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President Adams appointed him one of the "midnight judges," chief judge of the third circuit court. When this court was abolished in 1802 he resumed his law practice until his appointment in 1805 as president judge of the court of common pleas for the district embracing Philadelphia and the surrounding counties, and he also became a judge of the Pennsylvania high court of errors and appeals. In 1806 he was commissioned chief justice of the Pennsylvania supreme court, over which he presided until his death. As a judge he was careful to remain aloof from the bitter partisanship of Pennsylvania politics. During his tenure the judges of the supreme court prepared for the legislature a report of the English statutes in force in Pennsylvania (see *Digest of Select British Statutes*, 2nd ed. 1817). His chief contribution as a jurist was the incorporation of the principles of scientific equity with the law of Pennsylvania.

His *Address Delivered before the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture* (1820), of which society he was an active member, reflects his keen interest in agriculture and his experiments on the family estate in Maryland. He was one of the early advocates of a line of canals between the Susquehanna and Alleghany rivers. A firm believer in the development of home industry, for the last ten years of his life he refused to wear any article of cloth not made in the United States. He was president of the American Philosophical Society from 1824 until his death and a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania from 1802 until his death. Slight of frame, unpretentious in manner, his gentle and amiable disposition commanded high respect from members of the bar. He was the author of *An Eulogium in Commemoration of Doctor Caspar Wistar* (1818), which was delivered before the American Philosophical Society. He died in Philadelphia.

[John Golder, *Life of . . . William Tilghman* (1829); Horace Binney, *A Eulogium upon . . . Wm. Tilghman* (1827) and in 16 *Sergeant and Rawle's Pa. Reports*, 439–56; D. P. Brown, *The Forum*, vol. I (1856); J. H. Martin, *Martin's Bench & Bar of Philadelphia* (1883); Oswald Tilghman, *Hist. of Talbot County, Md.* (1915), vol. II; B. A. Konkle, *Benj. Chew* (1932); *Am. Phil. Soc. Proc.*, "Memorial Vol." I (1900), p. 192; *Univ. of Pa., Biog. Cat. of the Matriculates of the College* (1894); *Md. Hist. Mag.*, Dec. 1906; *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.* (July 1877, Apr., Oct. 1893); *National Gazette* (Philadelphia), Apr. 30, May 1, 1827.]

J. H. P.

TILGHMAN, WILLIAM MATTHEW (July 4, 1854–Nov. 1, 1924), frontier peace officer, known as "Bill" Tilghman, was born in Fort Dodge, Iowa, the son of William Matthew and Amanda (Shepherd) Tilghman, and a descendant of the Richard Tilghman, of England, who settled in Maryland in 1661. In 1856 the family moved to a farm near Atchison, Kan. His father and elder brother served in the Civil War, leaving the boy as the main support of the mother and four children. He early became an expert in the use of firearms. At the age of sixteen, with three other boys, he made a successful trip to the buffalo country, then thronging with hostile Indians, and in the following year adopted the Fort Dodge (Kan.) region as his home. He became a noted buffalo hunter, was at times a scout operating from Fort Dodge, and at a later time a cattleman. In 1877 he served as a deputy sheriff of Ford County under "Bat" (William B.) Masterson [*q.v.*], and was for a time marshal of Dodge City. In 1878 he was married to Flora Kendal and started a stock ranch on the Arkansas River. He was one of the participants in the spectacular settlers' race that marked the opening of Oklahoma, on Apr. 22, 1889, and obtained a good location in the present Guthrie. In 1891 he took up a claim at Chandler, which he developed into a fine farm. In the same year he was appointed a deputy United States marshal, and though a Democrat, continued to hold the office for about twenty years. The region was for a number of years overrun by outlaw gangs, and it was largely through Tilghman's efforts that they were broken up or exterminated.

In 1910 he was elected to the state Senate, but in the following year he resigned to become chief of police of Oklahoma City, a post he retained for two years. After the death of his first wife, by whom he had four children, he was married on July 15, 1903, to Zoe Agnes Stratton, of an old pioneer family. By the second marriage he had three children. In 1915 he superintended the making of a moving picture, "The Passing of the Oklahoma Outlaws," which for several years he exhibited. He had retired from active business when, in August 1924, the citizens of Cromwell, a "boom" oil town, asked him to become marshal. He accepted, and three months later was assassinated on the street. His body was taken to Oklahoma City, where it lay in state in the capitol, and his funeral was largely attended. His wife and several children survived him.

Tilghman was of powerful build, five feet eleven inches in height. His manner was gentle, he was generous, kindly, and notably fond of children. He had many devoted friends. In personal habits he was abstemious. He was a student and possessed an exceptional knowledge of Western history and a fluent command of the Spanish language. His reputation for courage is not exceeded by that of any other frontiersman

of his time, and his skill with a revolver was uncanny. It was in answer to a question by President Theodore Roosevelt, who had eagerly sought his acquaintance, that he explained that the secret of his survival from so many desperate encounters was his ability to fire a sixteenth of a second before the other man, and that this shade of advantage was due to the fact that he represented the law (see Macdonald, *post*, pp. 64–65).

[Information from Mrs. Zoe A. Tilghman, of Oklahoma City; H. R. Stratton, *A Book of Strattons*, vol. II (1918); J. B. Thoburn, *A Standard Hist. of Okla.* (1916), vol. III; A. B. Macdonald, *Hands Up!* (1927); *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, Nov. 2, 1924.] W. J. G.

TILLMAN, BENJAMIN RYAN (Aug. 11, 1847–July 3, 1918), governor of South Carolina and United States senator, was born in Edgefield County, S. C., the youngest of the seven sons of Sophia (Hancock) and Benjamin Ryan Tillman. His ancestors, both paternal and maternal, had settled in South Carolina before the Revolution. His father, a farmer who supplemented his income by using his house as an inn for stage passengers, died in 1849; two brothers were killed in war; one died of fever; two others were killed in personal encounters; and in 1856 Tillman's brother George, who had become a lawyer and politician at Edgefield Court House, killed a bystander in a gambling feud and as a consequence served two years in jail. Ben aided his mother in the management of her many slaves, studied in a local private school, and in 1861 entered Bethany, a rustic academy near his home. An apt student of English and Latin, he left school in 1864 to join the Confederate army, but was prevented from carrying out his plan by an illness which incapacitated him for two years and resulted in the loss of his left eye. On Jan. 8, 1868, he married Sallie Starke of Elbert County, Ga., by whom he had seven children. Tillman and his wife lived on a four-hundred acre estate adjoining his mother's property, and for the next seventeen years he gave most of his time to wresting a meager living from his red lands. He participated in the Hamburg and Ellenton Riots of 1876, and aided in the Democratic triumph of that year by frightening prospective colored voters away from the polls. In 1880 he ardently championed the political ambitions of Gen. Martin Witherspoon Gary [*q.v.*] in the Edgefield County Democratic convention, and in 1882 was an inconspicuous figure in the state convention of his party. Up to this time no one dreamed that he was destined to have a conspicuous political career. Careless in manners, unattractive in personal appearance, and possessed of a rasping voice and irascible disposition, he was not even liked by his neighbors.

But in 1885, moved by his reverses as a farmer, he forced himself on the attention of the people of South Carolina. In a speech on Aug. 6 at Bennettsville, he aroused the enthusiasm of the farmers by bluntly asserting that their interests were being betrayed by lawyers and merchants, and by demanding that the state undertake a system of agricultural education. This address was followed by a series of masterful letters to the Charleston *News and Courier* in which he caustically arraigned the rulers of the state and urged the farmers to organize. Although the personal character of his indictments aroused bitter opposition, he was able to organize the Farmers' Association, and in 1886 almost captured control of the state government. Fresh stimulus was given to his agitations by the death of Thomas Green Clemson [*q.v.*] in April 1888, who left a site and an endowment for a proposed state agricultural college. During the following summer, Tillman so awakened the rural masses that he was almost able to name the Democratic nominee for governor, and was able to force the governor and legislature to accept the Clemson bequest. Convinced that he was the only man who had "the brains, the nerve and the ability to organize the common people against the aristocracy" (*News and Courier*, Mar. 28, 1890), Tillman in 1890 became the farmers' candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor. The result of the canvass, which created almost unparalleled excitement, was the nomination of Tillman by the state Democratic convention of August 1890, and his election by a great majority over Alexander C. Haskell, an independent Democrat, in the following November. Tillman was easily reëlected in 1892 after a canvass as turbulent as that of 1890. He served as governor from Dec. 4, 1890, to Nov. 27, 1894.

For a number of years Tillman was complete master of the political fortunes of South Carolina. At his dictation distinguished men long in office—Wade Hampton (1818–1902), Samuel McGowan [*qq.v.*], and Judge William H. Wallace—were replaced by his partisans. When the legislature of 1890 refused to do his exact bidding, he stigmatized it as "dead, rotten driftwood" on "the tide which swept from the mountains to the seaboard" (*Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1891), and the voters in 1892 enthusiastically gave him a legislative body thoroughly obedient to his will. In 1894 he defeated Matthew Calbraith Butler [*q.v.*] for United States senator, and made John Gary Evans, the youthful nephew of Gary, his successor as governor. The following year, in the face of bitter opposition, he was able to secure a convention which rewrote the constitution

of the state as he bade. Moreover, he accomplished constructive reforms. Clemson College was opened in 1893, and two years later Winthrop College, a state controlled normal and industrial school for women. The state railroad commission was given power to fix rates; taxes were equalized and expenditures for public education increased; representation in the legislature was reapportioned and congressional districts were redrawn so as to discriminate against the negroes. The most radical innovation of the Tillman administration was the establishment in 1893 of the state dispensary, a public monopoly over the sale of alcoholic beverages. Tillman also wrote into the constitution of the state a provision for educational and property qualifications that legally disfranchised the negroes. Having aroused the political consciousness of the white masses, he made more effective their participation in politics by securing in 1896 the primary method of nominating state officers.

On his election to the Senate Tillman achieved national notoriety as an extreme champion of Southern agrarianism. "Send me to Washington," he had yelled at the frantic mobs responsible for his election, "and I'll stick my pitchfork into his [Cleveland's] old ribs!" (*Chronicle*, Augusta, Ga., June 18, 1894). The maiden effort of "Pitchfork Ben," as he was now called, was a coarse indictment of Cleveland. Aspiring to the Democratic nomination for president in 1896, he ruined his chances by his violent speech before the national convention. Dark and savage-featured, snapping his jaws together, his hands high above his head, and hissing out a denunciation of Cleveland, he failed to touch the multitude; the nomination went to William Jennings Bryan [*q.v.*]. Tillman followed his efforts at the Democratic convention by a series of addreses in the Senate denouncing the policies of the Republicans. Although he favored naval expansion and the war with Spain, he opposed the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines, and Roosevelt's Panama policy. Charging that the "armor trust" was making excess profits out of the government, he advocated the establishment of government shops for the manufacture of armor plate for battleships (*Congressional Record*, 54 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 2556–60). Although this move was defeated, he had succeeded in exposing before an interested public the machinations of the steel magnates. He also presented to the nation the views of Southern extremists on the race question in a series of addresses in the Senate and on the Chautauqua platform. He justified lynching in cases of rape and the use of force in disfranchising the negro, and advocated the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment. Toward President Roosevelt he developed a hatred similar to that he had manifested toward Cleveland. This was induced by the President's withdrawal in 1902 of an invitation to a White House state dinner after Tillman had engaged in a personal altercation with John L. McLaurin on the floor of the Senate. Tillman accused Roosevelt of hypocrisy in dealing with the trusts and of dictatorial ambitions. In retaliation the President published documents intended to show that the senator, while trying to forestall alleged illegal purchases of public lands in Oregon, was using his official influence to effect advantageous purchases of Oregon lands for himself. Although fraud was not proved, these disclosures were embarrassing for a professed champion of the public interest against private greed. Personal aversion for the President did not, however, prevent Tillman from championing administration measures which he favored. The most constructive act of his legislative career was the steering of the Hepburn Rate Bill, an administration measure, through the Senate.

After his elevation to the Senate he continued to be a powerful factor in South Carolina politics. With little difficulty he secured his reëlection in 1900, 1906, and 1912; until his death he was able to control the state's vote at the national Democratic conventions; and his advice was always sought by the political leaders of the state. Largely through his influence his nephew, Lieutenant-Governor James H. Tillman, was acquitted in 1903 of the assassination of N. G. Gonzales, an editor who was the impassioned foe of Tillmanism. After engaging on Feb. 22, 1902, on the floor of the Senate in a fist fight with John L. McLaurin, his colleague and former friend, he demonstrated his power by forcing the retirement of McLaurin to private life. But after 1902 his influence in South Carolina affairs gradually declined. A growing conservatism, stimulated by the gratification of personal ambitions, led him to view complacently the return of traditional influences in politics. His irascible disposition led to quarrels with old friends without the gain of more than the stimulated affections of former enemies. In 1908 and 1910 paralytic strokes deprived him of the ability to harangue the people. In 1902 Duncan C. Heyward, a member of an old low-country family, was elected governor. The state dispensary, Tillman's pet institution, grew corrupt, and was abolished by the legislature in 1907; and state-wide prohibition was adopted in 1915. A Tillman-created state supreme court in 1910 decided against him in a contest with his daughter-in-law, a member of

the aristocratic Pickens family, for the possession of his two infant grandchildren. In 1912 he was unable to prevent the reëlection of Coleman L. Blease, a Tillman partisan with whom he had quarreled. Tillman is remembered for his constructive achievements, notably Clemson and Winthrop colleges, and the advance of white democracy, but he is also remembered for having overturned honored traditions and for arousing bitter passions. When South Carolinians want to recall a hero from the immediate past, they more often think of Wade Hampton than Ben Tillman.

[See *Who's Who in America*, 1918–19; F. B. Simkins, *The Tillman Movement in S. C.* (1926), which summarizes Tillman's early career; Thornwell Haynes, *Biog. Sketch of Gov. B. R. Tillman of S. C.* (copr. 1894); *Benjamin Ryan Tillman . . . Memorial Addresses . . . in the Senate and House of Representatives* (1919); J. C. Hemphill, ed., *Men of Mark in S. C.*, vol. I (1907); J. B. Knight and August Kohn, in Yates Snowden, *Hist. of S. C.* (1920), vol. V, pp. 101–03, reprinted from *News and Courier* (Charleston), July 4, 1918; files of the *News and Courier*, 1885–1918, and *State* (Columbia, S. C.), 1891–1918; *Independent*, Feb. 27, 1902, p. 527, July 12, 1906, pp. 68–70, Jan. 21, 1909, p. 115; Zach McGhee, in *World's Work*, Sept. 1906; *Current Lit.*, Feb. 1909, pp. 118–21; obituary in *Lit. Digest*, July 27, 1918, pp. 32–36. The Tillman Papers are in the lib. of the Univ. of S. C.] F. B. S.

TILTON, EDWARD LIPPINCOTT (Oct. 19, 1861–Jan. 5, 1933), architect, born in New York City, was the son of Benjamin White and Mary (Baker) Tilton, and a direct descendant of John Tilton, who emigrated to Lynn, Mass., from England between 1630 and 1640. He was educated in private schools in Mount Vernon and Chappaqua, N. Y. (1870–80), and studied architectural drawing with a private tutor (1879–80). In 1880, after experience in business, first with the firm of R. R. Haydock and later with Corlies, Macy and Company, he entered the offices of the architects McKim, Mead & White. The following year, on their advice, he went to Paris for three years at the École des Beaux Arts. He returned to New York in 1890 and in 1891 formed a partnership with William A. Boring, the firm at first being Boring, Tilton & Mellen, later Boring & Tilton. Long interested in archaeology, in 1895, through William Robert Ware [*q.v.*], Tilton was appointed architect to the group sponsored by the American School of Classical Studies in Athens to excavate the Argive Heræum. Boring and Tilton's first important commission was that for the United States immigrant station on Ellis Island, won by competition and completed in 1900. Largely because of its efficient solution of this complicated problem, the firm was awarded a gold medal at the Paris Exposition of 1900. Other important works of the firm are Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md., the Seamen's Institute, New York City, and the Town Hall, East Orange, N. J. After the withdrawal of Boring in 1915 to become director of the Columbia University School of Architecture, Tilton associated himself with Alfred M. Githens, the firm name in 1921 becoming Tilton and Githens.

The public library at Mount Vernon, N. Y., built in 1910, was the first of a long series of buildings with which Tilton's name is especially connected, and the modern public library form (with ground-floor stack space and reading-room above) is in no small measure due to his logical analysis of library problems. His views on control of books and readers, efficiency and directness of service, and open cheerfulness of effect are fully expressed in his "Library Planning" (*Architectural Forum*, Dec. 1927) and "Library Planning and Design" (*Ibid.*, June 1932). During the World War Tilton designed over sixty libraries and over thirty theatres for various army camps and cantonments. Characteristic examples of his work are the public libraries at Somerville and Springfield, Mass., and especially the more recent McGregor Public Library (1925) of Highland Park, Mich., and the Wilmington, Del., library (1930), awarded the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects. In the last two the stack and service floor is sunk into the ground in order to secure entrance to the reading-room floor from the street. Both are also characterized by an original handling of classic motives, the wings becoming almost all glass on the sides, with a more solid central entrance. Other important libraries designed by Tilton are the Knight Memorial Library, Providence, R. I., the library of Emory University, Atlanta, Ga., several branch libraries in Washington, D. C., and the library of Girard College, Philadelphia, Pa. In addition, Tilton served as consulting architect to many libraries, and Tilton and Githens were associated with Clyde and Nelson Fritz in the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore, Md. Notable works of other types include the Central High School, Johnstown, Pa., the Museum of Fine Arts and the Museum of Natural History at Springfield, Mass., and the county administration building for Bergen County, N. J.

Tilton's work is remarkable for its careful study of practical requirements. He was a classicist in taste, inspired in his early work by the Italian Renaissance and in his later by the work of ancient Greece and Rome, but he was never the copier or the unthinking plagiarist, and in his novel and charming buildings at Highland Park and Wilmington achieved a new synthesis

Remarks by Michael J. Boskin
at the City Club Forum
Wednesday, March 7, 1990

Thank you for that kind introduction, Elizabeth. It is indeed a pleasure to be here at the City Club of Cleveland. It's something we've been trying to arrange for a several years. I'm delighted to be here and I thank you for your gracious hospitality. The City Club of Cleveland, as I understand it, has been providing a public speaking forum free speech and expression for more than three quarters of a century. You are to be commended for that impressive achievement, and when I look down the list of people who have spoken here, it is enormously impressive. Among your previous speakers is my boss, the President of the United States, who has spoken here on five separate occasions. Your Director, Alan Davis, tells me that he was not only a classmate of President Bush at Yale, but played on the same baseball team. The only thing I've not managed to learn is what Alan's batting average was at Yale. (comment from the audience--"It was better than the President's") I won't repeat that when I go back to Washington. So it's a pleasure to be here and see some old friends and make some new ones. I have learned a lot about Cleveland. It's the home of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. It is also the home of a terrific football team which almost made it to the SuperBowl. And I suppose the Denver Broncos wished that the Browns had made it to the SuperBowl.

Let me try to do three separate things that are closely related. First, give you my perspective--as the President's

economic adviser--about where the United States economy is, how it got there, and where it's going. Second, give you some perspective on what the Administration is trying to accomplish--the goals and principles of economic policy to promote an improved standard of living for Americans. And third, let me share with you some experiences, some intellectual excitement and just some plain wonder at the events of the last year, particularly those in Eastern Europe.

Let me begin there. The Berlin Wall is coming down, and freedom is rising up. Eighteen months ago I was a professor teaching principles of economics--the beginning economics course--to freshmen at Stanford University. Now I find myself teaching principles of economics to Prime Ministers and Finance Ministers from Eastern European countries, whose newly emerging societies are trying to make the painful and important steps to market-oriented economies, bringing the hope of a better economic life to their citizens. What has happened is simply extraordinary what has happened--on a personal, societal, and global scale.

But I want to begin by making some very simple statements of fact about the American economy. I wish to do so because we hear an amazing amount of negative news and information, and I think we have to just set the record straight.

First the American economy is the largest, most productive economy in the world. With less than 5 percent of the world's population, we produced well over a quarter of the total output, GNP, in the world.

Our economy is 2-1/2 times the size of the next largest economy, which is Japan.

The average standard of living of Americans--GNP per capita--is far above that of those in other major industrialized economies--fully one-third higher than that in West Germany or Japan. We start from a position of great strength.

Second, we're in the 87th month of the longest peacetime expansion in the entire history of the United States. (To be a little more accurate, the data only go back to 1854--economic historians tell me it's unlikely we had this long an expansion between 1776 or 1789 and 1854.) Some people say that because an expansion is long, it must end soon. There is no economic theory and no empirical evidence for that view. Economic expansions do not come with a pre-set expiration date. The economy has been growing more slowly starting in late 1989, but we expect it to improve as this year progresses.

In this expansion--which started at the end of 1982--we've created 21.6 million jobs in the United States. That's far more than the jobs created in all the advanced economies of Western Europe, Canada, and Japan combined, despite the fact that they have combined a much larger population than do we.

Personal incomes--after adjusting for inflation and taxes--have risen substantially.

The unemployment rate has fallen substantially. Exports, which were a major problem the earlier part of this decade, have risen. Productivity growth, which had been virtually nonexistent

in the 1970s has rebounded partway to the robust levels of the 1950s and 60s, especially in manufacturing. And we've set the stage in a long expansion by preventing inflation from accelerating for the first time in any expansion since World War II for better times ahead for continuing this expansion and a better decade in the 1990s.

Let's take a look at 1989, a year in which economic growth slowed to around 2.5 percent from more rapid growth in 1987 and 1988. We added another 2.5 million jobs.

Exports rose to an all time high--$589 billion. The United States once again became the world's leading exporter.

Real disposable income, income after taxes and inflation, rose 3.6 percent last year.

The unemployment rate averaged for all of 1989 5.3 percent. It also ended the year at that level and is at that level today--a rate we hadn't seen since the early 1970s. And those job opportunities have spread widely. The unemployment rate for blacks is the lowest since the early 1970s; for teenagers, the lowest since the early 1970s; for Hispanics, the lowest since we started keeping separate data for Hispanics in 1980--and undoubtedly for a considerably longer span of time than that. Women have made major economic progress in the last six or seven years. The unemployment rate for women has been no higher than the unemployment rate for men for the first time since World War II. And at a time when many more women entered the labor force,

and were able to find jobs, about a quarter of the pay gap between men and women was eliminated.

Those are impressive achievements. That's a strong economy growing stronger. I'll come back to the short-term and longer-term prospects and what we need to do to keep our economy growing to provide rising living standards for our population in a moment. But I want you all to mull those facts, because somehow in the general discussion of where we are in the United States, they're not getting out there.

We cannot, however, take continued economic growth for granted. We cannot become complacent. The Administration's foremost priority is to sustain the highest possible rate of economic growth. That isn't just an abstraction. Economic growth requires movement on many fronts, but it makes action on many more social and private goals attainable. Economic growth is how we create rising standards of living for the bulk of the population. How we develop the resources to uplift those most in need. How we provide economic and social mobility to our citizens. How we leave a better legacy to our children. And how we maintain America's leadership in the world. Thus, our primary priority is to make sure we achieve the highest possible sustainable rate of growth of the economy's potential output and make sure the economy operates at its potential, not below it. We've establish some principles that we use in the Administration to try to achieve these goals. In our system of checks and balances and divided system of government, it is not just the

Executive Branch that sets economic policy. Congress has a major say in a variety of areas. We have an independent Federal Reserve, and so on. But let me just say a word or two about our principles with some examples. Our principles for monetary, fiscal, trade and regulatory policy are designed to make sure that the private sector of the economy--the engine that drives growth--will continue to create jobs, expand opportunities, increase productivity and provide greater opportunities for Americans.

We support a monetary policy by the Federal Reserve that sustains growth, while predictably controlling inflation.

Our budget policy is directed to turn the tide, to take the Federal Government which for too long now has been a chronic borrower draining the Nation's scarce saving pool, thereby raising interest rates and the cost of capital to our businesses, dampening investment and detracting from economic growth, into a supplier of capital to the U.S. capital market by protecting the integrity of the projected social security surpluses, moving toward a balanced budget outside the social security system, and freeing up resources with those projected social security surpluses to reduce the national debt, lower interest rates, expand investment, spur economic growth and a raise standards of living.

It's not just the size of the deficit that determines the fiscal contribution to economic growth. It's also <u>how</u> we tax, and how wisely and well we spend. And there we have some

principles as well. We believe we need a tax system that gets out of the business of distorting incentives to the private sector of the economy; make sure that we maintain incentives to invest, to innovate, to save and to work. We support the principle of low tax rates on a broad base that was enacted in 1981 and extended in the tax reform of 1986. We see some problems with our tax code, in particular on some of the capital formation issues. We have a research and experimentation tax credit which is renewed every year by the Congress. Research and development is a long-term process and if you're going to get an idea, innovate, develop a product, bring it to market, it's going to take a lot more than one year's tax credit to get you to do that innovation. We want to make that R & D tax credit permanent. We believe that a capital gains rate reduction restoring a differential for capital gains will spur entrepreneurial activity, increase risk-taking, and investment, spur economic growth, create new industries, new jobs, and help revitalize important sectors of our economy. There are those who argue that this is a tax break for the rich. That's a silly way to look at it. This is not a rich/poor issue; it's an America issue. It's investing in the growth of our economy.

We've proposed an innovative new tax incentive for family saving for pre-retirement objectives that respects the need not to worsen the budget deficit.

We also believe in carefully targeted tax incentives to help people in need. For example, in day care. There are those who

propose a vast new middle class bureaucracy-controlled, state-run or mandated day care system with no flexibility or choice for parents. We think that's unwise. We think the role of the Federal Government should be to target those funds to the people at the bottom, those most in need to provide them the opportunity to enter the marketplace successfully, earn a living, get on that ladder of opportunity, and we want to do so in a manner that gives them dignity and choice about how to do it.

On the spending side, its not also just how much the Federal Government spends (and it does spend a lot--$1-1/4 trillion is what we propose for next year). We're being criticized for not proposing enough. Yet, that's more than the entire GNP of all but a few countries. We're trying to tilt that spending more toward investing in the future. The Federal Government must finance basic research and development because no private firm has an incentive to undertake research which would be broadly applicable, as all the returns would not be privately appropriable. So we propose a record high R & D budget of $70 billion.

We think we should be spending a lot more on preparing disadvantaged children for effective learning and have proposed a $500 million expansion of Head Start. We think we should be spending more on improving aviation infrastructure and have so proposed, and I can go on and on.

But we <u>don't</u> think we ought just to spend money on problems. We believe that many national problems do not require Federal

spending, but may require Federal leadership to galvanize the nation. A very good example is our elementary and secondary education systems. This is an immensely important concern for the future of our economy, as well as the simple decency of quality education for our children. We face an increasingly competitive world economy--an economy where in the future our workers are going to need more skills and the ability to learn new skills throughout their lifetimes. And yet we see international comparisons on test after test that the performance of the kids in our elementary and secondary schools is not stacking up. The United States total spending per pupil on K through 12 education is more than any other industrialized country except Switzerland. We are not getting our money's worth. We need to change the focus from how much we spend to what we get out--to the performance of our kids. Now there may be times where spending more is necessary, whether at the Federal level, for example for Head Start to prepare disadvantaged children for effective learning, or at the state and local level, but that should not detract from the more fundamental issue: we need a fundamental restructuring of our education system.

We simply cannot remain a great nation, a growing, vital world leader, with a second-class elementary and secondary education system. So the President--for only the third time in the history of the United States--called the nation's Governors together last September in Charlottesville to work to establish national performance goals for education. And these were

announced last week in Washington by the President and the Nation's Governors. A bipartisan effort--a fiscally Federal effort, the Federal Government and the Nation's Governors, and we are going to turn now to galvanizing the Nation to achieve these goals--every student, every family, every school district, every PTA, every Principal, every teacher, every parent, every school board, every mayor and every Governor, as well as the Federal Government.

In regulatory, legal policy, trade policy and the like, we have similar goals. In regulatory policy, we want to avoid unnecessary regulation, and deregulate where possible, for example, natural gas at the well-head which we did last year. But there are some areas where regulation is necessary--the environment, for example. And there we try to achieve a sensible balance between the need for a healthy environment and the prerequisite of a sound, growing economy. There are those who argue that a healthy environment and a sound economy are incompatible. Extremists on both sides of that equation do not believe that we can reconcile the needs of an improved environment and a strong economy. I reject that notion. It will be costly to clean up the environment. There is no free lunch. But it can be done in a way that is cost-effective, that gives workers and firms flexibility in achieving those improvements, that does not force plants to shut down and workers to lose their jobs because some bureaucrat in Washington sets a silly rule that isn't applicable to a local situation. And we are working very

aggressively with Congress to try to achieve landmark Clean Air legislation that accords to these principles; a strong move toward a healthier environment, but in a way that provides maximum flexibility to firms and workers to minimize economic costs to achieve those standards.

In trade policy, much attention has focussed recently on trade frictions the United States has with various countries, but especially Japan. The world's economic growth--that of the United States, that of Japan, and most importantly, that of the newly developing economies--has benefitted more than anything else from the move toward an open liberalized world trading system since World War II. It would be shortsighted and foolish at best, dangerous at worst, if we don't press forward to open markets everywhere and instead turn to closing them. We cannot become more competitive by choosing not to compete. We need to open markets, not close them. We need to press forward to lead the world to freer and fairer trade, and we ask all other nations to join us in that effort. Our primary objective, through the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, is to bring fifteen areas which are not currently well covered by our rule-based international trade system into that system, to decrease those frictions and open markets world-wide.

Those are our principles. We believe that with those principles, we fashion an important growth agenda. That growth agenda means that we must invest more and more wisely. I've mentioned at some of those kinds of investments, but let me just

summarize. We must invest more in intellectual capital, in research and development. That means more Federal spending, as we have proposed on those basic scientific breakthroughs that no single firm could hope to finance and generate enough return from because the benefits will accrue so widely. It means a better environment for private entrepreneurial and innovative activity with the capital gains tax rate cut and the permanent R & D credit and other legal and regulatory reforms such as a better-balanced system of product liability laws.

We need to invest more in tangible capital--in our factories--in machines--and we must to make sure they are up to date and equip our labor force with the best quality available.

And we need to invest more in our human capital. I've stressed elementary and secondary education. We are also working in innovative ways to try to eliminate adult functional illiteracy.

It is only by attacking all those determinants of our long-term growth that we have the best chance of making sure that our economy continues to grow, providing a rising standard of living for our population, retaining the flexibility and dynamism that are its hallmarks, the foundation to continued economic leadership.

Let me return finally to say a word or two about the remarkable changes in Eastern Europe. We have seen a movement to pluralism and democracy and toward a market-oriented economy in many of the countries of Eastern Europe. Yet there is a lot of

variation among them--some are further along; some have not made many decisions, some are in the process of making them. This is one of the most remarkable events of our time. I said before I had been teaching principles of economics at Stanford. And in that course, it is standard to spend a few days talking about the centrally-planned, so-called command economies of the Soviet-type in which Commisars, bureaucrats centrally plan what is produced, and who works where. Instead of the economy producing what people want, the people get what the central planners want them to have. And in economics courses all throughout the country, our students are taught how that system not only supresses freedom of choice and opportunity, but that it just can't deliver the goods. Well, I admit like everybody else, that I was surprised by how rapidly these changes occurred. I always thought they would, and I am delighted they have. We have made a commitment, in conjunction with our allies, to provide some assistance, some food aid, some financial assistance, some technical assistance, but it's going to be a while before those economies straighten themselves out. Many of those countries haven't decided exactly what model they would like to follow. Whether they want to become as market-oriented as the United States, or far less market-oriented is still being decided. All those economies start after four decades of repressive central planning from very low standards of living, and while the great hope they have is that with the freeing up of resources and the market orientation that they are adopting they can get onto a

highway to prosperity, they are going to be navigating bumpy congested city roads while they get there. And so I think we need to have not only a perspective of hope, optimism and support for the peoples of Eastern Europe, but we also must temper it with a proper sense of perspective. For example if Poland achieves 4 percent real growth, it would take close to a half century to catch up to where the United States is today. So they have a long way to go. They are very bravely beginning to adopt some remarkable changes, but precious few of the citizens of these countries have experience or expertise--at the most fundamental level--about working, producing or consuming in a market-oriented economy. We need by example, by interchange, by good will as well as financial support, to provide them an opportunity to make that difficult transition.

I've laid out some of our principles, some of our policies, some of our perspectives. I hope you will let us know when you think we are doing a good job in achieving them. I hope you will let us know when you disagree with them. And I hope you will a special effort to keep me informed of how things are going here and how you see the kind of job we are doing in Washington to try to guarantee that our economy continues to grow and prosper.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/11/89

TO: Speechwriters

FROM: Bob Simon

TR Speech Colorado

The attached is for:

- ☐ Per our conversation
- ☐ Per your request
- ☒ Information
- ☐ Review & Comment
- ☐ Direct Response
- ☐ Appropriate Action
- ☐ Draft Reply
- ☐ Signature
- ☐ File
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Please Return By _____

Comments:

The attached is an account of an open air sermon delivered by Theodore Roosevelt in 1905 near Rifle, Colo.

There's quite a bit of good language which you may want to use at some point. I think the President has seen this.

GB

1500 Windsor Drive
Kingsburg, CA 93631
July 13, 1989

Honorable George W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

Having read that you are an admirer of President Teddy Roosevelt, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed personal, first-hand account of a visit and speech President Roosevelt gave in Rifle, Colorado, in 1905. Some of the president's comments could well be relevant today.

I typed this information, word for word, from the notes of my grandfather, Rev. Lewis L. Thomas, who was privileged to sit on the platform at that time and to take part in the program. I have also included a photocopy of an original photograph I have showing the president, platform party, and part of the crowd that was there that day.

I was in the crowd that came to see and hear you the day you visited the Sun Maid Raisin plant near Kingsburg on September 14, 1988, when you were campaigning for office. We are very pleased that you were elected and believe you are doing a fine job as president.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Shirley Thomas Bolton

sb
Enc.

A SABBATH WITH THE PRESIDENT - THEODORE ROOSEVELT

* * * * * * * * * * * *

For the first time in the history of Colorado, and probably for the first time in the history of the United States, the President of the nation rode several miles on horseback to meet the people and preach an open air sermon to an open-air people in God's big out of doors.

This, as a precedent, is important, but the circumstances surrounding it make it even more startling.

Out in the open, with no family retinue with him, with no bodyguard of hundreds of armed soldiers, such as the crowned heads of Europe would have to have, but alone and unattended, riding a prancing white horse, with the nearest railway station, Rifle, sixteen miles away, with a little blue school house as a fitting background, its platform the rostrum, President Roosevelt, attired in his canvas hunting suit, a blue flannel shirt, a white Stetson hat, no vest on and coat swinging wide open, his watch fastened to a leather string and tied in a button-hole of the coat, with large heavy hunter's shoes covering his feet and pants fastened tightly at the top, with a large silk, red handkerchief around his neck, preached to over 1200 people who flocked to see and hear him, pleading with them for a higher standard of citizenship, for higher and better moral lives, for a deeper and more fervent worship of a God, which he declared had "lifted our country from among the infant nations of the earth and made it a home for freedom and liberty."

Beyond the further edges of the throng, higher than the tops of the pines and cedars and spruces, the foothills climbed steadily, laden with their soft purple twigged forests. And beyond the rounded tops of the furthest foothills, the majestic foothills, the majestic mountains,

"Grand, sublime,
Enduring sentinels of time."

stood in a ring, covered with virgin snows, glinting in the sunlight. Their tops rising and falling, sharply serrated against the blue, seemed like a great white crown set upon the brow of the smiling valley.

Like one of the mountain people, like one of the many hundreds who had gathered from the mountain, valley, canyon and mesa, was the President. He himself might have been one of those who had ridden in from a lonely little ranch house to attend Sunday service. He might have been one moved by the eloquence of the regular pastor, Rev. Horace Mann, to rise and tell his own experience, for the good of his neighbors.

It was a gala day for Rifle and Divide Creek and neighboring towns. The people came from every direction and in every sort of conveyance. Cowboys and cowgirls came on horseback, the cowgirls vying in rhythm of movement with their more hardened brothers of the saddle. Whole families, of a size to gladden the President's heart, drove up winding roads, across the mesas and valleys, and over mountains and snow-born torrents in heavy lumber wagons, while others used stage coaches, carryalls, single and double-seated rigs, coaches and tallyhos.

They all brought capacious lunch baskets and at the noon hour it looked like one gigantic picnic ground. Some were just finishing their dinner when the President rode down through the cedars fringing the road.

"Now that's fine," shouted the President, as he looked down upon the picnickers from his white horse. "I wish I hadn't eaten, I'd have lunch with you." "You'd be mighty welcome," was the hearty response from every side. With the coming of the President, everyone started for the little school house. The platform had been arranged as a rostrum. There were chairs on it for the President, Dr. Alexander Lambert, the President's physician, Rev. Horace Mann, Rev. A. B. Sanderson and the writer.

There were no secret service men present. "The President didn't want them," said a member of the presidential party. "He knew that the people out here could take care of him all right." And so they could. The President could not be safer anywhere else in this wide world than right there. And not a man or woman or child but what would have gladly thrown themselves upon a sword or into the mouth of a belching cannon in protection of "Teddy."

"Blessed Assurance" was the first hymn sung. Then the 23rd Psalm was read, followed by the opening prayer by the writer, at the close of which the President's "amen" was as hearty as the writer's. In several places the President would respond to a sentiment expressed with a hearty, audible "amen" just like the Methodists used to. The next song sung was, "There's Sunshine in My Soul Today," the President singing with the rest.

Why, he was one of us. Great was his simplicity and common placeness. So great was it that everyone felt perfectly at ease and at home in his presence. Sitting at his side and exchanging words with him during the service and afterwards, it hardly occurred to the writer that he was sitting side by side with the chief of this great nation and a man that had been given the greatest popular vote ever cast for a President.

When the President was introduced and rose to his feet, there was a sea of fluttering handkerchiefs, giving the President the chautaugua salute. At this point someone said, "Have you got your handkerchief with you, Mr. President?" Whereupon he pulled out of the pockets of his hunting coat a large red bandana. This provoked a hearty laugh on the part of the people and set them to waving their handkerchiefs again.

President Roosevelt is always at his best when he is closely in contact with the people, and his voluntary appearance at the little blue school house on Divide Creek put him in a particularly favorable light. There was a wholesome simplicity about the whole affair, a democratic disregard of the unessentials and a getting down to the plain facts of humanity, such as we would like to see more frequently in our national affairs.

There are doubtless many more Americans that would like to get on a level with the people and feel their heartbeat, but there are comparatively few who know how to do this like President Roosevelt. There is no better stock of humanity anywhere in the world than is to be found in the rural districts of Colorado; and amid the cowboys and ranchmen of the Rocky Mountains, the republic of the future may well look for her Lincolns, her Garfields, and her Grants, if not her Roosevelts.

And the President knows that in what is best in nature and best worth having, it is akin to these simple, kind, generous, patient, whole-hearted men and women, who in their circles of experience have preserved so much that is too soon forgotten in the denser crowds of self-styled civilization.

The day was one of the prettiest imaginable in Colorado, under the blue sky and the fleecy clouds, with the green trees bowing on the mountainsides and down the valleys, with snowy peaks rising high above them and around them, we listened to a heart-to-heart sermon by our President. Straight from the shoulders he talked. There was no mincing of words or finishing of phrases, just good, straight English thrown straight at the crowd. A characteristic grin, in which the President showed his teeth, when he began speaking, called forth the following expression from a rancher in the crowd who had never seen the President before, except in pictures, "Say, them newspaper fellers can draw. I saw Teddy's picture in a paper, but I thought it was one of them thar cartoons."

The President spoke, in part, as follows:

"Friends and neighbors: It all seems real good to have a chance to come here today to say a few words to you. For a number of years I lived where my neighbors were just such good people as these whom I see before me. It is but true for me to say, then, that I feel thoroughly at home with you. I cannot say how much I have enjoyed my stay here with you. Not only have I been treated middling well by the bears (the President got 14 bear and 6 bobcats), which treatment has not always been kindly reciprocated by me, I am a little afraid, but the people have fairly outdone themselves in their hospitality. In the few words which I have to say to you, I am going to draw some illustrations from the Grand Army, many of whose representatives I see before me now. It is remarkable how many Grand Army men I see in the west, the little bronze button testifying mutely to their heroism in the days gone by.

"Comrades, I am going to say a few words on success, taking your lives as an example for the others here. Only the other day I was saying to the dominie here as to success and what it means. One of the best illustrations of American ideas and possibilities of success is the Grand Army man. Success in the dark days of '61, the days that tried men's souls had a meaning. From lieutenant-general to drummer boy, every man has the title of Comrade. Every man was and is judged not by his position, but by the way he does his duty in that position. So we judge the success of men as private citizens. Success from the soldier's standpoint meant that the man, whether he carried a musket or a sword, did his duty up to the handle. If a man did that, he had a right to feel that he left a name that would be an honor to his descendants. So it is in civil life--real success consists in doing one's duty in the paths where one's life is laid.

"And duty first, remember, is doing what is right to self, for if you cannot pull yourself, you cannot pull others, doing what is right to family and neighbor.

"It is not possible for any of us to say just how much accident there is in winning the great prizes of life. There is always some accident in it. No amount of skill, perseverance, energy or genius can win the great prizes of life if you lack character, moral character, and the courage of moral convictions. Real success consists in bearing yourselves so that your children will bless you for having done all that was in your power to bring them up to an honored name, and those coming after you will look upon you as having brought honor to them and your country.

"In this great country of ours it is absolutely certain that the government cannot rise higher than those who make it, any more than a stream can rise higher than its source. One leader, or set of leaders, cannot make the government. The government cannot be better than the average citizen. He alone can make it or unmake it. When the King of Sparta was visited by a neighboring king, the visitor said to him, 'Where are your walls?' The king replied, 'I will show them to you after a little while.' The king had his armies pass in review before his guest. As they were passing by he said, 'There go the walls of Sparta.' So I can point to every American citizen today and say, 'There go the walls of this Republic.' And the walls will not be any stronger than each individual brick in them.

"In the Civil War, comrades, we could not have got along without Grant or Logan or Sherman, but it was the average men in the ranks that made the army. So in civil life today.

"Now, as in the war days, as ever, the successful man is the man in the ranks, the man who carries the hod, or the musket, or the coupling pin, or casts the ballot and does his conscientious duty.

"Yet, friends, there is no secret, nothing remarkable in being a good citizen. The qualities that make a good citizen are ones that every man may have, if he will show them. If he will not, no brilliancy, genius or anything else can avail him or the nation."

Next the President poured a broadside into dishonesty in public and private life and particularly that kind which goes into business and is taken as an indication of ability when it is downright dishonesty.

"The dishonest man is a disgrace to himself and a community. If he is an educated dishonest man, he is more the dangerous. You can do nothing with a man or for a man that is dishonest. That is insincere; that is two faced. That is anything to get the spoils. He may think he is smart and others may think he is smart because he can corner this or that to his own advantage without any moral sense of the other man's wellbeing. I have a haughty contempt for that so-called smartness, ability unaccompanied by moral sense, which is getting altogether frequent.

"What we want is courage. The greater part of the courage needed in the world today is not of the military kind, but the common courage to be honest, the courage to resist temptation, the courage to speak the truth. The patriot who fights an always losing battle for the right, the man who though in the minority always stands for the right, the martyr who goes to his death amidst the triumphant shouts of his enemies, the discoverer, like Columbus, whose heart remains undaunted through the bitter years of his wandering woe, are examples of courage and heroism sublime, and these examples excite a profounder interest in the hearts of man than the most complete and conspicuous success.

"Press on with courage true and bold,
Press on with pulses beating high,
The morning breaks her bars of gold,
The sun in splendor mounts the sky.
Aim high, dear friend, and strive to climb,
The heights where heroes stand,
Whose purposes were all sublime,
And aspirations grand.

"Now, I do not want a timid good man. Not much! None of that kind, who when they meet evil face to face, say, 'how dreadful,' and then run away. No sir! I hate the timid good! I like the man who wades in and licks the wickedness. You all know of men, especially you comrades, who were forever boasting that they wished that they could find something heroic to do. Yet when these same men had to dig kitchen sinks they failed. Heroism is doing what your duty says you ought to do, little or big.

"We think too often of heroism as being displayed only on the battle-field or in the days of Feudalism and Knight errantry. We are apt to make our heroes mailed knights, charging a superior foe or a Decius plunging into the thickest of the battle single handed and alone, or a Horatio at the bridge, or a Richard the Lion Hearted leading to certain success as though heroism was a thing of the past or consisted in some great thing; but, in reality, there is more chance for heroism today than the world has ever seen before!

"A pure man is a hero! A man who will contend with the gigantic evils of this present age is a hero! The boy who can pass along the pathway of life, strewn on either side with the enticing gardens of sin, yet pass them by, is a hero of no common or mean mould! The woman who can pass goddess fashion in her gorgeous robes, yet be willing to be satisfied with her own small wardrobe, is as much a heroine as was Joan of Arc.

"The man who makes a tender loving husband, the young fellow who tries to make his friends glad when he returns home to the ranch, the young girls who help their mothers, these are heroes and heroines of every-day life!

"To do each day what that day calls you to do, so that at the end of your years you can look back and say, 'I tried my best to be a loving father and husband, a tender mother, a dutiful son and daughter,'--that is doing your duty; that is earning that immortal crown of a decent citizen."

After the benediction, the handshaking began and lasted for nearly an hour. Twelve hundred people passed along the line to bid him goodbye and tell him how much they appreciated his kindness in addressing them. Finally, it was all over. President Roosevelt stopped for a few moments to bid goodbye to the pastors, then he walked down to his horse and started back to his camp three miles up the creek in the mountain vastnesses.

Long live our Nation's Chief!

(This description of President Roosevelt's visit to Rifle, Colorado, in 1905, was written by the Rev. Lewis L. Thomas, pastor of the United Methodist Church in Rifle from 1904 to 1910.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mrs. Bolton:

Many thanks for your letter and kind words. I appreciate your thinking of me.

I thoroughly enjoyed your grandfather's wonderful account of Teddy Roosevelt's visit to Rifle, Colorado. I'm a great admirer of our 26th President. Anyone who can say, "I hate the timid good! I like the man who wades in and licks the wickedness." -- and then can go on to extol such virtues as kindness, tenderness, and honesty -- deserves to be admired. He was a great man who set a marvelous example for all Americans.

With my best wishes and appreciation,

Sincerely,

Mrs. Shirley Thomas Bolton
1500 Windsor Drive
Kingsburg, California 93631

DECENCY. *See also* WEAKNESS.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. The Declaration of Independence derived its peculiar importance, not on account of what America was, but because of what she was to become; she shared with other nations the present, and she yielded to them the past, but it was felt in return that to her, and to her especially, belonged the future. (At Dickinson, Dakota Territory, July 4, 1886.) Hermann Hagedorn, *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands.* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1921), p 408.

————. I am afraid I have not got as much reverence for the Declaration of Independence as I should have because it has made certain untruths immortal. (Recorded by Butt in letter of July 24, 1908.) *The Letters of Archie Butt, Personal Aide to President Roosevelt.* (Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1924), p. 68.

————. We Progressives hold that the words of the Declaration of Independence, as given effect to by Washington and as construed and applied by Abraham Lincoln, are to be accepted as real, and not as empty phrases. We believe that in very truth this is a government by the people themselves, that the Constitution is theirs, that the courts are theirs, that all the governmental agents and agencies are theirs. (At Madison Square Garden, N. Y. C., October 30, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 460; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 337.

DECORATION DAY. *See* MEMORIAL DAY.

DEEDS—CREDIT FOR. In this world, in the long run, the job must necessarily fall to the man who both can and will do it when it must be done, even though he does it roughly or imperfectly. It is well enough to deplore and to strive against the conditions which make it necessary to do the job; but when once face to face with it, the man who fails either in power or will, the man who is half-hearted, reluctant, or incompetent, must give way to the actual doer, and he must not complain because the doer gets the credit and reward. (1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XIII, 405; *Nat. Ed.* X, 288.

DEEDS VERSUS WORDS. One of our besetting sins as a nation has been to encourage in our public servants, in our speech-making leaders of all kinds, the preaching of impossible ideals; and then to treat this as offsetting the fact that in practice these representatives did not live up to any ideals whatever. The vital need is that we as a nation shall say what we mean and shall make our public servants say what they mean; say it to other nations and say it to us, ourselves. Let us demand that we and they preach realizable ideals and that we and they live up to the ideals thus preached. Let there be no impassable gulf between exuberance of impossible promise and pitiful insufficiency in quality of possible performance. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 530; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 455.

DEEDS. *See also* ACTION; BOASTING; CRITICISM; PRACTICALITY.

DEER, MULE. The mule-deer is a striking and beautiful animal. As is the case with our other species, it varies greatly in size, but is on the average heavier than either the whitetail or the true blacktail. The horns also average longer and heavier, and in exceptional heads are really noteworthy trophies. Ordinarily a full-grown buck has a head of ten distinct and well-developed points, eight of which consist of the bifurcations of the two main prongs into which each antler divides, while in addition there are two shorter basal or frontal points. But the latter are very irregular, being sometimes missing; while sometimes there are two or three of them on each antler. When missing it usually means that the antlers are of young animals that have not attained their full growth. (1905.) *Mem. Ed.* III, 207; *Nat. Ed.* III, 36.

————. The mule-deer differs widely from the whitetail in its habits, and especially in its gait and in the kind of country which it frequents. Although in many parts of its range it is found side by side with its whitetail cousin, the two do not actually associate together, and their propinquity is due simply to the fact that, the river-bottoms being a favorite haunt of the whitetail, long tongues of the distribution area of this species are thrust into the domain of its bolder, less stealthy, and less crafty kinsman. Throughout the plains country the whitetail is the deer of the river-bottoms, where the rank growth gives it secure hiding-places, as well as ample food. The mule-deer, on the contrary, never comes down into the dense growths of the river-bottoms. (1905.) *Mem. Ed.* III, 211; *Nat. Ed.* III, 39.

DEER, MULE—HUNTING THE. Ordinarily the mule-deer must be killed by long tramping among the hills, skilful stalking, and good shooting. The successful hunter should possess good eyes, good wind, and good muscles. He should know how to take cover and how to use

The Fickle Finger of the American Press

Viewpoint

By Hodding Carter III

"The moving finger writes and, having writ, says to hell with it and moves on."
—Modern saying of American journalism

According to a recent poll, two-thirds of the American public believes drugs are the most important problem facing the U.S. Nine months ago about 15% did, so what accounts for the vast shift in perception? Neither the addiction rate nor drug-related crime has soared as dramatically.

Answer: The new president decided to break with his predecessor and make the war against drugs the focal point of his administration. He did so against the backdrop of one lead-pipe cinch. The mass media in America have an overwhelming tendency to jump up and down and bark in concert whenever the White House—any White House—snaps its fingers.

So what, you might ask? So nothing, except that since the signals tend to change so frequently, and with so little readily discernible connection to objective reality, it makes for a badly confused public. So nothing, except that it demonstrates how little substance lies at the heart of the media's claim to be independent watchdogs of governmental performance. Events regularly prove that when it comes to news judgment, the media find it more agreeable to move in concert with the orchestrations of others than to decide individually what is really important—or even real.

And so, for almost two months, there has been a steadily coalescing media consensus that the drug story is the world's most important. That may or may not be well-founded, but it is beyond doubt that the critical mass of consensus was the result of skillful media manipulation. Last week, we had the media equivalent of a nuclear explosion. Speeches, interviews, specials, cover stories, enterprise features and airtime beyond belief were devoted to the issue, to the virtual exclusion of all else. The president and his drug czar, William Bennett, had reason to be pleased. The media should have been ashamed.

But what's new about the press playing the role of uncritical hype-merchant and cheerleader? Nothing. We long ago gave up control of that famous spotlight of ours. It moves, most of the time, in response to pulls, tugs and pressure far distant from the boardrooms and newsrooms of our vast media conglomerates.

That is bad enough—and the exact opposite of the notion so bitterly advanced by present and former government officials that the media set the agenda today. What is worse is that journalism in general, and television in particular, has little stomach for staying with any story for very long, except when constantly prodded.

Today's sensation is tomorrow's dead fish. The "News From Nowhere" syndrome once typical of foreign coverage is now commonplace in domestic reportage as well. Look quickly, because those images and words flashing by will soon be forgotten with the rest. Sustained coverage is a textbook phrase that has rare connection with journalistic practice. For the most part, the epochal receives coverage no less ephemeral than does the trivial. Consider a partial list of stories and issues that have come and gone (and sometimes come and gone again) over the past 12 months:

The "hostage crisis" (in quotation marks to distinguish it from past hostage crises); the Beijing spring of democracy, and its brutally efficient repression; the embarrassing refusal of the communist regime in Afghanistan to collapse on cue, repeated backgrounder assertions notwithstanding; the tenacious longevity of that former Public Enemy Number One, Manuel Noriega (wasn't it only yesterday that his fate was the world's most important story?); ethics in government (ditto); flag burning, public outrage and political posturing; Iran after the death of Khomeini and the triumph of the "moderates"; the anti-communist crusade for Western civilization in Nicaragua; the Valdez spill, the despoliation of the environment in general and the remedies just on the horizon; trash TV and trashy TV evangelists.

If it weren't for the easy news pegs provided by anniversaries, most of those stories would be as lost to public memory and comprehension as stories yet to come. Covering the tedious reality of the world around us, rather than the topical (usually contrived) drama of the day, is not a high-priority item. Remember the "educational crisis" wave of coverage? The crisis is still with us; the coverage is not.

That was yesterday, today is today, and today's big news is the drug war. The president says so, so television says so, newspapers and magazines say so and the public says so. If words and images could win the drug war, it would all be over.

They can't, however, and soon Congress, state legislatures, city councils and lawmen of all kinds will be back in the trenches, measuring out progress, if any, in inches. It won't be a very dramatic story. It won't produce overnight victory or even very many clear battlefield successes, except of the most superficial sort. At a given point, the president's advisers will tell him the obvious: It's time to detach his personal prestige from the success or failure of a thousand local engagements. And suddenly, almost miraculously, the media will begin to look elsewhere, even though the only story that means anything will be sitting there begging for coverage. The drug war won't be news.

But don't worry. There'll be a new war, a new number one problem, to take its place. There always is.

Mr. Carter is a political commentator who heads a television production firm.

Photo Copy Preservation

Baltic Nationalis Pressing Call for

SOVIET, From A20

crushed in the Baltic region, they will fail throughout the Soviet Union.

"People in the Popular Front clearly understand that Gorbachev is for democratization and liberalization, but he has no intention of dismantling the existing Soviet Union," said Calitis, who spent more than 17 years in Soviet jails and labor camps as a political prisoner.

The aggressiveness of the nationalist movements has put the Communist Party organizations in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in a difficult position, of, as Russians say, "Between the hammer and the nail."

Facing pressure from both Moscow and the increasingly radical Baltic peoples, regional party officials have found themselves struggling to please both.

Ivars Kezbers, the Latvian party ideology chief, said in an interview that the Central Comittee statement took him and his colleagues at

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In Soviet Moldavi
reported:

Sept 1, 1989

For the Record

From a speech by Chinese astrophysicist Fang Lizhi on accepting the 1989 Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award at Georgetown University on Nov. 15:

Some people say that the terror that has filled Beijing since June can't help but make one feel pessimistic. And I must admit to such feelings of pessimism myself. But I would also like to offer a small bit of encouragement. Remember that . . . it may well be that those who are most terrified are those who have just finished killing their fellow human beings. We may be forced to live under a terror today, but we have no fear of tomorrow. The murderers, on the other hand, are not only fearful today; they are even more terrified of tomorrow. Thus, we have no reason to lose faith. Ignorance may dominate in the short term through the use of violence, but it will eventually be unable to resist the advance of universal laws. And this will come to pass just as surely as the Earth turns.

It takes time for the Earth to turn, and for China things could take even longer. With this in mind, I would like to say a few things to the young Chinese in the audience. I know that many of you have dedicated your lives to building our country anew. Since the road to rebirth will be a long one, I fervently hope that you will not discontinue your education, but instead will work even harder to deepen and enrich your knowledge. We are all disciples of nonviolence. What power can nonviolence summon as a means of resisting the armed violence of guns the world over? There are many strategies of nonviolence, but what is most basic is the force of knowledge. Without knowledge, nonviolence can deteriorate into begging, and history is unmoved by begging. To paraphrase Einstein, it is only when we stand on the shoulders of the giant of knowledge that we will truly be able to change the course of history.

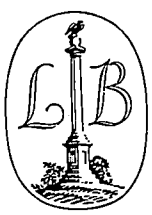
Familiar Quotations

A collection of passages, phrases and proverbs traced to their sources in ancient and modern literature

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company



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1 Woman stock is rising in the market. I shall not live to see women vote, but I'll come and rap on the ballot box.

Letter to Sarah Shaw [1856]

2 The United States is . . . a warning rather than an example to the world.

To the twenty-fifth-anniversary meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society [1857]

3 Yours for the unshackled exercise of every faculty by every human being.

Message to woman suffrage supporters [c. 1875]

David Christy
1802 – c. 1868

4 Cotton Is King; or, The Economical Relations of Slavery. *Title of book [1855]*[1]

Alexandre Dumas the Elder
1802–1870

5 All for one, one for all, that is our device.[2]

The Three Musketeers [1844], ch. 9

6 Nothing succeeds like success.[3]

Ange Pitou [1854], vol. I

7 Let us look for the woman.[4]

The Mohicans of Paris [1854–1855], vol. III, ch. 10, 11

Victor Hugo
1802–1885

8 These two halves of God, the Pope and the emperor. *Hernani [1830], act IV, sc. ii*

9 God became a man, granted. The devil became a woman.[5]

Ruy Blas [1838], act II, sc. v

10 Popularity? It is glory's small change.

Ib. III, v

11 An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come.[6]

Histoire d'un Crime [written 1852], conclusion

[1] Take away *time is money*, and what is left of England? take away *cotton is king*, and what is left of America? — Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables* [1862]. *Marius, bk. IV, ch. 4*

[2] See Shakespeare, 189:19.

[3] Rien ne réussit comme le succès. — *French proverb*

[4] The phrase "Cherchez la femme" is attributed to Joseph Fouché [1763–1820].

[5] Dieu s'est fait homme; soit. Le diable s'est fait femme.

[6] On résiste à l'invasion des armées; on ne résiste pas à l'invasion des idées. (Literally, one can resist the invasion of armies, but not the invasion of ideas.)
See Bellamy, 666:5, and Catt, 689:1.

12 Waterloo! Waterloo! Waterloo! Dismal plain.[7]

Les Châtiments [1853]. L'Expiation

13 The eye was in the tomb and stared at Cain. *La Conscience [1859]*

14 You have created a new thrill.[8]

Letter to Baudelaire [October 6, 1859]

15 The supreme happiness of life is the conviction that we are loved.

Les Misérables [1862].[9] *Fantine, bk. V, ch. 4*

16 Great grief is a divine and terrible radiance which transfigures the wretched.

Ib. 13

17 Napoleon . . . mighty somnambulist of a vanished dream.

Ib. Cosette, bk. I, ch. 13

18 Waterloo is a battle of the first rank won by a captain of the second. *Ib. 16*

19 Would you realize what Revolution is, call it Progress; and would you realize what Progress is, call it Tomorrow. *Ib. 17*

20 What is that to the Infinite? *Ib. 18*

21 Great blunders are often made, like large ropes, of a multitude of fibers.

Ib. V, 10

22 Upon the first goblet he read this inscription, *monkey wine;* upon the second, *lion wine;* upon the third, *sheep wine;* upon the fourth, *swine wine.* These four inscriptions expressed the four descending degrees of drunkenness: the first, that which enlivens; the second, that which irritates; the third, that which stupefies; finally the last, that which brutalizes.[10] *Ib. VI, 9*

23 A man is not idle because he is absorbed in thought. There is a visible labor and there is an invisible labor. *Ib. VII, 8*

24 No one ever keeps a secret so well as a child. *Ib. VIII, 8*

25 Social prosperity means man happy, the citizen free, the nation great.

Ib. Saint Denis, bk. I, ch. 4

26 Nothing is more dangerous than discontinued labor; it is habit lost. A habit easy to abandon, difficult to resume. *Ib. II, 1*

[7] Waterloo! Waterloo! Waterloo! Morne plaine!

[8] Vous créez un frisson nouveau.

[9] Translated by Charles E. Wilbour.

[10] See George Herbert, 268:3; Addison, 326:18; and Sill, 646:12.

cherished in all our hearts, to be defended by all our hands.

Toast at Faneuil Hall [Fourth of July, 1845]

1 A star for every State, and a State for every star.

Address on Boston Common [1862]

Henry Alford
1810–1871

2 Come, ye thankful people, come,
Raise the song of Harvest-home;
All is safely gathered in,
Ere the winter storms begin.

Come, Ye Thankful People, Come [1844]

3 Ten thousand times ten thousand
In sparkling raiment bright,
The armies of the ransomed saints
Throng up the steeps of light:
'Tis finished! all is finished,
Their fight with death and sin:
Fling open wide the golden gates,
And let the victors in.

Hymn [1867], st. 1

Phineas Taylor Barnum
1810–1891

4 There's a sucker born every minute.

Attributed

Pierre Jean François Joseph Bosquet
1810–1861

5 It is magnificent, but it is not war.[1]

On the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava [October 25, 1854]

William Henry Channing
1810–1884

6 To live content with small means; to seek elegance rather than luxury, and refinement rather than fashion; to be worthy, not respectable, and wealthy, not rich; to study hard, think quietly, talk gently, act frankly; to listen to stars and birds, to babes and sages, with open heart; to bear all cheerfully, do all bravely, await occasions, hurry never. In a word, to let the spiritual, unbidden and unconscious, grow up through the common. This is to be my symphony.

My Symphony

[1] C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre. See Tennyson, 533:9.

Sir Francis Hastings Doyle
1810–1888

7 Last night, among his fellow roughs,
He jested, quaffed, and swore;
A drunken private of the Buffs,
Who never looked before.
Today, beneath the foeman's frown,
He stands in Elgin's place,
Ambassador from Britain's crown,
And type of all her race.

The Private of the Buffs, st. 1

Ferdinand Freiligrath
1810–1876

8 Oh love, as long as you can love.[2]

Der Liebe Dauer [1830]

Margaret Fuller
1810–1850

9 I myself am more divine than any I see.

Letter to Emerson [March 1, 1838]

10 It does not follow because many books are written by persons born in America that there exists an American literature. Books which imitate or represent the thoughts and life of Europe do not constitute an American literature. Before such can exist, an original idea must animate this nation and fresh currents of life must call into life fresh thoughts along its shores.

In the New York Tribune [1846]

11 For precocity some great price is always demanded sooner or later in life.

Diary. From THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, *Life of Margaret Fuller Ossoli [1884], ch. 18*

12 Genius will live and thrive without training, but it does not the less reward the watering pot and pruning knife. *Ib.*

13 I accept the universe.[3] *Attributed*

Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell
1810–1865

14 A man is *so* in the way in the house.

Cranford [1851–1853], ch. 1

15 A little credulity helps one on through life very smoothly. *Ib. ch. 11*

[2] See Anonymous Latin, 133:14, and Parnell, 329:16.
[3] By God! she'd better. — *Carlyle's reported comment*

1 I'll not listen to reason. . . . Reason always means what someone else has got to say. *Ib. ch. 14*

James Sloan Gibbons
1810–1892

2 We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more.
Three Hundred Thousand More [1862],[1] *st. 1*

Pope Leo XIII
[Gioacchino Pecci]
1810–1903

3 Every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own.
Rerum Novarum [encyclical on the condition of labor, May 15, 1891]

4 It is impossible to reduce human society to one level. *Ib.*

5 It is one thing to have a right to the possession of money, and another to have a right to use money as one pleases. *Ib.*

William Miller
1810–1872

6 Wee Willie Winkie rins through the town,
Upstairs and downstairs, in his nichtgown,
Tirlin' at the window, cryin' at the lock,
"Are the weans in their bed? for it's now ten o'clock."
Willie Winkie

Alfred de Musset
1810–1857

7 I have come too late into a world too old.[2]
Rolla [1833]

8 Do Not Trifle with Love.[3]
Title of a comedy [1834]

9 The most despairing songs are the loveliest of all,
I know immortal ones composed only of tears.
Poésies Nouvelles. La Nuit de Mai [1835]

10 How glorious it is, but how painful it is also, to be exceptional in this world!
La Merle Blanc [1842]

[1] Song to help raise volunteers for the Union Army.
[2] Je suis venu trop tard dans un monde trop vieux.
[3] On Ne Badine Pas avec l'Amour.

Theodore Parker
1810–1860

11 Truth never yet fell dead in the streets; it has such affinity with the soul of man, the seed however broadcast will catch somewhere and produce its hundredfold.
A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion [1842]

12 Truth stood on one side and Ease on the other; it has often been so. *Ib.*

13 Man never falls so low that he can see nothing higher than himself.
Essay, A Lesson for the Day

14 All men desire to be immortal.
A Sermon on the Immortal Life [September 20, 1846]

15 A democracy—that is a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people;[4] of course, a government of the principles of eternal justice, the unchanging law of God; for shortness' sake I will call it the idea of Freedom.
The American Idea [May 29, 1850][5]

Edmund Hamilton Sears
1810–1876

16 It came upon the midnight clear,
That glorious song of old,
From Angels bending near the earth
To touch their harps of gold:
"Peace on the earth, good will to men
From heav'n's all-gracious King."
The world in solemn stillness lay
To hear the angels sing.
The Angel's Song [1850], st. 1

Martin Farquhar Tupper
1810–1889

17 Error is a hardy plant: it flourisheth in every soil.
Proverbial Philosophy [1838–1842]. Of Truth in Things False

[4] See Wycliffe, 143:12; Webster, 450:14; Disraeli, 501:6; Garrison, 505:19; and Lincoln, 523:4.
Parker used the same phrase in a speech delivered in Boston [May 31, 1854] and in a sermon in the Music Hall, Boston [July 4, 1858]. William H. Herndon visited Boston and on his return to Springfield, Illinois, took with him some of Parker's sermons and addresses. In his *Abraham Lincoln, vol. II, p. 65*, Herndon says that Lincoln marked with pencil the portion of the Music Hall address, "Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, by all the people, for all the people."
[5] Speech at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Boston.

him untrustworthy is to distrust him and show your distrust.

The Bomb and the Opportunity [March 1946]

1 The only deadly sin I know is cynicism.

On Active Service in Peace and War [1948], introduction

Edward Bradford Titchener
1867–1927

2 Common sense is the very antipodes of science.

Systematic Psychology: Prolegomena [1929]

Harry Leon Wilson
1867–1939

3 I can be pushed just so far.

Ruggles of Red Gap [1915]

Wilbur Wright
1867–1912
and
Orville Wright
1871–1948

4 Success. Four flights Thursday morning. All against twenty-one-mile wind. Started from level with engine power alone. Average speed through air thirty-one miles. Longest fifty-nine seconds. Inform press. Home Christmas.

Telegram to the Reverend Milton Wright, from Kitty Hawk, N.C. [December 17, 1903]

Émile Auguste Chartier [Alain]
1868–1951

5 To think is to say *no.*

Le Citoyen contre les Pouvoirs

6 We prove what we want to prove, and the real difficulty is to know what we want to prove. *Système des Beaux-Arts [1920]*

7 Nothing is more dangerous than an idea, when it's the only one we have.

Libres-propos

Paul Claudel
1868–1955

8 You explain nothing, O poet, but thanks to you all things become explicable.

La Ville [1897], act I

9 The words I use
Are everyday words and yet are not the same!
You will find no rhymes in my verse, no magic.
There are your very own phrases.

La Muse Qui Est la Grace [1910]

10 When man tries to imagine Paradise on earth, the immediate result is a very respectable Hell.

Conversations dans le Loir-et-Cher [1929]

Norman Douglas
1868–1952

11 You can tell the ideals of a nation by its advertisements.

South Wind [1917], ch. 7

12 No one can expect a majority to be stirred by motives other than ignoble. *Ib. 10*

13 No great man is ever born too soon or too late. *Ib. 13*

14 Many a man who thinks to found a home discovers that he has merely opened a tavern for his friends. *Ib. 24*

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois
1868–1963

15 The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.[1]

To the Nations of the World; address to Pan-African conference, London [1900]

16 Herein lies the tragedy of the age: not that men are poor—all men know something of poverty; not that men are wicked—who is good? Not that men are ignorant—what is truth? Nay, but that men know so little of men. *The Souls of Black Folk [1903]*

17 It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others. . . . One feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. *Ib.*

18 The cost of liberty is less than the price of repression.

John Brown [1909]. The Legacy of John Brown

19 Liberty trains for liberty. Responsibility is the first step in responsibility. *Ib.*

[1] See Frederick Douglass, 556:8 and 556:9.

1 Get me to the church on time!
Ib. II, iii

2 Why can't a woman be more like a man?
Ib. iv

3 I've grown accustomed . . . to her face.
Ib. vi

4 Don't let it be forgot
That once there was a spot
For one brief shining moment that was known
As Camelot. *Camelot [1960], end*

5 On a Clear Day You Can See Forever.
Title of musical [1965]

6 Pleasure without joy is as hollow as passion without tenderness.
The Street Where I Live [1978]. My Fair Lady

7 Coughing in the theater is not a respiratory ailment. It is a criticism. *Ib.*

8 Men die but an idea does not. *Ib.*

Edwin O'Connor
1918–1968

9 The Last Hurrah.
Title of novel [1956]

Anwar al-Sadat
1918–1981

10 Land is immortal, for it harbors the mysteries of creation.
In Search of Identity [1978], ch. 1

11 A man's village is his peace of mind.
Ib. 2

12 Most people seek after what they do not possess and are thus enslaved by the very things they want to acquire. *Ib.*

13 Without a vocation, man's existence would be meaningless. . . . [Each man] should first recognize and be loyal to his real entity within . . . for it is this alone which will enable him to belong and owe allegiance to that Entity which is greater, vaster, and more permanent than his individual self. *Ib. 3*

14 Only when he has ceased to need things can a man truly be his own master and so really exist. *Ib.*

15 There can be hope only for a society which acts as one big family, and not as many separate ones. *Ib.*

16 Peace is much more precious than a piece of land.
Speech in Cairo [March 8, 1978]

17 Let there be no more war or bloodshed between Arabs and Israelis. Let there be no more suffering or denial of rights. Let there be no more despair or loss of faith.
On signing the Egyptian–Israeli peace treaty, Washington, D.C. [March 26, 1979] [1]

Alexander Solzhenitsyn
1918–

18 A great writer is, so to speak, a second government in his country. And for that reason no regime has ever loved great writers, only minor ones. *The First Circle [1964]*

19 The sole substitute for an experience which we have not ourselves lived through is art and literature. *Nobel Lecture [1972]*

20 Literature transmits incontrovertible condensed experience . . . from generation to generation. In this way literature becomes the living memory of a nation. *Ib.*

21 World literature is . . . a kind of collective body and a common spirit, a living unity of the heart which reflects the growing spiritual unity of mankind. *Ib.*

22 Violence does not and cannot exist by itself; it is invariably intertwined with *the lie*. *Ib.*

23 The Kolyma was the greatest and most famous island, the pole of ferocity of that amazing country of Gulag, which, though scattered in an archipelago geographically, was, in the psychological sense, fused into a continent—an almost invisible, almost imperceptible country inhabited by the Zek people.
The Gulag Archipelago 1918–1956, [1974, in translation], I, preface

24 The Western world has lost its civil courage, both as a whole and separately, in each country, each government, each political party, and of course in the United Nations.
The Exhausted West. Commencement Address at Harvard University [June 8, 1978]

25 I have spent all my life under a Communist regime, and I will tell you that a society without any objective legal scale is a terrible one indeed. But a society with no other scale but the legal one is not quite worthy of man either. *Ib.*

[1] See Begin, 881:14.

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A New DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS

ON *HISTORICAL* PRINCIPLES

FROM

ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES

Selected and Edited by

H. L. MENCKEN

NEW YORK : ALFRED A. KNOPF : 1976

A single revolutionary spark may kindle a fire that, smouldering for a time, may burst into a sweeping and destructive conflagration. It cannot be said that the state is acting arbitrarily or unreasonably when, in the exercise of its judgment as to the measures necessary to protect the public peace and safety, it seeks to extinguish the spark without waiting until it has kindled the flame or blazed into the conflagration.

MR. JUSTICE E. T. SANFORD: *Majority opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in Gitlow* vs. *the People of New York*, 1924

The history of mankind is one long record of giving revolution another trial, and limping back at last to sanity, safety, and work.

E. W. HOWE: *Preaching From the Audience*, 1926

The Socialist revolution begins on national grounds, but it cannot be completed on these grounds. Its maintenance within a national framework can only be a provisional state of affairs, even though, as the experience of the Soviet Union shows, one of long duration.

LEON TROTSKY: *The Permanent Revolution*, intro., 1930

There have been more revolutions which succeeded at the first assault than revolutions which were intercepted and brought to a halt.

ADOLF HITLER: Speech before the governors of the former Federal States of Germany, Berlin, July 6, 1933

We must enter and take possession of the consciences of the children, of the consciences of the young, because they do belong and should belong to the revolution.

PLUTARCO CALLES: Speech at Guadalajara, July 19, 1934

The revolutionary way out of the crisis begins with the fight for unemployment insurance, against wage-cuts, for wage increases, for relief to the farmers — through demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, leading up to the seizure of power, to the destruction of capitalism by a revolutionary workers' government.

Manifesto of the American Communist party, April, 1934

Those who are inclined to compromise can never make a revolution.

KEMAL ATATÜRK (1881–1938)

A successful effort to get rid of a bad government and set up a worse.

Author unidentified

[*See also* Atheist, Imperialism, Insurrection, Politics, Rebellion, Secession, Taste, War.

Revolution, American

He that accepts protection, stipulates obedience. We have always protected the Americans; we may therefore subject them to government.

SAMUEL JOHNSON: Address to the Electors of Great Britain, 1774

If there was ever a just war since the world began, it is this in which America is now engaged.

THOMAS PAINE: *The Crisis*, 1776

If every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedience I think the game is pretty near up.

GEORGE WASHINGTON: *Letter to his brother*, Dec. 18, 1776

I desired as many as could to join together in fasting and prayer, that God would restore the spirit of love and of a sound mind to the poor deluded rebels in America.

JOHN WESLEY: *Journal*, Aug. 1, 1777

If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I never would lay down my arms, — never! never! never!

WILLIAM PITT: Speech in the House of Commons, Nov. 18, 1777

If ever there was a holy war, it was that which saved our liberties and gave us independence.

THOMAS JEFFERSON: *Letter to J. W. Eppes*, 1813

[The American Revolution] was a vindication of liberties inherited and possessed. It was a conservative revolution.

W. E. GLADSTONE: *Kin Beyond Sea*, 1878 (North American Review, Sept.–Oct.)

Revolution, French

The French revolution was a machine invented and constructed for the purpose of manufacturing liberty; but it had neither lever-cogs, nor adjusting powers, and the consequences were that it worked so rapidly that it destroyed its own inventors, and set itself on fire.

C. C. COLTON: *Lacon*, 1820

That which distinguishes the French Revolution from other political movements is that it was directed by men who had adopted certain speculative *à priori* conceptions of political right, with the fanaticism and proselytizing fervor of a religious belief, and the Bible of their creed was the "Contrat Social" of Rousseau.

W. E. H. LECKY: *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, v, 1885

[*See also* Rich and Poor.

Reward

Still to our gains our chief respect is had;
Reward it is that makes us good or bad.

ROBERT HERRICK: *Hesperides*, 1648

Blessings ever wait on virtuous deeds,
And though a late, a sure reward succeeds.

WILLIAM CONGREVE: *The Mourning Bride*, v, 1697

Victor Hugo

An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come.

Histoire d'un Crime
1852, conclusion

I represent a party which does not yet exist: the party of revolution, civilization.

This party will make the twentieth century.

There will issue from it first the United States of Europe, then the United States of the World.

On the wall of the room in which Hugo died, Place des Vosges, Paris

E.B White

Democracy is the recurrent suspicion that more than half of the people are right more than half of the time.

The Wild Flag (1946)

JFK

Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.

Address to Latin Americans, WH,
3/13/62

CELEBRATED SPEECHES

OF

CHATHAM, BURKE, AND ERSKINE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE ARGUMENT OF MR. MACKINTOSH,

IN THE CASE OF PELTIER.

SELECTED BY A

MEMBER OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAR.

—— tulit eloquium insolitum facundia præceps;
Utiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri
Sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.—Hor.

Philadelphia:
KEY & BIDDLE—23 MINOR STREET.
1835.

dee of the country? The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper; they have been wronged; they have been driven to madness, by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behavior to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

"Be to her faults a little blind
Be to her virtues very kind."

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is my opinion. It is, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

LORD CHATHAM'S SPEECH,

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, JANUARY 9, 1770, IN REPLY TO LORD MANSFIELD, ON THE FOLLOWING AMENDMENT TO THE ADDRESS TO THE THRONE.

"That we will, with all convenient speed, take into our most serious consideration the causes of the discontents which prevail in so many parts of your majesty's dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the house of commons touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, Esq. expelled by that house, to be re-elected a member to serve in this present parliament; thereby refusing, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative."

My Lords,

There is one plain maxim, to which I have invariably adhered through life: that in every question, in which my liberty, or my property were concerned, I should consult and be determined by the dictates of common sense. I confess, my lords, that I am apt to distrust the refinement of learning, because I have seen the ablest and the most learned men equally liable to deceive themselves, and to mislead others. The condition of human nature would be lamentable indeed, if nothing less than the greatest learning and talents, which fall to the share of so small a number of men, were sufficient to direct our judgment and our conduct. But Providence has taken better care of our happiness, and given us, in the simplicity of common sense, a rule for our direction, by which we shall never be misled. I confess, my lords, I had no other guide in drawing up the amendment, which I submitted to your consideration; and, before I heard the opinion of the noble lord who spoke last, I did not conceive that it was even within the limits of possibility for the greatest human genius, the most subtle understanding, or the acutest wit, so strangely to misrepresent my meaning, and to give it an interpretation so entirely foreign from what I intended to express, and from that sense which the very terms of the amendment plainly and distinctly carry with them. If there be the smallest foundation for the censure thrown upon me by that noble lord; if, either expressly, or by the most distant implication, I have said or insinuated any part of what the noble lord has charged me with, discard my opinions for ever, discard the motion with contempt.

My lords, I must beg the indulgence of the house. Neither will my health permit me, nor do I pretend to be qualified to

follow that learned lord minutely through the whole of his argument. No man is better acquainted with his abilities and learning, nor has a greater respect for them, than I have. I have had the pleasure of sitting with him in the other house, and always listened to him with attention. I have not now lost a word of what he said, nor did I ever. Upon the present question I meet him without fear. The evidence which truth carries with it, is superior to all argument; it neither wants the support, nor dreads the opposition of the greatest abilities. If there be a single word in the amendment to justify the interpretation which the noble lord has been pleased to give it, I am ready to renounce the whole. Let it be read, my lords; let it speak for itself. In what instance does it interfere with the privileges of the house of commons? In what respect does it question their jurisdiction, or suppose an authority in this house to arraign the justice of their sentence? I am sure that every lord who hears me will bear me witness, that I said not one word touching the merits of the Middlesex election. So far from conveying any opinion upon that matter, in the amendment, I did not even in discourse deliver my own sentiments upon it. I did not say that the house of commons had done either right or wrong; but, when his majesty was pleased to recommend it to us to cultivate unanimity amongst ourselves, I thought it the duty of this house, as the great hereditary council of the crown, to state to his majesty the distracted condition of his dominions, together with the events which had destroyed unanimity among his subjects. But, my lords, I stated events merely as facts, without the smallest addition either of censure or of opinion. They are facts, my lords, which I am not only convinced are true, but which I know are indisputably true. For example, my lords: will any man deny that discontents prevail in many parts of his majesty's dominions? or that those discontents arise from the proceedings of the house of commons touching the declared incapacity of Mr. Wilkes? 'T is impossible. No man can deny a truth so notorious. Or will any man deny that those proceedings refused, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right? Is it not indisputably true, my lords, that Mr. Wilkes had a common right, and that he lost it no other way but by a resolution of the house of commons? My lords, I have been tender of misrepresenting the house of commons. I have consulted their journals, and have taken the very words of their own resolution. Do they not tell us in so many words, that Mr. Wilkes, having been expelled, was thereby rendered

incapable of serving in that parliament? and is it not their resolution alone, which refuses to the subject his common right? The amendment says further, that the electors of Middlesex are deprived of their free choice of a representative. Is this a false fact, my lords? Or have I given an unfair representation of it? Will any man presume to affirm that colonel Luttrell is the free choice of the electors of Middlesex? We all know the contrary. We all know that Mr. Wilkes (whom I mention without either praise or censure) was the favorite of the county, and chosen by a very great and acknowledged majority, to represent them in parliament. If the noble lord dislikes the manner in which these facts are stated, I shall think myself happy in being advised by him how to alter it. I am very little anxious about terms, provided the substance be preserved; and these are facts, my lords, which I am sure will always retain their weight and importance, in whatever form of language they are described.

Now, my lords, since I have been forced to enter into the explanation of an amendment, in which nothing less than the genius of penetration could have discovered an obscurity, and having, as I hope, redeemed myself in the opinion of the house, having redeemed my motion from the severe representation given of it by the noble lord, I must a little longer entreat your lordships' indulgence. The constitution of this country has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard, with horror and astonishment that very invasion defended upon principle. What is this mysterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without awe, nor speak of without reverence, which no man may question, and to which all men must submit? My lords, I thought the slavish doctrine of passive obedience had long since been exploded; and, when our kings were obliged to confess that their title to the crown, and the rule of their government, had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility, attributed to any other branch of the legislature. My lords, I beg to be understood. No man respects the house of commons more than I do, or would contend more strenuously than I would, to preserve to them their just and legal authority. Within the bounds prescribed by the constitution, that authority is necessary to the well-being of the people: beyond that line every exertion of power is arbitrary, is illegal; it threatens tyranny to the people, and destruction to the state. Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination. It is not only pernicious to those who are sub-

ject to it, but tends to its own destruction. It is what my noble friend has truly described it; *Res detestabilis et caduca.* My lords, I acknowledge the just power, and reverence the constitution of the house of commons. It is for their own sakes that I would prevent their assuming a power which the constitution has denied them, lest, by grasping at an authority they have no right to, they should forfeit that which they legally possess. My lords, I affirm that they have betrayed their constitnents, and violated the constitution. Under pretence of declaring the law, they have *made* a law, and united in the same persons the office of legislator and of judge.

I shall endeavor to adhere strictly to the noble lord's doctrine, which it is, indeed, impossible to mistake, so far as my memory will permit me to preserve his expressions. He seems fond of the word jurisdiction; and I confess, with the force and effect which he has given it, it is a word of copious meaning and wonderful extent. If his lordship's doctrine be well founded, we must renounce all those political maxims by which our understandings have hitherto been directed, and even the first elements of learning taught us in our schools when we were schoolboys. My lords, we knew that jurisdiction was nothing more than *Jus dicere;* we knew that *Legem facere* and *Legem dicere* were powers clearly distinguished from each other in the nature of things, and wisely separated by the wisdom of the English constitution: but now, it seems, we must adopt a new system of thinking. The house of commons, we are told, have a supreme jurisdiction; and there is no appeal from their sentence; and that wherever they are competent judges, their decision must be received and submitted to, as, *ipso facto,* the law of the land. My lords, I am a plain man, and have been brought up in a religious reverence for the original simplicity of the laws of England. By what sophistry they have been perverted, by what artifices they have been involved in obscurity, is not for me to explain; the principles, however, of the English laws, are still sufficiently clear: they are founded in reason, and are the masterpiece of the human understanding; but it is in the text that I would look for a direction to my judgment, not in the commentaries of modern professors. The noble lord assures us, that he knows not in what code the law of parliament is to be found; that the house of commons, when they act as judges, have no law to direct them but their own wisdom; that their decision is law; and if they determine wrong, the subject has no appeal but to Heaven. What then, my lords, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions, by which they meant to secure to

themselves, and to transmit to their posterity, a known law, a certain rule of living, reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a king, we must submit to the arbitrary power of a house of commons? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny, my lords, is detestable in every shape; but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants. But, my lords, this is not the fact; this is not the constitution. We have a law of parliament. We have a code in which every honest man may find it. We have Magna Charta, we have the Statute Book, and the Bill of Rights.

If a case should arise unknown to these great authorities, we have still that plain English reason left, which is the foundation of all our English jurisprudence. That reason tells us, that every judicial court, and every political society, must be vested with those powers and privileges which are necessary for performing the office to which they are appointed. It tells us also, that no court of justice can have a power inconsistent with, or paramount to, the known laws of the land; that the people, when they choose their representatives, never mean to convey to them a power of invading the rights, or trampling upon the liberties of those whom they represent. What security would they have for their rights, if once they admitted, that a court of judicature might determine every question that came before it, not by any known, positive law, but by the vague, indeterminate, arbitrary rule, of what the noble lord is pleased to call *the wisdom of the court?* With respect to the decision of the courts of justice, I am far from denying them their due weight and authority; yet, placing them in the most respectable view, I still consider them, not as law, but as an evidence of the law; and before they can arrive even at that degree of authority, it must appear, that they are founded in, and confirmed by, reason; that they are supported by precedents taken from good and moderate times; that they do not contradict any positive law; that they are submitted to without reluctance, by the people; that they are unquestioned by the legislature (which is equivalent to a tacit confirmation) and what, in my judgment, is by far the most important, that they do not violate the spirit of the constitution. My lords, this is not a vague or loose expression. We all know what the constitution is. We all know, that the first principle of it is, that the subject shall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man, or body of men (less than the whole legislature), but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given his consent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to understand.—Now, my lords, I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the

late decision of the house of commons upon the Middlesex election, is destitute of every one of those properties and conditions which I hold to be essential to the legality of such a decision. It is not founded in reason; for it carries with it a contradiction, that the representative should perform the office of the constituent body. It is not supported by a single precedent; for the cause of Sir R. Walpole is but a half precedent, and even that half is imperfect. Incapacity was indeed declared; but his crimes are stated as the ground of the resolution, and his opponent was declared to be not duly elected, even after his incapacity was established. It contradicts Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, by which it is provided, that no subject shall be deprived of his freehold, unless by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and that elections of members to serve in parliament shall be free; and so far is this decision from being submitted to by the people, that they have taken the strongest measures, and adopted the most positive language to express their discontent. Whether it will be questioned by the legislature, will depend upon your lordships' resolution; but that it violates the spirit of the constitution, will, I think, be disputed by no man who has heard this day's debate, and who wishes well to the freedom of his country: yet, if we are to believe the noble lord, this great grievance, this manifest violation of the first principles of the constitution, will not admit of a remedy; is not even capable of redress, unless we appeal at once to heaven. My lords, I have better hopes of the constitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdom and constitutional authority of this house. It is *your* ancestors, my lords, it is to the English barons, that we are indebted for the laws and constitution we possess. Their virtues were rude and uncultivated, but they were great and sincere. Their understandings were as little polished as their manners, but they had hearts to distinguish right from wrong; they had heads to distinguish truth from falsehood; they understood the rights of humanity, and they had spirit to maintain them.

My lords, I think that history has not done justice to their conduct, when they obtained from their sovereign, that great acknowledgment of national rights contained in Magna Charta: they did not confine it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a common blessing to the whole people. They did not say, these are the rights of the great barons, or these are the rights of the great prelates:—No, my lords; they said, in the simple Latin of the times, *nullus liber homo*, and provided as carefully for the meanest subject as for the greatest. These are uncouth words, and sound but poorly in the ears of scholars; neither are they addressed to the criticism of scholars, but to the hearts

of free men. These three words, *nullus liber homo*, have a meaning which interests us all; they deserve to be remembered—they deserve to be inculcated in our minds—they are worth all the classics. Let us not, then, degenerate from the glorious example of our ancestors. Those iron barons (for so I may call them when compared with the silken barons of modern days) were the guardians of the people; yet *their* virtues, my lords, were never engaged in a question of such importance as the present. A breach has been made in the constitution—the battlements are dismantled—the citadel is open to the first invader—the walls totter—the constitution is not tenable. What remains then, but for us to stand foremost in the breach, to repair it, or perish in it?

Great pains have been taken to alarm us with the consequences of a difference between the two houses of parliament—that the house of commons will resent our presuming to take notice of their proceedings; that they will resent our daring to advise the crown, and never forgive us for attempting to save the state. My lords, I am sensible of the importance and difficulty of this great crisis: at a moment, such as this, we are called upon to do our duty, without dreading the resentment of any man. But if apprehensions of this kind are to affect us, let us consider which we ought to respect most, the representative, or the collective body of the people. My lords, five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions; and if we *must* have a contention, let us take care to have the English nation on our side. If this question be given up, the freeholders of England are reduced to a condition baser than the peasantry of Poland. If they desert their own cause, they deserve to be slaves! My lords, this is not merely the cold opinion of my understanding, but the glowing expression of what I feel. It is my heart that speaks. I know I speak warmly, my lords; but this warmth shall neither betray my argument nor my temper. The kingdom is in a flame. As mediators between the king and people, it is our duty to represent to him the true condition and temper of his subjects. It is a duty which no particular respects should hinder us from performing; and whenever his majesty shall demand our advice, it will then be our duty to inquire more minutely into the causes of the present discontents. Whenever that inquiry shall come on, I pledge myself to the house to prove, that since the first institution of the house of commons, not a single precedent can be produced to justify their late proceedings. My noble and learned friend (the lord chancellor) has pledged himself to the house, that he will support that assertion.

My lords, the character and circumstances of Mr. Wilkes

have been very improperly introduced into this question, not only here, but in that court of judicature where his cause was tried. I mean the house of commons. With one party he was a patriot of the first magnitude; with the other the vilest incendiary. For my own part, I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject, possessed of certain rights which the laws have given him, and which the laws alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices, nor by his public merits. In *his* person, though he were the *worst* of men, I contend for the safety and security of the best; and, God forbid, my lords, that there should be a power in this country of measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character, or by any other rule but the fixed laws of the land: I believe, my lords, *I* shall not be suspected of any personal partiality to this unhappy man. I am not very conversant in pamphlets or newspapers; but, from what I have heard, and from the little I have read, I may venture to affirm, that I have had my share in the compliments which have come from that quarter; and, as for motives of ambition (for I must take to myself a part of the noble duke's insinuation) I believe, my lords, there have been times in which I have had the honor of standing in such favor in the closet, that there must have been something extravagantly unreasonable in my wishes if they might not *all* have been gratified. After neglecting those opportunities, I am now suspected of coming forward in the decline of life, in the anxious pursuit of wealth and power, which it is impossible for me to enjoy. Be it so. There is one ambition at least which I ever will acknowledge, which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have received from my ancestors. I am not now pleading the cause of an individual, but of every freeholder in England. In what manner this house may constitutionally interpose in their defence, and what kind of redress this case will require and admit of, is not at present the subject of our consideration. The amendment, if agreed to, will naturally lead us to such an inquiry. That inquiry may, perhaps, point out the necessity of an act of the legislature, or it may lead us, perhaps, to desire a conference with the other house; which one noble lord affirms is the only parliamentary way of proceeding; and which another noble lord assures us the house of commons would either not come to, or would break off with indignation. Leaving their lordships to reconcile that matter between themselves, I shall only say, that before we have inquired, we cannot be provided with materials: consequently we are not at present prepared for a conference.

It is not impossible, my lords, that the inquiry I speak of may lead us to advise his majesty to dissolve the present parliament; nor have I any doubt of our right to give that advice, if we should think it necessary. His majesty will then determine whether he will yield to the united petitions of the people of England, or maintain the house of commons in the exercise of a legislative power, which heretofore abolished the house of lords, and overturned the monarchy. I willingly acquit the present house of commons of having actually formed so detestable a design; but they cannot themselves foresee to what excesses they may be carried hereafter; and for my own part, I should be sorry to trust to their future moderation. Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it; and this I know, my lords, that, where law ends, tyranny begins!

rather lengthy list of Sandinista violations.

Q On the question of Finlandization again, Gorbachev has said that the Brezhnev Doctrine is dead and has been replaced by what some characterize as the Sinatra doctrine -- let them do it their way. But this does imply that U.S. -- that the Soviets would continue to influence the direction of the foreign policy of these Eastern European countries, much as they have in the case of Finland and so forth. Now, would the President support that, look with favor upon that, or would he hold out for the unqualified sovereignty of the nations of Eastern Europe?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, I can certainly understand why the Soviets are changing their tune on this with the Warsaw Pact countries all singing, "Please Release Me, Let Me Go."

Q Ohhhh.

Q Sing a few bars.

MR. FITZWATER: (Singing) -- Please release me, let me go -- (laughter.) Anyway, the President would encourage that process. But we wouldn't set standards and yardsticks and that sort of thing for progress. But we certainly encourage the process.

Q What's Gerasimov's number? (Laughter.)

Q Back to Israel-South Africa nuclear missiles. You said there's a lot you cannot discuss, giving the impression that there are some things you can discuss. What can you discuss?

MR. FITZWATER: Actually, there aren't any in that category. (Laughter.)

Q Marlin, back to the cease-fire and Mr. Ortega. You said that the President wants to see the peace process succeed. Well, what if it doesn't? What if Ortega does break the cease-fire? Will he consider then -- will the President consider a renewed request for military aid for the Contras?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, we just won't speculate on that possibility. Our first interest is to pursue the peace process, to put pressure on Mr. Ortega to live up to the agreement, and we will not speculate beyond that.

Q Can you say that he will not consider military aid?

MR. FITZWATER: I can't speculate beyond that.

Q Your answer to Wyatt mirrored the President's answer in his news conference where you both bring up the Contras are not responsible for Ortega. But both sides have violated the cease-fire. And specifically, has the U.S. done anything to pressure the Contras or talk to the Contras about not violating the cease-fire? And what is the U.S. role or responsibility in this?

MR. FITZWATER: Yes, I would say that we have pointed out to the Contras many times that we expect them to live up to the agreement. We have advised against offensive operations and violence. We have been unequivocal in that position. I don't think anybody questions that. The problem with acknowledging that is that you tend to overlook the violations by the Sandinistas, which dwarf any violations by the Contras, believe me. And you can check with any independent organization -- Worldwatch, Americas Watch -- any of them.

Q Can you confirm the cut-off -- if I can follow-up. Can you confirm that we have cut off aid in some instances to Contra --

MR. FITZWATER: There was one occasion. There was one occasion when a small amount of aid was cut off to one commander.

Clinton et al
FY1

ARRIVAL STATEMENT: ANDREWS AFB 12/4/89 DD

Thank you. Thank you for that warm greeting on such a brisk evening. It's great to be home. Back in the U.S.A.

Our mission to Malta, and then Brussels, was about peace. Not the kind of peace we've known for the last forty years - hard and cold - but about a new kind of peace. One that is rich with the promise of permanence. One that is a growing foundation for freedom.

That was the message I brought to President Gorbachev - a message that reflects the hopes and aspirations of all Americans.

Many Americans watched on television as the winds of the Mediterranean tossed our ships about. And I think it's just now that some of the staff are getting back their appetite.

But as I said in Brussels, it was not an ill wind that brought Mikhail Gorbachev and me together at Malta. It was the winds of change. Dramatic change. Witnessed by a world captivated, awed, by the tumultuous events of 1989.

At Malta, President Gorbachev and I took our first hopeful step into a new American - Soviet relationship. We took our first step into the next decade and the new world that is taking shape - a new world of freedom.

The promise of this new world would not have been possible without the steadfast support of the American people. It would not have been possible without the heroes of the East: people like Lech Walesa, Alexander Dubcek, Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn,

and so many, many more. And, it would not have been possible without the strength and stability of one of this century's greatest successes: the NATO Alliance.

[At Malta, we made much progress. We accelerated the timetables for reducing arms. We agreed to meet again in June in the United States. We agreed to press forward on building a closer economic relationship. We agreed to be pals.]

You know, during World War II, Winston Churchill called the island of Malta "democracy's fortress." It withstood one attack after another, never succumbing to the terrible tyranny of the Axis assault. En route home from the Teheran Conference in 1943, Franklin Roosevelt stopped there to deliver the thanks of the American people, praising Malta as "one tiny, bright flame in the darkness, a beacon of hope for clearer days."

I thought of that quote as the skies cleared on our second day of talks. The flame of freedom is casting its glow in many a dark corner around the world. And ladies and gentlemen, tonight new beacons of hope are shining brightly: in Warsaw, in Prague, in Budapest and Berlin, and, I believe, in Moscow.

And America, as always, will be at the forefront of these extraordinary times.

Thank you for your warm greeting on this winter's night. God bless you this Christmas season. And God bless the United States of America.

BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA

"We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better... A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken."

-- President Bush
Inaugural Address
January 20, 1989

December 11, 1989

December 11, 1989

BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

SUMMARY

As the Bush Administration finishes its first year, the domestic economy remains strong while, around the world, dramatic and hopeful changes are taking place. In the **international arena**, the President heralded -- in his Inaugural address -- the historic era of freedom that was dawning: "The day of the dictator is over." Four decades of strength and solidarity among the Western democracies, reinforced by the new vigor of American leadership in the 1980's, have borne fruit. Democracy is spreading around the world and democratic values of political and economic freedom are expanding on every continent. The **President seized the initiative** -- with new proposals for arms reduction at the **NATO Summit** in May; with a series of measures to nurture democracy in **Eastern Europe**, dramatized by his historic visit to **Poland and Hungary** in July; and, finally, with his invitation to Soviet President Gorbachev to meet at **Malta**, in December, to begin building a new structure for world peace.

The domestic agenda has been full. In the Fall, the President unveiled his **National Drug Control Policy** in a televised address to the Nation and convened an **Education Summit** with the Nation's Governors. The Administration proposed initiatives in a number of areas, this year, ranging from **child care to environmental protection**; from **fighting violent crime to ethics reforms.** At the same time, **the economy remains strong** with current economic expansion continuing to set new records and create new jobs.

KEEPING THE ECONOMY STRONG

- **Record Expansion:** During the current economic expansion -- in its 84th month as of November -- over 20.7 million jobs have been created and the unemployment rate has fallen to levels not seen in 16 years. Income levels have risen sharply and growth in industrial output is over one-and-a-half times that of Western Europe. Real per capita income, output and business fixed investment are at record levels. Yet, consumer price inflation has remained under five percent for the past seven years.

- **Budget Policy:** After extensive negotiations by the Administration with Congress, an agreement was reached on a budget plan for FY 1990. The plan meets the Gramm-Rudman-

Hollings deficit target for the fiscal year with no new taxes.

- **Capital Gains:** The President proposed a reduction in the top capital gains tax rate to 15 percent to promote risk taking and entrepreneurship thereby encouraging new businesses and small business which provide most of the new jobs to the American economy. The rate cut would also lower the cost of capital to American business and encourage a long-term focus for America's savers and investors. Majorities in both Houses of Congress are now on record in support of a capital gains tax rate reduction.

- **Savings and Loans:** In August, the President signed the **Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act of 1989** to begin resolving the savings and loan situation. The President's plan, introduced in the first days of the Administration, addresses the enormous financial crisis that exists in the thrift industry and implements tough standards to help ensure such a crisis never happens again.

- **Minimum Wage:** The Administration reached an agreement with Congress and the President signed legislation to increase the basic minimum wage in increments to $4.25 an hour by 1991 and create an historic training wage. The training wage, insisted upon by the Administration, will save thousands of jobs for the working poor and younger, less experienced workers.

- **International Trade:** Leading efforts to promote free and fair trade, the Bush Administration successfully advanced the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations including its proposal to correct and prevent trade distortions in agriculture and its proposal to create rules for international trade in services. It is engaged in bilateral trade talks with Japan to discuss impediments to expanding trade and encourage it to open its markets to U.S. exports. Reducing some tariffs immediately, the Administration began the smooth implementation of the new free trade agreement with Canada.

- **Third World debt:** The Administration has taken the lead in finding a way to reduce the debt burden and encourage economic growth in developing countries. At the Administration's urging, the IMF and World Bank have set aside funds to support debt reduction programs for developing countries. Three countries, Mexico, the Philippines and Costa Rica, have successfully negotiated agreements under the Administration's debt plan.

SEIZING INTERNATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE

- **A Resurgence of Democracy:** At the outset of the Administration, the President developed a strategy to encourage and help sustain the historic processes taking place, especially in Eastern Europe. In April, the President spoke in Hamtramck, Michigan, and called for self-determination in Eastern Europe and an end to the division of the continent. In May, President Bush called for the Berlin Wall to come down, and set forth his vision of a Europe "whole and free" during his visit to Mainz, Germany. Though the pace of change was even faster than anticipated, the United States remains on the course set by the President last spring. In the Western Hemisphere, democracy also continues to advance. In October, the President attended a meeting of hemispheric Presidents in Costa Rica to celebrate 100 years of that country's democracy.

- **Poland and Hungary:** The President's strong support for political pluralism and economic reform in Poland and Hungary was highlighted by his July visit to those nations and by the leadership he has exercised to mobilize international backing for these reforms. In September, the President proposed a major U.S. package of economic, environmental assistance and trade and investment incentives to assist in the economic restructuring of Poland and Hungary which became the framework for the "Support for East European Democracy Act," passed by Congress and signed by the President in November..

- **"Beyond Containment":** The President has welcomed the extraordinary political and economic changes underway in the Soviet Union. In a major speech at Texas A&M University in May, he established a new American policy, "Beyond Containment," that seeks to integrate Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Major progress has been made in arms reduction including negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, strategic arms reduction, a global ban on chemical weapons, nuclear testing and a new "Open Skies" initiative. The bilateral agenda has been broadened to include transnational issues such as the environment and the struggle against drug abuse.

- **NATO Summit:** The President seized the arms control initiative and won the strong support of our allies with a bold proposal to reduce conventional forces in Europe. The Alliance also agreed on a rapid pace of negotiations aimed at reaching an agreement within a year. The U.S. proposal would involve deep cuts in Warsaw Pact manpower and equipment, and moderate cuts on the NATO side to achieve a stable balance in Europe.

- **Economic Summit:** Under President Bush's leadership, the Paris Economic Summit in July agreed to launch concerted international action to support Polish and Hungarian economic reforms and to coordinate Western assistance. The Economic Summit also made further progress on key U.S. economic and political objectives such as a strengthened debt strategy, economic policy coordination, completion of the Uruguay Round by December 1990, and international cooperation on protection of the environment.

- **Malta:** As European and other events accelerated, the President conceived the idea of informally meeting with Mr. Gorbachev for an in-depth, wide-ranging exchange. This took place on board ships off Malta in early December. The President offered a number of initiatives on economic relations, cultural exchange, human rights and arms reduction. Europe and regional issues, particularly Central America, were also subjects of discussion. It was agreed to hold a formal US-Soviet Summit in the last two weeks of June, 1990, in the United States.

- **China:** Visiting China soon after taking office, the President underscored the long-term strategic importance of the Sino-U.S. relationship and his support for the process of reform. In response to the subsequent suppression of the democratic movement in China, the President took strong actions to make clear that the U.S. condemns repression even while working in its interest to preserve the basic elements of this important relationship. The President also acted swiftly to ensure that no Chinese nationals in the U.S. would be deported against their will -- action that has since been extended and broadened.

- **Central America Accord:** On March 24, the President and Congressional leaders agreed on a bipartisan strategy for peace and democracy in Central America. With the agreement, for the first time in years, the U.S. has a broadly supported strategy aimed at bringing about free and fair elections and the establishment of democracy in Nicaragua. The Administration also remains committed to the support of democracy in El Salvador and the rest of the region.

- **Strengthening our Strategic Deterrent:** After a thorough review of U.S. defense strategy, the President submitted to the Congress a defense budget that will modernize our deterrent capability including, after more than a decade of debate, specific proposals for two mobile ICBMs. The strategic modernization program also includes the revolutionary B-2 bomber, the Trident D-5 missile for our submarine force, and funding to support an informed development and deployment decision on the Strategic Defense

Initiative within the next four years. Although Congress made some reductions in the Administration's requests for these and other programs, its actions generally support the President's objectives.

INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE

- **Education Summit:** The President called the Nation's Governors together for an historic Education Summit. The Administration and the Governors committed to encourage education reform in America by: establishing national education goals; working for greater flexibility in the use of Federal funds in exchange for increased accountability; implementing state-by-state restructuring of the education system; and adopting improved ways of measuring performance.

- **Educational Excellence:** The President submitted to Congress a comprehensive set of education initiatives, **The Educational Excellence Act of 1989.** The Act includes proposals for merit and magnet schools, alternative certification of teachers, excellence awards for teachers, emergency grants to help urban schools to fight drugs, increased funding for endowments at Historically Black Colleges, and a National Science Scholars program.

- **Research and Development:** The President has strengthened coordination of Federal R&D activities and improved oversight of science and technology policy by restructuring the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy. He has directed the establishment of the President's Council of Advisors of Science and Technology drawn from the private sector to advise him in this area.

- **National Drug Control Strategy:** In his first Address to the Nation, the President unveiled a comprehensive, coordinated strategy for fighting illegal drug use. The President has five priority areas: the criminal justice system; drug treatment; education, community action, and the workplace; international initiatives; and interdiction efforts.

- **Combatting Violent Crime:** President Bush transmitted to Congress **The Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act of 1989** proposing measures to augment enforcement and prosecution, strengthen current law, to prohibit the importation and manufacture of gun magazines of more than 15 rounds and to expand prison capacity.

- **Clean Air Act Revisions:** On July 21, President Bush transmitted to the Congress the first proposed revisions to

the **Clean Air Act** since 1977. His legislation is designed to harness the power of the marketplace to drastically reduce three major threats to the nation's environment: acid rain, urban air pollution, and toxic air emissions.

- **Clean Water and Coastlines:** On March 10, the EPA implemented a medical waste tracking program to track medical wastes to ensure proper disposal and prevent ocean pollution -- an important step forward in a comprehensive program to help keep our beaches clean. The President is also committed to end ocean dumping of sewage sludge by 1991 and EPA and the Department of Justice have negotiated compliance schedules with local jurisdictions to meet the 1991 deadline.

- **Hazardous Waste:** The President announced that he will seek new legislation to ban all exports of hazardous waste unless an agreement exists with the receiving country to provide for its safe handling.

- **Department of Energy Facilities Cleanup:** The Department of Energy has published an aggressive five-year cleanup plan which identifies site-by-site Departmental environmental restoration and waste management initiatives which would meet the Nation's security needs and comply with environmental safety and health laws.

- **Global Climate and Ozone Depletion:** The President has accelerated the Administration's activities on global change and has offered to host a conference next fall to negotiate a framework treaty on global change. He has enhanced the Nation's international leadership in this field by developing an integrated scientific approach, endorsing NASA's Mission to Planet Earth, and increasing the global change research budget, already the largest of any nation. And has announced a White House environmental research conference to be held next spring. Also, the President proposed a 28% increase in global environmental research for FY 1990. The $663 million budget, the largest amount spent by any nation on global environmental research, will help to continue the United States' international leadership in this field. In order to prevent further damage to the earth's protective ozone layer, the President has called for a total worldwide phaseout of CFCs by the year 2000, provided safe substitutes are available.

- **Natural Gas Deregulation:** On July 26, the President signed into law the **Wellhead Decontrol Act of 1989**, which ends all remaining price controls on natural gas. This will phase out all federal price controls on natural gas by January 1, 1993, marking the first time since 1954 that energy markets will be completely deregulated.

- **Space:** The President has committed the nation to "a sustained program of manned exploration of the solar system" and "the permanent settlement of space." To this end, he has identified as critical elements of the U.S. space program: the permanently manned Space Station Freedom, manned missions to the Moon and to Mars, and the Mission to Planet Earth aimed at understanding Earth's fragile environment. The President established the National Space Council under the leadership of Vice President Quayle to coordinate U.S. space activities.

- **National Transportation Policy:** The Department of Transportation is developing a National Transportation Policy to facilitate the allocation of public and private resources so that transportation systems -- highway, aviation, mass transit, rail and maritime -- enhance national economic growth, global competitiveness, national security, environmental quality and personal mobility.

WORKING FOR A KINDER, GENTLER AMERICA

- **Affordable Housing:** The President unveiled **HOPE**, a comprehensive agenda of **Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere.** Major elements include provisions to help first-time home buyers, low-income housing residents, and the homeless, and to create up to fifty enterprise zones over the next four years. Secretary Kemp has been charged with finding new ways to put more FHA foreclosures into the hands of non-profit groups that serve the homeless.

- **The Homeless:** The President requested full funding of the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act in FY 1990 and proposed an additional $50 million to encourage public-private partnerships to reduce homelessness. The President recently signed legislation that substantially increases funding for the McKinney Act.

- **Head Start:** The President also challenged Congress to increase Head Start funding by $250 million in FY 1990 to allow 95,000 more four-year-olds to participate in the program. Congressional action provided $151 million which will allow the Program to serve up to 37,500 more eligible four-year olds.

- **Child Care:** The President transmitted to Congress a child care proposal, the **Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989,** which provides a new refundable child care tax credit of up to $1000 per child under age four, for low-and moderate-income working families. This legislation will also make the existing Dependent Care Tax Credit refundable,

and does not discriminate against religious or family-based child care or against two-parent families in which a parent works in the home caring for the children.

- **Infant Mortality:** To address the all-too-high infant mortality rate, the Administration forwarded to Congress legislation to extend Medicaid eligibility to pregnant women and infants with incomes up to 130 percent of the poverty line, as well as Medicaid coverage for immunizations for all children up to age five who are eligible for Food Stamps. Congress raised the mandatory Medicaid eligibility for pregnant women and children up to age six to 133 percent of the poverty level.

- **Experimental AIDS Eradication Efforts:** The President has promoted wider availability of experimental and therapeutic drugs such as AZT, to battle HIV and AIDS.

- **Adoption:** In September, the President sent two legislative proposals to Congress designed to encourage adoption of special needs children, through tax incentives and expense reimbursements for adoptive parents. In addition, the President has directed all Federal agencies to develop plans for supporting and promoting adoption of special needs children.

- **Welfare Reform:** The Administration issued final rules on October 13 to **implement the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training program of the Family Support Act of 1988,** as the next step in welfare reform. The Administration is proposing to spend over three-and-a-half billion dollars over the next five years to implement the JOBS program. The Act will help reduce the number of individuals who need welfare.

- **National Service:** The President is spearheading a movement to engage all individuals and institutions in America in community service. He announced the formation of a foundation known as "The **Points of Light Initiative**" to: encourage all Americans to take steps to address social problems as their own; identify, enlarge and multiply successful community service initiatives; and discover, encourage, and develop new community leaders.

- **Disabled Americans:** The President is committed to legislation that would extend civil rights protection to disabled Americans. This legislation, called the **Americans with Disabilities Act,** would represent the most significant expansion of federal civil rights laws in the past two decades. With the support of the Administration, a version of the Act passed the Senate on September 7, and has been under consideration in the House since then.

- **Civil Rights:** Working with Congress, the President has signed legislation reauthorizing the Commission on Civil Rights through FY 1991. The Administration has endorsed the Hate Crimes Bill, which provides for the collection of data about crimes motivated by racial, religious, or ethnic animosity. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice has vigorously pursued the enforcement of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988, which became effective in March.

- **Ethics:** Numerous ethics reforms proposed in President Bush's ethics legislation were enacted by Congress in the "Government Ethics Reform Act of 1989" shortly before it adjourned. Key reforms include the extension of post-employment "revolving door" restrictions to the Legislative Branch, tax deferral for Federal employees required to sell assets to avoid conflicts of interest, reform on rules for gifts and travel, limitations on outside earned income for high-level officials and a ban on receipt of honoraria by all Federal employees (except in the Senate which instead enacted a reduced ceiling on honoraria) President Bush also issued an ethics Executive Order in April setting forth strict principles for the conduct of Executive Branch employees.

- **Campaign Finance Reform:** The President proposed comprehensive campaign finance legislation designed to lessen the power of monied special interests and restore real competition to American Congressional elections.

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December 11, 1989

BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA
ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

KEEPING THE ECONOMY STRONG

Maintaining the current economic expansion with low inflation is the key to improving standards of living, increasing job opportunities for all Americans, and increasing investment in productive capacity. Economic performance during this expansion has been exceptionally good with extraordinary job growth. The policies of the Bush Administration are designed to preserve this strong record.

- **Record Peacetime Expansion:** The current expansion reached 84 months in November. This is the second longest economic expansion in U.S. history and the longest peacetime expansion.

- **Job Creation:** Over 20.7 million new jobs have been created during this expansion, and this year the unemployment rate has reached levels not seen in over 16 years. The benefits of robust economic growth have been shared by all demographic groups as indicated by historically low unemployment rates for women and minorities. During this decade, America has created more new jobs than Japan and the nations of Western Europe combined. A higher percentage of American adults is at work than at any other time in our history.

- **Inflation Under Control:** Consumer price inflation has remained under 5 percent in each of the seven years from 1982 to 1988, and the recent slowing in economic growth to a sustainable rate will lessen price pressures in the near future. In the last twelve months, the CPI has increased only 4.5 percent and, in the last three months, the index has risen at an annual rate of only 2.6 percent.

- **Record Income:** Real per capita disposable personal income -- personal income after taxes and inflation -- has risen 20 percent during this expansion.

- **Higher National Saving and Investment:** Partly due to the discipline of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings process, the Federal deficit has declined from 6.3 percent of GNP in fiscal year 1983 to 3.0 percent in FY 1989. The personal savings rate averaged 5.3 percent over the first three quarters of 1989, well above its recent low of 3.2 percent in 1987.

- **New Business Incorporations:** During the first nine months of 1989, 520,108 new corporations were formed. Ninety-eight percent of these new corporations are small businesses. At

the same time, business failures numbered just 37,820 -- a decline of 15.6 percent from the first nine months of 1988.

- **Improved International Trade Position:** The international trade position of the United States has improved substantially. U.S. exports are at an all-time high and the trade deficit (as measured by exports minus imports) has been cut by 30 percent from its level in 1987.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Implementing Fiscal Restraint:** Throughout the year, the Administration negotiated with Congress to pass a fiscally responsible budget agreement that met the requirements of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law. As a result of the negotiations, a series of appropriations bills and a budget reconciliation bill were finally enacted which meet the deficit reduction targets with no new taxes.

- **Enhanced Rescission Authority:** On August 4, the President endorsed the Legislative Line-Item Act of 1989 (S.1553), providing the President with the enhanced rescission authority. Such authority will help the President reduce the federal deficit by allowing him to eliminate wasteful and unnecessary spending in appropriations bills.

- **Capital Gains:** In February, the President proposed a carefully designed reduction in the top capital gains tax rate. Taxpayers who held certain investments would be able to exclude 45 percent of any gain they received from taxation. The maximum effective rate would be reduced to 15 percent and families with incomes under $20,000 would be exempt from capital gains taxation. The President's proposal would promote risk taking and entrepreneurship thereby encouraging new businesses and small business which provide most of the new jobs to the American economy. The rate cut would also lower the cost of capital to American business and encourage a long-term focus for America's savers and investors. Majorities in both Houses of Congress are now on record in support of a capital gains tax rate reduction and its passage will be one of the Administration's top priorities when Congress reconvenes.

- **Savings and Loan Reform:** The President signed the **Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act of 1989** on August 9. This legislation came to grips with the serious financial problems of the savings and loan industry, and has helped safeguard and stabilize America's system of thrift institutions. The President's plan, introduced in the first days of his Administration, assures that the long developing problems in our thrift industry will never happen again. It

significantly reforms the regulation of the thrift industry and separates the chartering of the institutions from the insurance of deposits. It establishes strict new standards including new capital requirements to assure the solvency of thrift institutions in the future, and sets stiff penalties for wrongdoing by the officers of insured institutions. Further, the act provides $50 billion to finance the resolution of insolvent thrift institutions.

- **Minimum Wage Agreement:** The Administration and Congressional leaders reached agreement on a plan, now signed into law by the President, to increase the basic minimum wage to $4.25 per hour by 1991 and will create an historic training wage, insisted upon by the Administration. The training wage will save thousands of job for the working poor and younger, less experienced workers.

- **International Trade:** The Administration is forcefully promoting the opening of world markets through the Uruguay Round of multilateral negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and through bilateral negotiations. It successfully broke a stalemate in the Uruguay Round's mid-term review and put in place a framework for negotiations, agreed to by the 96 member nations, to open markets and create rules for fair play in international trade in goods and services. It is engaged in bilateral talks with Japan to identify and eliminate structural factors that may impede balance of payments adjustment and efficient patterns of world trade. The approaches being pursued in these discussions will provide long-term benefits for both countries. The Administration has also created a high level interagency group to assure that U.S. trade and investment interests are addressed as the European Community works to create a single market in 1992.

- **Steel Imports:** The President initiated, and the Administration successfully implemented, a two-and-a-half year Steel Trade Liberalization Program. The program is designed to phase out, in a responsible and orderly manner, the Voluntary Restraint Arrangements (VRAs) that currently limit steel imports into the U.S. and to negotiate an international consensus to eliminate subsidies and other trade-distorting practices.

- **Addressing the International Debt Problem:** The Administration has taken the lead in encouraging commercial banks to reduce the debt and debt service burdens of developing countries. Recently, three countries -- Mexico, the Philippines, and Costa Rica -- reached agreements with commercial banks under the Administration's debt plan. The differences in these agreements appropriately reflect

differing circumstances in each country and illustrate the flexibility of the Administration's approach.

- **International Competitiveness:** To further meet the global economic challenges of the 1990's, the President named Vice President Quayle chairman of a newly established Council on Competitiveness. Under the leadership of the Vice President, the council has developed a strategy for reform of the existing maze of product liability laws in order to maintain American competitiveness.

- **Agricultural Initiatives:** The Administration has placed its comprehensive agricultural proposals before the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. These proposals would harmonize domestic agricultural programs of producing countries and reduce distortions to patterns of international production and trade. In addition, the Administration has formed a task force to develop a farm bill for 1990.

- **National Transportation Policy:** The Department of Transportation is developing a National Transportation Policy to facilitate the allocation of public and private resources so that transportation systems -- highway, aviation, mass transit, rail and maritime -- enhance national economic growth, global competitiveness, national security, environmental quality, and personal mobility.

- **Women and Minority Business Ownership:** The President has called for the promotion of women's business ownership through a series of procurement and credit conferences conducted by the Small Business Administration. The SBA has also implemented a new small loan program beneficial to women entrepreneurs. To advise the Administration on ways to promote the growth of minority business ownership, the President announced the formation of the Minority Business Development Commission. The S.B.A. has also implemented new regulations to strengthen the Minority Small Business and Capital Ownership Development program and further promote minority business development. In addition, President Bush has called for the reinvigoration of the Minority Business Development Agency in the Department of Commerce.

- **Disaster Assistance:** The Administration and Congress have worked together to provide necessary supplemental funding to assist victims of Hurricane Hugo and the California earthquake. This funding is helping to provide those who lost their homes with temporary shelter, is assisting uninsured, needy families and business owners to rebuild their homes and business establishments, and is helping governments in the affected areas rebuild highways and other public facilities.

SEIZING INTERNATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE

In his Inaugural Address, the President heralded the historic new era of freedom that was dawning: "The day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree." Four decades of strength and solidarity among the Western democracies, reinforced by the new vigor of American leadership in the 1980's, had borne fruit. From the Third World to the Communist World -- including Europe -- the resurgence of the ideals of political and economic freedom has shaken Marxist-Leninist and other doctoral regimes to their foundations leading to dramatic and promising changes. The President has seized the initiative and seized the opportunity, taking the lead in Western efforts to join with the Soviet Union to build a new structure of peace and freedom.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **A Resurgence of Democracy:** Maintaining America's leadership role in the world, the President developed a strategy to encourage and help sustain the historic processes taking place, especially in Eastern Europe. Early in his Administration, the President expressed his hope for the success of perestroika in the Soviet Union. In April, he spoke in Hamtramck, Michigan, calling for self-determination in Eastern Europe and an end to the division of the continent. In May, President Bush called for the Berlin Wall to come down, and he set forth his vision of a Europe "whole and free" during his visit to Mainz, Germany. In the Western Hemisphere, the President strongly has worked to support the extension of democracy, especially in Nicaragua and Panama where the United States has worked with the Organization of American States to encourage free and fair elections -- and to condemn efforts to thwart the express will of the people. In October, the President underscored the U.S. commitment to hemispheric democracy by attending the 100th anniversary celebration of Costa Rican democracy.

- **Western Europe:** The President proposed new mechanisms for U.S. consultation and cooperation with the EC Commission and member states as the European Community works toward creating a single market in 1992. Seeing the resurgence of Western Europe as a triumph of democratic values and principles, the President has welcomed its success, confident that a mature U.S.- E.C. partnership will serve our mutual interests and serve as a beacon for the East.

- **NATO Summit:** At the successful NATO Summit in May, the President's vision of Europe as well as agreement on a new conventional arms reduction initiative helped build Alliance unity and confidence and define the Alliance's future agenda.

- **Eastern Europe:** As Poland and Hungary have taken unprecedented steps toward pluralism, democracy, and market economic policies, the United States has encouraged each step and signaled its strong support. The President has also encouraged more recent movement towards change in East Germany, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. The President's strong support for political pluralism and economic reform in Hungary and Poland was highlighted by his July visit to those nations, and by the international leadership he has exercised in mobilizing major international backing for these reforms. The President proposed a major U.S. package of economic assistance and trade and investment incentives to assist in the economic restructuring of Poland and Hungary. The President also offered technical assistance to both countries to the address problems of pollution. All elements of the President's package were adopted by Congress and became the framework for the "Support for East European Democracy Act" that he signed into law in November.

- **Poland:** Following up on the program he announced on April 17 in Hamtramck, Michigan, the President called upon Congress to declare Poland a beneficiary country under the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences and to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland. The U.S. proposed a business and economic agreement that will promote trade, investment and other contacts between the private sectors of both countries. Congress has also provided for a $240 million Enterprise Fund to help capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector, plus $125 million in emergency food aid and additional funds for environmental, labor and other reform projects. The U.S. has also encouraged the World Bank to move ahead with new loans to help Polish agriculture and industry. The Administration signed a cultural agreement with Poland which will result in the opening of a U.S. cultural center in Warsaw and also launched a telecommunications infrastructure development there. The President also asked for and Congress approved a $200 million grant which would be the U.S. contribution to the $1 billion Western stabilization fund the Poles have requested. In November, he sent a Presidential Mission of experts to Warsaw, headed by Agriculture Secretary Yeutter, to discuss with the Polish Government its economic plans and to evaluate them. The Mission also included Secretaries Dole and Mosbacher, and Michael Boskin, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, along with 20 prominent business, labor, and academic leaders. It is making recommendations to the President as to the most effective use of the nearly $1 billion in U.S. assistance already authorized by Congress. The Mission's findings will also be shared with the twenty-four nation "Group for Economic Assistance to Poland and Hungary."

- **Hungary:** The President also asked Congress to authorize an Enterprise Fund as a source of new capital to invigorate the Hungarian private sector. The President informed Congress that Hungary is now receiving Most-Favored-Nation tariff treatment for the maximum period allowable under the law. The President also declared Hungary a beneficiary country under our Generalized System of Preferences which will allow duty free entry of Hungarian products into the U.S. market. He also proposed and Congress passed legislation to allow OPIC to operate in Hungary, and for greater scientific, technical, educational, and cultural exchanges between the U.S. and Hungary. The U.S. will negotiate a comprehensive business and economic agreement with Hungary to improve its business environment and will establish an International Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe in Budapest. The President also announced that the Peace Corps would operate in Hungary to enhance English language training -- the first time in a European country. Finally, the U.S. subsequently concluded a new science and technology agreement with Hungary in which both sides will contribute funds to encourage joint research endeavors in basic and applied sciences.

- **The Economic Summit in Paris:** Immediately after the President's historic visit to Poland and Hungary, he proposed to the other world leaders gathered at the Paris Economic Summit that the industrial democracies join together to assist economic and political reform in Hungary and Poland. This led to the creation of the "Group for Economic Assistance to Poland and Hungary" which has raised several billion dollars in financial assistance for these two countries and is working to assure effective aid coordination. The industrial democracies also demonstrated their unity, by dealing with a variety of other issues on the international economic agenda, as well as the problem of drugs and the environment.

- **"Beyond Containment":** Seeing an historic process of change in the Soviet Union, the President has declared his intention to move beyond the successful policy of containment of Soviet power to a new policy whose goal is integrating the Soviet Union into the world community as a constructive partner. Positive changes so far in Soviet policies -- in human rights, economic reforms, and settlement of some international conflicts -- are being encouraged and broadened. As demonstrated at Malta, the United States is ready to respond to such further developments. Already:

  -- **The U.S.- Soviet dialogue on conflicts in regions of the Third World** has resumed intensively and discussions have begun on a new range of global problems that

require global cooperation, such as terrorism, the environment, and narcotics.

-- In **arms control**, the President has accelerated the pace of negotiations with a new American initiative on reducing conventional forces in Europe, endorsed by the NATO Summit. At the Wyoming Ministerial, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. resolved major disagreements about the verification protocols to the Threshold Test Ban and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaties, opening the way to completion of the treaties in 1990. The President proposed an "Open Skies" initiative to improve the openness of military activities in NATO and Warsaw Pact countries; it will be the subject of a Canadian-sponsored international conference early in 1990. In his speech to the U.N. General Assembly, the President also proposed a new initiative to further a ban on chemical weapons challenging the Soviets to early destruction of the majority of the stocks of these weapons even while a multilateral treaty is being negotiated. Finally, in science and technology, the Administration concluded a new basic sciences agreement with the Soviet Union which will bring together researchers of both nations to cooperate in areas as diverse as physics, life sciences, and science policy.

o **Malta:** The President and Chairman Gorbachev exchanged views on a variety of issues during their meetings in Malta including the remarkable events leading to peaceful and democratic change in Eastern and Central Europe. The President noted his strong support for perestroika and suggested that the two leaders work to give major new impetus to the U.S.- Soviet relationship. The President conveyed his strong personal commitment to this goal. Among the ideas that the President proposed were:

-- Targeting the 1990 Summit for completion of a trade agreement granting **Most Favored Nation status** to the Soviet Union, so that the President can grant a Jackson-Vanik waiver at that time. To reach that goal, the President proposed beginning negotiations on a trade agreement now and urged the Supreme Soviet to complete action on its emigration legislation early next year.

-- Supporting **observer status for the Soviet Union in GATT** after the Uruguay Round is completed next year. The President urged the Soviet Union to use the intervening time to move toward market prices at the wholesale level so its economy will become more compatible with the GATT system.

-- **Expanding U.S.- Soviet technical economic cooperation.** The President presented a paper proposing specific economic projects covering topics such as finance, agriculture, statistics, small business development, budgetary and tax policy, a stock exchange, and anti-monopoly policy.

-- Resolving all **divided family issues** by the time of the 1990 Summit. In this regard, the President handed over a list of people wishing to emigrate.

-- Speeding achievement of a **chemical weapons ban** by offering to end U.S. production of binary weapons when the multilateral convention on chemical weapons enters into force, in return for Soviet acceptance of the terms of our UN proposal to ban chemical weapons.

-- Proposing to sign an **agreement** at the 1990 Summit to destroy U.S. and Soviet chemical weapons down to 20 percent of the current U.S. level.

-- Suggesting joint U.S.- Soviet support for a **CFE Summit** to sign a CFE treaty in 1990.

-- Accelerating the **START process** in order to resolve all substantive issues and to conclude a treaty, if possible, by the 1990 Summit.

-- Hosting a conference next fall to negotiate a framework **treaty on global climate change**, after the working groups of the UN-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change submit their final report.

-- Significantly increasing **university exchanges** so that an additional 1,000 American and 1,000 Soviet college students are studying in each other's country by the beginning of the 1991 school year.

o **China:** On his visit to China in February, the President emphasized the long-term strategic importance of the U.S.-China relationship and his support for the process of reform. In response to the tragic suppression of the democratic movement in China in June, the President ordered the suspension of all government-to-government sales and commercial exports of weapons, suspension of visits between U.S. and Chinese military leaders, and review of other aspects of U.S.- PRC bilateral relations. The President also acted swiftly to ensure that no Chinese students or nationals in the U.S. would be forced to return to China against their will, action that has since been extended and broadened. The President's policy makes clear that repression cannot be condoned. But it also seeks to

preserve the basic elements of a strategically important relationship that has, itself, played a major part in China's recent policy of reform and openness -- and can do so again in the future.

o **Asian Initiatives:**

-- **Japan:** The U.S. relationship with Japan has grown stronger under the Bush Administration. In security matters, Japan's contribution to the maintenance of U.S. forces stationed there increased by 12 percent, to $2.8 billion per year, making it the most generous host nation support program enjoyed by the U.S. anywhere in the world. A major project also moved forward to co-develop an advanced fighter, based on the F-16, increasing the security of both the U.S. and Japan. American companies will receive $2.5 billion in contracts and the first significant technology flow-back from Japan. As part of an emerging global partnership with the U.S., Japan will provide significant development assistance to Poland. On trade matters, the Structural Impediments Initiative talks have begun to clarify the long term sources of U.S.-Japan trade friction. In addition, the Administration began talks aimed at opening markets for U.S. satellites, super-computers, and forest products.

-- **Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference:** The Administration succeeded in launching -- through joint leadership with Japan, Korea, Australia and the ASEAN states -- the first conference on Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in Canberra, Australia, in November. This was the first region-wide ministerial meeting to address collective responses to the great economic changes underway in the world. The APEC group will seek to present a united position in the Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations, establish working groups to study infrastructural needs of great importance to U.S. service industries in the region, and improve data sharing. Although modest at the outset -- by design -- these accomplishments are a solid beginning to fundamental trade liberalization in Asia and the Pacific.

-- **Cambodia:** In September 1989, the U.S. insistence on the right of self-determination for the people of Cambodia, occupied by Vietnamese forces since 1978, was rewarded by the withdrawal of Vietnamese main-force military units. The United States will continue to press for a comprehensive solution based on the Cambodian people's right to choose its own government in free and fair elections. Internationally-supervised

elections, under an interim government led by Prince Sihanouk, hold the best prospect for denying dominance to either the murderous Khmer Rouge or the Hun Sen regime that was installed by the Vietnamese army.

-- **Vice Presidential Asian Initiatives:** Vice President Quayle, in two separate trips to the Pacific rim countries and Asian nations, has played a key role in the formulation of policy. In his spring trip to Australia, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand, he worked to coordinate U.S. policy on Cambodia with that of our allies in anticipation of the pullout of Vietnamese forces, and promoted U.S. trade interests. This fall, in a trip to South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and Malaysia, the Vice President began delicate base negotiations with the Philippines government. He also restated U.S. commitment to Korea; signed an agreement on space cooperation with Japan; and advanced U.S. Cambodian policy in the region.

o **Latin America:** The President has established a close, working relationship with Latin American neighbors to foster a new partnership on hemispheric issues such as democracy, debt, and drugs. Relations with Mexico are closer than at any time in recent memory. The Administration is currently negotiating a new agreement with Mexico to expand trade and investment opportunities. In October, the President attended a meeting of hemispheric leaders in San Jose, Costa Rica, where he stressed the importance of democracy to the Hemisphere and confirmed Nicaragua's isolation.

-- **Panama:** The U.S. has also worked with the Organization of American States to develop a hemispheric consensus that Manuel Noriega should leave power and permit restoration of democratic rule. On November 30, the President denied Panamanian flag vessels access to U.S. ports after January 31, 1990. This measure will deprive Noriega's illegal regime of tens of millions of dollars in revenue.

-- **El Salvador:** The President remains committed to supporting the democratically elected government of El Salvador against extremists of both right and left. In Malta, the President insisted that the Soviets take more effective action to stop Nicaragua and Cuba from sending arms to the Marxist FMLN guerrillas. The United States regards the preservation of fundamental human rights as an integral part of its effort to help build democratic institutions in El Salvador and will work with the government to bring human rights violators to justice. In early February, Vice President Quayle traveled to El Salvador to support

free and fair elections and to deliver a warning to the Salvadoran military over human rights violations. In late June, the Vice President again visited El Salvador, as well as Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras, advancing the Administration's policy on Panama and Nicaragua. Costa Rican President Oscar Arias joined in pressuring the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua to hold fair elections there.

- **Bipartisan Accord on Central America:** On March 24, the President and Congress agreed on a bipartisan plan for peace and democracy in Central America:

  -- **Regional peace:** The President and Congress agreed that the region's democracies deserve our support, that Nicaragua's subversion of its neighbors must end, and that Soviet and Cuban support for violence and subversion in the hemisphere must also end.

  -- **Humanitarian aid:** Congress agreed to support the Administration's request for continued humanitarian assistance for the Nicaraguan Resistance at current levels through the elections in Nicaragua scheduled for February, 1990.

  -- **Democracy:** The Marxist Sandinistas are being put to the test to permit a real democratic electoral contest for political power, fulfilling the promises of democratic pluralism that they have made and broken so often before. Aid to the Nicaraguan opposition to help bring about a free and fair election was approved with bipartisan Congressional support. On November 14, a Presidential Commission on Election Monitoring in Nicaragua was formed, including Senators and Representatives from both sides of the aisle.

- **Middle East:** The Administration is promoting progress toward peace in the Middle East by supporting the Government of Israel's May 14 initiative calling for Palestinian elections in the occupied territories. A five-point framework advanced by the United States is central to these efforts. These elections can be a step toward a comprehensive peace settlement that assures Israel's security and the legitimate political rights of the Palestinians. The President also is actively supporting the efforts of the Arab League and others to promote internal reconciliation, end the internecine warfare, and bring peace to a united Lebanon that is free of all foreign forces.

- **Canada:** The Administration began an immediate reduction of tariffs as a first step in a multi-year phase out of trade

barriers -- the result of the U.S.- Upper Canadian Free Trade Agreement that took effect January 1, 1989.

- **African Initiatives:** A balanced approach of pressure and incentives may well be achieving progress toward the goal of dismantling apartheid and establishing a non-racial democratic society in South Africa. The Administration also played a significant role in supporting the free and fair elections in Namibia, which have opened the door to independence and democracy in that country and in promoting diplomatic solutions to regional conflicts in Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere. Our debt forgiveness initiatives of about $800 million in debt and associated interest payments provides important assistance to African countries implementing market-oriented reforms.

- **A Strong Defense:** Congress adopted an integrated package proposed by the President on strategic modernization that modernizes the entire strategic triad. Although Congress made some reductions in amounts requested, its actions generally support the President's objectives.

  -- The President proposed to Congress a **two-missile plan** to maintain a strong, modernized strategic deterrent. The bipartisan consensus to deploy the rail-mobile Peacekeeper and the road-mobile Small ICBM will also give the U.S. momentum in strategic arms control negotiations.

  -- The **modernization plan** capitalizes on the revolutionary potential of the B-2, and also modernizes our strategic submarine force. These programs are essential to our arms control positions.

  -- The President requested funding for the **Strategic Defense Initiative** to support an informed development and deployment decision within the next four years.

  -- The President also directed a **Defense Management Review** to develop a plan to implement fully the Packard Commission's blueprint to strengthen and streamline the defense acquisition system and to manage defense resources more effectively. The Review has been completed and its recommendations, now being implemented, promise to save billions of dollars annually.

- **Air Transportation Security:** The Administration has taken several measures to enhance security and efficiency in the air transportation system. These efforts include:

-- New requirements for installation of explosive detection devices in high-risk airports.

-- Intense international negotiations to enhance security abroad.

-- Establishment of the President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism.

-- A proposed 17% increase in the budget for the Federal Aviation Administration.

INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE

Record economic growth has provided Americans with the opportunity to invest in a brighter future. The President's programs are designed to focus our efforts on those initiatives most likely to continue to create growth in the years ahead.

EDUCATION

The President pledged to provide national leadership in education reform and mobilize society to achieve literacy for all Americans. His actions to improve education are guided by **four principles:** encouraging excellence; targeting federal assistance to those most in need; promoting flexibility and choice; and ensuring accountability.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

o President Bush convened **"The President's Education Summit with the Governors"** on September 27 and 28 in Charlottesville, Virginia. This event marked only the third time in U.S. history that a President has convened the Nation's Governors to address a single issue of national importance. The Summit brought together the President, his Cabinet and the Governors in working groups and plenary sessions to focus on issues of choice and restructuring, teaching, the learning environment, governance, a competitive workforce and life-long learning, and postsecondary education.

-- The President and the Governors issued a **Joint Statement** -- a "Jeffersonian Compact" -- committing to four objectives for education reform in America: establishing national education goals; increasing flexibility in the use of Federal funds in exchange for enhanced accountability; implementing state-by-state

restructuring of the education system; and measuring performance. A commitment was made to develop national goals and initiatives to increase flexibility and accountability by early 1990.

- On April 5, the President submitted to Congress a comprehensive set of education initiatives, **The Educational Excellence Act of 1989.** The Act proposes:

  -- **The Presidential Merit Schools program** -- to reward schools that are making substantial progress in raising students' educational achievement, creating a safe and drug-free school environment, and reducing the drop-out rate.

  -- **A new Magnet Schools of Excellence program** -- to support the establishment, expansion or enhancement of magnet schools, focusing on disciplines important to the Nation's economic competitiveness such as math and science, increasing parental choice and improving quality education.

  -- **The Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals program** -- to assist States interested in broadening the pool of talent from which to recruit teachers and principals.

  -- **President's Awards for Excellence in Education** -- to recognize public and private school teachers in every state who meet the highest standards of excellence.

  -- **Drug-free Schools Urban Emergency Grants** -- to provide special assistance to selected urban school districts that are disproportionately affected by drug trafficking and abuse.

  -- **A National Science Scholars program** -- to provide college scholarships to high school seniors who have excelled in the sciences and mathematics.

  -- **Additional Funding Authorization for Endowment Matching Grants at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)** -- to strengthen HBCUs by building endowments, an especially effective way to create financial strength and long-term security.

- On April 24, the President issued a new **Executive Order on Historically Black Colleges and Universities.** Highlights of the order include:

-- Establishing the President's **Board of Advisors** on Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the Department of Education.

-- Directing **Federal agencies** to increase opportunities for HBCU involvement in Federal programs and directing the Secretary of Education to develop an Annual Federal Plan for Assistance.

-- Calling for the **White House Office of National Service,** along with other Federal offices to work to encourage private sector support of HBCUs.

o On June 5, the President announced his intention to create **the President's Education Policy Advisory Committee.** Chaired by Paul O'Neill, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Alcoa, the committee's membership includes representatives from education, business, labor and the media. The committee, which met for the first time in November, advises the President on issues related to education policy.

o **Job Training Partnership Act Amendments:** As part of an overall effort to prepare those least skilled and most disadvantaged young Americans for the workforce of the future, the Administration has proposed amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act. The revisions to this nation's most successful job training program would provide a total support system for our at-risk youth -- job training plus remedial education, basic skills training, literacy, counseling and financial assistance.

o **Hispanic Initiative:** The President has directed the Secretary of Education to form a Task Force on Hispanic Education to assess how well federal education programs serve Hispanics and recommend ways to enhance the federal role.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Research and development provides new knowledge that enables progress toward a wide range of national objectives. The President promised to strengthen Federal science and technology policy and oversight to ensure that national security and economic programs are based on sound scientific and technological principles. A number of major areas have been targeted as critically important to the Nation's economic health including: the physical sciences and engineering, life sciences and medical

issues, education, information policy, international R&D affairs, industrial technology, and industrial competitiveness.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Office of Science and Technology:** The President restructured the Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP) which will work with the Office of Management and Budget in analyzing and preparing federal R&D budgets and will play a central role in developing and coordinating Federal science and technology strategies. At the Adminstration's request, Congress provided a 78 percent increase in the budget for the OSTP.

- **Tax Credit:** The President proposed that the tax credit for research and development expenditures be made permanent and that the allocation rules be revised to provide a greater incentive for private sector investment in R & D. The FY 1990 Budget Reconciliation Act provided a temporary extension of the tax credit.

- **National Science Foundation Budget:** The President called for a doubling of the National Science Foundation budget by Fy 1993. This proposal would greatly expand support for individual researchers, research groups and research centers-of-excellence. The final Fy 1990 appropriations bill provided a smaller increase than requested by the President but will permit continued progress toward the his goal.

- **Supercollider:** The President announced his support for the development of the Superconducting Supercollider, the largest pure science project ever undertaken. The Superconducting Supercollider will yield important new information on the fundamental structure of matter, opening the door to countless new developments in science and technology. Congress supported the President's proposal by providing $218 million in FY 1990, more than doubling the Fy 1989 level.

- **Federal Coordinating Council:** The President revitalized and upgraded the Federal Coordinating Council for Science, Engineering, and Technology (FCCSET) to coordinate and integrate R&D planning among agencies government-wide.

- **Council of Advisors:** The President also established a Council of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST), composed of twelve distinguished scientists, mathematicians, and engineers from the private sector, to advise him on science and technology.

FIGHTING DRUG ABUSE

A new assault in the war on drugs began with the announcement of the President's National Drug Control Strategy. The President set major new priorities in five principle areas: **the criminal justice system; drug treatment; education, community action, and the workplace; international initiatives; and interdiction efforts.** Throughout, the strategy emphasizes the principle of user accountability.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- In his **first televised Address to the Nation**, the President unveiled the National Drug Strategy, in September, describing a coordinated and comprehensive plan of attack under the leadership of the Director of National Drug Control Policy, William Bennett.

- **The National Drug Control Strategy** recommends the largest dollar increase in the history of the drug war -- nearly $2.2 billion, 39 percent above the FY 1989 level. Elements of the Strategy include:

  - **Expanding the criminal justice system** by providing funds for more agents, jails, prosecutors, and courts; and requiring drug testing of prisoners, parolees, and arrestees.

  - **Improving drug treatment** by holding Federally-funded treatment programs accountable for their effectiveness through performance criteria; requiring drug testing in treatment programs receiving Federal funds; exploring the expanded use of "civil commitment," whereby addicts are sent by the courts to residential treatment facilities; and improving drug treatment services for pregnant women.

  - **Promoting education, community action, and the workplace** by emphasizing community-level prevention of drug use; requiring schools and colleges to implement firm drug-free policies as a condition of receiving Federal funds; working for safe and drug-free public housing; promoting drug-free workplace policies in the private sector and implementing drug-free workplace policies within the Federal government; and by recommending testing for job applicants and employees in safety and sensitive positions.

  - **Increasing emphasis on international initiatives,** such as dismantling drug trafficking organizations, targeting international efforts closer to production

and trafficking sources; and reducing trafficking profits by focusing increased efforts on money laundering. The Treasury Department has initiated the Financial Crime Enforcement Network (FINCEN), a multi-source money laundering intelligence, analysis and targeting bureau. The President has also raised drugs as a priority in U.S. foreign policy. He approved an Andean strategy involving a $2.2 billion five-year program to help the Andean nations attack production, processing and trafficking in drugs and to provide trade benefits in support of their efforts. Further, he called for increased cooperation and coordination of anti-drug programs with our allies, the Soviets and international bodies.

-- **Taking a fresh approach to interdiction efforts** by creating interagency and interdisciplinary teams to analyze and target smuggling patterns, methods, and routes; targeting key individuals and high-value shipments; and enhancing the border interdiction systems, operations, and activities of the U.S. Coast Guard, Customs Service and the Department of Defense.

o **Anti-Drug Treaty:** The Vienna Convention on Illicit Drugs and Psychotropic Substances was strongly endorsed by the President and forwarded to Congress for ratification. This is the most significant and far-reaching treaty on international cooperation on drug trafficking, chemical precursor control, and money laundering ever to be signed.

COMBATTING VIOLENT CRIME

The President is working to strengthen the Nation's criminal justice system and the Federal, state, and local law enforcement partnership. **Four principles underlie the goals of our criminal justice system and the means for accomplishing them:** First, to protect citizens and their property; to hold those who commit violent crimes accountable for their actions; to have as the objective of our criminal justice system the swift and certain apprehension, prosecution and incarceration of those who break the law; and finally, to ensure a sustained, cooperative effort by Federal, state and local law enforcement authorities.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- On June 15, President Bush sent to Congress **The Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act of 1989** to combat violent crime. The President's initiative includes:

  -- **Strengthening Current Laws:** The President is calling on Congress to double the mandatory minimum penalties -- from five years to ten years in Federal prison -- for the use of semi-automatic weapons in violent or drug-related crimes. In addition, the Attorney General has advised federal prosecutors to end plea bargaining with persons accused of violent firearms offenses. President Bush called on Congress to enact the legislation necessary to implement the death penalty for the most serious Federal crimes, and urged state Governors to match these Federal initiatives -- new mandatory sentencing, tougher rules on plea bargaining, and implementing the death penalty -- in the States.

  -- **Controlling Certain Semi-Automatic Weapons:** In July, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms took action to ban permanently the importation of those semi-automatic weapons which fail to meet the criteria specified in the Gun Control Act of 1968. The President also called for enhanced penalties and the closing of loopholes related to the sale and transfer of such guns by certain classes of criminals, and he proposed prohibiting the importation, and manufacture, of gun magazines of more than 15 rounds.

  -- **Augmenting Enforcement:** The President has directed the Attorney General and the Treasury Secretary, working together with state and local authorities, to launch a comprehensive, coordinated offensive against America's most violent criminals. President Bush requested funding for the hiring of 825 new Federal agents and staff -- 375 at the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; 300 at the FBI; and 150 Deputy U.S. Marshals. This interagency effort, which also counts on the cooperation of state and local enforcement authorities, will target violent criminals and repeat offenders.

  -- **Enhancing Prosecution:** The President proposed increased funds for the U.S. Attorneys' Offices to support 1,600 new prosecutors and staff, and increased 1990 funds for the Justice Department Criminal Division to support 168 new positions, to handle drug cases, weapons offenses, and other priority matters.

  -- **Expanding Prison Capacity:** The President proposed an additional $1 billion for Federal prison construction,

bringing the total FY 1990 budget to over $1.5 billion. This will add 24,000 new Federal prison beds to the 32,000 beds currently available. Each of the above proposals for increased funding to fight violent crime was addressed in the appropriations bills for drug-related activities passed by Congress at the close of the first session and signed by the President on November 21.

THE ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY

President Bush, a life-long environmentalist, has taken strong action to protect the environment. He has placed environmental protection, conservation, and wise management of our natural resources as high priorities on America's national agenda.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Clean Air Legislation:** On June 12, the President announced proposals that will take advantage of the power of the marketplace to reduce emissions which cause acid rain, urban smog and toxic air pollution. The proposals, the first major overhaul of the Clean Air Act to be proposed by an Administration in over a decade, call for a 10 million ton reduction in SO2 emissions by the year 2000, a 2 million ton reduction in NOx from projected levels, a 40 percent reduction in emission of volatile organic compounds, and a reduction of 75 to 90 percent in air toxic emissions. The proposal also calls for the use of alternative fuels in one million vehicles by 1997. Alternative fuels, while reducing emissions that cause smog, will also reduce the toxic aromatics which come from conventional gasoline. The President submitted a comprehensive Clean Air bill to the Congress on July 21 embodying the proposals announced on June 12.

- **Clean Coal Technologies:** The President proposed $710 million in FY 1990 for the Clean Coal Technology program.

- **Asbestos Ban:** On July 7, EPA announced an almost total phase-out of nearly all uses of asbestos by 1997. The ban will prohibit importation, manufacture, and processing of asbestos, a carcinogen linked to lung cancer and mesothelioma (lung and chest cancer).

- **Clean Water and Coastlines:** On March 10, EPA implemented a medical waste tracking program to track medical wastes to ensure proper disposal and prevent ocean pollution -- a

major step forward in a comprehensive program to help keep our beaches clean.

- **Ocean Dumping:** To meet the President's commitment to end ocean dumping, the EPA negotiated agreements with local jurisdictions to stop dumping of sewage sludge by the end of 1991. This initiative also resulted in civil judicial or administrative penalty actions against 61 cities in 1989.

- **Cleanup of Hazardous Wastes:** On March 10, The President announced he will be seeking legislation to amend the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act in order to give the United States Government authority to ban all exports of hazardous waste unless an agreement exists with the receiving country providing for the safe handling and management of those wastes.

- **Department of Energy Facilities Cleanup:** Spending has been increased by $500 million for waste cleanup at Department of Energy facilities. On August 31, the Energy Department published an aggressive, five-year cleanup plan which identifies site-by-site Departmental environmental restoration and waste management initiatives. In addition, the Department published a five-year Environmental Restoration and Waste Management Research and Development Plan which will exclusively focus its attention on addressing the contamination problems the Energy Department faces at its facilities. The Research and Development Plan will be the major effort to reduce outyear costs of cleanup of DOE facilities and should have major implications for private technology transfer.

- **Superfund:** The President's budget proposed $1.75 billion to pursue an aggressive cleanup schedule of toxic waste sites; the Administration opposed Congressional efforts to cut the Superfund budget to $1.5 billion. On June 14, EPA Administrator Reilly, following the President's direction, concluded a Management Review of the Superfund Program. To implement reforms, E.P.A. is adding five hundred people to take aggressive enforcement action and ensure that sites are cleaned up.

- **Alaskan Oil Spill:** The President sent a Cabinet-level team to assess the Alaskan oil spill, and a joint federal-state resource recovery team was convened. Vice President Quayle twice visited the cleanup site and met with local officials and affected businessmen. The National Transportation Safety Board is investigating the accident. Exxon has accepted the responsibility of paying for the cleanup, and for employing local civilian personnel necessary to control further damage. The Department of Transportation is heading the Administration's cleanup efforts while the EPA is

coordinating the Departments of Agriculture and Interior and the National Atmospheric and Oceanic Administration on long-range planning to restore the environment of Prince William Sound. The President has ordered a review of existing contingency plans for accidents such as this. The Administration has also called for Exxon to pay the full cost of environmental damages resulting from the spill. The President proposed, and the Paris Summit leaders accepted, a call for increased international efforts on oil spill prevention and cleanup.

- **Oil Spill Legislation:** On May 11, the Administration transmitted to Congress comprehensive oil pollution liability and compensation legislation that broadens and strengthens our existing patchwork of laws. The bill provides swift and assured compensation for cleanup costs and damages through a liability system based on strict financial responsibility requirements for shipowners backed up by an oil industry financed-fund. The Interior Department also initiated a $6 million, 3-year project with the American Petroleum Institute to conduct research and development on oil spill cleanup technology.

- **Offshore Oil Drilling:** The President postponed lease sales and offshore oil and gas development in environmentally sensitive areas off the coasts of California and Florida. The President set up a task force to examine the issues and report back to him in January of 1990.

- **Global Climate Issues:** The President has accelerated the Administration's activities on global change. Following the conclusion of the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change sponsored by the United Nations, which the Administration strongly supports and is participating in, the President has offered to host a conference next fall to negotiate a framework treaty on global change. Also, the President increased global environmental research for FY 1990 by 28 percent, to over $663 million and endorsed NASA's Mission to Planet Earth as a key element in this research effort to ensure that critical global data sets are established. The President has announced a White House International Environmental Research Conference for the spring of 1990 to be attended by national delegations of science, environment, and economic ministers.

- **Stratospheric Ozone Depletion:** The President called for a worldwide phaseout of ozone-depleting CFCs and halons by the year 2000 if safe substitutes are available. In addition, the U.S. has imposed fees on CFC production to reduce CFC emissions. The President's Clean Air initiative would also reduce pollution, cap emissions and create a powerful

incentive for conservation thereby reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

- **Wetlands, National Parks, and Reforestation:** The President is also committed to a national goal of "no net loss" of wetlands and is directing his executive branch agencies, through an interagency task force, to make recommendations to achieve that goal. He has also proposed a major increase in funding to expand and improve parks, wildlife refuges, forests, and recreational land. He included $206 million in new money in the FY 1990 budget which was accepted by Congress, to expand and improve America's parks and wildlife refuges, preserving them for generations to come. Finally, the President supports increased lending by the development banks for reforestation programs. He also endorsed the call by the Paris Economic Summit for an end to deforestation worldwide. The Department of Agriculture has initiated a number of reforestation programs both domestically and abroad and the President has focused national attention on the importance of trees in his speeches and appearances around the country.

- **Ban on African Elephant Ivory:** On June 5, the Administration announced a ban on imports of African elephant ivory into the United States, making importation from any country illegal. The ban covers both commercial and non-commercial shipments. Since announcement of the ban, world trade in ivory has fallen sharply.

- **Driftnet Fishing Agreements:** The Administration successfully persuaded Japan, Taiwan, and Korea to enter into driftnet fishing agreements to monitor driftnet practices, and enforce laws prohibiting the taking of U.S. origin salmon.

- **Council on Environmental Quality:** The President has begun revitalizing his Council on Environmental Quality in the Executive Office of the President to adequately serve its important environmental advisory function within the White House.

- **Food Safety:** In order to improve the federal government's ability to protect American consumers and the environment from potential dangers posed by the use of pesticides, President Bush proposed a comprehensive program to enhance food safety. The President's plan calls for major revisions to two key laws to streamline EPA's ability to remove potentially hazardous pesticides from the market. The President's proposal also strengthens enforcement, establishes scientifically sound threshold tolerance levels for pesticides in or on food, and provides for national uniformity in tolerance levels following a review of the latest scientific evidence.

- **National Energy Strategy:** The President directed the Secretary of Energy to develop a comprehensive national energy strategy for the Nation. The strategy will lay out short, mid and long-term options to help the Nation meet our energy security and environmental responsibilities and, at the same time, ensure that markets will provide a sensible mix of energy sources to protect America's economic competitiveness. In the meantime, the Administration has moved to enhance energy security and conserve our natural resources by accelerating the filling of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to 750 million barrels.

- **Natural Gas Decontrol:** On July 26, the President signed into law the **Wellhead Decontrol Act of 1989**, which, by 1993, will end all remaining price controls on natural gas, a clean-burning, domestically abundant fuel.

- **Improved Forecasting:** The Commerce Department announced that beginning in Fiscal Year 1990, the National Weather Service will modernize and restructure its operations to provide improved forecasting and weather warning systems. The new system will include advanced weather radar, observation automation, and a new communications system.

EXPLORING SPACE

The President has committed this nation to an aggressive program to explore and use space in support of our national well-being. U.S. leadership in space continues to be a fundamental objective guiding U.S. space activities.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **National Space Council:** On April 20, the President demonstrated the importance he attaches to the U.S. space program by signing an Executive Order establishing the National Space Council. President Bush named Vice President Quayle Chairman of the Council which is charged with bringing "coherence, continuity, and commitment to our efforts to explore, study, and develop space."

- **Three-pronged Program:** On July 20, the President announced a three-pronged program for the manned exploration of the solar system. In the 1990's the U.S. will construct the permanently manned orbiting space station, Freedom; for the future, a return to the Moon, this time to stay; and, then, travel to the planet Mars. The National Space Council is studying resource requirements and the feasibility of international cooperation in the President's Human Exploration Initiative.

- **National Space Policy Directive:** On November 2, the President approved a new national space policy updating and reaffirming U.S. goals and activities in space. The policy was set forth in the National Space Policy Directive #1, a new Presidential directive system which gives space a unique policy status in the Bush Administration. Areas affected include space exploration, remote sensing, space transportation, space debris, commercial space activities, and Space Station Freedom.

- **Shuttle and Unmanned Missions:** During the past year, the U.S. space program has returned an improved Space Shuttle Fleet to flight operations and successfully completed five demanding missions. In the space science area, a major revival of the planetary exploration program has included launches of unmanned missions to Venus and Jupiter in May and October, and the August encounter of the planet Neptune by the Voyager 2 spacecraft.

WORKING FOR A KINDER, GENTLER AMERICA

AFFORDABLE HOUSING

The President is committed to bringing basic shelter and affordable housing within reach of millions of Americans. His HOPE initiative addresses the full range of housing concerns: shelter for the homeless, affordable housing and homeownership for low-income families, open access to expanded job opportunities, and help for first-time home buyers.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- On November 10, the President unveiled **HOPE**, a comprehensive agenda of **Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere.** Major elements include:

  -- **First-time Home Buyers:** The President will ask Congress to enact legislation allowing first-time buyers to draw, without penalty, on IRA savings as a down payment for their first home. The President has asked HUD Secretary Jack Kemp to convene a Blue Ribbon Commission to identify barriers to affordable housing, and to make recommendations on how these barriers can be removed.

  -- **Low-income Housing:** The President called on Congress to renew the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit. President Bush also supports housing vouchers that empower low-income families to choose where they want to live; and

resident ownership and resident management of low income housing.

-- **Job Creation:** He has also called on Congress to create up to **50 Enterprise Zones** over the next four years, using labor and capital-based incentives to create jobs and entrepreneurial activity in our most distressed communities. In the hardest-hit urban areas, he has called for a complete elimination of the capital gains tax on certain investments in enterprise zones.

-- **FHA Reforms:** The Administration has announced major reforms to ensure that FHA is true to its primary mission of making housing affordable for low and moderate income families. In record time, Congress responded to the Administration's reform initiative and passed legislation incorporating most of the Administration's proposals. The President charged HUD with finding new ways to move FHA foreclosures into the hands of non-profit groups to help reduce homelessness to fight inner city poverty.

-- **Homelessness:** The President requested full funding of the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act; and, on November 9, signed a bill that substantially increased funding for programs under the Act. As part of the HOPE initiative, the President will request $236 million for an initiative to reduce homelessness among the chronically mentally ill and recovering substance abusers through public-private partnerships.

HEAD START

The President also challenged Congress to increase funding for Head Start by $250 million in FY 1990. This expansion would have enabled up to 95,000 more four-year-olds to participate in the program. Congressional action provided only $151 million of that request which will allow the Program to serve up to 37,500 more eligible 4-year-olds.

CHILD CARE

The changing nature of American society heightens the need for child care that suits both children's needs and families' circumstances. President Bush wants to put **choice** in the hands of parents so that they -- not government -- have the power to select the best and safest environment for their children.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Child Care:** The President transmitted to Congress a child care package, the **Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989** which:
  - -- Provides a new **refundable child care tax credit** of up to $1000 per child under age four, for low and moderate income working families.
  - -- Makes the **existing Dependent Care Tax Credit** refundable.
  - -- **Does not discriminate** against religious- or family-based child care, or against two-parent families in which a parent works in the home and cares for the children.

- **Liability Insurance:** The President has directed Secretary of Labor Dole to examine the role played by liability insurance in employer decisions on employer-provided child care.

EXPANSION OF MEDICAID

The President is committed to ensuring quality health care for disadvantaged mothers and children, the disabled, and poor, aged Americans. To help achieve this goal, Federal spending on Medicaid will be $39.1 billion for FY 1990, an increase of $4.3 billion, or 12.3 percent over the FY 1989 level.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Infant Mortality:** President Bush has taken concrete steps toward improving health care for at-risk populations and toward decreasing infant mortality. This year, he asked Congress to raise mandatory Medicaid eligibility for pregnant women, infants and children to 130 percent of the poverty level. Congress took action to raise the eligibility to 133% -- consistent with the President's proposal. In addition, he requested an expansion of Medicaid coverage of immunizations for all children under age 6 who are eligible for Food Stamps.

AIDS INITIATIVES

The President has made combatting AIDS a national priority. The Administration is moving on a number of fronts in its fight against the spread of AIDS.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **AIDS Clinical Trials Information Service:** The Administration developed a toll-free information service through which AIDS patients and their doctors can get up-to-date information on clinical trials of AIDS therapies -- whether Federally or privately sponsored.

- **New Drugs Approved:** The Administration approved three new therapies for treating persons infected with HIV, which for the first time gives doctors approved treatments to use with HIV-infected people **before** they become sick with AIDS.

- **Additional Clinical Trials:** The Administration initiated clinical trials for promising new therapies for HIV-infected individuals.

- **Experimental Drugs:** The Administration allowed an expansion in the availability of experimental therapeutic drugs used to treat people with AIDS and HIV infection.

- **Wider Use of Existing Treatment:** The Administration announced in August that AZT, the only drug currently approved for treating persons with AIDS, has proven to help HIV-infected persons who have not yet developed AIDS.

- **AIDS Prevention Guide:** The Administration worked with the National Parent Teachers Association to develop and distribute 500,000 copies of the "AIDS Prevention Guide" for use by parents and teachers nationwide.

- **Waivers for Medical Treatment:** The Administration adopted an immigration policy which would grant waivers to foreigners, with AIDS, who wish to enter the U.S. in order to obtain medical treatment or to participate in an activity which advances efforts to find a cure.

ADOPTION

The President is committed to promoting adoption, especially of special needs children.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Legislation:** In September, the President sent two legislative proposals to Congress designed to encourage adoption of special needs children:

-- The first would permit adoptive parents to deduct $3000 from taxable income for adoption-related expenses.

-- The second would provide Federal employees who adopt with a reimbursement of up to $2000 for expenses.

o **Special Needs Children:** In addition, the President has directed all Federal agencies to develop plans for supporting and promoting adoption of special needs children (e.g., flexible leave.)

WELFARE REFORM

The Administration has implemented a major new education and job training program to help recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children move off welfare and become economically self-sufficient.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

o **Welfare Reform:** The Administration issued final rules on October 13 to **implement the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training Program (JOBS) of the Family Support Act of 1988.** The rules are designed to:

-- **Assist welfare recipients** to become self-sufficient by providing needed employment-related activities and support services.

-- Provide **maximum level of flexibility** to AFDC parents in obtaining the type of **child care** that best suits their needs, consistent with the principle of parental choice embodied in the Administration's legislative proposals on child care.

-- The Administration is proposing to spend over three-and-a-half billion dollars over the next five years implementing the **JOBS Program.** The changes will pay benefits in the future by reducing the number of individuals on welfare. It is estimated that there will be 138,000 fewer families on the welfare rolls over five years as a result of this program.

o **Low Income Opportunity Board:** To continue progress in the area of welfare reform, the President reinstated this welfare policy coordinating unit established under President Reagan as the Interagency Low Income Opportunity Advisory Board. The Board enhances interagency coordination of Executive Branch activities designed to lift low-income Americans up from dependency, and assists States that seek

to demonstrate more effective approaches for using Federal dollars to serve the low-income population.

NATIONAL SERVICE

The President's vision to help overcome the disintegration of communities and build a better America -- not through a federal government program, but through a nationwide community service movement -- has three elements: first, to call all individuals and institutions to take steps to address society's problems; second, to identify, enlarge, and multiply what is working; and third, to discover and encourage new leaders.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **The President's Call:** In a series of speeches, President Bush called on all Americans and all American institutions, large and small, to make community service central to their daily life and work.

- **Points of Light Initiative Foundation:** The President announced the formation of a foundation called the **Points of Light Initiative,** of which he will serve as Honorary Chairman. Formed to identify and build upon what is working, the Foundation will act as a magnet for the best ideas and brightest programs in community service and then serve as a catalyst to project these ideas into every corner of the Nation. The Administration will ask Congress for $25 million annually to support this initiative and will, in turn, seek matching funds from the private sector. The President has encouraged all communities nationwide to join the movement by forming local "Points of Light Action Groups" composed of outstanding leaders.

  -- Through a Foundation initiative called the **ServNet Project,** professional firms, corporations, unions, schools, religious, civic and not-for-profit groups will be asked to donate the services of some of their most talented and promising people for a period of time. Peer-to-peer working groups will be formed to implement examples of successful initiatives and provide training, technical assistance and other support to enable other institutions to devise similar initiatives.

  -- Another Foundation initiative, the **ServLink Project,** will help improve existing methods of matching would-be volunteers with purposeful service opportunities. ServLink will stimulate the development, through private sector resources, of "technology links" like

telephone hotlines, interactive computer programs, electronic bulletin boards and other mechanisms between those who wish to serve and those needing service in the inquirer's own community.

-- The President has named a **Presidential Commission** to advise him on the legal structure of the Points of Light Initiative Foundation and the legislation needed to accomplish the Foundation's goals. The Commission is scheduled to report to the President in early December.

-- The **Foundation** will also discover, encourage and develop new community service leaders by sponsoring workshops, forums, and symposia on community service leadership development, and by recognizing new leaders and exemplary initiatives through at least three new Presidential forms of recognition:

  -- The **National Service Youth Leadership Awards** will be given each year to individuals.

  -- The **"Daily Points of Light Program"** which each day recognizes individuals or initiatives that are making a positive difference in the lives of their communities.

  -- The **President's Build A Community Awards** will honor those people and institutions who have worked together to rebuild families or to revitalize communities.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The Bush Administration is committed to reaching out to minorities, and to striking down barriers to free and open access. The President has made it clear that this Administration will not tolerate discrimination, bigotry, or bias of any kind.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

o **Civil Rights:** The Administration has taken a number of actions to protect the civil rights of all Americans, including several court actions in key civil rights cases.

-- The President called upon Congress to reauthorize the **Commission on Civil Rights.** Following Congressional action, the President signed legislation reauthorizing the Commission through FY 1991.

-- The Administration endorsed the **Hate Crimes Bill**, which provides for the collection of data about crimes motivated by racial, religious, or ethnic animosity.

-- On March 13, Attorney General Thornburgh announced the filing of **Federal housing discrimination lawsuits** seeking monetary damages and civil penalties under the expanded enforcement authority of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988.

o **Disabled Americans:** The President is committed to legislation that would extend civil rights protections to disabled Americans. This legislation, called the **Americans with Disabilities Act,** would represent the most significant expansion of federal civil rights laws in the past two decades. A version of the Act passed the Senate on September 7, and has been awaiting consideration in the House since then. As passed by the Senate:

-- The legislation would provide **new protections** against discrimination in the area of employment, requiring reasonable accommodation be made by employers for disabled employees and job applicants unless undue burdens are imposed.

-- Most **new buildings** would be required to be accessible to the disabled.

-- In most cases, **stores, providers of services, restaurants**, and other establishments in existing buildings would be required to permit access and provide services to disabled Americans and remove barriers where that is readily achievable.

-- **New public buses** would have to be accessible to persons with mobility impairment.

-- **Telephone companies** would be required to provide equivalent telephone service for those with speech and hearing impairments.

ETHICS

President Bush is committed to high ethical standards for his Administration and will enforce these standards strictly, comprehensively, and fairly. The Administration also remains committed to an overhaul of the existing campaign finance system.

ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **Ethics Law Reform:** The President issued an Executive Order creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform, which submitted its recommendations on March 9. The President, on April 12, sent to Congress a sweeping ethics bill and simultaneously issued an Executive Order announcing ethical principles for the conduct of Executive Branch employees. Recently, Congress, in consultation with the President, enacted the Ethics Reform Act of 1989, which carries out many of the President's original proposals and also includes a pay raise for members of Congress, Federal judges, and certain other Federal officers and employees. Together, the measures in the new Act and the President's ethics Executive Order include:

  - **Stronger post-employment restrictions** -- applying for the first time to Congress -- to protect against individuals abusing the revolving door for private gain.

  - **A ban on receipt of honoraria** by all Federal employees for speeches and articles, and a cap on outside earned income for higher salaried non-career employees in all three branches. (As enacted, neither these limits nor the concomitant salary increase applies to Senators or Senate employees.) Full-time, non-career Presidential appointees in the Executive Branch may not receive <u>any</u> outside earned income.

  - **Deferral of tax liability** when individuals are required by the Office of Government Ethics to divest assets in order to avoid conflicts of interest. The President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform endorsed this reform and identified divestiture as "the single most important device" to eliminate conflicts of interest.

  - **Establishment of consistent financial disclosure rules** across the three branches of government.

  - **Creation of uniform conflict-of-interest rules** for high-level House and Senate staff that prohibit contact with Executive Branch agencies about matters in which staff members have personal financial interests.

-- Development of **a single Executive-Branch-wide set of standards of conduct regulations.**

o **Campaign Finance Reform:** The President's comprehensive campaign finance reform proposal is designed to lessen the power of monied special interests and enhance the role of individuals and the political parties in elections. It also seeks to restore real competition to American Congressional elections. Below are proposal highlights:

-- **Eliminating political action committees (PACs)** funded by corporations, unions, or trade associations, and prohibiting such entities from paying for the overhead or administrative costs of any independent PAC.

-- **Strengthening political parties by increasing the support they are permitted to provide congressional candidates.** Heightened party involvement would enhance our political system, and further neutralize the power and influence of monied special interests.

-- Addressing the problem of the "permanent Congress" by **reforms designed to reduce the unfair advantages of incumbency.** Specifically, the proposals would drastically **reduce Congressional mailings under the frank, ban the rollover of campaign funds** from one election cycle to the next, and **legislate fair neutral criteria for the redistricting** of Congressional and legislative lines that will follow the 1990 census.

-- **Requiring full disclosure of all "soft money"** spent by the political parties and all labor unions, corporations, and trade associations to influence a Federal election.

o **Whistleblower Protection:** On April 10, the President signed the **Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989.** This law will strengthen the protections and procedural rights available to those Federal employees who report misdeeds and mismanagement.

-- This new law enhances the authority of the Office of **Special Counsel**, and whistleblowers will also now be allowed to take their cases to the Merit Systems Protection Board. The statute **alters the legal burdens of proof**, making it easier for employees to be vindicated when they are wrongfully penalized for whistleblowing.

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