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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 9, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS

The Capitol
Washington, D.C.

9:07 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, and distinguished members of the House and Senate, honored guests, and fellow citizens. Less than three weeks ago, I joined you on the West Front of this very building -- and looking over the monuments to our proud past -- offered you my hand in filling the next page of American history with a story of extended prosperity and continued peace. And tonight, I'm back to offer you my plans, as well. The hand remains extended, the sleeves are rolled up, America is waiting, and now we must produce. Together, we can build a better America.

It is comforting to return to this historic Chamber. Here, 22 years ago, I first raised my hand to be sworn into public life. So tonight, I feel as if I'm returning home to friends and I intend -- (applause.) And I intend, in the months and years to come, to give you what friends deserve: frankness, respect, and my best judgment about ways to improve America's future.

In return, I ask for an honest commitment to our common mission of progress. If we seize the opportunities on the road before us, there'll be praise enough for all. The people didn't send us here to bicker. And it's time to govern.

And many presidents have come to this Chamber in times of great crisis. War and depression, loss of national spirit. And eight years ago, I sat in that very chair as President Reagan spoke of punishing inflation and devastatingly high interest rates and people out of work, American confidence on the wane. And our challenge is different.

We're fortunate -- a much changed landscape lies before us tonight. So I don't propose to reverse direction. We're headed the right way. But we cannot rest. We're a people whose energy and drive have fueled our rise to greatness. And we're a forward-looking nation -- generous, yes, but ambitious, as well -- not for ourselves, but for the world. Complacency is not in our character -- not before, not now, not ever. (Applause.)

And so tonight, we must take a strong America and make it even better. We must address some very real problems. We must establish some very clear priorities. And we must make a very substantial cut in the federal budget deficit. (Applause.)

Some people find that agenda impossible. But I'm presenting to you tonight a realistic plan for tackling it. My plan has four broad features: attention to urgent priorities, investment in the future, an attack on the deficit, and no new taxes. (Applause.)

This budget represents my best judgment of how we can address our priorities. There are many areas in which we would all like to spend more than I propose; I understand that. But we cannot until we get our fiscal house in order.

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Next year alone, thanks to economic growth, without any change in the law, the federal government will take in over \$80 billion dollars more than it does this year. That's right -- over \$80 billion in new revenues, with no increases in taxes. And our job is to allocate those new resources wisely.

We can afford to increase spending by a modest amount, but enough to invest in key priorities and still cut the deficit by almost 40 percent in one year. And that will allow us to meet the targets set forth in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law. But to do that, we must recognize that growth above inflation in federal programs is not preordained; that not all spending initiatives were designed to be immortal. (Applause.)

I make this pledge tonight: My team and I are ready to work with the Congress, to form a special leadership group, to negotiate in good faith, to work day and night -- if that's what it takes -- to meet the budget targets, and to produce a budget on time.

We cannot settle for business as usual. Government by continuing resolution -- or government by crisis -- will not do. And I ask the Congress tonight to approve several measures which will make budgeting more sensible. We could save time and improve efficiency by enacting two-year budgets. (Applause.) Forty-three governors have the line-item veto. President's should have it, too. (Applause.) And the very least -- at the very least, when a President proposes to rescind federal spending, the Congress should be required to vote on that proposal -- instead of killing it by inaction. (Applause.)

And I ask the Congress to honor the public's wishes by passing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. (Applause.) Such an amendment, once phased in, will discipline both the Congress and the Executive Branch.

Several principles describe the kind of America I hope to build with your help in the years ahead. We will not have the luxury of taking the easy, spendthrift approach to solving problems -- because higher spending and higher taxes put economic growth at risk. Economic growth provides jobs and hope. Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs. Economic growth enhances the security of the nation. And low tax rates create economic growth.

I believe in giving Americans greater freedom and greater choice -- and I will work for choice for American families, whether in the housing in which they live, the schools to which they send their children, or the child care they select for their young. (Applause.)

You see, I believe that we have an obligation to those in need, but that government should not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can produce better. I believe in a society that is free from discrimination and bigotry of any kind. (Applause.) And I will work to knock down the barriers left by past discrimination -- (applause) -- and to build a more tolerant society that will stop such barriers from ever being built again.

I believe that family and faith represent the moral compass of the nation -- and I'll work to make them strong, for as Benjamin Franklin said, "If a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, can a great nation rise without his aid?"

And I believe in giving people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. And together, let's put power in the hands of people. (Applause.)

Three weeks ago, we celebrated the Bicentennial Inaugural, the 200th anniversary of the first presidency. And if you look back, one thing is so striking about the way the Founding

Fathers looked at America. They didn't talk about themselves. They talked about posterity. They talked about the future.

And we, too, must think in terms bigger than ourselves. We must take actions today that will ensure a better tomorrow. (Applause.) We must extend American leadership in technology, increase long-term investment, improve our educational system, and boost productivity. These are the keys to building a better future.

And here are some of my recommendations:

I propose almost \$2.2 billion for the National Science Foundation to promote basic research and keep us on track to double its budget by 1993. (Applause.)

I propose to make permanent the tax credit for research and development. (Applause.)

I've asked Vice President Quayle to chair a new Task Force on Competitiveness. (Applause.)

And I request funding for NASA and a strong space program -- an increase of almost \$2.4 billion over the current fiscal year. We must have a manned space station; a vigorous, safe space shuttle program; and more commercial development in space. The space program should always go "full throttle up" -- and that's not just our ambition; it's our destiny. (Applause.)

I propose that we cut the maximum tax rate on capital gains to increase long-term investment. (Applause.) History is clear -- history on this is clear; this will increase revenues, help savings, and create new jobs. (Applause.) We won't be competitive if we leave whole sectors of America behind. This is the year we should finally enact urban enterprise zones and bring hope to the inner cities. (Applause.)

But the most important competitiveness program of all is one which improves education in America. When some of our students actually have trouble locating America on a map of the world, it is time for us to map a new approach to education. (Applause.)

We must reward excellence and cut through bureaucracy. We must help schools that need help the most. We must give choice to parents, students, teachers, and principals; and we must hold all concerned accountable. In education, we cannot tolerate mediocrity. (Applause.)

I want to cut that dropout rate and make America a more literate nation. (Applause.) Because what it really comes down to is this: the longer our graduation lines are today, the shorter our unemployment lines will be tomorrow.

So tonight I'm proposing the following initiatives:

The beginning of a \$500-million program to reward America's best schools -- "merit schools."

The creation of special presidential awards for the best teachers in every state -- because excellence should be rewarded. -- (Applause.)

The establishment of a new program of National Science Scholars, one each year for every Member of the House and Senate, to give this generation of students a special incentive to excel in science and mathematics. (Applause.)

The expanded use of magnet schools, which give families and students greater choice; and a new program -- to encourage "alternative certification" which will let talented people from all fields teach in our classrooms. (Applause.)

MORE

I've said I'd like to be the "Education President." And tonight, I've asked you to join me by becoming the "Education Congress." (Applause.)

Just last week, as I settled into this new office, I received a letter from a mother in Pennsylvania who had been struck by my message in the Inaugural Address. "Not 12 hours before," she wrote, "my husband and I received word that our son was addicted to cocaine. He had the world at his feet. Bright, gifted, personable. He could have done anything with his life. And now he has chosen cocaine."

"And please," she wrote, "find a way to curb the supply of cocaine. Get tough with the pushers. Our son needs your help." (Applause.)

My friends, that voice crying out for help could be the voice of your own neighbor, your own friend, your own son. Over 23 million Americans used illegal drugs last year -- at a staggering cost to our nation's well-being.

Let this be recorded as the time when America rose up and said "no" to drugs. The scourge of drugs must be stopped. And I am asking tonight for an increase of almost a billion dollars in budget outlays to escalate the war against drugs. (Applause.) The war must be waged on all fronts. Our new drug czar, Bill Bennett, and I will be shoulder-to-shoulder in the Executive Branch leading the charge.

Some money will be used to expand treatment to the poor and to young mothers. This will offer the helping hand to the many innocent victims of drugs -- like the thousands of babies born addicted, or with AIDS because of the mother's addiction.

Some will be used to cut the waiting time for treatment. Some money will be devoted to those urban schools where the emergency is now the worst. And much of it will be used to protect our borders, with help from the Coast Guard, and the Customs Service, the Departments of State and Justice, and yes, the U.S. military. (Applause.)

I mean to get tough on the drug criminals. And let me be clear: this President will back up those who put their lives on the line every single day -- our local police officers. (Applause.)

My budget asks for beefed-up prosecution, for a new attack on organized crime, and for enforcement of tough sentences -- and for the worst kingpins, that means the death penalty. (Applause.) I also want to make sure that when a drug dealer is convicted, there's a cell waiting for him. And he should not go free because prisons are too full.

And so let the word go out: If you're caught and convicted, you will do time.

But for all we do in law enforcement, in interdiction and treatment, we will never win this war on drugs unless we stop the demand for drugs. So some of this increase will be used to educate the young about the dangers of drugs. We must involve the parents. We must involve the teachers. We must involve the communities. And my friends, we must involve ourselves -- each and every one of us in this concern. (Applause.)

One problem related to drug use demands our urgent attention and our continuing compassion. And that is the terrible tragedy of AIDS. I'm asking for \$1.6 billion for education to prevent the disease -- and for research to find a cure.

If we're to protect our future, we need a new attitude about the environment. We must protect the air we breathe. I will

send to you shortly legislation for a new, more effective, Clean Air Act. It will include a plan to reduce, by date certain, the emissions which cause acid rain -- (applause) -- because the time for study alone has passed, and the time for action is now. (Applause.)

We must make use of clean coal. My budget contains full funding, on schedule, for the clean coal technology agreement that we've made with Canada. (Applause.) We've made that agreement with Canada and we intend to honor that agreement.

We must not neglect our parks. So I'm asking to fund new acquisitions under the Land and Water Conservation Fund. We must protect our oceans. And I support new penalties against those who would dump medical waste and other trash into our oceans. (Applause.) The age of the needle on the beaches must end. (Applause.)

And in some cases, the gulfs and oceans off our shores hold the promise of oil and gas reserves which can make our nation more secure and less dependent on foreign oil. And when those with the most promise can be tapped safely, as with much of the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge, we should proceed. (Applause.) But we must use caution. We must respect the environment.

And so tonight I'm calling for the indefinite postponement of three lease sales which have raised troubling questions -- two off the coast of California, and one which could threaten the Everglades in Florida. (Applause.) Action on these three lease sales will await the conclusion of a special task force set up to measure the potential for environmental damage.

I'm directing the Attorney General and the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to use every tool at their disposal to speed and toughen the enforcement of our laws against toxic waste dumpers. (Applause.) I want faster cleanups and tougher enforcement of penalties against polluters.

In addition to caring for our future, we must care for those around us. A decent society shows compassion for the young, the elderly, the vulnerable, and the poor.

Our first obligation is to the most vulnerable -- infants, poor mothers, children living in poverty -- and my proposed budget recognizes this. I ask for full funding of Medicaid -- an increase of over \$3 billion -- and an expansion of the program to include coverage of pregnant women who are near the poverty line. (Applause.)

I believe we should help working families cope with the burden of child care. Our help should be aimed at those who need it most -- low-income families with young children. I support a new child care tax credit that will aim our efforts at exactly those families -- without discriminating against mothers who choose to stay at home. (Applause.)

Now, I know there are competing proposals. But remember this -- the overwhelming majority of all preschool child care is now provided by relatives and neighbors and churches and community groups. Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice. (Applause.)

And for those children who are unwanted or abused or whose parents are deceased, we should encourage adoption. I propose to reenact the tax deduction for adoption expenses, and to double it to \$3,000. (Applause.) Let's make it easier for these kids to have parents who love them.

We have a moral contract with our senior citizens. And in this budget, Social Security is fully funded, including a full cost-of-living adjustment. We must honor our contract.

MORE

We must care about those in the shadow of life, and I, like many Americans, am deeply troubled by the plight of the homeless. The causes of homelessness are many, the history is long. But the moral imperative to act is clear.

Thanks to the deep well of generosity in this great land, many organizations already contribute. But we in government cannot stand on the sidelines. In my budget, I ask for greater support for emergency food and shelter, for health services and measures to prevent substance abuse, and for clinics for the mentally ill. (Applause.) And I propose a new initiative involving the full range of government agencies. We must confront this national shame.

There's another issue that I've decided to mention here tonight. I've long believed that the people of Puerto Rico should have the right to determine their own political future. Personally, I strongly favor statehood. But I urge the Congress to take the necessary steps to allow the people to decide in a referendum.

Certain problems, the result of decades of unwise practices, threaten the health and security of our people. Left unattended, they will only get worse -- but we can act now to put them behind us.

Earlier this week, I announced my support for a plan to restore the financial and moral integrity of our savings system. I ask Congress to enact our reform proposals within 45 days. We must not let this situation fester. (Applause.) We owe it to the savers in this country to solve this problem. (Applause.)

Certainly, the savings of Americans must remain secure. Let me be clear. Insured depositors will continue to be fully protected. But any plan to refinance the system must be accompanied by major reform. Our proposals will prevent such a crisis from recurring. The best answer is to make sure that a mess like this will never happen again.

The majority of thrifts in communities across the nation have been honest. They've played a major role in helping families achieve the dream of home ownership. But make no mistake -- those who are corrupt, those who break the law, must be kicked out of the business and they should go to jail. (Applause.)

We face a massive task in cleaning up the waste left from decades of environmental neglect at our America's nuclear weapons plants. Clearly, we must modernize these plants and operate them safely. That's not at issue -- our national security depends on it. But beyond that, we must clean up the old mess that's been left behind -- and I propose in this budget to more than double our current effort to do so. This will allow us to identify the exact nature of the various problems so we can clean them up -- and clean them up we will. (Applause.)

We've been fortunate during these past eight years. America is a stronger nation than it was in 1980. Morale in our Armed Forces has been restored. Our resolve has been shown. Our readiness has been improved. And we are at peace. There can no longer be any doubt that peace has been made more secure through strength. And when America is stronger, the world is safer. (Applause.)

Most people don't realize that after the successful restoration of our strength, the Pentagon budget has actually been reduced in real terms for each of the last four years. We cannot tolerate continued real reduction in defense. In light of the compelling need to reduce the deficit, however, I support a one-year freeze in the military budget -- something I proposed last fall in my flexible freeze plan.

And this freeze will apply for only one year, and after that, increases above inflation will be required. I will not sacrifice American preparedness, and I will not compromise American strength. (Applause.)

I should be clear on the conditions attached to my recommendation for the coming year:

The savings must be allocated to those priorities for investing in our future that I've spoken about tonight.

This defense freeze must be a part of a comprehensive budget agreement which meets the targets spelled out in Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law without raising taxes, and which incorporates reforms in the budget process.

I have directed the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies and report back to me within 90 days to ensure that our capabilities and resources meet our commitments and strategies.

I'm also charging the Department of Defense with the task of developing a plan to improve the defense procurement process and management of the Pentagon -- one which will fully implement the Packard Commission report. (Applause.) Many of these changes can only be made with the participation of the Congress -- and so I ask for your help.

We need fewer regulations. We need less bureaucracy. We need multiyear procurement and two-year budgeting. And frankly, -- and don't take this wrong -- we need less congressional micromanagement of our nation's military policy. (Applause.) I detect a slight division on that question, but nevertheless -- (laughter.)

Securing a more peaceful world is perhaps the most important priority I'd like to address tonight. You know we meet at a time of extraordinary hope. Never before in this century have our values of freedom, democracy, and economic opportunity been such a powerful and intellectual force around the globe.

Never before has our leadership been so crucial, because while America has its eyes on the future, the world has its eyes on America.

And it's time of great change in the world -- and especially in the Soviet Union. Prudence and common sense dictate that we try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies and then proceed with caution. But I've personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that at the conclusion of such a review we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace.

The fundamental facts remain that the Soviets retain a very powerful military machine, in the service of objectives which are still too often in conflict with ours. So let us take the new openness seriously. But let's also be realistic. And let's always be strong. (Applause.)

There are some pressing issues we must address: I will vigorously pursue the Strategic Defense Initiative. (Applause.) The spread and even use of sophisticated weaponry threatens global security as never before.

Chemical weapons must be banned from the face of the Earth, never to be used again. (Applause.) And, look, this won't be easy. Verification -- extraordinarily difficult. But civilization and human decency demand that we try.

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. And

MORE

I'll work to strengthen the hand of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Our diplomacy must work every day against the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

And around the globe, we must continue to be freedom's best friend. And we must stand firm for self-determination and democracy in Central America -- including in Nicaragua. (Applause.) It is my strongly held conviction that when people are given the chance, they inevitably will choose a free press, freedom of worship, and certifiably free and fair elections.

We must strengthen the alliance of the industrial democracies -- as solid a force for peace as the world has ever known. And this is an alliance forged by the power of our ideals, not the pettiness of our differences. So let's lift our sights -- to rise above fighting about beef hormones to building a better future, to move from protectionism to progress.

I've asked the Secretary of State to visit Europe next week and to consult with our allies on the wide range of challenges and opportunities we face together -- including East-West relations. And I look forward to meeting with our NATO partners in the near future.

And I, too, shall begin a trip shortly -- to the far reaches of the Pacific Basin, where the winds of democracy are creating new hope, and the power of free markets is unleashing a new force.

When I served as our representative in China 14 or 15 years ago, few would have predicted the scope of the changes we've witnessed since then. But in preparing for this trip, I was struck by something I came across from a Chinese writer. He was speaking of his country, decades ago, but his words speak to each of us, in America, tonight.

"Today," he said, "we're afraid of the simple words like goodness and mercy and kindness."

My friends, if we're to succeed as a nation, we must rediscover those words.

In just three days, we mark the birthday of Abraham Lincoln -- the man who saved our Union, and gave new meaning to the word opportunity. Lincoln once said: "I hold that while man exists, it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating that of mankind."

It is this broader mission to which I call all Americans. Because the definition of a successful life must include serving others. (Applause.)

And to the young people of America, who sometimes feel left out -- I ask you tonight to give us the benefit of your talent and energy through a new program called "YES," for Youth Entering Service to America.

To those men and women in business -- remember the ultimate end of your work -- to make a better product, to create better lives. I ask you to plan for the longer-term and avoid that temptation of quick and easy paper profits.

To the brave men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America -- thank you. Your calling is a high one -- (applause.) To be the defenders of freedom and the guarantors of liberty. And I want you to know that this nation is grateful for your service.

To the farmers of America, we appreciate the bounty you provide. We will work with you to open foreign markets to American

agricultural products. (Applause.)

And to the parents of America, I ask you to get involved in your child's schooling. Check on the homework. Go to the school, meet the teachers, care about what is happening there. It's not only your child's future on the line, it's America's.

To kids in our cities -- don't give up hope. Say no to drugs. Stay in school. And yes, "Keep hope alive."

To those 37 million Americans with some form of disability -- you belong in the economic mainstream. We need your talents in America's workforce. Disabled Americans must become full partners in America's opportunity society. (Applause.)

To the families of America watching tonight in your living rooms: Hold fast to your dreams, because ultimately America's future rests in your hands.

And to my friends in this Chamber, I ask your cooperation to keep America growing while cutting the deficit. That's only fair to those who now have no vote -- the generations to come.

Let them look back and say that we had the foresight to understand that a time of peace and prosperity is not the time to rest, but a time to press forward -- a time to invest in the future.

And let all Americans remember that no problem of human-making is too great to be overcome by human ingenuity, human energy, and the untiring hope of the human spirit. I believe this. I would not have asked to be your President if I didn't.

And tomorrow, the debate on the plan I've put forward begins, and I ask the Congress to come forward with your own proposals. Let's not question each other's motives. Let's debate. Let's negotiate. But let us solve the problem. (Applause.)

Recalling anniversaries may not be my specialty in speeches -- (laughter and applause.) -- but tonight is one of some note. On February 9, 1941, just 48 years ago tonight, Sir Winston Churchill took to the airwaves during Britain's hour of peril. He'd received from President Roosevelt a hand-carried letter quoting Longfellow's famous poem: "Sail on, oh Ship of State! Sail on, Oh Union, strong and great! Humanity with all its fears, with all the hopes of future years, is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

And Churchill responded on this night by radio broadcast to a nation at war, but he directed his words to Franklin Roosevelt. "We shall not fail or falter," he said. "We shall not weaken or tire. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

Tonight, almost half a century later, our peril may be less immediate, but the need for perseverance and clear-sighted fortitude is just as great.

Now, as then, there are those who say it can't be done. There are voices who say that America's best days have passed; that we're bound by constraints, threatened by problems, surrounded by troubles which limit our ability to hope. Well, tonight, I remain full of hope. We Americans have only begun on our mission of goodness and greatness. And to those timid souls, I repeat the plea -- give us the tools, and we will do the job.

Thank you. God bless you and God bless America.
(Applause.)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Letter	Coleen M. Clineschmidt to POTUS, re: eradication of cocaine. (1 pp.)	01/22/89	P-6, (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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RESTRICTION CODES

<p>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</p> <p>P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA] P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA] P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA] P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA] P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA] P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p>	<p>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</p> <p>(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA] (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA] (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA] (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA] (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA] (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA] (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA] (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information</p>
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MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
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STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

A record of who gave the Annual Message to Congress each year, with special attention to transition years.

<u>1989</u>				
1988	Ronald Reagan	1/25/88	41 min	D
1987	" "	1/27/87	40 min	D
1986	" "	2/4/86	-	D
1985	" "	2/6/85	-	D
1984	" "	1/25/84	43 min	D
1983	" "	1/25/83	45 min	D
1982	" "	1/26/82	45 min	D
1981	Jimmy Carter (O)	1/16/81	-	M 1.
1980	" "	1/23/80	31 min	D
1979	" "	1/23/79	32 min	D
1978	" "	1/19/78	50 min	D
1977	Gerald Ford (O)	1/12/77		D 2.
1976	" "	1/19/76	50 min	D
1975	" "	1/15/75	40 min	D
1974	Richard Nixon	1/30/74	45 min	D
1973	" "	2/2/73-3/14/73		M 3.
1972	" "	1/20/72	30 min	D
1971	" "	1/22/71		D
1970	" "	1/22/70	36 min	D
1969	Lyndon Johnson (O)	1/14/69	50 minutes	D
1968	" "	1/17/68		D
1967	" "	1/10/67		D
1966	" "	1/12/66		D
1965	" "	1/4/65		D
1964	" "	1/8/64		D
1963	John Kennedy	1/14/63		D
1962	" "	1/11/62		D
1961	Dwight Eisenhower (O)/John Kennedy (I)	1/12/61 / 1/30/61		M / D
1960	" "	1/7/60		D
1959	" "	1/9/59		D
1958	" "	1/9/58		D
1957	" "	1/10/57		D
1956	" "	1/5/56		(D4.)
1955	" "	1/6/55		D
1954	" "	1/7/54		D
1953	Harry S. Truman (O)/Dwight Eisenhower (I)	1/7/53 / 2/2/53		(M5.)/D

1. Ronald Reagan addressed a Joint Session on his Program for Economic Recovery on 2/18/81.
2. Jimmy Carter made a "Report to the American People" from the White House Library on 2/2/77.
3. Richard Nixon sent a series of six messages to Congress on the State of the Union on 2/2/73, 2/15/73, 2/22/73, 3/1/73, 3/8/73, and 3/14/73.
4. Eisenhower's message was read before a Joint Session by a clerk of the House of Representatives.
5. Truman's message was read aloud by clerks in both houses of Congress.

Codes

D=Delivered in person before a Joint Session of Congress

M=Message sent to Congress

I=Incoming president

O=Outgoing president

_____ underlined dates=Transition years

See also notes (superscript numerals) at end

Johnson
1969

50 min
36 min
30 min

1970
1971
1972

Horton

45 min
40 min
50 min
Longest

1974
1975
1976

Ford

50 min
32 min
31 min
Shortest
Longest

~~1977~~
1978
1979
1980

Carter

45 min
45 min
43 min
40 min
41 min

~~1981~~
1982
1983
1984
1985
1986
1987
1988

Reagan

LBJ-

'69 = 4800
'66 - 6678
'65 - 6042
'64 - 3657

FDR

45- 9540
44- 4324
43- 5024
42- 3816
41- 3816

JFK-

'63 - 6996
'62 - 7950
'61 - 6360

40- 3625
39- 4515
38- 5278
37- 1908
36- 5088

IKE -

'61 - 8904
'60 - 6837
'59 - 6360
'58 - 6360
'57 - 2544
'56 - 9858
'55 - 8713
'54 - 7822
'53 - 8976

35- 4706
34- 3816

Carter: '78 - 5152
'79 - { 3046
WRITTEN - 22,848
'81 - WRITTEN - 35,000

FORD

77- 5600

HARRY T.

'53 - 12020
'52 - 5935
'51 - 4611
'50 - 5660

'49 - 4070
'48 - 6201
'47 - 7473
'46 - 24804

RR*:

1982 5209
83 5611
84 5060
85 4395
86 3366
87 3771
88 4812

NIXON: '70 - 4700

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Per MOEN -

'72 - { 4,540
21,000 WRITTEN

'74 - 5,905

1/21/72

Sussex Archeological Society
Lewis, Sussex
John Houghton

011-44 - 273-474-379

D. P. White Exec. Sec.

Betty King - Sec.

BS- ① Joe Casper

377-8582 IMPORTANT!

10:30

② Claire Martin

English media

re: quote

44 273-416-541

10:25

President -

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 9, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS

The Capitol
Washington, D.C.

9:07 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, and distinguished members of the House and Senate, honored guests, and fellow citizens. Less than three weeks ago, I joined you on the West Front of this very building -- and looking over the monuments to our proud past -- offered you my hand in filling the next page of American history with a story of extended prosperity and continued peace. And tonight, I'm back to offer you my plans, as well. The hand remains extended, the sleeves are rolled up, America is waiting, and now we must produce. Together, we can build a better America.

It is comforting to return to this historic Chamber. Here, 22 years ago, I first raised my hand to be sworn into public life. So tonight, I feel as if I'm returning home to friends and I intend -- (applause.) And I intend, in the months and years to come, to give you what friends deserve: frankness, respect, and my best judgment about ways to improve America's future.

In return, I ask for an honest commitment to our common mission of progress. If we seize the opportunities on the road before us, there'll be praise enough for all. The people didn't send us here to bicker. And it's time to govern.

And many presidents have come to this Chamber in times of great crisis. War and depression, loss of national spirit. And eight years ago, I sat in that very chair as President Reagan spoke of punishing inflation and devastatingly high interest rates and people out of work, American confidence on the wane. And our challenge is different.

We're fortunate -- a much changed landscape lies before us tonight. So I don't propose to reverse direction. We're headed the right way. But we cannot rest. We're a people whose energy and drive have fueled our rise to greatness. And we're a forward-looking nation -- generous, yes, but ambitious, as well -- not for ourselves, but for the world. Complacency is not in our character -- not before, not now, not ever. (Applause.)

And so tonight, we must take a strong America and make it even better. We must address some very real problems. We must establish some very clear priorities. And we must make a very substantial cut in the federal budget deficit. (Applause.)

Some people find that agenda impossible. But I'm presenting to you tonight a realistic plan for tackling it. My plan has four broad features: attention to urgent priorities, investment in the future, an attack on the deficit, and no new taxes. (Applause.)

This budget represents my best judgment of how we can address our priorities. There are many areas in which we would all like to spend more than I propose; I understand that. But we cannot until we get our fiscal house in order.

MORE

Next year alone, thanks to economic growth, without any change in the law, the federal government will take in over \$80 billion dollars more than it does this year. That's right -- over \$80 billion in new revenues, with no increases in taxes. And our job is to allocate those new resources wisely.

We can afford to increase spending by a modest amount, but enough to invest in key priorities and still cut the deficit by almost 40 percent in one year. And that will allow us to meet the targets set forth in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law. But to do that, we must recognize that growth above inflation in federal programs is not preordained; that not all spending initiatives were designed to be immortal. (Applause.)

I make this pledge tonight: My team and I are ready to work with the Congress, to form a special leadership group, to negotiate in good faith, to work day and night -- if that's what it takes -- to meet the budget targets, and to produce a budget on time.

We cannot settle for business as usual. Government by continuing resolution -- or government by crisis -- will not do. And I ask the Congress tonight to approve several measures which will make budgeting more sensible. We could save time and improve efficiency by enacting two-year budgets. (Applause.) Forty-three governors have the line-item veto. President's should have it, too. (Applause.) And the very least -- at the very least, when a President proposes to rescind federal spending, the Congress should be required to vote on that proposal -- instead of killing it by inaction. (Applause.)

And I ask the Congress to honor the public's wishes by passing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. (Applause.) Such an amendment, once phased in, will discipline both the Congress and the Executive Branch.

Several principles describe the kind of America I hope to build with your help in the years ahead. We will not have the luxury of taking the easy, spendthrift approach to solving problems -- because higher spending and higher taxes put economic growth at risk. Economic growth provides jobs and hope. Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs. Economic growth enhances the security of the nation. And low tax rates create economic growth.

I believe in giving Americans greater freedom and greater choice -- and I will work for choice for American families, whether in the housing in which they live, the schools to which they send their children, or the child care they select for their young. (Applause.)

You see, I believe that we have an obligation to those in need, but that government should not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can produce better. I believe in a society that is free from discrimination and bigotry of any kind. (Applause.) And I will work to knock down the barriers left by past discrimination -- (applause) -- and to build a more tolerant society that will stop such barriers from ever being built again.

I believe that family and faith represent the moral compass of the nation -- and I'll work to make them strong, for as Benjamin Franklin said, "If a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, can a great nation rise without his aid?"

And I believe in giving people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. And together, let's put power in the hands of people. (Applause.)

Three weeks ago, we celebrated the Bicentennial Inaugural, the 200th anniversary of the first presidency. And if you look back, one thing is so striking about the way the Founding

Fathers looked at America. They didn't talk about themselves. They talked about posterity. They talked about the future.

And we, too, must think in terms bigger than ourselves. We must take actions today that will ensure a better tomorrow. (Applause.) We must extend American leadership in technology, increase long-term investment, improve our educational system, and boost productivity. These are the keys to building a better future.

And here are some of my recommendations:

I propose almost \$2.2 billion for the National Science Foundation to promote basic research and keep us on track to double its budget by 1993. (Applause.)

I propose to make permanent the tax credit for research and development. (Applause.)

I've asked Vice President Quayle to chair a new Task Force on Competitiveness. (Applause.)

And I request funding for NASA and a strong space program -- an increase of almost \$2.4 billion over the current fiscal year. We must have a manned space station; a vigorous, safe space shuttle program; and more commercial development in space. The space program should always go "full throttle up" -- and that's not just our ambition; it's our destiny. (Applause.)

I propose that we cut the maximum tax rate on capital gains to increase long-term investment. (Applause.) History is clear -- history on this is clear; this will increase revenues, help savings, and create new jobs. (Applause.) We won't be competitive if we leave whole sectors of America behind. This is the year we should finally enact urban enterprise zones and bring hope to the inner cities. (Applause.)

But the most important competitiveness program of all is one which improves education in America. When some of our students actually have trouble locating America on a map of the world, it is time for us to map a new approach to education. (Applause.)

We must reward excellence and cut through bureaucracy. We must help schools that need help the most. We must give choice to parents, students, teachers, and principals; and we must hold all concerned accountable. In education, we cannot tolerate mediocrity. (Applause.)

I want to cut that dropout rate and make America a more literate nation. (Applause.) Because what it really comes down to is this: the longer our graduation lines are today, the shorter our unemployment lines will be tomorrow.

So tonight I'm proposing the following initiatives:

The beginning of a \$500-million program to reward America's best schools -- "merit schools."

The creation of special presidential awards for the best teachers in every state -- because excellence should be rewarded. -- (Applause.)

The establishment of a new program of National Science Scholars, one each year for every Member of the House and Senate, to give this generation of students a special incentive to excel in science and mathematics. (Applause.)

The expanded use of magnet schools, which give families and students greater choice; and a new program -- to encourage "alternative certification" which will let talented people from all fields teach in our classrooms. (Applause.)

MORE

I've said I'd like to be the "Education President." And tonight, I've asked you to join me by becoming the "Education Congress." (Applause.)

Just last week, as I settled into this new office, I received a letter from a mother in Pennsylvania who had been struck by my message in the Inaugural Address. "Not 12 hours before," she wrote, "my husband and I received word that our son was addicted to cocaine. He had the world at his feet. Bright, gifted, personable. He could have done anything with his life. And now he has chosen cocaine."

"And please," she wrote, "find a way to curb the supply of cocaine. Get tough with the pushers. Our son needs your help." (Applause.)

My friends, that voice crying out for help could be the voice of your own neighbor, your own friend, your own son. Over 23 million Americans used illegal drugs last year -- at a staggering cost to our nation's well-being.

Let this be recorded as the time when America rose up and said "no" to drugs. The scourge of drugs must be stopped. And I am asking tonight for an increase of almost a billion dollars in budget outlays to escalate the war against drugs. (Applause.) The war must be waged on all fronts. Our new drug czar, Bill Bennett, and I will be shoulder-to-shoulder in the Executive Branch leading the charge.

Some money will be used to expand treatment to the poor and to young mothers. This will offer the helping hand to the many innocent victims of drugs -- like the thousands of babies born addicted, or with AIDS because of the mother's addiction.

Some will be used to cut the waiting time for treatment. Some money will be devoted to those urban schools where the emergency is now the worst. And much of it will be used to protect our borders, with help from the Coast Guard, and the Customs Service, the Departments of State and Justice, and yes, the U.S. military. (Applause.)

I mean to get tough on the drug criminals. And let me be clear: this President will back up those who put their lives on the line every single day -- our local police officers. (Applause.)

My budget asks for beefed-up prosecution, for a new attack on organized crime, and for enforcement of tough sentences -- and for the worst kingpins, that means the death penalty. (Applause.) I also want to make sure that when a drug dealer is convicted, there's a cell waiting for him. And he should not go free because prisons are too full.

And so let the word go out: If you're caught and convicted, you will do time.

But for all we do in law enforcement, in interdiction and treatment, we will never win this war on drugs unless we stop the demand for drugs. So some of this increase will be used to educate the young about the dangers of drugs. We must involve the parents. We must involve the teachers. We must involve the communities. And my friends, we must involve ourselves -- each and every one of us in this concern. (Applause.)

One problem related to drug use demands our urgent attention and our continuing compassion. And that is the terrible tragedy of AIDS. I'm asking for \$1.6 billion for education to prevent the disease -- and for research to find a cure.

If we're to protect our future, we need a new attitude about the environment. We must protect the air we breathe. I will

MORE

send to you shortly legislation for a new, more effective, Clean Air Act. It will include a plan to reduce, by date certain, the emissions which cause acid rain -- (applause) -- because the time for study alone has passed, and the time for action is now. (Applause.)

We must make use of clean coal. My budget contains full funding, on schedule, for the clean coal technology agreement that we've made with Canada. (Applause.) We've made that agreement with Canada and we intend to honor that agreement.

We must not neglect our parks. So I'm asking to fund new acquisitions under the Land and Water Conservation Fund. We must protect our oceans. And I support new penalties against those who would dump medical waste and other trash into our oceans. (Applause.) The age of the needle on the beaches must end. (Applause.)

And in some cases, the gulfs and oceans off our shores hold the promise of oil and gas reserves which can make our nation more secure and less dependent on foreign oil. And when those with the most promise can be tapped safely, as with much of the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge, we should proceed. (Applause.) But we must use caution. We must respect the environment.

And so tonight I'm calling for the indefinite postponement of three lease sales which have raised troubling questions -- two off the coast of California, and one which could threaten the Everglades in Florida. (Applause.) Action on these three lease sales will await the conclusion of a special task force set up to measure the potential for environmental damage.

I'm directing the Attorney General and the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to use every tool at their disposal to speed and toughen the enforcement of our laws against toxic waste dumpers. (Applause.) I want faster cleanups and tougher enforcement of penalties against polluters.

In addition to caring for our future, we must care for those around us. A decent society shows compassion for the young, the elderly, the vulnerable, and the poor.

Our first obligation is to the most vulnerable -- infants, poor mothers, children living in poverty -- and my proposed budget recognizes this. I ask for full funding of Medicaid -- an increase of over \$3 billion -- and an expansion of the program to include coverage of pregnant women who are near the poverty line. (Applause.)

I believe we should help working families cope with the burden of child care. Our help should be aimed at those who need it most -- low-income families with young children. I support a new child care tax credit that will aim our efforts at exactly those families -- without discriminating against mothers who choose to stay at home. (Applause.)

Now, I know there are competing proposals. But remember this -- the overwhelming majority of all preschool child care is now provided by relatives and neighbors and churches and community groups. Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice. (Applause.)

And for those children who are unwanted or abused or whose parents are deceased, we should encourage adoption. I propose to reenact the tax deduction for adoption expenses, and to double it to \$3,000. (Applause.) Let's make it easier for these kids to have parents who love them.

We have a moral contract with our senior citizens. And in this budget, Social Security is fully funded, including a full cost-of-living adjustment. We must honor our contract.

MORE

We must care about those in the shadow of life, and I, like many Americans, am deeply troubled by the plight of the homeless. The causes of homelessness are many, the history is long. But the moral imperative to act is clear.

Thanks to the deep well of generosity in this great land, many organizations already contribute. But we in government cannot stand on the sidelines. In my budget, I ask for greater support for emergency food and shelter, for health services and measures to prevent substance abuse, and for clinics for the mentally ill. (Applause.) And I propose a new initiative involving the full range of government agencies. We must confront this national shame.

There's another issue that I've decided to mention here tonight. I've long believed that the people of Puerto Rico should have the right to determine their own political future. Personally, I strongly favor statehood. But I urge the Congress to take the necessary steps to allow the people to decide in a referendum.

Certain problems, the result of decades of unwise practices, threaten the health and security of our people. Left unattended, they will only get worse -- but we can act now to put them behind us.

Earlier this week, I announced my support for a plan to restore the financial and moral integrity of our savings system. I ask Congress to enact our reform proposals within 45 days. We must not let this situation fester. (Applause.) We owe it to the savers in this country to solve this problem. (Applause.)

Certainly, the savings of Americans must remain secure. Let me be clear. Insured depositors will continue to be fully protected. But any plan to refinance the system must be accompanied by major reform. Our proposals will prevent such a crisis from recurring. The best answer is to make sure that a mess like this will never happen again.

The majority of thrifts in communities across the nation have been honest. They've played a major role in helping families achieve the dream of home ownership. But make no mistake -- those who are corrupt, those who break the law, must be kicked out of the business and they should go to jail. (Applause.)

We face a massive task in cleaning up the waste left from decades of environmental neglect at our America's nuclear weapons plants. Clearly, we must modernize these plants and operate them safely. That's not at issue -- our national security depends on it. But beyond that, we must clean up the old mess that's been left behind -- and I propose in this budget to more than double our current effort to do so. This will allow us to identify the exact nature of the various problems so we can clean them up -- and clean them up we will. (Applause.)

We've been fortunate during these past eight years. America is a stronger nation than it was in 1980. Morale in our Armed Forces has been restored. Our resolve has been shown. Our readiness has been improved. And we are at peace. There can no longer be any doubt that peace has been made more secure through strength. And when America is stronger, the world is safer. (Applause.)

Most people don't realize that after the successful restoration of our strength, the Pentagon budget has actually been reduced in real terms for each of the last four years. We cannot tolerate continued real reduction in defense. In light of the compelling need to reduce the deficit, however, I support a one-year freeze in the military budget -- something I proposed last fall in my flexible freeze plan.

And this freeze will apply for only one year, and after that, increases above inflation will be required. I will not sacrifice American preparedness, and I will not compromise American strength. (Applause.)

I should be clear on the conditions attached to my recommendation for the coming year:

The savings must be allocated to those priorities for investing in our future that I've spoken about tonight.

This defense freeze must be a part of a comprehensive budget agreement which meets the targets spelled out in Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law without raising taxes, and which incorporates reforms in the budget process.

I have directed the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies and report back to me within 90 days to ensure that our capabilities and resources meet our commitments and strategies.

I'm also charging the Department of Defense with the task of developing a plan to improve the defense procurement process and management of the Pentagon -- one which will fully implement the Packard Commission report. (Applause.) Many of these changes can only be made with the participation of the Congress -- and so I ask for your help.

We need fewer regulations. We need less bureaucracy. We need multiyear procurement and two-year budgeting. And frankly, -- and don't take this wrong -- we need less congressional micromanagement of our nation's military policy. (Applause.) I detect a slight division on that question, but nevertheless -- (laughter.)

Securing a more peaceful world is perhaps the most important priority I'd like to address tonight. You know we meet at a time of extraordinary hope. Never before in this century have our values of freedom, democracy, and economic opportunity been such a powerful and intellectual force around the globe.

Never before has our leadership been so crucial, because while America has its eyes on the future, the world has its eyes on America.

And it's time of great change in the world -- and especially in the Soviet Union. Prudence and common sense dictate that we try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies and then proceed with caution. But I've personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that at the conclusion of such a review we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace.

The fundamental facts remain that the Soviets retain a very powerful military machine, in the service of objectives which are still too often in conflict with ours. So let us take the new openness seriously. But let's also be realistic. And let's always be strong. (Applause.)

There are some pressing issues we must address: I will vigorously pursue the Strategic Defense Initiative. (Applause.) The spread and even use of sophisticated weaponry threatens global security as never before.

Chemical weapons must be banned from the face of the Earth, never to be used again. (Applause.) And, look, this won't be easy. Verification -- extraordinarily difficult. But civilization and human decency demand that we try.

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. And

I'll work to strengthen the hand of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Our diplomacy must work every day against the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

And around the globe, we must continue to be freedom's best friend. And we must stand firm for self-determination and democracy in Central America -- including in Nicaragua. (Applause.) It is my strongly held conviction that when people are given the chance, they inevitably will choose a free press, freedom of worship, and certifiably free and fair elections.

We must strengthen the alliance of the industrial democracies -- as solid a force for peace as the world has ever known. And this is an alliance forged by the power of our ideals, not the pettiness of our differences. So let's lift our sights -- to rise above fighting about beef hormones to building a better future, to move from protectionism to progress.

I've asked the Secretary of State to visit Europe next week and to consult with our allies on the wide range of challenges and opportunities we face together -- including East-West relations. And I look forward to meeting with our NATO partners in the near future.

And I, too, shall begin a trip shortly -- to the far reaches of the Pacific Basin, where the winds of democracy are creating new hope, and the power of free markets is unleashing a new force.

When I served as our representative in China 14 or 15 years ago, few would have predicted the scope of the changes we've witnessed since then. But in preparing for this trip, I was struck by something I came across from a Chinese writer. He was speaking of his country, decades ago, but his words speak to each of us, in America, tonight.

"Today," he said, "we're afraid of the simple words like goodness and mercy and kindness."

My friends, if we're to succeed as a nation, we must rediscover those words.

In just three days, we mark the birthday of Abraham Lincoln -- the man who saved our Union, and gave new meaning to the word opportunity. Lincoln once said: "I hold that while man exists, it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating that of mankind."

It is this broader mission to which I call all Americans. Because the definition of a successful life must include serving others. (Applause.)

And to the young people of America, who sometimes feel left out -- I ask you tonight to give us the benefit of your talent and energy through a new program called "YES," for Youth Entering Service to America.

To those men and women in business -- remember the ultimate end of your work -- to make a better product, to create better lives. I ask you to plan for the longer-term and avoid that temptation of quick and easy paper profits.

To the brave men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America -- thank you. Your calling is a high one -- (applause.) To be the defenders of freedom and the guarantors of liberty. And I want you to know that this nation is grateful for your service.

To the farmers of America, we appreciate the bounty you provide. We will work with you to open foreign markets to American

MORE

agricultural products. (Applause.)

And to the parents of America, I ask you to get involved in your child's schooling. Check on the homework. Go to the school, meet the teachers, care about what is happening there. It's not only your child's future on the line, it's America's.

To kids in our cities -- don't give up hope. Say no to drugs. Stay in school. And yes, "Keep hope alive."

To those 37 million Americans with some form of disability -- you belong in the economic mainstream. We need your talents in America's workforce. Disabled Americans must become full partners in America's opportunity society. (Applause.)

To the families of America watching tonight in your living rooms: Hold fast to your dreams, because ultimately America's future rests in your hands.

And to my friends in this Chamber, I ask your cooperation to keep America growing while cutting the deficit. That's only fair to those who now have no vote -- the generations to come.

Let them look back and say that we had the foresight to understand that a time of peace and prosperity is not the time to rest, but a time to press forward -- a time to invest in the future.

And let all Americans remember that no problem of human-making is too great to be overcome by human ingenuity, human energy, and the untiring hope of the human spirit. I believe this. I would not have asked to be your President if I didn't.

And tomorrow, the debate on the plan I've put forward begins, and I ask the Congress to come forward with your own proposals. Let's not question each other's motives. Let's debate. Let's negotiate. But let us solve the problem. (Applause.)

Recalling anniversaries may not be my specialty in speeches -- (laughter and applause.) -- but tonight is one of some note. On February 9, 1941, just 48 years ago tonight, Sir Winston Churchill took to the airwaves during Britain's hour of peril. He'd received from President Roosevelt a hand-carried letter quoting Longfellow's famous poem: "Sail on, oh Ship of State! Sail on, Oh Union, strong and great! Humanity with all its fears, with all the hopes of future years, is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

And Churchill responded on this night by radio broadcast to a nation at war, but he directed his words to Franklin Roosevelt. "We shall not fail or falter," he said. "We shall not weaken or tire. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

Tonight, almost half a century later, our peril may be less immediate, but the need for perseverance and clear-sighted fortitude is just as great.

Now, as then, there are those who say it can't be done. There are voices who say that America's best days have passed; that we're bound by constraints, threatened by problems, surrounded by troubles which limit our ability to hope. Well, tonight, I remain full of hope. We Americans have only begun on our mission of goodness and greatness. And to those timid souls, I repeat the plea -- give us the tools, and we will do the job.

Thank you. God bless you and God bless America.
(Applause.)

END

9:56 P.M. EST

EMBARGOED UNTIL 9:00 PM 2/9/89

8:30 pm

Final. Press
Text

ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1989

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished Members of the House and Senate, honored guests, fellow citizens:

Less than 3 weeks ago, I joined you on the West Front of this very building and -- looking over the monuments to our proud past -- offered you my hand in filling the next page of American history with a story of extended prosperity and continued peace. Tonight, I am back, to offer you my plans as well. The hand remains extended, the sleeves are rolled up, America is waiting, and now we must produce.

Together, we can build a better America.

It is comforting to return to this historic Chamber. Here, 22 years ago, I first raised my hand to be sworn into public life. So tonight, I feel as if I am returning home to friends. And I intend, in the months and years to come, to give you what friends deserve: frankness, respect, and my best judgment about ways to improve America's future.

In return, I ask for an honest commitment to our common mission of progress. If we seize the opportunities on the road before us, there will be praise enough for all.

The people didn't send us here to bicker. It's time to govern.

Many Presidents have come to this Chamber in times of great crisis. War. Depression. Loss of national spirit.

Eight years ago, I sat in that chair as President Reagan spoke of punishing inflation and devastatingly high interest rates, people out of work, American confidence on the wane.

Our challenge is different.

We are fortunate -- a much changed landscape lies before us tonight.

So I don't propose to reverse direction. We are headed the right way.

But we cannot rest. We are a people whose energy and drive have fueled our rise to greatness. We are a forward-looking Nation -- generous, yes, but ambitious as well -- not for ourselves, but for the world.

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We must address some very real problems. We must establish some very clear priorities. And we must make a very substantial cut in the Federal budget deficit.

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Next year alone, thanks to economic growth, without any change in the law, the Federal Government will take in over \$80 billion dollars more than it does this year. That's right --

over \$80 billion in new revenues, with no increase in taxes. Our job is to allocate those new resources wisely.

We can afford to increase spending -- by a modest amount, but enough to invest in key priorities and still cut the deficit by almost 40 percent in one year.

That will allow us to meet the targets set forth in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law.

But to do that, we must recognize that growth above inflation in Federal programs is not preordained, that not all spending initiatives were designed to be immortal.

I make this pledge tonight: My team and I are ready to work with the Congress, to form a special leadership group, to negotiate in good faith, to work day and night -- if that's what it takes -- to meet the budget targets, and to produce a budget on time.

We cannot settle for business as usual.

Government by Continuing Resolution -- or Government by crisis -- will not do.

I ask the Congress tonight to approve several measures which will make budgeting more sensible. We could save time and improve efficiency by enacting 2-year budgets.

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Economic growth provides jobs and hope. Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs. Economic growth enhances the security of the Nation. And low tax rates create economic growth.

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Three weeks ago, we celebrated the Bicentennial Inaugural, the 200th anniversary of the first Presidency.

And if you look back, one thing is so striking about the way the Founding Fathers looked at America. They didn't talk about themselves. They talked about posterity. They talked about the future.

We, too, must think in terms bigger than ourselves.

We must take actions today that will ensure a better tomorrow. We must extend American leadership in technology, increase long-term investment, improve our educational system, and boost productivity. These are the keys to building a better future.

Here are some of my recommendations:

- I propose almost \$2.2 billion for the National Science Foundation to promote basic research;
- I propose to make permanent the tax credit for research and development;
- I have asked Vice President Quayle to chair a new Task Force on Competitiveness;
- I request funding for NASA and a strong space program -- an increase of almost \$2.4 billion over the current fiscal year. We must have a manned space station; a vigorous, safe space shuttle program; and more commercial development in space. The space program should always go "full throttle up" -- that's not just our ambition; it's our destiny.

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to give this generation of students a special incentive to excel in science and mathematics;

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- and a new program to encourage "alternative certification" -- which will let talented people from all fields teach in the classroom.

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My friends, that voice crying out for help could be the voice of your own neighbor. Your own friend. Your own son. Over 23 million Americans used illegal drugs last year -- at a staggering cost to our Nation's well-being.

Let this be recorded as the time when America rose up and said "No" to drugs. The scourge of drugs must be stopped.

I am asking tonight for an increase of almost a billion dollars in budget outlays to escalate the war against drugs. The war will be waged on all fronts.

Our new "Drug Czar", Bill Bennett, and I will be shoulder-to-shoulder, leading the charge.

Some money will be used to expand treatment to the poor, and to young mothers. This will offer the helping hand to the many innocent victims of drugs -- like the thousands of babies born addicted, or with AIDS, because of the mother's addiction.

Some will be used to cut the waiting time for treatment.

Some money will be devoted to those urban schools where the emergency is now the worst. And much of it will be used to protect our borders, with help from the Coast Guard, the Customs Service, the Departments of State and Justice, and yes, the U.S. military.

I mean to get tough on the drug criminals. Let me be clear: this President will back up those who put their lives on the line every day -- our local police officers.

My budget asks for beefed-up prosecution, for a new attack on organized crime, and for enforcement of tough sentences -- and for the worst kingpins, that means the death penalty.

I also want to make sure that when a drug dealer is convicted, there is a cell waiting for him. He should not go free because prisons are too full.

Let the word go out: if you are caught and convicted, you will do time.

But for all we do in law enforcement, in interdiction and treatment, we will never win this war on drugs unless we stop demand for drugs.

So some of this increase will be used to educate the young about the dangers of drugs. We must involve parents. We must involve teachers. We must involve communities. And my friends, we must involve ourselves.

One problem related to drug use demands our urgent attention and our continuing compassion. That is the terrible tragedy of AIDS.

I am asking for \$1.6 billion for education to prevent the disease -- and for research to find a cure.

If we're to protect our future, we need a new attitude about the environment.

We must protect the air we breathe.

I will send to you shortly legislation for a new, more effective Clean Air Act. It will include a plan to reduce, by date certain, the emissions which cause acid rain -- because the time for study alone has passed, and the time for action is now.

We must make use of clean coal. My budget contains full funding, on schedule, for the clean coal technology agreement we have made with Canada. We intend to honor that agreement.

We must not neglect our parks. So I am asking to fund new acquisitions under the land and water conservation fund.

We must protect our oceans. I support new penalties against those who would dump medical waste and other trash in the oceans. The age of the needle on the beach must end.

In some cases, the gulfs and oceans off our shores hold the promise of oil and gas reserves which can make our Nation more secure and less dependent on foreign oil. When those with the most promise can be tapped safely, as with much of the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge, we should proceed. But we must use caution and we must respect the environment.

So tonight I am calling for the indefinite postponement of three lease sales which have raised troubling questions -- two off the coast of California, and one which could threaten the Everglades in Florida.

Action on these three lease sales will await the conclusions of a special task force set up to measure the potential for environmental damage.

I am directing the Attorney General and the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to use every tool at their disposal to speed and toughen the enforcement of our laws against toxic waste dumpers. I want faster cleanups and tougher enforcement of penalties against polluters.

In addition to caring for our future, we must care for those around us. A decent society shows compassion for the young, the elderly, the vulnerable, and the poor.

Our first obligation is to the most vulnerable -- infants, poor mothers, children living in poverty -- and my proposed budget recognizes this. I ask for full funding of Medicaid -- an increase of over \$3 billion -- and an expansion of the program to include coverage of pregnant women who are near the poverty line.

I believe we should help working families cope with the burden of child care.

Our help should be aimed at those who need it most -- low-income families with young children. I support a new child care tax credit that will aim our efforts at exactly those families -- without discriminating against mothers who choose to stay at home.

Now, I know there are competing proposals. But remember this: The overwhelming majority of all preschool child care is now provided by relatives and neighbors, churches and community groups. Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice.

And for those children who are unwanted or abused, or whose parents are deceased, we should encourage adoption. I propose to re-enact the tax deduction for adoption expenses, and to double it to \$3,000. Let's make it easier to these kids to have parents who love them.

We have a moral contract with our senior citizens. In this budget, Social Security is fully funded, including a full cost-of-living adjustment. We must honor our contract.

We must care about those in "the shadows of life," and I, like many Americans, am deeply troubled by the plight of the homeless. The causes of homelessness are many, the history is long, but the moral imperative to act is clear.

Thanks to the deep well of generosity in this great land, many organizations already contribute. But we in Government cannot stand on the sidelines. In my budget, I ask for greater support for emergency food and shelter, for health services and measures to prevent substance abuse, and for clinics for the mentally ill -- and I propose a new initiative involving the full

range of Government agencies. We must confront this national shame.

There is another issue I decided to mention here tonight. I have long believed that the people of Puerto Rico should have the right to determine their own political future. Personally, I favor statehood. But I ask the Congress to take the necessary steps to let the people decide in a referendum.

Certain problems, the result of decades of unwise practices, threaten the health and security of our people. Left unattended, they will only get worse -- but we can act now to put them behind us.

Earlier this week, I announced my support for a plan to restore the financial and moral integrity of our savings system. I ask Congress to enact our reform proposals within 45 days. We must not let this situation fester.

Certainly, the savings of Americans must remain secure -- insured depositors will continue to be fully protected. But any plan to refinance the system must be accompanied by major reform. Our proposals will prevent such a crisis from recurring. The best answer is to make sure that a mess like this will never happen again.

The majority of thrifts in communities across this Nation have been honest; they have played a major role in helping families achieve the American dream of home ownership. But make no mistake: Those who are corrupt, those who break the law, must be kicked out of the business; and they should go to jail.

We face a massive task in cleaning up the waste left from decades of environmental neglect at America's nuclear weapons plants.

Clearly, we must modernize these plants and operate them safely. That is not at issue -- our national security depends on it.

But beyond that, we must clean up the old mess that's been left behind -- and I propose in this budget to more than double our current effort to do so. This will allow us to identify the exact nature of the various problems so we can clean them up -- and clean them up we will.

We have been fortunate during these past 8 years. America is a stronger Nation today than it was in 1980.

Morale in our Armed Forces is restored. Our resolve has been shown. Our readiness has been improved. And we are at peace.

There can no longer be any doubt that peace has been made more secure through strength. When America is stronger, the world is safer.

Most people don't realize, that after the successful restoration of our strength, the Pentagon budget has actually been reduced in real terms for each of the last 4 years. We cannot tolerate further reductions.

In light of the compelling need to reduce the deficit, however, I support a 1-year freeze in the military budget -- something I proposed last fall in my flexible freeze plan.

This freeze will apply for only 1 year -- after that increases above inflation will be required. I will not sacrifice

American preparedness; and I will not compromise American strength.

I should be clear on the conditions attached to my recommendation for the coming year:

- the savings must be allocated to those priorities for investing in our future that I have spoken about tonight;

- this defense freeze must be part of a comprehensive budget agreement which meets the targets spelled out in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law without raising taxes, and which incorporates reforms in the budget process.

I have directed the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies and report back to me within 90 days to ensure that our capabilities and resources meet our commitments and strategies.

I am also charging the Department of Defense with the task of developing a plan to improve the defense procurement process and management of the Pentagon -- one which will fully implement the Packard Commission report. Many of the changes can only be made with the participation of the Congress -- so I ask for your help.

We need fewer regulations. We need less bureaucracy. We need multi-year procurement and 2-year budgeting. ~~So~~ frankly, we need less Congressional micromanagement of our Nation's military policy.

Securing a more peaceful world is perhaps the ~~most~~ important priority I'd like to address tonight.

We meet at a time of extraordinary hope. Nevertheless in this century have our values of freedom, democracy, ~~and~~ economic

opportunity been such a powerful political and intellectual force around the globe.

Never before has our leadership been so crucial, because while America has its eyes on the future, the world has its eyes on America.

It is a time of great change in the world -- and especially in the Soviet Union. Prudence and common sense dictate that we try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. But I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that, at the conclusion of such a review, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace.

The fundamental fact remains that the Soviets retain a very powerful military machine, in the service of objectives which are still too often in conflict with ours. So let us take the new openness seriously. Let us step forward to negotiate, but let us also be realistic. And let us always be strong.

There are some pressing issues we must address:

I will vigorously pursue the Strategic Defense Initiative.

The spread and even use of sophisticated weaponry threatens global stability as never before.

Chemical weapons must be banned from the face of the Earth, never to be used again. This won't be easy. Verification will be difficult. But civilization and human decency demand that we try.

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. I will work to strengthen the hand of the International Atomic Energy

Agency. Our diplomacy must work every day against the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

And, around the globe, we must continue to be freedom's best friend.

We must stand firm for self-determination and democracy in Central America -- including in Nicaragua.

For when people are given the chance, they inevitably will choose a free press, freedom of worship, and certifiably free and fair elections.

We must strengthen the alliance of industrial democracies -- as solid a force for peace as the world has ever known. This is an alliance forged by the power of our ideals, not the pettiness of our differences. So let us lift our sights -- to rise above fighting about beef hormones to building a better future, to move from protectionism to progress.

I have asked the Secretary of State to visit Europe next week and to consult with them on the wide range of challenges and opportunities we face together -- including East-West relations. And I look forward to meeting with our NATO partners in the near future.

I, too, shall begin a trip shortly -- to the far reaches of the Pacific Basin, where the winds of democracy are creating new hope, and the power of free markets is unleashing a new force.

When I served as our representative in China just 14 years ago, few would have predicted the scope of the changes we've witnessed since then.

But in preparing for this trip, I was struck by something I came across from a Chinese writer. He was speaking of his

country, decades ago -- but his words speak to each of us, in America, tonight.

"Today," he said, "we are afraid of the simple words like goodness and mercy and kindness."

My friends, if we're to succeed as a Nation, we must rediscover those words.

In just 3 days, we mark the birthday of Abraham Lincoln -- the man who saved our Union, and gave new meaning to the word opportunity. Lincoln once said:

"I hold that while man exists, it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating [that of] mankind."

It is this broader mission to which I call all Americans. Because the definition of a successful life must include serving others.

To the young people of America, who sometimes feel left out -- I ask you tonight to give us the benefit of your talent and energy through a new program called "YES," for Youth Entering Service to America.

To those men and women in business -- remember the ultimate end of your work -- to make a better product, to create better lives. I ask you to plan for the longer-term and avoid the temptation of quick and easy paper profits.

To the brave men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America -- thank you. Your calling is a high one -- to be the defenders of freedom and the guarantors of liberty. And I want you to know that this Nation is grateful for your service.

To the parents of America, I ask you to get involved in your child's schooling. Check on their homework. Go to the school, meet the teachers, care about what is happening there. It is not only your child's future on the line, it is America's.

To kids in our cities -- don't give up hope. Say no to drugs. Stay in school. And yes, "Keep hope alive."

To those 37 million Americans with some form of disability -- you belong in the economic mainstream. We need your talents in America's workforce. Disabled Americans must become full partners in America's opportunity society.

To the families of America watching tonight in your living rooms: Hold fast to your dreams, because ultimately America's future rests in your hands.

And to my friends in this Chamber, I ask for your cooperation to keep America growing while cutting the deficit. That is only fair to those who now have no vote -- the generations to come.

Let them look back and say that we had the foresight to understand that a time of peace and prosperity is not a time to rest, but a time to push forward. A time to invest in the future.

And let all Americans remember that no problem of human making is too great to be overcome by human ingenuity, human energy, and the untiring hope of the human spirit. I believe this. I would not have asked to be your President if I didn't.

Tomorrow, the debate on the plan I have put forward begins. I ask the Congress to come forward with your proposals. Let us

not question each other's motives. Let us debate. Let us negotiate. But let us solve the problem.

Recalling anniversaries may not be my specialty in speeches... but tonight is one of some note. On February 9, 1941, just 48 years ago tonight, Sir Winston Churchill took to the airwaves during Britain's hour of peril.

He had received from President Roosevelt a hand-carried letter quoting Longfellow's famous poem: "Sail on, Oh Ship of State! Sail on, Oh Union, strong and great! Humanity with all its fears, with all the hopes of future years, Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

Churchill responded on this night by radio broadcast to a nation at war, but he directed his words to Roosevelt. "We shall not fail or falter," he said. "We shall not weaken or tire. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

Tonight, almost a half century later, our peril may be less immediate, but the need for perseverance and clear-sighted fortitude is just as great.

Now, as then, there are those who say it can't be done. There are voices who say that America's best days have past. That we are bound by constraints, threatened by problems, surrounded by troubles which limit our ability to hope.

Well, tonight I remain full of hope. We Americans have only begun on our mission of goodness and greatness. And to those timid souls, I repeat the plea -- give us the tools; and we will do the job.

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

((Grady; 2/9/89, 6am))

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
TO A
JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
FEBRUARY 9, 1989

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Distinguished Members of the House and Senate, honored guests, fellow citizens:

Less than three weeks ago, I joined you on the West Front of this very building and -- looking over the monuments to our proud past -- offered you my hand in filling the next page of American history with a story of extended prosperity and continued peace. Tonight, I am back, to offer you my plans as well. The hand remains extended, the sleeves are rolled up, America is waiting, and now we must produce.

Together, we can build a better America.

It is comforting to return to this historic chamber. Here, twenty-two years ago, I first raised my hand to be sworn into public life. So tonight, I feel as if I am returning home to friends. And I intend, in the months and years to come, to give you that to which friends are entitled: frankness, respect, and my best judgment about ways to improve America's future.

In return, I ask for an honest commitment to our common mission of progress. If we seize the opportunities on the road before us, there will be praise enough for all.

The people didn't send us here to bicker. It's time to produce. It's time to govern.

Many Presidents have come to this Chamber in times of great crisis. War. Depression. Loss of national spirit.

Eight years ago, I sat in that chair as President Reagan spoke of punishing inflation and devastatingly high interest rates, people out of work, American confidence on the wane.

Our challenge is different.

We are fortunate -- a much changed landscape lies before us tonight.

So I don't propose to reverse direction. We are headed the right way.

But we cannot rest. We are a people whose energy and drive has fueled our rise to greatness. We are a forward-looking nation -- generous, yes, but ambitious as well -- not for ourselves, but for the world.

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Some people find that agenda impossible.

But I am presenting to you tonight a realistic plan for tackling it. My plan has four broad features: attention to urgent priorities, investment in the future, an attack on the deficit, and no new taxes.

I have made my position clear to the American people -- we don't need to raise taxes; and the people don't want us to.

This budget represents my best judgement of how we can address our priorities, consistent with the people's view. There are many areas in which we would all like to spend more than I propose, but we cannot until we get our fiscal house in order.

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I mean to get tough on the drug criminals. Let me be clear: this President will back up those who put their lives on the line every day -- our local police officers.

My budget asks for beefed-up prosecution, for a new attack on organized crime, and for enforcement of tough sentences -- and for the worst kingpins, that means the death penalty. X

I also want to make sure that when a drug dealer is convicted, there is a cell waiting for him. He should not go free because prisons are too full.

Let the word go out: if you are caught and convicted, you must do time.

But for all we do in law enforcement, in interdiction and treatment, we will never win this war on drugs unless we stop demand for drugs.

So some of this increase will be used to educate the young about the dangers of drugs. We must involve parents. We must involve teachers. We must involve communities. And my friends, we must involve ourselves.

One problem related to drug use demands our urgent attention and our continuing compassion. That is the terrible tragedy of AIDS.

I am asking for \$1.6 billion for education to prevent the disease -- and for research to find a cure.

If we're to protect our future, we need a new attitude about the environment.

We must protect the air we breathe.

I will send to you shortly legislation for a new, more effective Clean Air Act. It will include a plan to reduce, by date certain, the emissions which cause acid rain -- because the time for study alone has passed, and the time for action is now.

We must make use of clean coal. My budget contains full funding, on schedule, for the clean coal technology agreement we have made with Canada. We intend to honor that agreement.

I believe we should expand our parks. So I am asking to fund new acquisitions under the land and water conservation fund.

We must protect our oceans. I support new penalties against those who would dump medical waste and other trash in the oceans. The age of the needle on the beach must end.

In some cases, the gulfs and oceans off our shores hold the promise of reserves of oil and gas which can make our nation more secure and less dependent on foreign oil. When those with the most promise can be tapped safely, as with much of the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge, we should proceed. But we must use caution and we must respect the environment.

So tonight I am calling for the indefinite postponement of three lease sales which have raised troubling questions -- two off the coast of California, and one which could threaten the Everglades in Florida.

Action on these three lease sales will await the conclusions of a special task force set up to measure the potential for environmental damage.

I am directing the Attorney General and the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to use every tool at their disposal to speed and toughen the enforcement of our laws against toxic waste dumpers. I want faster cleanups and tougher enforcement of penalties against polluters.

In addition to caring for our future, we must care for those around us. A decent society shows compassion for the young, the elderly, the vulnerable, and the poor.

Our first obligation is to the most vulnerable -- infants, poor mothers, children living in poverty -- and my proposed budget recognizes this. I ask for full funding of Medicaid -- an increase of over \$3 billion -- and an expansion of the program to include coverage of pregnant women who are near the poverty line.

I believe we should help working families cope with the burden of child care.

Our help should be aimed at those who need it most -- low income families with young children. I support a new child care tax credit that will aim our efforts at exactly those families -- without discriminating against mothers who choose to stay at home.

Now, I know there are competing proposals. But remember this: the overwhelming majority of all ^{preschool} child care is now provided by relatives and neighbors, churches and community groups. Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice.

And for those children who cannot live with their parents, I believe we should encourage adoption. I propose to re-enact the tax deduction for adoption expenses, and to double it to \$3,000.

We have a moral contract with our senior citizens. In this budget, Social Security is fully funded, including a full cost-of-living adjustment. We must honor our contract.

We must care about those in "the shadows of life," and I, like many Americans, am deeply troubled by the plight of

the homeless. The causes of homelessness are many, the history is long, but the moral imperative to act is clear.

Thanks to the deep well of generosity in this great land, many organizations already contribute. But we in government cannot stand on the sidelines. In my budget, I ask for greater support for emergency food and shelter, for health services and measures to prevent substance abuse, and for clinics for the mentally ill -- and I propose a new initiative involving the full range of government agencies. We must confront this national shame.

Tragedy has been brought to this very chamber by the long-debated issue of the future of Puerto Rico. I wanted to mention tonight that I favor a referendum for the people of this commonwealth. Personally, I favor statehood. But let's let the people decide.

Certain problems, the result of decades of unwise practices, threaten the health and security of our people. Left unattended, they will only get worse -- but we can act now to put them behind us.

Earlier this week, I announced my support for a plan to restore the financial and moral integrity of our savings system. I ask Congress to enact our reform proposals within 45 days. We must not let this situation fester.

Certainly, the savings of Americans must remain secure -- insured depositors will continue to be fully protected. But any plan to refinance the system must be accompanied by major reform. Our proposals will prevent such a crisis from

re-occurring. Because the best answer is to make sure that a mess like this will never happen again.

The majority of thrifts in communities across this nation have been honest; they have played a major role in helping families achieve the American dream of home ownership. But make no mistake: those who are corrupt, those who break the law, must be kicked out of the business; and they should go to jail.

We face a massive task in cleaning up the waste left from decades of environmental neglect at America's nuclear weapons plants.

Clearly, we must modernize these plants and operate them safely. That is not at issue -- our national security depends on it.

But beyond that, we must clean up the old mess that's been left behind -- and I propose in this budget to more than double our current effort to do so. This will allow us to identify the exact nature of the various problems so we can clean them up -- and clean them up we will.

We have been fortunate during these past eight years. America is a stronger nation today than it was in 1980.

Morale in our armed forces is restored. Our resolve has been shown. Our readiness has been improved. And we are at peace.

There can no longer be any doubt that peace has been made more secure through strength. When America is stronger, the world is safer.

Most people don't realize that, after the successful restoration of our strength, the Pentagon budget has actually been reduced in real terms for each of the last four years.

In light of the compelling need to reduce the deficit, I propose a one-year freeze in the military budget -- something I proposed last fall in my flexible freeze plan.

This freeze will apply for only one year -- after that increases above inflation will be required. I will not sacrifice American preparedness; and I will not compromise American strength.

I should be clear on the conditions attached to my recommendation for the coming year:

- the savings must be allocated to those priorities for investing in our future that I have spoken about tonight;
- this defense freeze must be part of a comprehensive budget agreement which meets the targets spelled out in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law without raising taxes, and which incorporates reforms in the budget process.

I have directed the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies and report back to me within 90 days to ensure that our capabilities and resources meet our commitments and strategies.

I am also charging the Department of Defense with the task of developing a plan to improve the defense procurement process and management of the Pentagon -- one which will fully implement the Packard Commission report. Many of the

Bob
Howard
OMB
4624

changes can only be made with the participation of the Congress -- so I ask for your help.

We need fewer regulations. We need less bureaucracy. We need multi-year procurement and two-year budgeting. And frankly, we need less Congressional micromanagement of our nation's military policy.

Securing a more peaceful world is perhaps the most important priority I'd like to address tonight.

We meet tonight at a time of extraordinary hope. Never before in this century have our values of freedom, democracy, and economic opportunity been such a powerful political and intellectual force around the globe.

Never before has our leadership been so crucial, because while America has its eyes on the future, the world has its eyes on America.

It is a time of great change in the world -- and especially in the Soviet Union. Prudence and common sense dictate that we try to understand the full meaning of the change, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. But I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that at the conclusion of such a review, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace.

The fundamental fact remains that the Soviets retain a very powerful military machine, in the service of objectives which are still too often in conflict with ours. So let us

take the new openness seriously. But let us be realistic. And let us negotiate from strength.

There are some pressing issues we must address:

I will vigorously pursue the Strategic Defense Initiative.

The spread and even use of sophisticated weaponry threatens global stability as never before.

Chemical weapons must be banned from the face of the earth, never to be used again. This won't be easy. Verification will be difficult. But civilization and human decency demand that we try.

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. I will work to strengthen the hand of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Our diplomacy must work every day against the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

And around the globe, we must continue to be freedom's best friend.

We must stand firm for self-determination and democracy in Central America -- including in Nicaragua.

For when people are given their own choice, they inevitably will choose a free press; freedom of worship; and certifiably free and fair elections.

We must strengthen the alliance of industrial democracies -- as solid a force for peace as the world has ever known. This is an alliance forged by the power of our ideals, not the pettiness of our differences. So let us

lift our sights -- from beef hormones to a better future, from protectionism to progress.

I have asked the Secretary of State to visit Europe next week -- to forge a New Compact with our allies -- and to consult with them on the wide range of challenges and opportunities we face together -- including East-West relations. And I look forward to meeting myself with our NATO partners in the near future.

I, too, shall begin a trip shortly -- to the far reaches of the Pacific Basin, where the winds of democracy are creating new hope, and the power of free markets is unleashing a new force.

When I served as our representative in China just 13 years ago, few would have predicted the scope of the changes we've witnessed since then.

But in preparing for this trip, I was struck by something I came across from a Chinese writer, Lin Yutang ((you-TANG)). He was speaking of his country, decades ago -- but his words speak to each of us, in America, tonight.

"Today," he said, "we are afraid of ~~the~~ simple words like goodness and mercy and kindness."

My friends, if we're to succeed as a nation, we must rediscover those words.

In just three days, we mark the birthday of Abraham Lincoln -- the man who saved our union, and gave new meaning to the word opportunity. Lincoln once said:

"I hold that while man exists, it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating ((that of)) mankind."

It is that broader mission to which I call all Americans. Because the definition of a successful life should include serving others.

To the young and the old, who sometimes feel left out -- I ask you tonight to give us the benefit if ^{of} your talent X and energy through a new program called YES, for Youth Entering Service to America.

To those men and women in business -- remember the ultimate end of your work -- to make a better product, to create better lives. I ask you to plan for the longer term and avoid the temptation of quick and easy paper profits.

To the brave men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America -- thank you. Your calling is a high one -- to be the defenders of freedom and the guarantors of liberty. And I want you to know that a nation is grateful for your service.

To the parents of America, I ask you to get involved in your child's schooling. Check on their homework. Go to the school, meet the teachers, care about what is happening there. It is not only your child's future on the line, it is America's.

To kids in our cities -- don't give up hope. Say no to drugs. Stay in school. And yes, "keep hope alive." X

To those 37 million Americans with some form of disability -- you belong in the economic mainstream. We need your talents in America's workforce. Disabled Americans must become full partners in America's opportunity society.

To the families of America, watching tonight in your living rooms. Hold fast to your dreams, because ultimately America's future rests in your hands.

And to my friends in this chamber, I ask for your cooperation in keeping America growing while cutting the deficit. That is only fair to those who now have no vote --- the generations to come.

Let them look back and say that we had the foresight to understand that a time of peace and prosperity is not a time to rest, but a time to push forward. A time to invest in the future.

And let all Americans remember that no problem of human making is too great to be overcome by human ingenuity, human energy, and the untiring hope of the human spirit. I believe this. I would not have asked to be your leader if I didn't.

Tomorrow, the debate on the plan I have put forward begins. I ask you to come forward with your proposals, if they are different. But let us not question each other's motives. Let us debate. Let us negotiate. And in the end, let us produce.

Recalling anniversaries may not be my specialty in speeches... but tonight is one of some note. On February 9, 1941, just 48 years ago tonight, Sir Winston Churchill took to the airwaves during Britain's hour of peril.

He had received from President Roosevelt a hand carried letter quoting Longfellow's famous poem: "Sail on, oh ship of state! Sail on, oh union, strong and great! Humanity with all its fears, with all the hopes of future years; Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

Churchill responded on this night by radio broadcast to a nation at war, but he directed his words to Roosevelt. "We shall not fail or falter," he said. "We shall not weaken or tire. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

Tonight, almost a half century later, our peril may be less immediate, but the need for perseverance and clear-sighted fortitude is just as great.

Now, as then, there are those who say it can't be done. There are voices who say that America's best days have past. That we are bound by constraints, threatened by problems, surrounded by troubles which limit our ability to hope.

Well, tonight I remain full of hope. We Americans have only begun on our mission of goodness and greatness. And to those timid souls, I repeat the plea -- give us the tools; and we will do the job.

Thank you, and God bless you.

#

12TH STORY of Level 1 printed in VAR KWIC format.

Copyright (c) 1979 Forbes, Inc.;
Forbes

February 5, 1979

SECTION: THOUGHTS ON THE BUSINESS LIFE; Pg. 118

LENGTH: 607 words

BODY:

... RAND

No good deed goes unpunished.
JOHN P. GRIER

Today we are afraid of simple words like goodness and mercy and kindness. We don't believe in the good old words because we don't believe in the good old values anymore.

LIN YUTANG

Politeness costs nothing and yet it means a lot to those who are below you and especially to those who are above you.

WILLIAM FEATHER

True success is the only thing that you cannot have unless and until you have offered it to others.

SRI CHINMOY

You have not done enough, you have ...

14TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1976 Facts on File, Inc.;
Facts on File World News Digest

May 1, 1976

SECTION: MISCELLANEOUS; Obituaries

PAGE: Pg. 316 D1

LENGTH: 58 words

HEADLINE: Lin Yutang

BODY:

Lin Yutang, 80, classical Chinese philosopher-scholar who produced best-selling novels as well as translations and other academic works; an anti-Communist who resided in the U.S. for 30 years before returning to Asia in 1966, his most popular books included "A Leaf in the Storm," "Moment in Peking" and "Wisdom of China"; March 26 in Hong Kong.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in VAR KWIC format.

Copyright (c) 1988 Federal Information Systems Corporation;
Federal News Service

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1988

SECTION: CANDIDATE & ELECTION RELATED INTERVIEWS & DEBATES

LENGTH: 2581 words

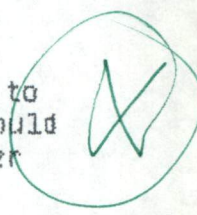
BODY:

... will look for ways to expand them, to link our cities with greenways along abandoned railroad tracks, and refresh them with urban parks.

I will look carefully, and favorably, at many of the recommendations of the President's Commission on the Outdoors.

Consider, for example the Land and Water Conservation Fund. It was used to purchase much of this very park. It has been a success, and I believe it should continue to give Americans the chance to enjoy -- and to use -- land and water resources like this one.

I mentioned the Republican role in environmentalism, and no Republican ...



1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in VAR KWIC format.

Copyright (c) 1987 National Journal Inc.;
National Journal

May 16, 1987

SECTION: REPORTS; Special Report; Senate; Vol. 19, No. 20; Pg. 1203

LENGTH: 2035 words

HEADLINE: All Good Buddies

BYLINE: Rochelle L. Stanfield

BODY:

... image from McClure's. He is famous for wheeling and dealing and is considered a go-getter, while McClure is generally described as passive. He also has a more positive reputation among conservationists than McClure does, although neither is perceived as an environmental activist. Johnston has championed the Land and Water Conservation Fund, through which the federal government acquires parkland, but is also an aggressive supporter of oil and gas development.

Johnston has already taken up three of his four priorities for the year: repeal of the Fuel Use Act, which forbade new gas-fired utility boilers (the repeal passed both chambers); Price-Anderson (in markup); and nuclear waste (at the hearing stage). And he has introduced legislation for his fourth priority -- reauthorization of the Land and Water Conservation Fund. Johnston also plans hearings on a major issue thrust upon the committee: whether to open Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas exploration. The Interior Department wants to open the refuge to leasing while Johnston's House counterpart, Morris ...

Approved by Grady
+ put into teleprompter
telx 2:18 PM 2/8

((Grady; 2/8/89, 10 am))
MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
TO A
JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
FEBRUARY 9, 1989

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Distinguished Members of
the House and Senate, honored guests, fellow citizens:

Less than three weeks ago, I joined you on the West
Front of this very building and -- looking over the
monuments to our proud past -- offered you my hand in
filling the next page of American history with a story of
extended prosperity and continued peace. Tonight, I am
back, to offer you my plans as well. The hand remains
extended, the sleeves are rolled up, America is waiting, and
now we must produce.

Together, we can build a better America.

It is comforting to return to this historic chamber.
Here, twenty-two years ago, I first raised my hand to be
sworn into public life. So tonight, I feel as if I am
returning home to friends. And I intend, in the months and
years to come, to give you that to which friends are
entitled: frankness, respect, and my best judgement about
ways to improve America's future.

In return, I ask for an honest commitment to our common
mission of progress. If we seize the opportunities on the
road before us, there will be praise enough for all.

The people didn't send us here to bicker. The election
is over. It's time to produce. It's time to govern.

Bob Goodwin
advance
7565
Inaugural
address
1-20-89

sworn into House
1967

Churchill to US Congress Jan. 1942 + May 1943

I know that many great statesmen have preceded me to this podium. Churchill. Roosevelt. Kennedy. And yes, Ronald Reagan.

Many of them came to this Chamber in times of great crisis. War. Depression. Loss of national spirit.

Pres. Doc. 2/17/81

Eight years ago, I sat in that chair as President Reagan spoke of despair across the land, of punishing inflation and interest rates at devastatingly high levels, people out of work, American confidence on the wane.

Our challenge is different.

We are fortunate -- a much changed landscape lies before us tonight.

So I don't propose to reverse direction. We are headed the right way.

But we cannot rest. We are a people whose energy and drive has fueled our rise to greatness. We are a forward-looking nation -- generous, yes, but ambitious as well -- not for ourselves, but for the world.

Complacency is not in our character -- not before, not now, not ever.

So tonight, I propose that we take a strong America -- and make it even better.

We must address some very real problems. We must establish some very clear priorities. And we must make a very substantial cut in the Federal budget deficit.

Some people find that agenda impossible. But I don't shrink from it.

I am presenting to you tonight a realistic plan for tackling the agenda in front of us. It has four broad features: attention to urgent priorities, investment in the future, an attack on the deficit, and no new taxes.

I have made my position clear to the American people -- we don't need to raise taxes; and the people don't want us to.

This budget represents my best judgement of how we can address our priorities, consistent with the people's view. There are many areas in which we would all like to spend more than I propose, but we cannot until we get our fiscal house in order.

Next year, thanks to economic growth, without any change in the law the Federal government will take in over \$82 billion dollars more than it does this year. Our job is to allocate those new resources wisely.

We can afford to increase spending by about 3 percent next year -- close to the level of inflation, but enough to invest in key priorities without raising taxes -- and still cut the deficit by almost 40 percent in one year.

That will allow us to exceed the targets set forth in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law.

But to do that, we must recognize that growth above inflation in Federal programs is not preordained, that not all spending initiatives were designed to be immortal.

I make this pledge tonight: my team and I are prepared to work with the Congress, to negotiate with the leadership

in good faith, to work day and night -- if that's what it takes -- to meet the budget targets -- and to produce a budget on time.

We cannot settle for business as usual.

Government by continuing resolution -- or government by crisis -- won't do. X

I ask the Congress tonight to approve ~~several~~ measures which will make budgeting more sensible. We could save time and improve efficiency by enacting two-year budgets. X

43 Governors have the line item veto. Presidents should have it, too.

At the very least, when a President proposes to rescind of Federal spending, the Congress should be required to vote on the proposal -- instead of killing it by inaction. X

And it's about time for Congress to honor the public's wishes by passing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.

Several principles describe the kind of America I hope to build with your help in the years ahead.

We will not have the luxury of taking the easy, spendthrift approach to solving problems -- because higher spending and higher taxes put economic growth at risk.

Economic growth provides jobs and hope. Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs. Economic growth enhances the security of the nation. And low tax rates create economic growth. X

I believe in giving Americans greater freedom and greater choice -- and I will work for choice for American families, whether in the housing in which they live, the schools to which they send their children, or the child care they select for their young.

I believe that we have an obligation to those in need, but that government should not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can produce better.

I believe in a society that is free from discrimination and bigotry of any kind. I will work to knock down the barriers left by past discrimination, to build a more tolerant society that will stop such barriers from ever being built again.

I believe that family and faith represent the moral compass of the nation -- and I will work to make them strong, for as ^{Benjamin Franklin} Lincoln said: "If a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, ^{is it probable that} can a great [nation] ^{can} rise without His aid?"

And I believe in giving people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. Together, let's put power in the hands of people.

Three weeks ago, we celebrated the bicentennial Inaugural, the 200th anniversary of the first Presidency.

And if you look back, one thing is so striking about the way the founding fathers looked at America. They didn't

"The Miracle in Philadelphia" said to the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

X

talk about themselves. They talked about posterity. They talked about the future.

We, too, must think in terms bigger than ourselves.

We must think right now about America's future.

Leadership in technology is one of the keys to that future. We must increase productivity. So tonight:

- I propose a ~~\$360~~²⁶⁰-million increase in basic research for the National Science Foundation, so we can keep us ~~us~~ on track to double its budget by 1993; X

- I propose to make permanent the tax credit for research and development;

- I have asked Vice President Quayle to chair a new Task Force on Competitiveness;

~~Q~~ - I request funding for a strong space program -- an increase of almost \$2.4 billion over the current fiscal year. We must have a manned space station, an aggressive schedule of shuttle launches, and more commercial development in space. The space program should always go "full throttle up" -- that's not just our ambition, it's our destiny. X

- I propose that we cut the maximum tax rate on capital ~~gains~~ to increase long term investment in new technologies and new jobs.

We won't be competitive if we leave whole sectors of America behind. This is the year we should finally enact urban enterprise zones, and bring hope to our inner cities.

But the most important competitiveness programs of all are those designed to improve education in America.

When some of our students actually have trouble locating America on a map of the world, it is time for us to map a new approach to education.

We must reward excellence, and cut through bureaucracy. We must help those schools that need help most. We must give choice to parents, students, teachers, and principals. And we must hold all concerned accountable. In education, we cannot tolerate mediocrity.

I want to cut the dropout rate, and make America a more literate nation. Because what it really comes down to is this: the longer our graduation lines are today, the shorter our unemployment lines will be tomorrow. X

So tonight I am proposing the following initiatives:

- the beginning of a \$500-million program to reward America's best schools -- "merit schools";
- the creation of special Presidential awards for the best teachers in every state -- because excellence should be rewarded;
- the establishment of a new program of National Science Scholars, one each year for every member of the House and Senate, to give this generation of students the incentive to excel in science and mathematics;
- the expanded use of magnet schools which give families and students greater choice;

- and a new program to encourage "alternative certification" -- which will let talented people from all fields teach in the classroom.

I have said I'd like to be "the Education President." Tonight, I ask you to join me by becoming "the Education Congress."

Just last week, as I settled into this new office, I received a letter from a mother in Pennsylvania, who had been struck by my message on this in the Inaugural. "Not 12 hours before," she wrote, "my husband and I received word that [our] son ~~was~~ was addicted to cocaine. A junior at the University, David -- ((I have changed his name)) -- had the world at his feet. Bright, gifted, personable, he could have done anything with his life. ~~Now~~ ^{For the last few months,} he has chosen cocaine."

This sad letter continued: "Believe me, we raised David to have respect for his body. We inculcated the ideals of our parents...and yet this..."

"Please, find a way to curb the supply of cocaine. Get tough with the pushers. David needs your help."

My friends, that voice crying for help could be the voice of your own neighbor. Your own friend. Your own relative. Over ~~X~~²⁰ million Americans used illegal drugs last year -- at a staggering cost to our nation's well-being.

Let this be recorded as the time when America rose up and said "no" to drugs. The scourge of drugs must stop.

see
letter
in
research
file

I am asking tonight for an increase of almost a billion dollars in budget outlays to escalate the war against drugs. The war will be waged on all fronts.

Some money will be used to expand treatment to the poor, and to young mothers. This will extend the hand of help to the many innocent victims of drugs -- like the thousands of babies born with AIDS because of the addiction of the mother.

Some will be used to cut the waiting time for treatment.

Some money will be especially devoted to those urban schools where the emergency is now the worst. And much of it will be used to protect our borders, with help from the Coast Guard, the Customs Service, the Departments of State and Justice, and yes, the U.S. military.

I mean to get tough on the drug criminals.

My budget asks for beefed-up prosecution, for a new attack on organized crime, and for enforcement of tough sentences -- and for the worst kingpins, that means the death penalty.

I also want to make sure that when a drug dealer is convicted, there is a cell waiting for him. He should not go free because prisons are too full.

Let the word go out: if you are caught and convicted, you must do time.

But for all we do in law enforcement, in interdiction and treatment, we will never win this war on drugs unless we stop demand for drugs.

So some of this increase will be used to educate the young about the dangers of drugs. We must involve parents. We must involve teachers. We must involve communities. And my friends, we must involve ourselves.

One problem related to drug use demands our urgent attention and our continuing compassion. That is the terrible tragedy of AIDS.

I am asking for a \$1.6 billion for education to prevent the disease -- and for research to find a cure.

If we're to protect our future, we need a new attitude about the environment. X

We must protect the air we breathe.

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We must make use of clean coal. My budget contains full funding, on schedule, for the clean coal technologies ^{development of} ~~fulfilling a commitment we have made to Canada.~~ ~~agreement we have signed with Canada.~~ ~~We intend to meet the letter and the spirit of the agreement.~~ ~~And that is a commitment we intend to meet.~~ ~~honor that agreement.~~ X

I believe we should expand our parks. So I am asking to fund new acquisitions under the land and water conservation fund.

David Moses
DOE
586-2061

Stet

We must protect our oceans. I support new penalties against those who would dump medical waste and other trash in the oceans. The age of the needle on the beach must end.

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In addition to caring for our future, we must care for those around us. A kinder and gentler nation is one that

shows compassion for the young, the elderly, the vulnerable, and the poor.

Our first obligation is to the most vulnerable -- infants, pregnant women, children living in poverty -- and my proposed budget recognizes this. I ask for full funding of Medicaid -- an increase of over \$3 billion.

I believe we should help working families cope with the burden of child care.

Our help should be aimed at those who need it most -- low income families with young children. I support a new child care tax credit that will aim our efforts at exactly those families -- without discriminating against mothers who choose to stay at home.

Now, I know there are competing proposals. But remember this: ^{over 75 percent} ~~90%~~ of all ^{preschool} child care is provided by neighbors and relatives, ^{Stet} ~~(churches) and community groups.~~ _{or babysitters in the home.} Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice.

And those children who have no parents with whom to live, I believe we should encourage adoption -- and I propose to restore the \$1,500 tax deduction for adoption expenses, and to double it.

We have a moral contract with our senior citizens. In this budget, Social Security is fully funded, including a full cost-of-living adjustment. We must honor our contract.

Of all those in the shadows of life, the plight of the homeless is the most visible, and the most tragic. The

Census data compiled by Sandy Hoffenth, Ph.D. at the Urban Institute 857-8617 see research file call Brendon or Pinkerton

X

X

causes of homelessness are many, the history is long, but the moral imperative to act is clear.

Thanks to the deep well of generosity in this great land, many organizations already contribute. But we in government cannot stand on the sidelines. In my budget, I ask for greater support for emergency food and shelter, for health services and measures to prevent substance abuse, and for clinics for the mentally ill -- and I propose a new initiative involving the full range of government agencies. We must confront this national shame.

Certain problems, the result of decades of unwise practices, threaten the health and security of our people. Left unattended, they will only fester and grow -- but we can act now to put them behind us.

Earlier this week, I announced my support for a plan to restore the financial and moral integrity of our savings system. I ask Congress to enact our reform proposals promptly. X

Certainly, the savings of Americans must remain secure -- insured depositors will be protected. But any plan to refinance the system must be accompanied by major reform. The majority of thrifts have been honest; they have played a major role in the American dream of home ownership. But make no mistake: those who are corrupt, those who break the law, must be kicked out of the business; and if found guilty, they should go to jail.

The most effective -- and absolutely necessary -- answer to the S&L crisis can be summed up in one sentence: it must never happen again.

We face a massive task in cleaning up the waste left from decades of environmental neglect at America's nuclear weapons plants.

Clearly, we must modernize these plants and operate them safely. That is not at issue -- our national security depends on it.

But beyond that, we must clean up the old mess that's been left behind -- and I propose in this budget to more than double our current effort to do so. This will allow us to identify the exact nature of the various problems so we can clean them up -- and clean them up we will.

We have been fortunate during these past eight years. America is a stronger nation today than it was in 1980. X

Morale in our armed forces is restored. Our resolve has been shown. Our readiness has been improved. And we are at peace. X

There can no longer be any doubt that peace has been made more secure through strength. When America is stronger, the world is safer.

In the past few years, after this successful restoration of our strength, the Pentagon budget has absorbed reductions in real terms.

But, even so, in light of the compelling need to reduce the deficit, I propose in my budget a one-year freeze in the

military budget -- something I proposed last fall in my flexible freeze plan.

I should be clear on the conditions attached to this recommendation:

- the savings must be allocated to those priorities I have spoken about tonight, such as investing in our future economic growth and stopping the scourge of drugs;
- this defense freeze must be part of a comprehensive budget agreement which meets the targets spelled out in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law without raising taxes, and incorporates reforms in the budget process.

To produce the savings needed to achieve this freeze, I have directed the National Security Council to review our national security policies and defense strategies and report back to me within 90 days to ensure that our capabilities and resources meet our commitments and strategies.

I am also charging the Secretary of Defense with the task of developing a plan to improve the defense procurement process and management of the Pentagon -- one which will implement the spirit and the letter of the Packard Commission report. Many of the changes can only be made with the participation of the Congress -- and I ask for your help in this.

We need fewer regulations. We need less bureaucracy. We need multi-year procurement and two-year budgeting. And frankly, we need less Congressional micromanagement of our nation's military policy.

The truth is, that for all the hope we've been able to help create in recent years, the world remains a dangerous place. It is a world of unprecedented change, of increased interdependence, of developments both promising and problematic.

So the final and perhaps most important priority I'd like to talk about this evening is how to secure a more peaceful world amidst this change -- for it is only American leadership that can do so.

It is a remarkable new breeze that is blowing around the world on this February night. In just six days, if the schedule is met, the Soviets will have completed their withdrawal from Afghanistan -- the latest in a series of hopeful changes taking place all around us. We must welcome these changes, and understand them.

But we must also be realistic. The fundamental fact remains that our adversaries retain a very powerful military machine, in the service of objectives which are often in conflict with ours. So let us take this new openness seriously. Let us work for reductions in strategic arms. But let us also be ready.

I believe we should work to enhance deterrence by giving a greater role to defensive systems in our strategic posture. I favor deployment of a strategic defense system against ballistic missiles as soon as informed technical opinion says that deployment is possible.

The spread and even use of other kinds of arms threatens global stability as never before.

Chemical weapons must be banned from the face of the earth, never to be used again. This won't be easy. Verification will be difficult. But civilization and human decency demand that we try.

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. I pledge to strengthen the hand of the International Atomic Energy Agency in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons. Our diplomacy must work every day against nuclear weapons proliferation.

Despite these problems, there is no mistaking, as we meet tonight, freedom is on the march. Never before in this century has the search for democracy and human rights been such a powerful political force; never before has there been such an explicit recognition in so many societies that greater economic freedom is the path both to growth and to social justice.

Here in our own hemisphere, the encouraging trend toward democracy is threatened by severe economic problems, by debt and trade imbalances, and by the old nemesis of despotism. We must stand firm for self-determination in Central America.

For when people are given their own choice, they inevitably will choose democracy. That means a free press. Freedom of worship. And certifiably free and fair elections.

Although it's not related, I favor a referendum for the people in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Personally, I favor statehood. But let's let the people decide.

I am committed to strengthening relations with our allies, whether in Europe or Asia. The alliance of democracies must rededicate itself to its shared ideals -- and not be dragged down the dangerous road to protectionism.

I have asked the Secretary of State to visit Europe next week -- to forge a New Compact with our allies -- and consult with them on developing a common policy toward arms modernization and arms control; and a common policy toward East-West economic relations.

The notion of a New Compact must extend to a critical relationship here at home -- that between the President and the Congress. The President, in fulfillment of his constitutional duty, must sometimes act alone and with dispatch. But the system of checks and balances works best when the President and Congress work together.

My pledge to you is to consult and work with you in formation of foreign policy. What I ask in return is your commitment to refrain from actions that inhibit the ability of this, or future Presidents, to conduct effectively the foreign policy of the United States.

Let our new compact tell the world that America is united.

X

My friends, we are not only the engine that has pulled the train of world economic growth, we are the moral and intellectual force that is changing the face of history. America is still the country to which the world looks for leadership. While America has its eyes on the future, the world has its eyes on America.

Let the actions of our government, in this hall and in the Oval Office, show that America will not shrink from ~~its~~ this great responsibility.

Let us together make investments now that will carry our children and theirs to further greatness.

And let them say that we had the foresight to understand that a time of peace and prosperity is not a time to rest, but a time to push forward, always forward, to a more productive society and a more peaceful world. To a new optimism, a new American dream that says that whatever the challenge, we can meet it.

Because above all else, I believe that no problem of human making is too great to be overcome by human ingenuity, human energy, and the untiring hope of the human spirit. I would not have asked to be your leader if I thought otherwise.

In just three days, we mark the birthday of one of America's finest leaders. The man who saved our union, founded the party to which I belong, and gave new meaning to the word opportunity. Abraham Lincoln once said:

*Speech in
Cincinnati
2/12/1961*

"I hold that while man exists, it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating ((that of)) mankind.", , X

It is that broader mission to which I call all Americans.

To the young and the old, who sometimes feel left out -- remember that society needs your talents, your energy and wisdom. I ask you tonight to join us in service through a new program called YES, for Youth Entering Service to America.

To those men and women in business -- remember the ultimate end of your work -- to make a better product, to create better lives, to build a better world. I ask you to plan for the longer term and avoid the temptation of quick and easy paper profits.

To the brave men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America -- thank you. Your calling is a high one -- to be the defenders of freedom and the guarantors of liberty around the world. And I want you to know that a nation is grateful for your service.

To the parents of America, I ask you to get involved in your child's schooling. Check on their homework. Go to the school, meet the teachers, care about what is happening there. It is not only your child's future on the line, it is America's.

To kids in our cities -- don't give up hope. Say no to drugs. Stay in school. And yes, "keep hope alive."

*Jesse Jackson
7/19/88 to
Dem. Nat'l.
Convention*

1989 World Almanac p. 532
from Census data

To those 37 million Americans with some form of disability -- you belong in the economic mainstream. We need your talents in America's workforce. Disabled Americans must become full partners in America's opportunity society.

To the families of America, watching tonight in your living rooms, Hold fast to your dreams, because ultimately America's future rests in your hands. X

And to my friends in this chamber, I ask for your cooperation in keeping America growing while cutting the deficit. That will increase investment. Increase savings. Improve American productivity, and give a fair chance to those who now have no vote --- the generations to come.

Tomorrow, the debate on the plan I have put forward begins. I ask you to come forward with your proposals, if they are different. But let us not question each other's motives. Let us debate. Let us negotiate. But let us produce.

Perhaps I undertake some risk in recalling anniversaries but tonight is one of some note. On February 9, 1941, just 48 years ago tonight, Sir Winston Churchill took to the airwaves during Britain's hour of peril. X

He had received from President Roosevelt a hand carried letter quoting Longfellow's famous poem: "Sail on, oh ship of state! Sail on, oh union, strong and great! Humanity X

Poem:
in Family Book
of Best Loved Poems

*Churchill + Roosevelt
The Complete Correspondence
letter dated
2/20/41*

*The Book of
Days Feb. 9*

with all its fears, with all the hopes of future years; Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

Churchill responded on this night by radio broadcast to a nation at war, but he directed his words to Roosevelt. "We shall not fail or falter," he said. "We shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

Tonight, almost a half century later, our peril may be less immediate, but the need for perseverance and clear-sighted fortitude is just as great.

Now, as then, there are those who say it can't be done. There are voices who say that America's best days have past. That we are bound by constraints, threatened by problems, surrounded by troubles which limit our ability to hope.

Well, tonight I remain full of hope. We Americans have only begun on our mission of goodness and greatness. And to those timid souls, I ~~the Churchill's~~ ^{repeat the} plea -- give us the tools; and we will do the job.

Thank you, and God bless you.

#

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

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Peggy

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YOU WERE VISITED BY--

Norman Sherman
OF (Organization)
654-5615

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KEAN SHIFT TO THE LEFT SETS STAGE FOR RACE

BYLINE: By JOSEPH F. SULLIVAN

BODY:

TRENTON GOVERNOR KEAN made it all the way back from the conservative side of the political spectrum last week when he delivered his budget message to the Legislature, which called for more spending on welfare programs and education aid and for a new program for the medically needy.

Four years ago, when Mr. Kean was a former legislator running for the Republican nomination for Governor in an eight-man field of candidates that ranged from moderate to slightly conservative, he decided to separate himself from the pack by moving boldly to the right.

In the primary, Mr. Kean became the strongest supporter of Reaganomics at a time when so-called "supply side" economic theories were still being ridiculed in some quarters. By doing so, he attracted the endorsement of Jeffrey Bell, the conservative Republican who was one of the earliest supply-side advocates, and of Representative James A. Courter, Republican of Hackettstown, the best-known conservative in the New Jersey Congressional delegation.

Those who had followed Mr. Kean's legislative career when he sponsored the measure that created the Equal Opportunity Grants Program, which helped minority students with college expenses, and the bill that created the Department of Environmental Protection were nonplussed by the apparent shift in his public image. Some critics accused him of trying to become a clone of President Reagan.

However, Mr. Kean won the primary and the general election, and during his first term has managed to maintain an arm's-length relationship with Washington.

The Governor has supported many of President Reagan's policies, but parted with the Administration on its cutting of budget items for the poor while expanding the military budget. Mr. Kean criticized the policies of James G. Watt when he was Secretary of the Interior, and went to court over Federal plans to lease ocean sites off New Jersey for oil exploration.

In his State of the State Message and again last week in his hourlong speech on the budget, the Governor drew grudging compliments from Democratic members of the Legislature. They said that Mr. Kean, by adopting many of their programs, was making it difficult for them to criticize him. He was even pictured by some as a liberal, something that could not be said during the 1981 campaign.

Ironically, the sharpest thing said about the Governor's \$8.8 billion budget for 1985-86 was that he was a "big spender," a criticism that Republicans

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used against the Democratic ticket to some effect in last year's Presidential campaign. The Governor's budget represents an 11 percent increase in spending over the current budget.

And in case anyone might miss his born-again image, Mr. Kean quoted the late Democratic Senator and Vice President, Hubert H. Humphrey, a role model for liberals, in setting the tone for a major thrust of his budget. The Governor told his audience:

"As the late Hubert Humphrey once said, 'The moral test of government is how it treats those who are in the dawn of life, the children; those who are in the twilight, the elderly, and those who are in the shadow - the sick, the needy and the disabled.' "

The economic improvement over the last year or so has enabled the Governor to shed the image of a fiscal conservative at a propitious time. He has not announced his intention yet on seeking a second term; however, if he should decide to run again, as expected, he has managed to include in his budget something for virtually every group, including the traditional Democratic constituencies.

He has broadened his appeal across the political spectrum and focused on a number of things that could become issues in the coming campaign, depending to some extent on who wins the Democratic nomination for Governor in the June 4 primary.

A few days before the budget message, former State Senator Stephen B. Wiley of Morris Township, a Democrat who has announced his candidacy for Governor, criticized Mr. Kean for failing to fully finance the state's school-aid formula. However, for the first time since he became Governor, Mr. Kean included the money to fully finance the formula this year, although he still argues that it must be rewritten.

The Governor has made environmental cleanup the major thrust of the final year of his term, and will be able to talk about the subject on the campaign trail should his opponent once again be Representative James J. Florio of Pine Hill, the chief sponsor of the Superfund law designed to pay for toxic-waste cleanup.

Mr. Florio has been a frequent critic of both Mr. Kean's and the Reagan Administration's handling of environmental problems.

The Senate majority leader, John F. Russo, Democrat of Toms River, is also a sponsor of environmental cleanup legislation, as well as of laws placing spending caps on government budgets. He has criticized the size of the Governor's latest budget; however, at a time when increased spending is not triggering any talk of new taxes, it may be difficult to get the electorate excited about the subject.

In addition, the Governor is talking about using \$794 million to phase out or ease several taxes, so he has set the agenda for this debate also.

The only new thing about the budget presentation that Mr. Kean had mixed feelings about was his use, for the first time, of electronic prompters to enable him to deliver his speech without looking down at the printed page. He

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said he was not able to look around the Assembly chambers at the lawmakers - or up at the visitors in the balcony - as easily as he would have liked.

However, those who heard the speech thought he covered the field pretty well.

SUBJECT: Terms not available

See Figure 3

TO BE RELEASED UPON DELIVERY ONLY

STATEMENT BY

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CENTER FOR POPULATION RESEARCH

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHILD HEALTH AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

ON

CHILD CARE IN THE U.S.

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES

JULY 1, 1987

SANDRA L. HOFFERTH, Ph.D.
Senior Research Associate

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THE URBAN INSTITUTE
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Mr. Chairman and Members of the Select Committee:

I am Dr. Sandra Hofferth, Health Scientist Administrator in the Demographic and Behavioral Sciences Branch, Center for Population Research, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health.

I appreciate this opportunity to testify about child care before the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.

The Demographic and Behavioral Sciences Branch has an ongoing program of research on factors affecting fertility. Families often find that many important decisions are intertwined: the decision about when and how many children to have, whether both partners will work outside the home (and how many hours), and how the children will be cared for. One of the enduring factors affecting decisions about childbearing is the employment status of the mother. Women who work, by and large, have smaller families than those who do not. Of course, families in which both parents are employed (or in which there is a single mother who is employed) must provide care for the children during those work hours. We have, therefore, assessed the patterns of use of child care, trends over time, relationship to other family characteristics, and expenditure patterns. We have supported the collection of data and have funded analyses of these important interrelationships. I will share with you a part of these findings that are most germane to today's discussions.

I will limit my remarks, but would note three considerations that should be kept in mind. First, child care decisions are made in families, but I will refer primarily to the mother's characteristics, since these are found to be most closely related to family decisions about employment and child care. Second, income refers to total weekly family income before

taxes. Third, data on which this testimony is based come from several sources, but all refer to the experience of American families obtained from large representative surveys of the U.S. population.

Trends in Demand for Child Care

To put my discussion of child care in the U.S. into perspective, it is important to understand the post World War II baby boom, which has had and continues to have a lasting effect on the structure of the population. The major increase in the number of births between 1946 and 1964 is known as the baby boom. Although both the numbers of births and the fertility rate began to decline after 1960, the baby boom babies are now adults and have been having their own children. The larger number of adults means a larger number of births, even though fertility rates are still low. As their children grow and begin to enter our educational institutions, we become aware of the impact of these changes in fertility. Consistent with the trends, Figure 1 shows that the number of preschool children declined until about 1980. After that year the number of preschoolers began to increase once again. By 1990 the number of expected preschoolers, 23 million, will be only slightly lower than the number of children under 5 at the height of the baby boom (24.6 million children), if current trends continue. The number of school-age children ages 6-13 declined until 1985, after which we expect an increase at least until 1995 (Hofferth and Phillips, 1987)(Figure 2B).

The second major trend of which you are all aware is the increased labor force participation of mothers. Here I will turn the statistics around and speak about the number and proportion of children who have mothers in the work force. This is because I am interested in the number of children

who will be in non-parental child care. (Since few mothers have more than one child under 5, on average, proportions are very similar.) Data from the U.S. Department of Labor show that between 1970 and 1985 there was a tremendous increase in the proportion of young children with a mother in the work force. Just over the past decade, there was an increase of 57 percent in the proportion of children under age 1 with mothers in the work force compared with an increase of 32 percent in the proportion of children under age 6 with mothers in the work force. In 1985, six of ten school-age children and half of all children under 6 had mothers in the work force. Results of recent projections that I have made suggest that if current trends continue, by 1995 over three-quarters of school-age children and two-thirds of preschool children will have a mother in the work force, a total of 34.4 million school-age and 14.6 million preschoolers (Figures 1 and 2A). This increase in the number of children with employed mothers is due both to the expected increase in the number of children and to the expected continued increase in the labor force participation rates of their mothers (Hofferth and Phillips, 1987).

Now I would like to briefly discuss trends in the child care arrangements that mothers have been using. The two decades between 1965 and 1985 have shown a tremendous change in care for the children of employed mothers. Between 1965 and 1982 there was a gradual decline in care by a relative (including parents), a large decline in care by a non-relative in the child's home (sitter), a modest increase in care by a non-relative in that person's home (family day care home), and an enormous increase in care in a day care center or nursery school (data from the 1982 National Survey of Family Growth reported by Hofferth and Phillips, 1987). These changes can be seen in Figure 3. Recent

data show continued increases in the proportion of children of employed mothers in child care centers--to over one-fifth of children under 5 with employed mothers in 1985 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987).

Given that infants and toddlers are experiencing the most rapid growth in need for child care, parents' care choices for this population provide an important key to future demand for child care. For full-time employed mothers with infants and toddlers, reliance on relatives and family day care homes--the most commonly used forms of care for these young children--has declined in recent years, whereas use of day care centers has risen dramatically. Because full-time employed mothers constitute over two-thirds of mothers in the labor force with children under age 3, this shift toward use of group programs suggests that there will continue to be rapid growth in demand for centers. On the other hand, among part-time employed mothers with infants and toddlers, family day care homes--and to a lesser extent relatives--are showing the greatest increases in use. Family day care is thus also likely to grow, though probably at a lower rate than center care (Hofferth and Phillips, 1987).

Trends in the Supply of Child Care

Data show that the supply of licensed child care centers has approximately doubled over the last 10 years, from 18,307 licensed centers (with a capacity of 1.01 million children) in 1976 to about 40,000 in 1986 (with a capacity of approximately 2.1 million children)(Hofferth and Phillips, 1987). This is consistent with the dramatic growth in use of center-based care described earlier. There are several questions about supply, such as the capacity of centers to care for infants and toddlers, and the extent to which the supply of group care is underestimated, that remain unanswered.

Estimates of family day care homes are much harder to come by, since it has been estimated that approximately 94 percent are unlicensed, and therefore not included in the statistics. With regard to licensed day care homes, in 1986 the National Association for the Education of Young Children estimated that 105,417 such homes were in operation, compared to about 73,750 in 1977.

Trends in Cost of Child Care, 1975-1985¹

Not all families with an employed mother pay for child care. In 1985, 20 percent paid nothing at all--15 percent of those with a youngest child under 5 and 33 percent of those with a youngest child 5 or older. This should be kept in mind when considering expenditures on care only among those who pay for care. Table 1 shows that among families with a youngest child under 5, only a little over half of those who use a relative paid for care, whereas almost all of those who use a sitter, a day care home, or center paid for care.

In 1985 the average weekly dollar cost of child care for all children (among young families who paid for care and who had a youngest child under 5) was \$36.69. This ranged from \$34.57 for those who paid a relative to \$38.80 for those who paid a day care home provider (Table 1). The range of variation is small. Child care costs in 1975 are also represented in Table 2. There was much more variation in weekly payment on child care by type of arrangement in 1975 compared with 1985. When we do adjust expenditures over time to changes in the Consumer Price Index we see that, in fact, real expenditures on day care center care have not risen at all, and those on day care home care have risen only slightly, whereas those on relative and non-relative in home care have risen a lot.

Since weekly payment depends on the hours of care as well as on the hourly cost of that care, we have also calculated the mean hourly cost in 1975 and 1985 (Table 3). In 1985 mothers who were employed paid \$.99 per hour for care by a relative for the primary arrangement for their youngest child under 5. They paid \$1.17 per hour for care in a day care home, \$1.37 per hour for care in a center, and \$1.49 per hour for care by a non-relative in the child's home. Care by a sitter or nanny in the child's home is still the most expensive form of care; however, now it is clear that center care is next most expensive, with day care home care third in cost. Apparently, parents adjust their hours of care used so that the total expenditures on different forms of care turn out to be very similar, even though hourly costs vary substantially by type of arrangement.

Once the hourly costs are deflated to 1975 dollars, we see that over the past decade both the cost of relative care and the cost of a sitter in the child's home have risen around 40 percent, whereas the cost of day care home and center care have risen only 7 and 15 percent respectively. This certainly is consistent with the enormous movement into center and home care and away from relative and sitter care.

Finally, the hourly cost of care for an older child is higher than that for a younger child. Families simply use fewer hours of this care; thus total weekly costs are much lower than for older children.

Child Care Expenditures in 1985
and Expenditures as a Proportion of Family Income

A number of characteristics of the child and family as well as the arrangements themselves affect family expenditures on child care (Tables 4A and 4B).

Families in which the child is under 5 (Table 4A) pay more than families in which the child is 5 or older (Table 4B), and families with a child under age 3 pay the most for care (Table 5). Unless they are poor or receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), black families pay less than white or Hispanic families. Families who are poor or who receive AFDC generally pay less for child care than those who are not poor. Families in which the mother is married or has a partner pay more for care than those who are not married or do not have a partner.

Which among these many characteristics are most important in determining how much different families pay for child care? Controlling for differences in other factors, it turns out that age of the youngest child, family income, and race are the most important factors associated with total expenditures on all children. Families with a young child under 5 pay more for child care than families with a youngest child 5 or older. High income families pay more than low income families. Finally, after controlling for income differences and other factors, white and Hispanic families pay more per week for child care than black families.

The type of child care arrangement used is an important determinant of expenditures on the primary arrangement for the youngest child. Expenditures on care by a non-relative in the child's home (a sitter or nanny) are highest, with expenditures on day care center and day care home care slightly lower,

but all are more expensive than care by a relative. As in total expenditures, on all children, higher income families spend more on child care for their youngest child, and those with a young child under five spend more than those with a child five or older. White and Hispanic families spend more than black families.

Research has addressed the ways families spend their income as it relates to their childbearing decisions. One way to look at the importance of child care for these decisions is to look not only at the magnitude of the cost but also at the cost in relation to family income. The actual dollar expenditure does not help us determine how large a chunk that expenditure takes out of a family's budget. Thus we have also calculated the proportion of total weekly family income that constitutes child care expenditures. In 1985 families with a youngest child under 5 spent 11 percent of their income on child care. Those with a youngest child 5 or older spent 9 percent of their income on child care.²

Differences by race, poverty, AFDC, and marital status are shown in Tables 4A and 4B. The poor pay a smaller total amount for child care than those who are not poor, but they pay a larger proportion of their incomes. For example, white mothers with a youngest child under 5 pay 9 percent of their income on child care if they are above the poverty line but 20 percent of their income if they are below the poverty line. Black mothers pay 8 percent of their income on child care if they are not poor, but 26 percent of their income if they are poor. Hispanic women pay 8 percent if nonpoor and 21 percent if poor. The comparisons are similar for women receiving and not receiving AFDC, except for black women receiving AFDC, who both pay a high dollar amount

and a high proportion of their income on child care.³ The most important factors associated with the proportion of income spent on the care of all children are income, partner status, and age of youngest child. Families with high incomes spend a lower proportion of their incomes on child care than do families with low incomes. Families with two partners pay a lower proportion of their income for child care compared with families consisting of only one parent. Families pay a higher proportion of their income on child care if they have a young child under five years of age than if the youngest is five or older.

Summary and Conclusions

The number of children with employed mothers is expected to rise at least until 1995 if trends continue as they have been over the past 15 years.

Accompanying this increase in the number of children with employed mothers is a remarkable shift into group care arrangements for preschool children, and, increasingly, for infants and toddlers as well.

New data on expenditures on child care by mothers in their twenties who are employed, in school, or in training show that the cost of day care center and family day care have stayed constant or increased only slightly in real terms over the past decade, whereas the cost of care by a relative and in-home care by a non-relative (sitter) have increased greatly. Of course, a larger proportion (about half) of those using a relative for child care do not pay that provider, but the evidence shown here suggests that paid relative care is becoming more and more expensive in comparison with other care arrangements. Day care homes and centers look attractive in comparison to

relative care and sitter care. Whether a rise in the cost of other forms of child care relative to center care has led to the increase in use of centers, or whether it is the other way around (demand for center care leading to increased supply and lower cost), it is increasingly clear that center care has become relatively attractive and continues to attract an increasing share of the market.

Finally, among those who pay for care, child care expenditures constitute a substantial proportion of the total weekly income of American families who pay for care--approximately 10 percent over all, but as high as 20 to 26 percent among poor families. While 10 percent is a substantial proportion of a family's income, comparable to expenditures on food, 20-25 percent constitutes a major expenditure item in the family budget, comparable to that of housing.

That concludes my statement. I will be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Footnotes

1. The data used in this part come from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLS), conducted by the Ohio State University. This is a national survey of youth who were 14 to 21 in 1979, and who have been followed up every year since then. The data used come from a special set of questions about the cost of child care included in the 1985 wave, when these youth were ages 20-27. Blacks and Hispanics were oversampled, but sample weights were used in this analysis to adjust for differential sampling probabilities. It should be remembered that this is a young, relatively low income sample. (The median income of the NLS sample was \$20,000 per year, compared with a median income of all U.S. households of \$23,618 and all U.S. families of \$27,735 in 1985.) The data reported here are limited to reports of some 1,200 mothers who are working, in school, or in a training program about their child care arrangements. The poverty level for a family of 3 in 1985 was \$8,573; for a family of 4 it was \$10,989.
2. Unfortunately we do not have the data to estimate what proportion of family income was spent on child care in 1975. However, given the apparent 8-percent decline in real earnings over the last decade (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986), we might expect the proportion of income spent on child care to be slightly higher today, even though actual dollar expenditures have not changed in real terms.
3. Child care expenditures of up to \$160 per month are allowed to be deducted from income in computing AFDC eligibility and benefits. This may explain the high dollar expenditure and proportion of their income that black AFDC recipients paid for child care in 1985.

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FIGURE 1

Preschool Children with Mothers in the Labor Force, 1970-1995

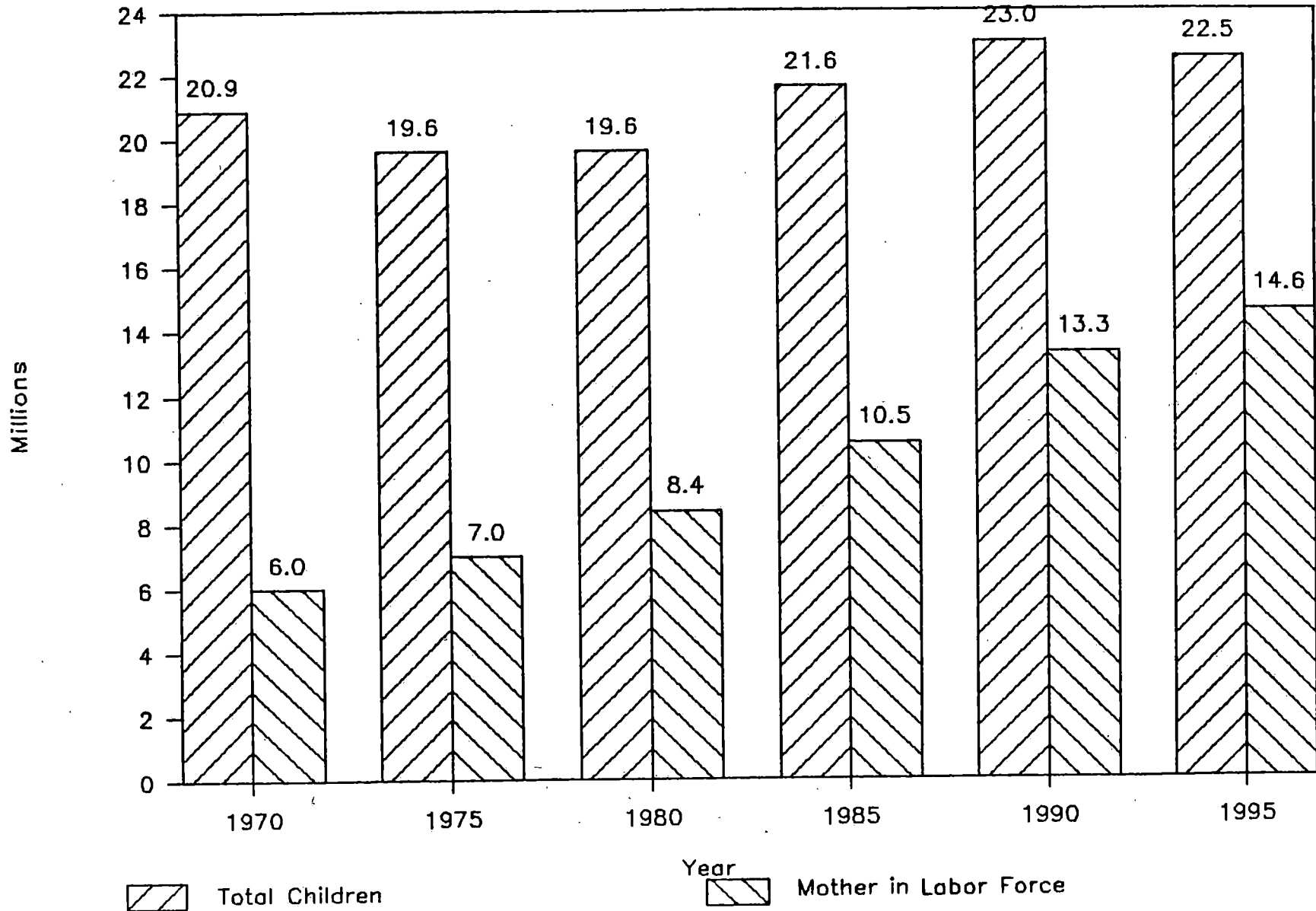


FIGURE 2A

School-Age Children 6-17 with Mothers in Labor Force, 1970-1995

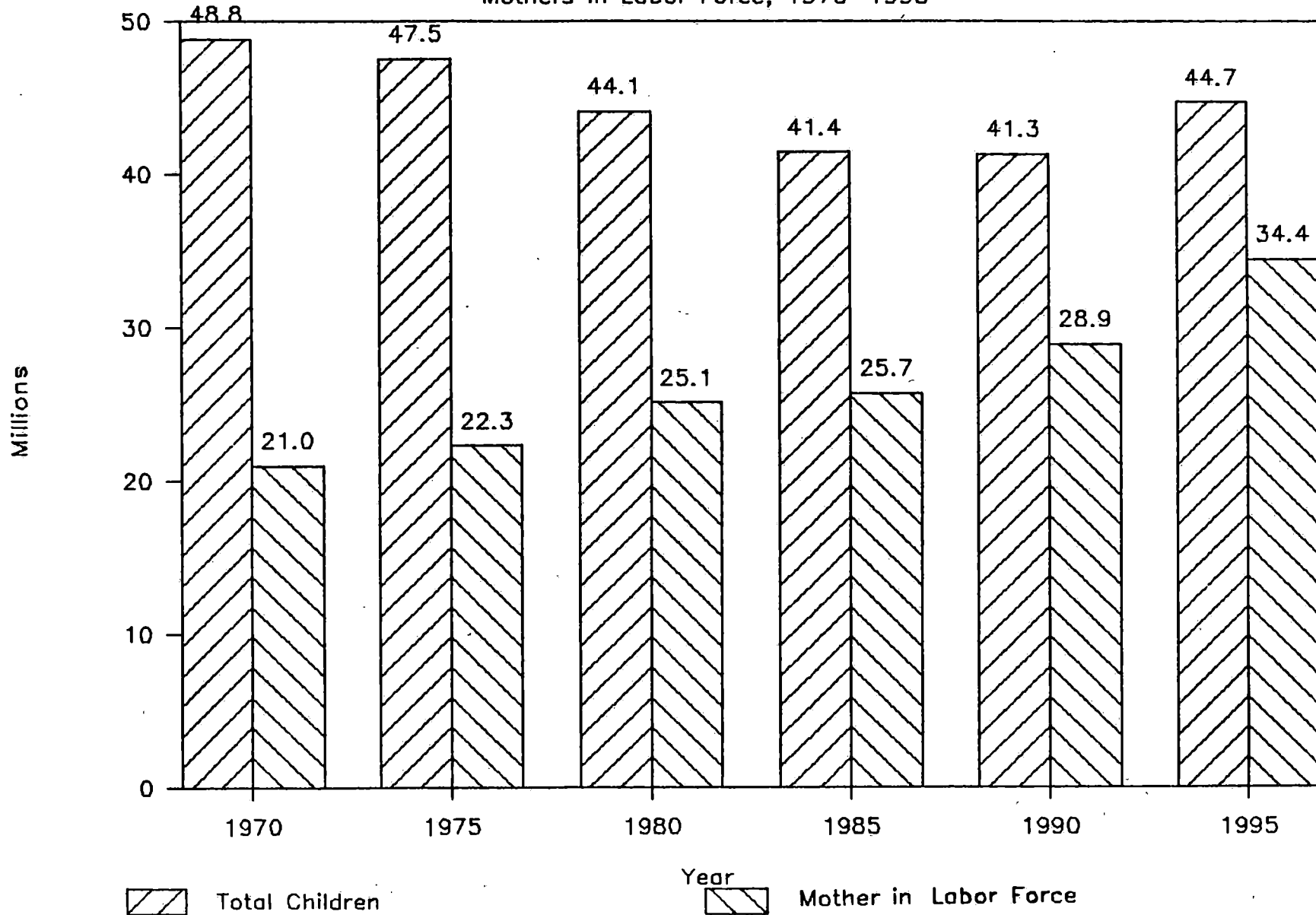


FIGURE 2B

School-Age Children 6-13 with Mothers in Labor Force, 1970-1995

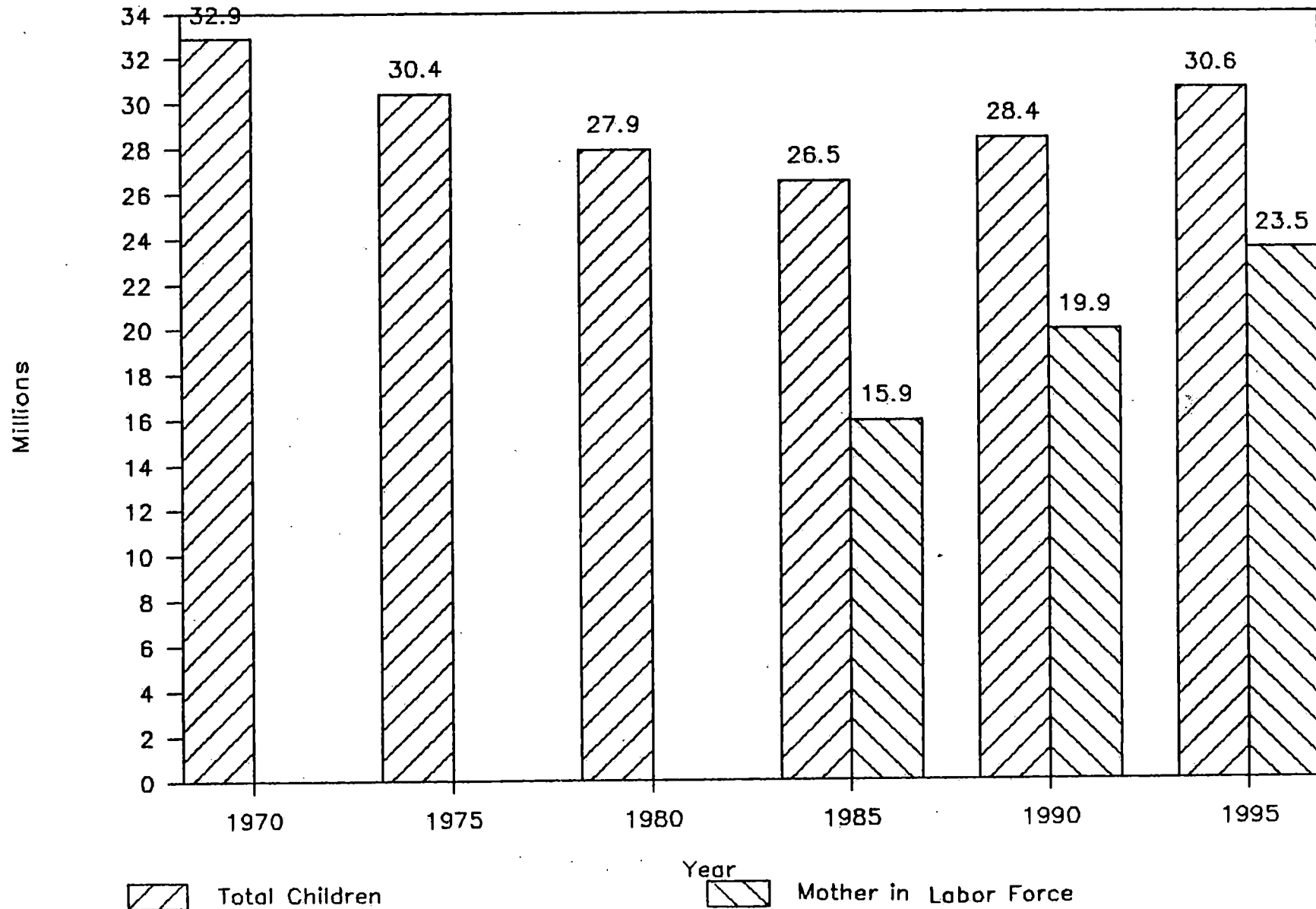


FIGURE 3

Care of Preschool Children, 1965–1985

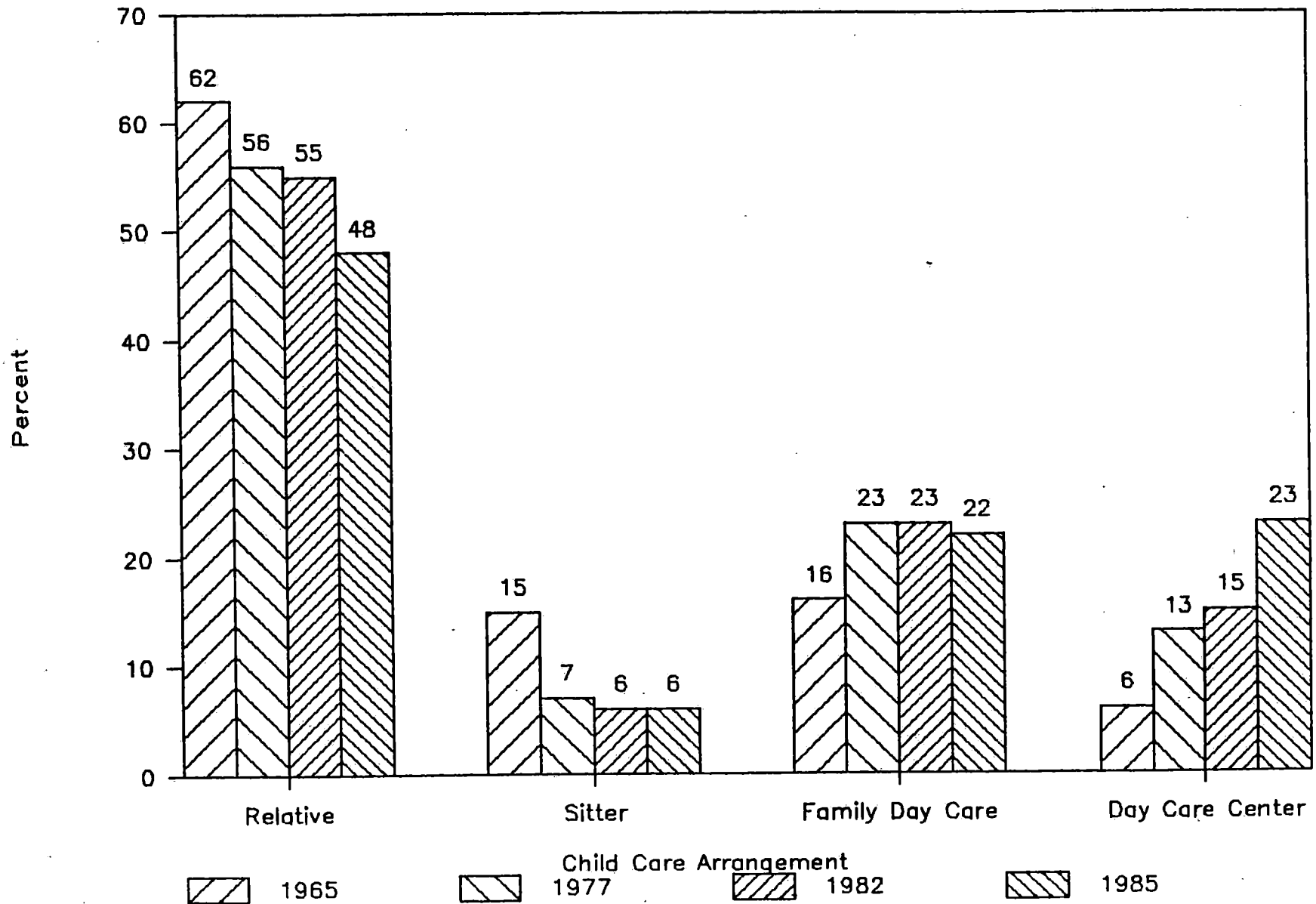


Table 1

Percentage of Families Not Paying for Care for Youngest Child,
by Type of Arrangement for Youngest Child, and by Age of Child

<u>Age of Youngest Child</u>	<u>Relative</u>	<u>Non-Relative in Child's Home (Sitter)</u>	<u>Day Care Home</u>	<u>Center, Nursery School</u>
<u>Under 5</u>				
Do Not Pay	47.34	7.15	2.59	12.85
Pay for Care ¹	52.66	92.85	97.41	87.15
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<u>5 or Older</u>				
Do Not Pay	61.48	37.53	12.64	10.93
Pay for Care ¹	38.52	62.47	87.36	89.07
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

¹Includes payment in kind

Source: Unpublished tabulations from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLS)

Table 2

Mean Weekly Payment by Mothers Paying for Child Care,
by Type of Arrangement and Survey Year

<u>Year and Survey</u>	<u>Relative</u>	<u>Non-Relative in Child's Home (Sitter)</u>	<u>Day Care Home</u>	<u>Center, Nursery School</u>	<u>Total</u>
1975 (UNCO)	\$12.38	\$ 7.78	\$16.07	\$19.56	---
1977-78 (NDCHS)	---	---	20.85	---	---
1976-77 (NDCCS) ¹	---	---	---	26.00	---
1985 (NLS) ²	34.57	38.18	38.80	38.31	36.69
(deflated to 1975 dollars)	17.28	19.09	19.40	19.15	18.35
1985 (NLS) ³	29.62	42.18	37.86	37.40	35.86
(deflated to 1975 dollars)	14.81	21.09	18.93	18.70	17.93
1985 (NLS) ⁴	23.20	a	33.73	28.24	28.24
(deflated to 1975 dollars)	11.60	a	16.86	14.12	14.12

¹Full-time children only

²Total payment for all children, youngest under 5, by primary arrangement for youngest child

³Payment for youngest child under 5 for primary care arrangement only

⁴Payment for youngest child 5 or older for primary care arrangement only

^aFewer than 10 cases in category

Sources: UNCO: Moore and Hofferth, 1979
 NDCHS: Fosburg et al, 1981
 NDCCS: Coelen et al, 1979
 NLS: Unpublished tabulations

Table 3

Mean Hourly Payment by Mothers Paying for Child Care,
by Type of Arrangement and Survey Year

<u>Year and Survey</u>	<u>Relative</u>	<u>Non-Relative in Child's Home (Sitter)</u>	<u>Day Care Home</u>	<u>Center, Nursery School</u>
1975 (UNCO)	\$.36	\$.52	\$.55	\$.60
1977-78 (NDCHS)	---	---	.59	---
1976-77 (NDCCS) ¹	---	---	---	.65
1985 (NLS) ²	.99	1.49	1.17	1.37
(deflated to 1975 dollars)	.50	.75	.59	.69
1985 (NLS) ³	1.51	a	1.35	2.17
(deflated to 1975 dollars)	.75	---	.67	1.09

¹Full-time children only

²Payment for youngest child under 5 for primary care arrangement only

³Payment for youngest child 5 or older for primary care arrangement only

^aFewer than 10 cases in category

Sources: UNCO: Moore and Hofferth, 1979
 NDCHS: Fosburg et al, 1981
 NDCCS: Coelen et al, 1979
 NLS: Unpublished tabulations

Table 4A

Mean Weekly Expenditure on Child Care for All Children,
and Proportion of Total Weekly Income, Youngest Child Under 5,
by Race and Poverty, AFDC and Partner Status, Those Paying for Care Only

	<u>White (N)</u>	<u>Black (N)</u>	<u>Hispanic (N)</u>	<u>Total (N)</u>
Total Cost	\$37.63 (322)	\$32.00 (177)	\$38.51 (84)	\$36.69 (587)
% of Income ¹	10.17 (289)	12.14 (145)	9.58 (68)	10.57 (505)
<u>Not Poor</u>				
Total	39.23 (275)	31.07 (122)	37.11 (66)	38.28 (465)
% of Income	9.12 (255)	7.72 (109)	7.74 (57)	8.83 (422)
<u>Poor</u>				
Total	21.41 (37)	27.52 (41)	31.20 (13)	25.02 (93)
% of Income	20.33 (34)	26.35 (36)	20.60 (11)	22.55 (83)
<u>Not AFDC</u>				
Total	38.70 (292)	30.82 (143)	40.03 (81)	37.52 (518)
% of Income	9.52 (262)	10.47 (118)	9.86 (65)	9.75 (447)
<u>AFDC</u>				
Total	24.03 (30)	25.84 (33)	a	28.73 (68)
% of Income	19.32 (27)	19.71 (27)	a	18.90 (58)
<u>Has No Partner</u>				
Total	33.57 (55)	27.09 (63)	48.09 (11)	31.90 (130)
% of Income	16.20 (47)	16.59 (51)	22.69 (10)	16.73 (109)
<u>Has Partner</u>				
Total	38.38 (267)	31.57 (114)	37.54 (73)	37.82 (457)
% of Income	9.11 (242)	9.75 (94)	8.13 (58)	9.19 (396)

¹Total weekly expenditure/total weekly income

^aFewer than 10 cases in category

Source: Unpublished tabulations from the NLS

Table 4B

Mean Weekly Expenditure on Child Care for All Children,
and Proportion of Total Weekly Income, Youngest Child 5 or Older,
by Race and Poverty, AFDC Status and Partner Status, Those Paying for Care Only

	<u>White (N)</u>	<u>Black (N)</u>	<u>Hispanic (N)</u>	<u>Total (N)</u>
Total Cost	\$28.18 (34)	\$19.45 (28)	\$18.55 (14)	\$25.97 (78)
% of Income	8.12 (31)	11.33 (26)	5.20 (12)	8.68 (71)
<u>Not Poor</u>				
Total	28.74 (31)	22.15 (18)	21.26 (11)	26.38 (62)
% of Income	7.77 (29)	8.14 (18)	5.11 (11)	7.52 (60)
<u>Poor</u>				
Total	a	a	a	14.89 (12)
% of Income	a	a	a	17.80 (11)
<u>Not AFDC</u>				
Total	28.04 (31)	18.55 (21)	18.55 (14)	24.42 (68)
% of Income	7.09 (28)	9.04 (20)	5.20 (12)	7.32 (62)
<u>AFDC</u>				
Total	a	a	a	24.70 (10)
% of Income	a	a	a	a
<u>Has No Partner</u>				
Total	32.41 (12)	20.36 (19)	a	24.04 (35)
% of Income	15.33 (11)	13.44 (18)	a	13.11 (32)
<u>Has Partner</u>				
Total	26.53 (22)	a	22.46 (10)	24.75 (43)
% of Income	5.67 (20)	a	a	5.56 (39)

^aFewer than 10 cases in category

Source: Unpublished tabulations from the NLS

Table 5

Mean Weekly Expenditure on Child Care for All Children,
and Proportion of Total Weekly Income, By Race and Age of Youngest Child,
Those Paying for Care Only

<u>Age of Youngest Child</u>	<u>White (N)</u>	<u>Black (N)</u>	<u>Hispanic (N)</u>	<u>Total (N)</u>
<u>0-2</u>				
Total	\$40.66 (157)	\$39.21 (73)	\$44.00 (29)	\$40.58 (262)
% of Income	10.14 (140)	11.38 (58)	7.50 (21)	10.45 (222)
<u>3-4</u>				
Total	33.33 (121)	28.23 (75)	38.13 (48)	32.84 (244)
% of Income	10.04 (109)	12.15 (62)	10.81 (40)	10.50 (211)
<u>5 or Older</u>				
Total	34.94 (78)	21.42 (58)	21.33 (21)	30.56 (159)
% of Income	9.67 (71)	12.57 (51)	6.41 (19)	10.04 (143)

Source: Unpublished tabulations from the NLS

School - Age Child Care

Table 2

Percentage of Children in Child Care Arrangements
For All Children Enrolled in School by Age of Child*

Age	Child Care Arrangement					Total
	Parent	Other 16+	Other 14-15	Other <14	Self	
5 N	69.35	27.52	1.39	1.55	0.20	9.87 2826518
6 N	70.54	24.75	1.58	2.41	0.72	11.21 3210649
7 N	70.07	23.80	1.84	3.01	1.27	11.22 3213812
8 N	71.33	20.81	1.66	3.68	2.52	10.62 3041183
9 N	70.46	19.84	2.10	2.44	5.17	10.87 3113148
10 N	70.74	16.49	2.91	2.71	7.16	11.01 3152354
11 N	73.25	12.12	2.68	1.45	10.49	11.04 3161959
12 N	73.09	11.82	2.31	0.43	12.36	11.59 3319553
13 N	75.38	7.09	1.79	0.28	15.46	12.55 3594758
Total N	71.67 20521387	17.95 5138402	2.03 582437	1.96 561196	6.39 1830513	100.00 28633935

*Percentages and Ns have been weighted.

Data - Dec 1984 Current Population Survey

Table 3

PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN IN CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS
BY MOTHER'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND CHILD'S AGE*

<u>CHILDREN OF NON-EMPLOYED MOTHERS</u>				
CHILD'S AGE	PARENT ONLY	CAREGIVER 14+	SELF/ OTHER < 14	TOTAL
5-7	91.17	7.94	0.89	36.05
N				2956
8-10	92.73	5.02	2.25	32.71
N				2794
11-13	94.29	2.77	2.94	31.25
N				2570
TOTAL	92.65	5.37	1.98	100.00
N	7724	435	161	8320
<u>CHILDREN OF MOTHERS EMPLOYED PART-TIME</u>				
CHILD'S AGE	PARENT ONLY	CAREGIVER 14+	SELF/ OTHER < 14	TOTAL
5-7	61.93	33.75	4.33	30.52
N				1282
8-10	63.26	26.92	9.82	33.19
N				1390
11-13	72.72	12.79	14.49	36.29
N				1474
TOTAL	66.29	23.88	9.84	100.00
N	2782	955	409	4146
<u>CHILDREN OF MOTHERS EMPLOYED FULL-TIME</u>				
CHILD'S AGE	PARENT ONLY	CAREGIVER 14+	SELF/ OTHER < 14	TOTAL
5-7	41.39	52.67	5.95	28.98
N				1835
8-10	47.04	38.16	14.79	31.89
N				2014
11-13	55.06	20.37	24.57	39.13
N				2401
TOTAL	48.54	35.40	16.05	100.00
N	3036	2208	1006	6250

*Percentages have been weighted;
N represents unweighted sample size.

(Current) Data
 Compiled by Susan Grubisette
 (Sunday Night 857-8617)

1985 - (most recent data)

by relative	48%
by relative in home	6%
family day care (in home)	22%
day care center	23%

8700
 can include centers
 sponsored by churches
 in Presque
 Program

Murchis profit
 private profit

Soft Cinema
 17
 185

48
 22
 23
 4
 99

48
 22
 4
 76%

children
 under 5

Urban Institute
 2102 M Street NW
 5th Floor receptionist

new - employed 93%

part time 66%

5-13 (full time work) 50% by parents
 a lot

1985 (most recent date) 48% under 5 relative
 6% busy in car and home relative
 22% formerly day care (in home)
 23% Day care center / nursery school

original data

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ FAX Urban Institute

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Morgan 357-8617

Child Care

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

DEDICATION OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BUILDING
NOVEMBER 1, 1977

Opening Music: As platform guests enter "Stars and Stripes Forever" and "Happy Days Are Here Again" performed by the United States Marine Band.

Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen, I'm Jay Solomon, Administrator of the General Services Administration. It is a pleasure to welcome all of you here today to participate in a ceremony in honor of a great American who has influenced all our lives, and whose deeds and accomplishments will impact on the lives of our children and for generations to come.

We owe a lot to Hubert Humphrey, and I know you share my profound pleasure in being able to pay tribute to him today in a small way in a very large building. This building contains four works of art, which are representative of GSA's Art-in-Architecture Program, designed to enhance the appearance of our Federal buildings, and bring more people into the buildings and make them live at all times. In this building is a sculpture, there are three tapestries, and there are many works of art I hope you will look at and enjoy as much as we've had in putting them here. This building is the headquarters of the dynamic cabinet office of HEW, and has been occupied by HEW since September of 1976. It is now my privilege to introduce to you a dynamic man, a man who could only occupy a building this large because he is a big man, Secretary Joseph Califano, Jr.

TO: Peggy Dooley
The White House
Rm. 111-1/2, OE0B

As requested.

Melba C. Turcotte
HHS Press Office
245-6343

Mct

Thank you Jay. This is a great and beautiful and formal occasion to some degree, and I think we should begin the formalities. I would appreciate it if you would join me and rise for the Presentation of the Colors and the National Anthem, and remain standing for the invocation.

Presentation of Colors

Joint Armed Forces Color Guard

Retirement of Colors

Secretary Califano: The Reverend Doctor Edward L.R. Elson, the Chaplin of the United States Senate.

Reverend Edward L.R. Elson: Let us pray. God of our Fathers and our God, who in every generation has given this Nation leaders of lofty vision and noble purpose, we thank Thee this day for the gift of Thy servant Hubert, to this age and generation. As his name and his fame are inscribed forever in the hearts of his countrymen, may this place bearing his name witness to the causes he serves, the compassion he reveals the faith which sustains him, and the luminous spirit which radiates from him. May some measure of his outgoing love, his infectious joy, and his daring spirit kindle a flame of sacrificial service in us. Surround him now with healing ministries, support him in his continued labors, granting unto him a serene soul, a heart at peace, and a confident faith. Lead us henceforth in paths of righteousness, for Thy names sake, Amen.

Secretary Califano: Please be seated. I would like to briefly note and introduce the guests on the platform, before saying a word or two about Senator Humphrey and introducing the Vice President. Among those guests are Senator Dole of Kansas, who introduced the legislation naming this building the Hubert H. Humphrey Building, and he was the principal sponsor of the bill in the Senate and was joined by the distinguished Chairman of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, but I have to let you know Hubert it was a close vote, there were only 99 sponsors on the bill. Representative Albert Quie of Minnesota, is the principal sponsor of this legislation in the House of Representatives, and Congressman Ray Roberts of Texas, who is serving as Acting Chairman of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee, which unanimously approved the legislation. Unfortunately, Congressman Roberts is unable to be with us today, but he is being represented by a distinguished member of his committee, Norman Mineta of California. The other individuals on this platform are familiar faces to many of you in this room. The Speaker of the House, and the greatest Speaker of the House, Thomas O'Neill, the Attorney General Griffin Bell, Interior Secretary Andrus, Labor Secretary Marshall, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Harris, Transportation Secretary Adams, Energy Secretary Schlesinger, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, Senator James Eastland, Jennings Randolph, the Chairman of the Committee on Environment and Public Works, who I've mentioned, Senator Dole whom I've mentioned, Senator Wendell Anderson, the Senator from Minnesota, the Mayor of our City,

Walter Washington, Congressman Mineta I've mentioned and Congressman Quie I've mentioned, Donald Fraser, the delegation in the House from Minnesota; and the others Richard Nolan, James Oberstar, Bruce Vento, Thomas Foley, who is Chairman of the Agriculture Committee, Marcel Breuer, the architect who designed this building, Herbert Beckhard, an architect who worked for Mr. Breuer, Thomas Hagedorn of Minnesota, Arlan Stangeland of Minnesota, both of that delegation, and Frank Moore, a senior member of the White House Staff.

Now and then in America, someone comes along whose life and career remind us not just of how good he is, but of how good we can be.

For our generation, and for me personally, because I have been privileged to know Senator Humphrey for so long and so intimately, Hubert Humphrey is that person. He has earned our respect, and won our love, not simply for what he has done, but for what he has been, and for all that he has summoned us to be.

Today we honor him in an especially fitting way. Today the department of the people pays tribute to the man of the people. From this day forward, this building, which for millions of Americans is the headquarters of health and hope, will bear the name of the man who symbolizes this government's capacity to offer help and hope.

In this building we administer programs that touch the lives of the most vulnerable in America; programs to feed the hungry, to help the poor, to care for the sick, to rehabilitate the handicapped, to teach the young, to enrich life for the old and to end discrimination.

How appropriate that our efforts shall be carried on under the name of the man who fathered so many of these programs.

It is Hubert Humphrey who proposed in 1949, a national program of medical care to the aged under the social security system, legislation that 16 years later became Medicare.

It is Hubert Humphrey who, before almost anyone else and who was the first for me, to fight for legislation forbidding discrimination against the blacks, the ethnics, the aged, and the handicapped.

It is Hubert Humphrey who guided to passage hopeful programs like Head Start, dozens of programs, from wider social security coverage, to Federal scholarships to biomedical research owe their present strength and their existence to Hubert Humphrey's leadership as architect, sponsor, and advocate.

And dozens more that do not yet exist like national health insurance, will exist because of the early vision and leadership of Hubert Humphrey.

For Hubert Humphrey is not only a leader in America, he is a prophet ... A prophet lifting our eyes continually from what we have achieved to what we must achieve, from the road behind us, to the road ahead.

Today Senator Humphrey, we do not honor you so much as you honor us, by lending your name, your inspiration, and your example, to the work we do here.

There are some words Senator, of the Jesuit philosopher, Teilhard de Chardin, that capture well the energy and the joy that enrich your life. Teilhard wrote, "Someday, after mastering the winds, the waves, the tides and gravity, we shall harness for God the energies of love. And then, to the second time in the history of the world...man will have discovered fire."

It is your achievements Senator, to harness in a remarkable career those "energies of love," to generate warmth and life for millions of your countrymen. It means a great deal for all of us, and I can't tell you how much it means to me personally, to be Secretary at this moment. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to call upon someone else who is your friend and a special friend of this department, and a man I have admired for many years and a special friend of mine, your colleague and protege from Minnesota, a man in whose own achievements, your spirit, the spirit and example of Hubert Humphrey can be seen. Your friend and successor in two high national offices, the Vice President of the United States.

Vice President Mondale: Thank you very much.

Pastor Elson, Administrator Solomon, Secretary Califano, Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of the Congress, and friends of Hubert Humphrey. There are two reasons why Hubert Humphrey is what he is today. One, Hubert, but secondly and equally important, his magnificent and beloved wife Muriel and I would like her to stand to receive a hand. Some very unusual and unprecedented events have occurred in Washington recently, which I think have broken historic precedent. The other day, the United States Senator recuperating from illness, was personally picked up at his home by the President of the United States and returned to the Nation's Capitol.

He went back to the United States Senate, where he spent so many years of his life, and the Senate and the Gallery in a rising applause, that extended for well over ten minutes, with an enthusiasm and a law of express, beyond anything that any of us have ever experienced, and then there was passed a bill with 99 cosponsors, unanimously by voice vote in both the House and the Senate, for one of the few times in American history naming a major departmental building after a living public official in this country. Each of them was historic and unprecedented, but all of them said the same thing, and that is that Hubert H. Humphrey is the most loved and respected man in America today.

(Applause)

That is something that those of us in Minnesota knew would be the case long before the rest of the nation. He has touched all of us from Minnesota differently, but I'll never forget the change he made in my life. It has not been widely noted in American history, but when Hubert was Mayor of Minneapolis, and I became excited by his example, I was inspecting pea lice in the pea fields of southern Minnesota, and I am most grateful to you Hubert, for the transformation.

Joe Califano, in a brilliant and moving statement accounted a few of the many fundamental and humane reforms that have stemmed from Hubert's leadership, and they are all well known.

His leadership above all, has been symbolized by his ability to see problems in human terms. He once said that he learned more economics in one South Dakota dust storm, than in seven years at the University of Minnesota. He is able to see beyond statistics and charts, to the suffering and the needs and the human hopes behind them. He is able to look at the sick, and see the need for Medicare. He is able to look at inequality, and see the needs for Civil Rights Act. He is able to look at the young and spirited and idealistic youth, and sponsor the Peace Corps. He is able to look into the eyes of the broken spirit of unemployed Americans, and sponsor the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. He is able to see the gap between the rich and the poor, and fight for the Food

for Peace Bill. He is able to see the dangers and the horror of nuclear weapons, and sponsor the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Throughout his career, problems were for the purpose of being solved. John Gardner, once head of this agency, said that where human institutions are concerned, love without criticism brings stagnation, but criticism without love brings destruction. Too often we have had that kind of approach which either brings stagnation or destruction.

But, Hubert Humphrey has been instead a loving critic throughout his entire public career. He has loved this country so much, he has been able to see its failings, and he has bothered to work and to lead toward their reform and toward their solution. It was inevitable that one of the major buildings in this town would be named after Hubert Humphrey, but it is as fitting as anything could possibly be, that the building that was selected was that serving the cause of health and education and welfare in this nation.

In this department, there has always been a voice of compassion and concern for all those who need government the most; the aged and the sick, the children who need a decent education, disadvantaged families struggling against difficult odds to build a better life, and this is the department whose programs are filled with love, and for that reason I am deeply honored, indeed thrilled to join with all of you today, as we dedicate this building, in the name of our beloved Hubert.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

Secretary Califano: The Vice President will now unveil the plaque.

Unveiling Plaque

Music: "This Land is your Land."
performed by United States Marine Band

(Applause)

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey: Thank you very very much. My good friend, Mr. Vice President, it's hard for me to address this wonderful colleague and friend of mine in such formal terms, but I'm so proud of him. He's brought new distinction and meaning to the Office of the Vice Presidency, and I think we ought to let him know it.

(Applause)

And Secretary Califano, indeed we have worked together many years, and I am so proud and pleased, that you are Secretary of this department that is dedicated to the health and the education and the well being of the American people, to help fulfill the charge and the Declaration of Independence, of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and Joe, you've got a tremendous task, you'll have not only our cooperation, and we shall appeal for that, but you shall constantly have our good wishes.

I want to thank Mr. Solomon, and indeed our Chaplain of the Senate The Reverend Elson, who gives us such spiritual guidance, the many of my distinguished colleagues, in fact

all of them, many of them here today and I think we've come closer to having a quorum with the Senate here today than for a long time.

My staff that is here, I'm pleased that you've taken this time off, but may I suggest that you hurry back to your desk as soon as we're through.

I see a couple of friends here that I'd like to just single out. First of all, a gentlemen that I've worked with for years, who represents in this country the great forces of organized labor, that have done so much not only for the organized worker, but for people in general, a fighter- one who never gives up, young at heart - I wouldn't even ask him what his chronological age is because I think it's an irrelevant fact, George Meaney. Bless your heart, you're here.

And I see Arthur Flemming out there, I pay special tribute to Arthur because when I lost my job as Vice President, due to the will of the electorate and the terms of the Constitution, I was on the unemployed list, and I went as a supplicant, and this good and kind man, who was President then of Macalester College said, "we take in the poor, the oppressed, and those that are needy", and he gave me a job, and Arthur we thank you very very much.

And of course my colleagues in the Senate have been acknowledged, The Speaker, the President Pro Tempore, and others and I hope you realize that everything that has been said here today, about Hubert Humphrey, is indeed a reflection of

their work. No one does anything alone, except get in trouble.

Now when my colleagues from Congress, passed a bill to name this important Federal building for me, I warned them - I promised them that this gesture left me speechless. You can imagine their response to that; but I still say that words are inadequate, to express my personal delight and gratitude, it is a significant honor.

I do however want to say a special word of thanks to those who were the principal sponsors. My friend Bob Dole, who sparked this whole occasion, it's not often in this town that a Kansas Republican takes a lead in honoring a Minnesota Democrat. It just goes to prove what I've been trying to say, if we work at it, we can get together.

And then Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, whom I've known for well over 30 years, as a dear and personal friend, and Al Quie, another Republican from Southern Minnesota, but a dear friend of mine, and as Mr. Roberts, and all the others and the entire Minnesota delegation, and all of you in Congress, and Wendy Anderson I want to thank you too. I'm very proud of Wendy, very proud of all of our Congressional delegation.

I'll not seek to response to the kind and extravagant tributes that have warmed my heart today there's just too much, except to say that a few men enjoy a comparable privilege of being so lavishly praised while they can still enjoy it and that is a unique experience.

From my father I absorbed a respect for history. So I try to step back occasionally to view events in the larger perspective of the history that moves around us, shapes our lives, develops our challenges, and carries our imprint and impact.

It makes me doubly conscious of the rare and singular honor it is to have a formal niche in this grand living pageant of America reserved in my name. To know that the principles of social and economic justice, compassion, of hope and opportunity that have inspired me, will continue to thrive and flourish in a building bearing my name, is a great gift indeed.

I have to digress for just for a minute, Fritz said, "How long are your going to talk?" I said why ask a foolish question like that, but I'm going to tell you something he left out a couple of good quotes.....I was peeking at his notes he had a wonderful one from Emerson which I thought would really enrich the whole occasion. But he said he

would save it for another time, he figured they might want to dedicate a tennis court or something. By the way, he always expresses his gratitude for these occasions because he says he gets so much television coverage. If I could just say -- remember that I'm the principal character.

I do also want to say very quickly that the struggle that we have been going through these months has been a special challenge but, it's really one that we're beginning to win. I could never have done it, I couldn't keep up my spirit, without my Muriel, and I'm everlastingly grateful to her, she has put up with me for 41 years in married life. My sister Frances, here who fills in for me many times and so often is forgotten by her brother in his busy life. I want Frances to know how much I love her and how grateful I am. Oh, yes...I said that I was going to digress a little bit more, I think you ought to know until recently the only thing that was named after me was a grandson....that was fine, an old folks home in Wadena, Minnesota and a bridge down at Cape Kennedy, and a one mile road in Colorado, that was the full extent of the honors that came to me in terms of having things named after me. But my cup runneth over and I love the harvest, I want you to know that.

I'm certain that the tributes of friendship that have buoyed my spirits - and they do, concern more than just Hubert

Humphrey and make irrelevant the limitations that I'm only too much aware. There is no shortage of heroes in this country. Among any group of average Americans are tales of heroism and devotion enough to glorify the Lord and vindicate his world and his works. I am but one of the laborers in the Lord's vineyard.

Apparently, people do not identify only with winners. They also identify with warmth, with enthusiasm, with folks who lose a round or two, but who fight on against the odds. There is a great deal of difference between failure and defeat. Failure means giving up, you're through, defeat means you wait for another chance, to come back, to fight the good battle, so I want to make it clear that while some people have said to me "You're a good loser, Hubert," I'm really not - I do not like to lose at all. I know that I personally have been what you call a good loser, only because I have been determined to return for another fight, for another round of action. (Applause)

I once said of Adlai Stevenson, that in defeat in the Presidency, that he brought more honor and decency, and really nobility to the American political process, than the victors. He was a truly remarkable spirit, so I see this out-pouring of affection, which I know is genuine, and I return it with principal and interest, as a symbolic dimension.

It is an affirmation of values and hopes that I share with millions of Americans, that sustain and motivate each of us to do his best, that give vigor and moral direction to our representative institutions. As you heard me say many times, I'm an optimist about this country. There is a vitality, there is a resilience, there is a spirit in the American people that will not be put down. That will not be denied. Public service has confirmed my faith in the potential of the human spirit, its generosity, its idealism, its capacity for growth, its resilience, and its infinite resources.

So it is gratifying, it is more than that, I really don't know the right word, really its exciting to know that this building, which bears my name, will provide facilities for public servants dedicated to the enriching task of advancing the health, the education and the welfare of their fellow Americans. And those might I say many of whom are least able to help themselves. It was once said that the moral test of government is how that government treats those who are in the dawn of life, the children, those who are in the twilight of life, the elderly, and those in the shadows of life, the sick, the needy, and the handicapped.

And ladies and gentlemen let America judge itself on those standards. Not on the Stock Market alone, not only on our Gross National Product, as important as that is, not only on

our material wealth, but rather on those great idealistic and spiritual values which sustain a nation and which brought this nation into being. America is different, the immortal documents that we read, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, just to name a few, remind us that America is different, America represents the merger of spirit and material things, the merger of soul and heart and flesh and body. And I think that we ought to be very proud, that we brought that experiment thus far in human history. Under this roof, and inspired by the leadership of a President and Vice President who are blessed with vision and compassion, are mobilized by a dynamic and determined Secretary, Mr. Califano, new and better efforts to promote human welfare, and human development will be developed and administered.

All of them will move us closer to our goal of insuring to every child the opportunity to grow and develop to his or her fullest potential, to every adult a life of industry and dignity, and to every older American, a twilight of serenity and independence. This is what this little celebration is all about, it shouldn't be about a man, it should be about our commitment and you're here because you believe in this commitment, of a America that is just, and compassionate, and decent, but, you believe that people who want to work

should have a chance to work, you believe that people should have a chance for the pursuit of happiness, and to pursue that happiness, in the blessings of liberty, so that life can be meaningful.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

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Public Papers of the Presidents

National Year of Thanksgiving, 1987

Proclamation 5608.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 148

February 12, 1987

LENGTH: 585 words

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

We, as a people, have been truly blessed, and for these blessings we should be everlastingly grateful to the God to Whose providence this Nation was committed from its very inception. President Washington issued a Thanksgiving Proclamation in 1789 "to recommend to the people of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer to be observed by acknowledging with grateful heart the many signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness."

To remind us of our own rich heritage and the blessings of life in America, 1987 has been designated the National Year of Thanksgiving. It is no coincidence that this is the year in which we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our Constitution.

The early settlers of our country possessed a strength and a conviction based on their faith in God that helped them withstand the rigors and hardships of carving a nation out of wilderness. They laid a firm foundation built on the worth, dignity, and inalienable rights of the individual. For sustaining them and granting them success in bringing forth on this continent a new Nation, they praised the Almighty and His Mercy.

Throughout our history our Presidents have summoned the Nation to continue this tradition of praise and thanksgiving. From George Washington kneeling in the snow at Valley Forge to Abraham Lincoln praying for the preservation of the Union to Franklin Roosevelt expressing confidence the prayers of mankind would bring us through to victory, we have turned with faith and trust to the One Who holds the whole wide world in His hands.

The national celebration of the Bicentennial of the Constitution also gives us an opportunity to remember and honor those who gathered in Philadelphia to forge a document that would provide a blueprint for this great Nation. Benjamin Franklin, the oldest member of the Assembly, reminded his fellow delegates that God had heard their prayers during their struggle for Independence. Should they not remember, he asked, that God governs in the affairs of men? "If a sparrow cannot fall without His notice," he urged them, "how can an empire rise without His aid?"

We look to the future of our Nation in this same spirit. Let us thank God for our constitutional form of government, for our precious freedoms of

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speech, assembly, religion, and the press, and for all those who sacrificed to preserve them in peace and in war for two centuries.

In recognition of the vital role that expressions of thanksgiving play in our national heritage, the Congress, by Public Law 99-265, has designated 1987 as a "National Year of Thanksgiving" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim 1987 as a National Year of Thanksgiving, and I urge all Americans during this year to celebrate and demonstrate our gratitude for God's blessings and to be grateful for our heritage and our future.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of February, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eleventh.

Ronald Reagan

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