewer incidents of election-related violence than in any other Haitian election. Both elections were marred by serious administrative and logistical problems.

(F) **Lake memo on letter from BRAC Chairman Dixon.** Dixon thanks you for accepting the BRAC report, but defends the report by noting that this BRAC accepted 84% of DOD's recommendation compared to 85% and 83% in previous two rounds. Tony notes that Dixon ignores the fact that the deviations in this round involved much larger bases and much larger job losses. Dixon also says that while economic impact

5550

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7.24.95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1995

95 JUL 21 P9:48

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Your Question RE: BRAC Article

You asked about the job loss numbers in the recent USA Today article attached (Tab A), particularly regarding Utah.

According to DoD, the numbers in the USA Today chart track with BRAC Commission estimates, but the newspaper failed to include the sign ("+" or "-" for jobs gained or lost). Three states listed (Utah, Oklahoma and South Carolina) gain jobs (direct DoD plus indirect job loss), while the remaining states lose jobs. Although the Commission is still revising some of its job loss estimates, Utah would gain 12,406 jobs under the Commission's recommendations. Many of these jobs would have come from McClellan AFB. To the extent "privatization in place" works there, Utah (the air logistics center at Hill AFB) would gain fewer jobs.

States showing gains and losses should be likewise reflected in the percentage column as well. The percentage shown here is the jobs gained/lost as a percentage of the workers employed in the state in 1992. Thus, under the Commission's proposal, the California loss of 42,270 direct DoD and indirect jobs would be 0.3 percent of the overall California state employment level. Local area losses, such as in the Sacramento area, would be a much higher percentage. The 52% California job loss figure that you used compares the net jobs lost due to BRAC in California as compared with the total net jobs lost due to BRAC in all states.

Attachment
Tab A USA Today BRAC Article

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Lake 5550

USA TODAY · FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1995

PLEASE STAFF
Bob Bell.
VERY SHORT memo to POTUS responding to his ques.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/10/95

Numbers wrong esp Utah
BC

Today's debate: CLOSING MILITARY BASES

Will politics pollute base-closing process?

OUR VIEW **Previous base closings have kept politics out. President Clinton should resist the temptation also.**

Politics or principle?

The White House is wrestling this week with a painful choice between the two:

▶ Should President Clinton fight to protect jobs at unneeded military bases in California, thus boosting his chances of winning a vital pile of electoral votes next year?

▶ Or should he let them close as the politically neutral base-closure commission wants, citing the interests of the nation?

Clinton has until July 15 to make up his mind. But one look at a "solution" offered Thursday by Defense Secretary William Perry — to privatize rather than close the bases — leaves little doubt as to the administration's leaning. And that would be a tragic departure, the first rejection of a base-closure list by a president for a single, compelling reason — his re-election.

With just 16 months to go, the last state Clinton's political advisers want to offend is the emir of the Electoral College. California's 54 electoral votes alone could deliver one-fifth the total needed for the presidency. Winning the state is virtually essential to Clinton's chances.

Unfortunately for the president, the commission slated six large California installations for closing, including two not offered up for sacrifice by the Pentagon — McClellan Air Force Base in Sacramento and Oakland Army Base. The loss of 42,270 jobs is not the kind of news any aspiring president wants to deliver.

But that's exactly why the base-closure commission was created: to keep politicians and politics as far removed from decision-making as possible.

The logic behind this is proven: If politicians don't have to make hard choices, they won't have to take heat for the results. If shielded from electoral wrath, they're less inclined to influence and interfere.

That simple strategy worked well in 1991 and 1993. Politicians howled every time a military installation in their back yard was closed or downsized. But they, like their communities, were forced to accept the inevitable: With the Cold War over and the deficit untamed, the military must shrink. And who could better decide where the sacrifices should be made than a commission free from political considerations?

California got clobbered. It will, indeed, suffer economic losses. But it went into this competition with many more military jobs to lose, thanks to previous successes of its politicians in snaring these lucrative employment centers. And it is not the largest sufferer. Since 1988, military cutbacks have cost Guam 16% of all jobs on the island.

Preparing for this latest round of closings, the commissioners visited more than 200 military installations and held dozens of local and regional hearings. Everyone got a chance to make his pitch. Then the commission did its difficult job — fairly and impartially. It eliminated bases not needed for the national defense. Continuing wasteful spending to prop up local economies is not its goal.

That's an example President Clinton should emulate. It may be unnatural for a presidential candidate not to count electoral votes. But it's irresponsible for a president not to put the national interest first.

Jobs lost to base closings

The top 10 areas that would be affected by the latest round of base closings, how many jobs they would lose and the percentage of total jobs that represents:

	Jobs	%
California	42,270	0.3
Texas	32,857	0.3
Utah	12,406	1.3
Alabama	7,541	0.4
Oklahoma	7,472	0.4
Pennsylvania	6,829	0.1
Connecticut	5,441	0.3
Guam	5,280	7.9
Missouri	5,103	0.2
South Carolina	5,008	0.3

Source: Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission

These numbers must be wrong esp. Utah

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.24.95

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-17-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We have received the following information items:

- **Bowles note regarding Alex Miles.** In response to your note. Miles applied to be Director of the Arkansas/Louisiana/Mississippi Export Assistance Center. Phil Lader felt that helping Miles would be inappropriate as Miles is obligated to compete for the position and probably will not qualify. Erskine asks if you want to push for this.

- **Grant to AIDS Center in Hobson City, Alabama.** Forwarded by Erskine. Josephine Ayers, President of Partnerships Inc. in Anniston, wrote to you in May concerning the unfortunate destruction of the AIDS Service Center by fire; Ms. Ayers is also President of the AIDS Center. You asked Erskine to see if there was money available to help. He followed up with Secretary Shalala and HHS awarded $200,000 to the AIDS Center late last month so that the Center can continue to serve patients.

- **Letter from Alan Patricof on the Community Reinvestment Act.** Forwarded by Erskine. Patricof attaches a recent clip from the Wall Street Journal on the CRA. He notes that (i) CRA is a very high issue on the small business agenda; (ii) you have a real political opportunity right now to make the CRA a major issue; and (iii) that it would build credibility for you to do so.

To Erskine
Do you agree
Do we need to
do this?

95 JUL 13 P2:00

ALAN J. PATRICOF
445 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

POTUS / GS

June 30, 1995

The Honorable Erskine Bowles
Deputy Chief of Staff
White House, West Wing
1st Floor
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Erskine:

Thank you for your many nice notes. It is always nice to be appreciated.

I didn't want to run out for the weekend without tossing an idea out to you. In the context of my constant striving for the President to seize the high ground, the CRA is a very, very high issue on the small business agenda. This is one where the President has always been out front. I think he has a real political opportunity right now to pound on this issue and make it a major point. as I think it will build him a lot of credibility.

Have a great 4th.

Regards,

Alan

Alan J. Patricof

Attachment

Wall St Journal June 30 1995

Gutting Community Reinvestment Will Hit Whites, Too

Banking Bill in House Attacks Program as Form of Affirmative Action

By Michael Selz
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

Proposed legislation to overhaul the Community Reinvestment Act could have a broader effect than many believe.

While a leading congressional proponent of the overhaul described the act as another form of affirmative action, proposed changes could deprive many white, as well as minority, business owners of capital. The changes could also thwart plans by the Clinton administration to use the act as a vehicle for increased small-business lending.

A broad banking-deregulation bill that won a House committee's approval on late Wednesday would exempt most banks from the act. The 1977 law requires banks to lend in underserved communities where they take deposits.

In addition to claiming that CRA is costly, burdensome and unnecessary, GOP leaders are portraying the law as a minority set-aside program. During debate earlier this week, Rep. Bill McCollum (R., Fla.), author of the key amendment to overhaul the CRA, said that the law is "being abused as an affirmative-action program."

While CRA borrowers tend to be minorities, white business owners account for a significant share of the group throughout the country, said Mark Pinsky, executive director of the National Association of Community Development Loan Funds in Philadelphia. Indeed, in some areas, such as parts of Appalachia, most CRA borrowers are white. Even in some urban areas, it isn't unusual for whites to account for 25% of the borrowers, he added.

For instance, at Bankers Small Business Community Development Corp., a San Diego consortium of 28 banks that was formed in 1992 to comply with CRA, one-quarter of the borrowers are white business owners, said Jeni Burgess, the consortium's director.

The group's portfolio of 45 loans, totaling $1 million, represents "a cross-section of ethnic minorities and whites, males and females," Ms. Burgess said. "If an applicant is deserving of a loan, race doesn't matter."

To qualify for a loan from the consortium, businesses must be located in San Diego County. Their owners also must show that their companies couldn't get conventional bank financing – something Michael Benjamin had little trouble proving. Mr. Benjamin and a partner, both of whom are white, in 1991 founded CCI Technologies Inc., which installs telecommunications systems. To initially fund the business, "we leveraged everything we owned," he said.

The entrepreneur said 13 area lenders rejected his request for a business loan before he turned last year to Ms. Burgess's lending consortium. All said his company was too young to qualify for financing.

Last March, Small Business Community Development lent CCI $45,000. The loan bears an interest rate equal to three percentage points over the prime rate. Since then, Mr. Benjamin said, his company has doubled annual revenue to $500,000 and doubled employment to 11 people. It also has obtained, with the help of a loan guarantee from a state agency, a conventional credit line to fund working capital.

The CRA-inspired lending consortium "made it possible for us to take off," Mr. Benjamin said.

In Texas, a 17-member CRA lending consortium managed by the Southern Dallas Development Corp. serves a community of 450,000 people, 75% of whom are African-American or Hispanic, said Jim Reid, the group's president. Yet 26% of the three-year-old consortium's 50 loans, totalling $3.3 million, have been made to white business owners, he said.

The Dallas group's lending "has nothing to do with affirmative action," Mr. Reid said. "It has to do with area development and access to capital."

The pending legislation is likely to discourage formation of CRA lending consortiums, Mr. Reid predicted. It's doubtful, for instance, that his consortium would have been formed without the pressure to comply with CRA, he said.

In the mid-1980s, before regulators and community groups began using CRA to stall bank mergers, the city of Dallas tried to organize a consortium similar to the current one, said Mr. Reid, who was then city manager. The effort raised only $19,000 from 20 banks.

Community reinvestment was among the 60 policy priorities that delegates at the recent White House Conference on Small Business sent to Congress and the president this month. Comptroller of the Currency Eugene Ludwig told business owners at the conference that the administration hoped to use recent CRA-related regulatory changes to spur increased bank financing of small firms. A key change will require banks to report in detail on small-business lending activity.

"There is a very clear tie between public disclosure of loan data and encouraging banks to increase their lending activity," said Ted Wysocki, who heads the Chicago Association of Neighborhood Development Organizations. Exempting most banks from complying with that and other provisions of CRA "guts the intent of the law."

ADVERTISING / By Fara Warner

Liquor Industry Tackles Teenage Drinking

After years of "don't drink and drive" advertising, the liquor industry is starting

of the United States, or Discus, has revamped its code of good practices for

portrayal of abusive relationships" in liquor advertising, says Elizabeth Board, director of the group's public issues divi-

Warner Extends Its Publishing Ties To Rap Music Firm

By Jeffrey A. Trachtenberg

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-24-95

DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. President -

95 JUL 18 P1 : 23

The ABA, IBA and Community Bankers all hate CRA -- but they hate all regulations. Their mantra is if we don't have to spend time complying with regs, we can spend that time and money making small business loans.

The truth is, without CRA I believe there would be a significant falloff in loans of $25,000 to $50,000 to those segments of the small business marketplace most starved for capital. There is very little, if any, financial incentive for lenders to make microloans.

Erskine

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.24.95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) **Stern/Caplan memo summarizing various information items.**

(B) **Affirmative Action press and outreach plan, plus clips.** Memo from George, Alexis and Julia Moffett on the pre- and post- speech press and outreach efforts. Selected editorials responding to your speech -- most quite favorable, a few critical.

(C) **Lake memo on assistance to Rapid Reaction Force.** A few weeks ago, you authorized congressional consultations on the exercise of your Sec. 614 waiver authority to permit the provision of equipment to countries participating in the Rapid Reaction Force in Bosnia. Those consultations disclosed such strong opposition that Tony now counsels against invoking Sec. 614. He says that the transfer of equipment can be structured in legal terms as support to the U.N., with the U.S. in fact transferring the equipment directly to the allies on behalf of the U.N.

(D) **Lake note on <u>USA TODAY</u> BRAC article.** Some of the numbers on job loss in the July 7 were mistaken. For example, Utah would *gain* 12,406 jobs, rather than losing that amount. (Many of these gains would come from McClellan.) Similarly, Oklahoma and South Carolina would gain the number of jobs indicated (7,472 and 5008, respectively), not lose them.

(E) **Lake memo comparing 1990 and 1995 Haitian elections.** Tony disagrees with Rep. Goss's claim that the 1990 elections worked better than 1995's. The 1995 elections covered 2,000 offices, compared to 676 in 1990, so they were more challenging logistically and politically. There were fewer incidents of election-related violence than in any other Haitian election. Both elections were marred by serious administrative and logistical problems.

(F) **Lake memo on letter from BRAC Chairman Dixon.** Dixon thanks you for accepting the BRAC report, but defends the report by noting that this BRAC accepted 84% of DOD's recommendation compared to 85% and 83% in previous two rounds. Tony notes that Dixon ignores the fact that the deviations in this round involved much larger bases and much larger job losses. Dixon also says that while economic impact

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.24.95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1995 95 JUL 21 P9:49

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Assistance to the Rapid Reaction Force

You authorized us to consult Congress about the exercise of an extraordinary waiver authority (section 614 of the Foreign Assistance Act) to permit transfer of our equipment directly to France, the U.K. and Netherlands, rather than through the U.N. Absent such a waiver, the law precludes providing DOD drawdown equipment to wealthy countries.

The consultations have shown very strong opposition to invocation of your 614 authority. Republicans argue that invocation in the face of strong opposition is inconsistent with at least the spirit of 614, which requires advance congressional consultation. Some have also argued 614 is not legally available to waive the prohibition on providing drawdown equipment to wealthy countries. (While Administration lawyers remain convinced the authority is legally available, there is a textual basis to the Republicans' position.) And, Republicans argue that we have already invoked 614, an extraordinary waiver authority, more often than in the entire term of the previous Administration.

Republicans have threatened to pass legislation to remove the 614 waiver authority for one year if we proceed with the RRF waiver. The authority is extremely important because of the flexibility it provides you to overcome various statutory restrictions on assistance (for example, to implement the North Korea agreement).

Given the strength of opposition, we no longer intend to ask you to invoke your 614 authority. Instead, the transfer of equipment will be structured in legal terms as support to the U.N. However, to accommodate concerns about the U.N. actually taking possession of sensitive military equipment, we will require the U.N. to agree that the equipment can be transferred by us directly to the allies on behalf of the U.N. The negotiation of this agreement with the U.N. is expected to delay provision of the assistance by at least a few days.

July 25, 1995

95 JUL 25 A10 : 39

The White House
Attn: Todd Stern
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Stern,

Congratulations on your new position as staff secretary as reported in last Thursday Chicago's Tribune. During President Clinton's recent trip to Chicago I had requested assistance from several Chicago connections in trying to obtain one ***authentic signature*** of President Clinton. In the past few years, I have tried to complete my collection of every U.S. President to serve in office, and I am missing one, "President Clinton".

I have tried over the years to obtain the signature of the President through the White House, Illinois politicians, and various other possible connections but to no avail. **I have received stamped, auto-pen and secretarial signatures to which I am grateful, but to a signature collector it also causes headaches trying to find out if it is authentic.**

I am requesting your assistance in trying to obtain an authentic signature of the President on possibly **a White House card or any other White House official paper with the seal. The reason I request this is that it would indicate the President was in office at the time of the signature. Even a signature with a date would greatly be appreciated.**

Thank you for your time and effort. I will pay for any costs you or your office may incur.

Sincerely.

Clarence Jerabek

Clarence Jerabek
8553 South Keeler
Chicago, IL 60652

Work: (708) 978-8000
Home: (312) 735-3929

7/25/95

Todd -
Should we send to Jim Dorskind for appropriate handling?

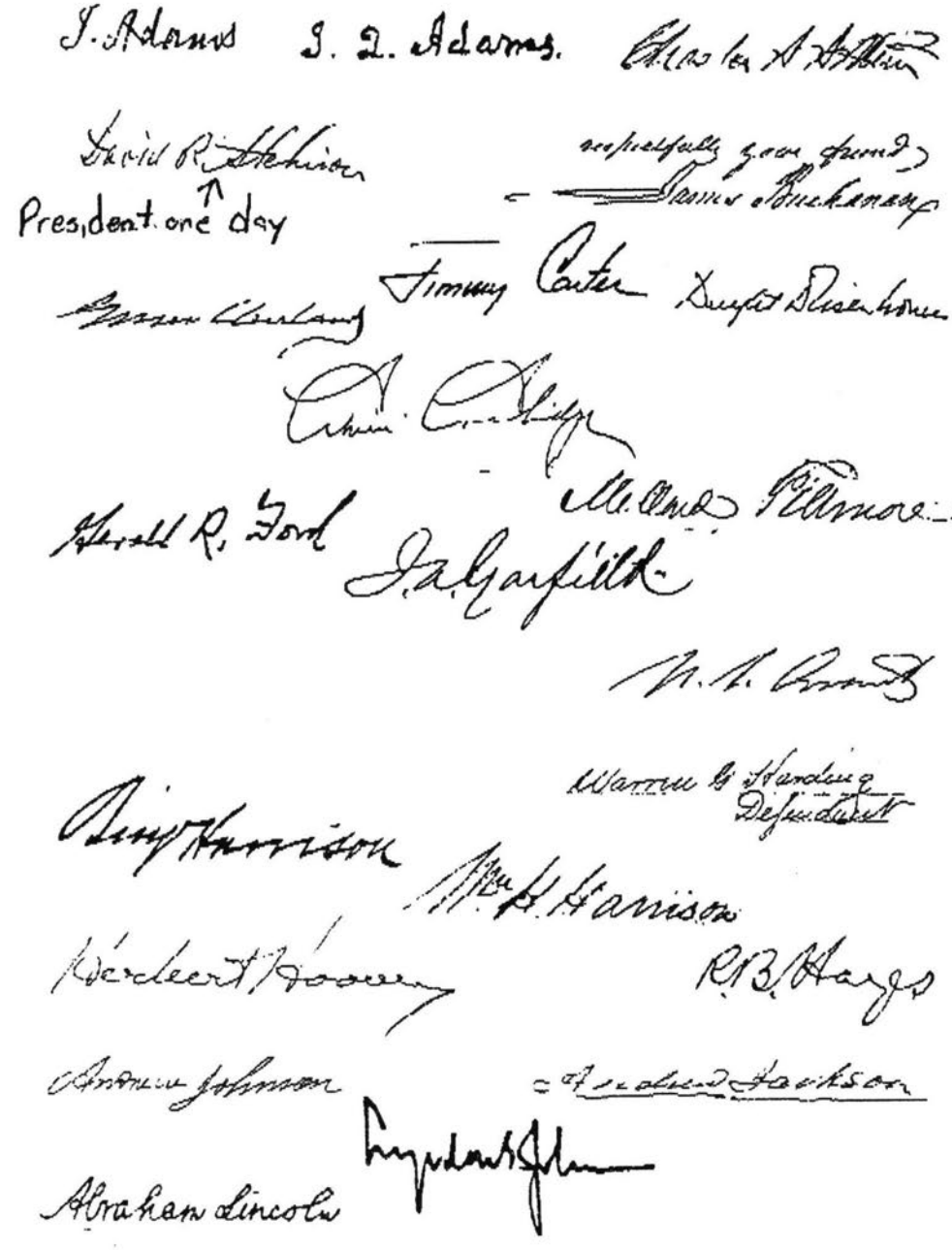
Yes ✓

No ____

Carol

Dear Mr. Stern,

Enclosed is condense authentic signatures of previous President's I have collected when each President was in office.



This is not for resale

Clarence Seidel

Sincerely yours,

JUL-26-96 TUE 8:16