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1ST STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Saturday Evening Post
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November, 1987

SECTION: Vol. 259; Pg. 14

LENGTH: 2402 words

HEADLINE: Nothing less will do; We must teach our children to love and honor American liberties

BYLINE: Bauer, Gary L.

BODY:

NOTHING LESS WILL DO

America has been called the land of the free and the home of the brave--the defender of democracy. We were born in freedom and for freedom in our infancy, beginning in 1620, when the first colonists landed on the stern and rockbound coast of Plymouth. Today's history books tragically seem to have lost the thread of that early period, but the poet Felicia Dorothea Hemans summed up in four lines what we need to know about the Pilgrims:

Ay, call it holy ground,

The soil where first they trod!

They have left unstained what there they found--

Freedom to worship God.

--"The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers"

In 1787, Benjamin Franklin said to George Washington as he presided over the Constitutional Convention, "The longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this Truth, that GOD governs in the Affairs of Men. And if a Sparrow cannot fall to the Ground without his Notice, is it probable that an Empire can rise without his Aid?" We know, of course, that no nation does rise without His knowing. And seeing His hand at our nation's birth increases our love for this green and gentle land.

Now it is true that people everywhere tend to have an instinctive love for the land of their birth. But our feelings for this country must and do go beyond that instinctive love one has for the soil. Our love is for an idea--the notion that men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. This notion --truly revolutionary--knows no boundaries. It is the essence of the American dream. In a commencement address at Lincoln University in 1961, Martin Luther King, Jr., summed up the central core of what we are and the vision we offer to all men everywhere. He said: "One of the first things we notice in this dream is an amazing universalism. It does not say some men [are created equal], but it says all men. It does not say all white men, but it says all men, which includes black men. It does not say all Gentiles, but it says all men, which includes Jews. It does not say all Protestants, but it says

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all men, which includes Catholics." This notion inspires men and women the world over, and it threatens those who believe man is a mere creature of the state. We know that no slave master--no totalitarian--can rest easy at night as long as somewhere there are free men and women. Lincoln reminded us that no man is born with a saddle on his back, and none are born with spurs to ride them. I am convinced the world cannot, just as America could not, remain half free and half slave. Either freedom, like a prairie fire, will spread across the globe, or it will be extinguished everywhere. Only when the rights of man are secured everywhere will they reach their maximum security anywhere.

It is this love of our God-given liberty that makes our celebration of independence unique from those of most other nations. All of history has been marked by revolution, but usually only one set of rulers was exchanged for another. Ours was different. It declared that government would have only those powers granted to it by the people. That simple difference--that idea--has shaken every tyrant to his core.

How is it, then, that a nation built on such a revolutionary idea could begin to lose its confidence--to question its value and vision? Unfortunately, in recent years there has been much confusion about the special role of our nation. In the '60s and '70s there arose in some quarters the notion that America was a force for evil, and, although it did not surprise us when our enemies made that claim, it was deeply disturbing to hear some of our fellow citizens give it credence. The worst aspects of those days are behind us now. We do not see our flag being burned on the finest campuses of the country. The streets are no longer filled with radicals clamoring for the defeat of their nation. No longer are the young men and women who answered their country's call and served in Southeast Asia seen as criminals, but as the heroes they are. Yet if you are like me, you may still feel a sense of disquiet. In too many places there is still a fashionable ingratitude shown by some to our country and its institutions. On too many days we open our papers to read that one of our fellow citizens has sold his country's security for a fatter bank account. Too many men and women in positions of leadership seem confused about our nation's value and about the nature of our adversaries.

Does America have flaws? Of course it does. All human enterprises do. But, in a world of famine, boat people, and pervasive injustice, we have much of which to be proud. We must reject the so-called "sophisticates" who find it sufficient to disdain and ridicule our beliefs simply because those beliefs are valued by ordinary Americans.

We must be particularly vigilant in making sure our children understand the great sacrifices that have been made and the special nature of the liberty they enjoy. Unfortunately, there is reason to believe that we sometimes fail in this task.

In the suburbs of Washington, D.C., 51 of 53 children in a gifted and talented class, our "best and brightest," saw no moral difference between the Soviet Union and the United States. I remember vividly a nine-year-old boy in a Maryland elementary school who had just gone through a day-long session on international understanding. A reporter asked him what he had learned, and he replied, "I learned that the Russians aren't the bad guys--that there are no bad guys in the world." I predict that some day that young man, so poorly served by the educational enterprise, will have a rude awakening. He will discover that the world is not suburbia, that it is, in fact, a dangerous place--more like

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the South Bronx at 2 a.m. And he will discover that there are men and women who awake each day hoping to see the destruction of the West, not out of misunderstanding, but because they understand freedom all too well and despise it. There was a depressing story in the Washington Post last year of a meeting of top American highschool students with the children of Soviet diplomats. The Soviet kids ran circles around ours, and before it was over, they had convinced the American children to join them in making a so-called "peace ribbon," which was draped around the Pentagon--which the children concluded was the greatest threat to world peace. Something is terribly wrong when the sons and daughters of totalitarians can intellectually defeat the children of free men and women.

Now, I was tempted as I came across these stories to become angry at the children, but it would be wrong to do so. For these are, after all, our children--they are not any better or any worse than children have ever been. If they are not aware of the special freedoms they enjoy, then perhaps we haven't been aggressive enough in telling them about those freedoms. And, if they seem to be children who have forgotten the past, then perhaps it is because no one has ever taught it to them.

Our children are innocent, and God knows we wish they could remain so forever. But the innocent are easily beguiled. It is not an innocent world, and they need to know that in other places other children are being taught that America is the Great Satan that must be destroyed. It is those children that ours must be prepared to deal with if they are to pass on liberty to their offspring.

Let us then remind ourselves and our children of the special nature of the land we live in. In a world marked by the conquest of the weak by the strong, America occupies no territory. None, that is, except for those cross-and-star-marked plots where our sons, brothers, and fathers lie, eternally gazing into the sky above a hundred far-flung battlefields in lands we liberated.

And what of this nation in victory? Is there another country that has treated its defeated foes as well as we have? We rebuilt their cities, revitalized their industries, and gave to the people of Germany and Japan the chance to share the free institutions they still enjoy today.

There is another way, of course, to remind ourselves of the uniqueness of our land, and that is to count the feet that struggle to reach our free shores. We are a magnet to the oppressed of the world. They come to us fleeing every tyrant. They come in boats from the stormy shores of Vietnam. They come in rafts across the Florida Keys. They cross the hot deserts of the American Southwest. And they are, of course, but the latest examples of the long line of humanity that has risked death for a glimpse of America --for the chance to raise their children in a free land.

We are, as Walt Whitman observed, "a nation of nations." Diversity is a fundamental element of our culture, and one that we rightly celebrate. But we must remember that the "e pluribus unum" that defines us as a nation denotes unity as well as pluralism. There is a time for noting what makes us different, and a time for recognizing what we share.

For love of liberty, our forebears-- colonists, few in number and with little to defend themselves--fought a war for independence with what was then the

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world's most powerful empire. For love of liberty, those who came before us tamed a vast wilderness and braved hardships that at times were beyond the limits of human endurance. For love of liberty, a bloody, heart-wrenching civil war was fought. And for love of liberty, Americans championed and still champion, even in times of peril, the cause of human freedom in far-off lands.

Go with me to a barren, wind-swept point on the northern shore of France, to a time more than 43 years ago. Listen and you will hear the cries of men and the roar of cannons. It is June 6, 1944, and 225 American Rangers, actually boys from Kansas and Alabama, from New York and Tennessee, have just been put on shore with one mission--to climb the sheer and desolate cliffs before them and silence the enemy guns at the top. At the top, crack Nazi defenders stand firing down on these brave men. The struggle is incredible. The Rangers shoot rope ladders over the faces of the cliffs and begin to pull themselves up. When one man is cut down, another takes his place; when a rope is cut, another is secured until finally they seize the high ground and the effort to free Europe from slavery has begun. Of the 225 who landed on that wind-swept beach in 1944, only 90 could bear arms after two days of fighting.

President Reagan went to that beach a few years ago to honor the survivors of that fateful day. In his remarks there is a lesson for us--for the task before us.

"Forty summers have passed since the battle that you fought here. You were young the day you took these cliffs; some of you were hardly more than boys, with the deepest joys of life before you. Yet, you risked everything here. Why? Why did you do it? What impelled you to put aside the instinct for self-preservation and risk your lives to take these cliffs? What inspired all the men of the armies that met here? We look at you, and somehow we know the answer. It was faith and belief; it was loyalty and love.

"The men of Normandy had faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead or on the next. It was the deep knowledge --and pray God we have not lost it--that there is a profound, moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest. You were here to liberate, not to conquer, and so you and those others did not doubt your cause. And you were right not to doubt.

"You all knew that some things are worth dying for. One's country is worth dying for, and democracy is worth dying for, because it's the most deeply honorable form of government ever devised by man. All of you loved liberty. All of you knew the people of your countries were behind you.

"The Americans who fought here that morning knew word of the invasion was spreading through the darkness back home. They thought--or felt in their hearts, though they couldn't know in fact--that in Georgia they were filling the churches at 4 a.m., in Kansas they were kneeling on their porches and praying, and in Philadelphia they were ringing the Liberty Bell.

"Something else helped the men of D-day; their rock-hard belief that Providence would have a great hand in the events that would unfold here, that God was an ally in this great cause. And so, the night before the invasion, when Colonel Wolverton asked his parachute troops to kneel with him in prayer, he told them: 'Do not bow your heads, but look up so you can see God and ask

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His blessing in what we're about to do.' Also that night, General Matthew Ridgway, on his cot, listened in the darkness for the promise of God made to Joshua: 'I will not fail thee nor forsake thee.'"

We are reminded by these words of the task ahead of us in the long struggle that free men and women are destined to wage. John F. Kennedy, in the speech he never delivered in Dallas, intended to say that we are, for better or worse, watchmen on the towers of freedom, and indeed we are. Being watchmen, we have a profound duty.

We must teach our children of these things. They must know who spoke of America as a "shining city upon a hill" and who proclaimed, "Give me liberty or give me death." They should know who declared, "I have a dream," and who said, "I regret I have but one life to give for my country." They should know about our heroes and understand what Lincoln meant when he spoke of patriot graves bound together by mystic cords of memory. They should know what the grand lady on Ellis Island stands for, and why there is a Berlin Wall. They should know what happened on Missionary Ridge, Bunker Hill, and Omaha Beach, and how their liberty was born and nurtured in those places with the blood of their fathers. They should even know of Jonathan and David and Ruth and Naomi. We must teach them to love the things we love and to honor the things we honor. Nothing less will do.

Photo: Gary Bauer is assistant to the President for policy development and chairman of the President's Working Group on the Family. Formerly he served as deputy undersecretary of education in the Reagan Administration. He holds a juris doctor degree from Georgetown University Law School.

SUBJECT: Patriotism, study and teaching; Liberty, appreciation; United States, appreciation

GEOGRAPHIC: United States

LOAD-DATE-MDC: April 25, 1988

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# Churchill & Roosevelt

## The Complete Correspondence

### I. Alliance Emerging

OCTOBER 1933 – NOVEMBER 1942

EDITED WITH
COMMENTARY BY

Warren F. Kimball

Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey

In January 1941 Wendell Willkie, Roosevelt's Republican opponent in the election of 1940, visited England. He was warmly welcomed by Churchill, for both the Prime Minister and the President realized that Willkie represented the internationalist elements in the Republican Party and publicly supported the aid-to-Britain program. The poetry which Roosevelt sent via Willkie was taken from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "Building of the Ship." The letter was in an envelope addresed to "A Certain Naval Person." Churchill initially ordered that the letter and the envelope be reproduced and published, but after the Ministry of Information and U.S. Embassy officials agreed that the salutation on the envelope might raise questions which could be answered only by revealing the earlier Churchill-Roosevelt correspondence, only the letter was released to the press. Actually, Willkie had already shown the envelope to the press and it was quoted in the London *Times*, but no one pressed the matter. (See PREM 4/26/6/684–86.)

## **R–23x**, letter

Washington
January 20, 1941

Dear Churchill

Wendell Wilkie will give you this—He is truly helping to keep politics out over here.

I think this verse applies to you people as it does to us:

"Sail on, Oh Ship of State!
Sail on, Oh Union strong and great.
Humanity with all its fears
With all the hope of future years
Is hanging breathless on thy fate."

As ever yours Franklin D. Roosevelt

[PSF:GB:WSC. *FDR LTRS*, p. 1107. *WSC*, III, 26–27. *R&C*.]

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# WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
# HIS COMPLETE SPEECHES
# 1897–1963

Edited by
ROBERT RHODES JAMES

## Volume
## VII
## 1943–1949

CHELSEA HOUSE PUBLISHERS
*in association with*
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New York and London

1974

UPI

## TO THE U.S. CONGRESS

May 19, 1943

*Washington, D.C.*

*On May 13 the fighting in Tunisia ended in a total Allied victory. On May 16 the R.A.F., in one of the most brilliant exploits of the war, destroyed the Möhne and Eder dams, creating widespread havoc in the Ruhr Valley.*

Seventeen months have passed since I last had the honour to address the Congress of the United States. For more than 500 days, every day a day, we have toiled and suffered and dared shoulder to shoulder against the cruel and mighty enemy. We have acted in close combination or concert in many parts of the world, on land, on sea, and in the air. The fact that you have invited me to come to Congress again a second time, now that we have settled down to the job, and that you should welcome me in so generous a fashion, is certainly a high mark in my life, and it also shows that our partnership has not done so badly.

I am proud that you should have found us good allies, striving forward in comradeship to the accomplishment of our task without grudging or stinting either life or treasure, or, indeed, anything that we have to give. Last time I came at a moment when the United States was aflame with wrath at the treacherous attack upon Pearl Harbour by Japan, and at the subsequent declarations of war upon the United States made by Germany and Italy. For my part I say quite frankly that in those days, after our long—and for a whole year lonely—struggle, I could not repress in my heart a sense of relief and comfort that we were all bound together by common peril, by solemn faith and high purpose, to see this fearful quarrel through, at all costs, to the end.

That was the hour of passionate emotion, an hour most memorable in human records, an hour, I believe, full of hope and glory for the future. The experiences of a long life and the promptings of my blood have wrought in me the conviction that there is nothing more important for the future of the world than the fraternal association of our two peoples in righteous work both in war and peace.

So in January, 1942, I had that feeling of comfort, and I therefore prepared myself in a confident and steadfast spirit to bear the terrible blows which were evidently about to fall on British interests in the Far East, which were bound to fall upon us, from the military strength of Japan during a period when the American and British fleets had lost, for the time being, the naval command of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

One after another, in swift succession, very heavy misfortunes fell upon us, and upon our Allies, the Dutch, in the Pacific theatre. The Japanese have seized the lands and islands they so greedily coveted. The Philippines are enslaved, the lustrous, luxuriant regions of the Dutch East Indies have been overrun. In the Malay Peninsula and at Singapore we ourselves suffered the greatest military disaster, or at any rate the largest military disaster, in British history.

have lived in the United States the better part of their lives. There is reason to believe that many persons born in foreign countries who have declared their intention to become citizens, or who have been fully naturalized, have evaded the military duty required of them by denying the fact. . . . There is also reason to believe that foreigners frequently become citizens of the United States for the sole purpose of evading duties imposed by the laws of their native countries, to which, on becoming naturalized here, they at once repair, and though never returning to the United States, they still claim the interposition of this government as citizens. . . . It might be advisable to fix a limit beyond which no citizen of the United States residing abroad may claim the interposition of his government.

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS
DECEMBER 8, 1863

The right of suffrage has often been assumed and exercised by aliens under pretenses of naturalization, which they have disavowed when drafted into the military service. I submit the expediency of such an amendment of the law as will make the fact of voting an estoppel against any plea of exemption from military service, or other civil obligation, on the ground of alienage.

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS
DECEMBER 8, 1863

## *Altruism*

I hold that while man exists it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating mankind; and therefore, without entering upon the details of the question, I will simply say that I am for those means which give the greatest good to the greatest number.

SPEECH AT CINCINNATI, OHIO
FEBRUARY 12, 1861

Doubleday + Co. Inc., Garden City, N.Y. 1945



It is a cheering thought throughout life tha
done to ameliorate the condition of those wh
to the hard usage of the world.

SPEECH ON COLONIZATION TO A DEPU

## *Ambition*

Every man is said to have his peculiar am
be true or not, I can say for one that I have
as that of being truly esteemed of my fellow
myself worthy of their esteem.

COMMUNICATION
SANGAMO

If you should hear anyone say that Lincol
to Congress, I wish you, as a personal frie
tell him you have reason to believe he is mi

LETTER TO

In this troublesome world, we are never qui

LETTER TO

With *me*, the race of ambition has been a f

FRAGMENT ON S

I do not claim . . . to be unselfish, I do
would not like to go to the United States
such hypocritical pretense.

SPEECH A

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Bob

✓1. porch hall p. 1

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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December 26, 1987, Saturday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 630 words

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Democratic Text

BODY:

Here is the text of the Democratic radio address, delivered Saturday by Rep. Dale Kildee, D-Mich.:

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. I am Congressman Dale Kildee of Michigan. It is my privilege to speak to you on this joyous holiday weekend.

We have recently completed the first year of this historic 100th Congress. 1987 marks the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, the document which has guided our nation through hard times and prosperous times, through war and through peace. The framers of the constitution established the federal government as the one agency and the one instrumentality whose purpose and design is to serve all the people of this nation. I believe the government's role is to promote, protect, defend and enhance human dignity.

Congress should exmamine every bill that comes before it with that in mind. Will it promote human dignity, or will it tend to threaten human dignity? Because Congress is made up of fallible human beings with various points of view, progress toward human dignity is never perfect. But this year, Congres and the president, working together, have made significant progress toward achieving this goal.

The health of our people and their freedom to move about protects their dignity. Earlier in the year, important legislation to protect and improve our water supply, and to maintain and expand our nation's transportation sytem was enacted into law. During this holiday season, when Americans of all faiths gather together to be at home with their families, it is important to remember those among us who have no homes.

Certainly today, as it was true 2,000 years ago, there are people for whom there is no room in the inn. I am very pleased that we have enacted legislation this year to provide almost a billion dollars to help house, educate and feed American men women and children who have fallen on hard times and now find themselves living in our streets without any homes.

In addition, the recent enactment of the first major housing bill since 1980 will affirm our government's commitment to safe and decent housing across America, especially for our elderly and our young people who desire to start a family. By passing and signing this bill, Congress and the president will send

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a clear signal that the federal government will continue to support housing development in our cities, our communities and our neighborhoods.

Over the past few months, we have witnessed some historic steps toward better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. The signing of the INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force) Treaty by President Reagan and Soviet leader (Mikhail S.) Gorbachev marks a major thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations and could lead to major reductions in strategic nuclear weapons, which threaten the continued existence of the human race.

Closer to home, the leaders of the five Central American nations recently agreed to Costa Rican President (Oscar) Arias' plan to end the civil and domestic conflicts which have troubled the countries of that region for a decade. Congress and the president must support a solution in Central America that will truly respect the human dignity of the people of that region.

We in Congress look forward to 1988 with high expectations. We hope to work closely with President Reagan to make his last year in office one of great progress for human dignity. In doing that, we can find guidance in these words of Hubert Humphrey, who said: 'The moral test of a government is how it treats those who are in the dawn of life, the children, those who are in the twilight of life, ~~the~~ our elderly, and those who are in the shadows of life, the ~~sick, the needy,~~ the handicapped.

I pray that each and every one of you and your families have a joyous and a safe holiday.

Minnesota Historical Society
Dallas Lindegren
612 - 296-6980

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3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 20, 1988, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 2734 words

HEADLINE: Jackson Salutes Dukakis, Promises Unity in Party

BYLINE: Paul Taylor, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: ATLANTA, July 19, 1988

BODY:

Jesse L. Jackson capped his historic quest for his party's presidential nomination here tonight with a tribute to the man who defeated him, a commitment to party unity and a call to all who come from backgrounds like his to "Hold on, the morning comes."

"Hold your head high!" Jackson exhorted delegates to the Democratic National Convention at the close of his speech, with advice that also seemed intended for the giver. "Stick your chest out. You can make it. It gets dark sometimes, but the morning comes. Hold on, the morning comes. I know you get tired sometimes. Hold on, the morning comes. Suffering breeds character, character breeds faith, and faith will never disappoint."

Speaking directly to those still stuck in the poverty where he started, Jackson implored them not to despair. "Those of you who are watching this broadcast tonight in the projects, on the corners -- I understand. When you see Jesse Jackson, when my name goes in nomination, your name goes in nomination . . . . Wherever you are tonight, you can make it. Don't you surrender. "

While the televised speech was built around a description of his own journey out of the slums as a metaphor for human triumph, it also had words of praise for the man this same convention will choose as its 1988 presidential nominee over Jackson Wednesday night.

"Tonight I salute Gov. Michael Dukakis," the civil rights leader said. "I have watched a good mind fast at work, with steel nerves, guiding his campaign out of the crowded field without appeal to the worst in us. I have watched his perspective grow as his environment has expanded. I have seen his toughness and tenacity close up, and I know his commitment to public service."

Jackson said that Dukakis' ancestors had come to America on immigrant ships while his "came to America on slave ships. But whatever the original ships, we are in the same boat tonight."

Jackson said he and Dukakis have a common commitment to a "shared national campaign strategy and involvement at every level -- a commitment to new priorities that insure that hope will be kept alive."

The speech was made up of passages Jackson has often delivered in the past year and a half during his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in which he won 7 million votes, double his 1984 total, and nearly 1,200

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delegates, triple his 1984 total.

Jackson spoke to a convention hall so tightly packed that the Atlanta fire marshal closed the doors to people roughly an hour before Jackson spoke. Terry Michel, a convention spokesman, said that 800 to 900 people were kept out, but he said that anyone who was a delegate eventually got in to witness firsthand what many hoped would be the emotional high point of the four-day convention.

One of those who could not squeeze into the hall was Rep. James L. Oberstar (D-Minn.). "For me, it's not as important as it is for a lot of people who have never been involved in the process," Oberstar said. He complained that "access" to the convention was "something we pride the party in, the country in." He criticized "poor planning" by convention officials. "They knew the capacity, the number that goes in and out," Oberstar said.

"If the security is so tight, how are there thousands of people in there that aren't supposed to be in there?" asked George Ellis, a delegate from Tennessee, who said he was shut out of the convention an hour before Jackson began speaking.

As Jackson spoke, the area around the convention hall was eerily quiet as delegates and journalists who could not find seats in the Omni stopped at television sets in hallways and hospitality suites to listen to the speech.

The streets near the Omni were nearly empty, peopled mostly by police and security personnel. The cordoned-off area for demonstrations was deserted. The demonstrators who had gathered here during the day seemed to be elsewhere, listening to Jackson.

The start of Jackson's speech was delayed until 11 p.m. -- more than a half-hour behind the tightly drawn convention schedule. Officials of the Dukakis campaign worked feverishly at the last minute to speed up the program, canceling two speeches by members of Congress and resorting to a hurried voice vote to adopt a platform that included none of the three minority planks that Jackson's campaign had proposed and debated earlier in the day. The purpose was to insure that Jackson's speech at least began in the prime-time slot the television networks had reserved for live convention coverage. All of them showed the entire 50-minute speech.

During the platform debate, the Dukakis campaign showed its muscle by easily defeating Jackson's minority platform planks calling for higher taxes on the wealthy and a policy of "no first use" of nuclear weapons.

The Jackson campaign presented a third minority plank, calling for self-determination for Palestinians, but by prior agreement it was withdrawn after debate without a vote.

The platform fights were a scripted affair with none of the emotion or ideological fireworks of past Democratic conventions. The document itself was a brevity-is-the-soul-of-victory presentation, one-tenth as long as the one approved by Democrats in San Francisco four years ago. It has few policy commitments, no dollar figures and is free of the traditional Democratic laundry list of commitments to every constituent group.

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The 5,200-word platform promises to reverse the "voodoo economics" of the Reagan administration, sustain programs for the needy, link the minimum wage to inflation and keep defense spending "stable" and "restrained."

"The term least common denominator is sometimes used in a pejorative sense, but there's no reason that a platform shouldn't be the baseline things that we all agree on," said Rep. David E. Price (D-N.C.). He added that "with a palpable sense of victory in the air," few in the party wanted to provide any ammunition to the Republican Party.

But they fired anyway. "The objectives of the 1988 Democrat convention and its 'say nothing' platform is to mislead the American people," Republican National Committee Chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr. said in a statement released in Washington. "The Democrats are undergoing, for public consumption only, political plastic surgery which changes only the face of this liberal party, but its heart and soul is still committed to big government and higher taxes. It is like giving Jimmy Durante a nose job -- it doesn't look right and it doesn't smell right."

But neither the Republican attacks nor overnight Nielsen ratings, which showed that viewership of the convention's opening night was down from 1984, could dampen the Democrats' enthusiasm, which was given such a lift by the Dukakis-Jackson peace breakfast Monday morning.

"There's nothing left to do but party," grinned Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.). On this second day of the convention, the Dukakis and Jackson camps began working out ways to integrate their two staffs for the fall campaign; Dukakis paid homage to slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) led the delegates in noisily reciting "Where was George?" as he enumerated Reagan-Bush "mistakes" of the last seven years.

In the debate over Jackson's proposal to raise taxes on the wealthy and on corporations to levels in effect in the late 1970s, the Dukakis camp seemed to revel in its Realpolitik approach to issues that Democratic conventions are accustomed to treating as matters of high principle.

"The proposed amendment is a major distraction from the issue we should be addressing -- that is, do we want to elect Michael Dukakis president," said Denver Mayor Federico Pen

a, one of three speakers assigned by the Dukakis campaign to oppose the plank. "I don't like to throw softballs that an opponent can knock out of the park . . . and this is an easy grand slam for George Bush."

"Mike Dukakis does not want to start his presidency with a tax increase," said Rep. Barbara B. Kennelly (D-Conn.), using an argument that begged for comparison to 1984, when former vice president Walter F. Mondale opened his campaign at the convention in San Francisco with a pledge to raise taxes. Instead, she said, Dukakis should be given the chance to try to collect more than $ 100 billion in taxes owed but not paid every year.

Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins, speaking in support of the proposal, said, "We are told it doesn't make political sense to talk about taxes. We are told you should be vague, and after we win, we'll get down to business. Well, there is one problem with this strategy. The American people

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are not stupid."

The delegates voted 2,492 to 1,091 against the tax plank, a toll that was very close to the committed delegate strength of each camp going into the balloting. Polls taken by various news organizations of the delegates prior to the convention showed that a majority favor higher taxes on the wealthy, but a larger majority said it would be a mistake to write that position into a platform.

Jackson's plank proposing that the Democrats adopt a doctrine of "no first use" of nuclear weapons, a pledge that the United States would never be first to use nuclear weapons in war, was advocated by Robert Nelson, a California astronomer, who said that "historians may debate whether it was justifiable to use atomic weapons in 1945 . . . but . . . there will be no historians to debate the outcome of the next war."

Rep. Louise M. Slaughter (D-N.Y.), speaking against the plank, said, "Saying yes to 'no first use' won't make us safer because it won't eliminate a single nuclear weapon." Earlier in the day, at a forum at the Carter Presidential Center, Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee, warned that a "no-first-use" nuclear weapons policy would "shake the [NATO] alliance to its core."

The Dukakis position prevailed, 2,474.1 to 1,220.6.

For most of today Dukakis remained out of public view. After breakfast with AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, he and his chosen running mate, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (Tex.), visited the Martin Luther King Jr. Center, where Dukakis praised King as a "man of action, a man of inspiration." He also played down his own oratorical gifts, noting that neither he nor Bentsen had "won any blue ribbons" in that department. "After Jesse gets through tonight, none of us will meet the standards" set by him and Texas Treasurer Ann Richards, who delivered Monday night's keynote address, Dukakis said.

As a warm-up for the Jackson speech, delegates heard tonight from Kennedy, himself no stranger to stirring convention speeches. He delighted the delegates in the Omni by reciting a list of administration "mistakes" -- from the Iran-contra scandal to its dealings with Panamanian Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega to its giving tax breaks to segregated schools -- and asked "Where was George?"

He closed with a tribute to King and to his late brother, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.). "We are more than a political coalition, more than a collection of programs, more than the sum of our prospects and our strategies. Most of us, we are trustees of a dream. Twenty years ago, in 1968, we lost two of the most powerful voices of that dream. But they left us their vision, their values, and the hopes they awakened in the countless millions of people whose hearts they touched. We remember them now to remind ourselves that the American journey is not finished -- that we stand for change in order to march again to our enduring ideals, that we do not have to settle for things as they are."

Jackson was introduced by his five children, Jacqueline, Yusef, Santita, Jonathan and Jesse Jr., each of whom took turns praising their father. "My father is an odds-buster," said Jesse Jr.

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As Jackson strode onto the dias with his wife, Jacqueline, the Omni was awash in red as Jackson supporters, many of whom had been given floor seats by Dukakis delegates in a gesture of good will, raised their red Jesse! placards and roared as he gave them his trademark thumbs-up signal.

"Keep hope alive," they chanted.

Then Jackson introduced Rosa Parks, the woman who began the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott in the earliest days of the civil rights effort, who got a standing ovation from the crowd.

He reminded the delegates that "when we do not come together, we never win. In 1968, division and despair in July led to our defeat in November. In 1980, rancor in the spring and summer led to defeat in the fall." The fact that the convention had been able to debate the platform that afternoon without "self-destructing," he said, means that "George Bush is just a little bit further from the White House."

Speaking to the frustrations of some of his supporters because his crusade fell short for the second time in 1988, Jackson gave a passionate plea for cooperation. "This night," he said, "we chose not a false sense of independence . . . . Tonight we chose interdependence, and our capacity to act, to unite for the greater good."

But with all the rhetoric of unity, Jackson paid close attention to class and cultural distinctions, as well. He described his own roots by contrasting them to Dukakis'. "Mike Dukakis' parents were a doctor and a teacher. My parents were a maid and a janitor . . . . His foreparents came to America on immigrant ships. My foreparents came to America on slave ships. But whatever the original ships, we are both in the same boat tonight."

He called for increased taxes on the wealthy -- "those who had the party must pay for the party," he said -- and he delivered his ode to the working poor: "Most poor people are not on welfare, they work hard every day."

Jackson spent his day closeted in his hotel suite, working on his speech. "We are still trying to put it together," he said after his only other appearance of the day, a civil rights breakfast hosted by House Speaker Jim Wright (D-Tex.).

In 1984, Jackson brought tears to the eyes of delegates in San Francisco when he used his prime-time speech to apologize for the "low moments" of his first run for the presidency, a reference primarily to his description of New York City as "hymietown."

"That was not my truest self," Jackson said. "If there were occasions when my grape turned into a raisin of despair and my joy bell lost its resonance, please forgive me . . . . As I develop and grow, be patient. God is not finished with me yet."

Jackson made it increasingly clear this week that he is not finished with politics. He has arranged for his delegates to meet on Friday to discuss their plans for the fall campaign, and for a political action committee that will become his personal vehicle in the future.

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Meanwhile, Dukakis' national field director, Charlie Baker, was meeting with Jackson staff members to determine which of their state directors would join the Dukakis operation. Baker said that he had already selected 35 state directors for the fall campaign, and none was from the Jackson campaign. But he said he expects that several "will be brought in."

In order to make room for Jackson supporters on the Democratic National Committee, its chairman, Paul G. Kirk Jr., announced today that he will recommend the DNC create a fourth vice chairman, one for voter registration and mobilization; add eight at-large seats on the DNC, raising the number of at-large seats to 33 and the number of DNC members to 371; add two seats each to the DNC's standing rules, resolutions and credentials committees, and add three seats to the executive committee. The Jackson campaign was expected to name the new vice chair and the two campaigns are expected to jointly agree on the staffing of the other positions.

Even though the Jackson camp lost the platform fights today, Eleanor Holmes Norton, a Georgetown University law professor who led his platform drafting team, was ready to claim victory long before the vote.

" Jesse Jackson has had a greater impact on this platform than any candidate other than a nominee in memory," Norton said said at a morning news conference. "Our goal was to draft Jackson in the main document as much as possible," she said, and noted with satisfaction that even the title of the document, "The Restoration of Competence and the Revival of Hope," was a wedding of the core themes of each campaign.

Staff writers Maralee Schwartz and Edward Walsh contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, JESSE L. JACKSON ADDRESSING DELEGATES OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION LAST NIGHT IN ATLANTA. DUDLEY M. BROOKS; PHOTO, AP

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ORGANIZATION: DEMOCRATIC PARTY

NAME: JESSE L. JACKSON; MICHAEL DUKAKIS

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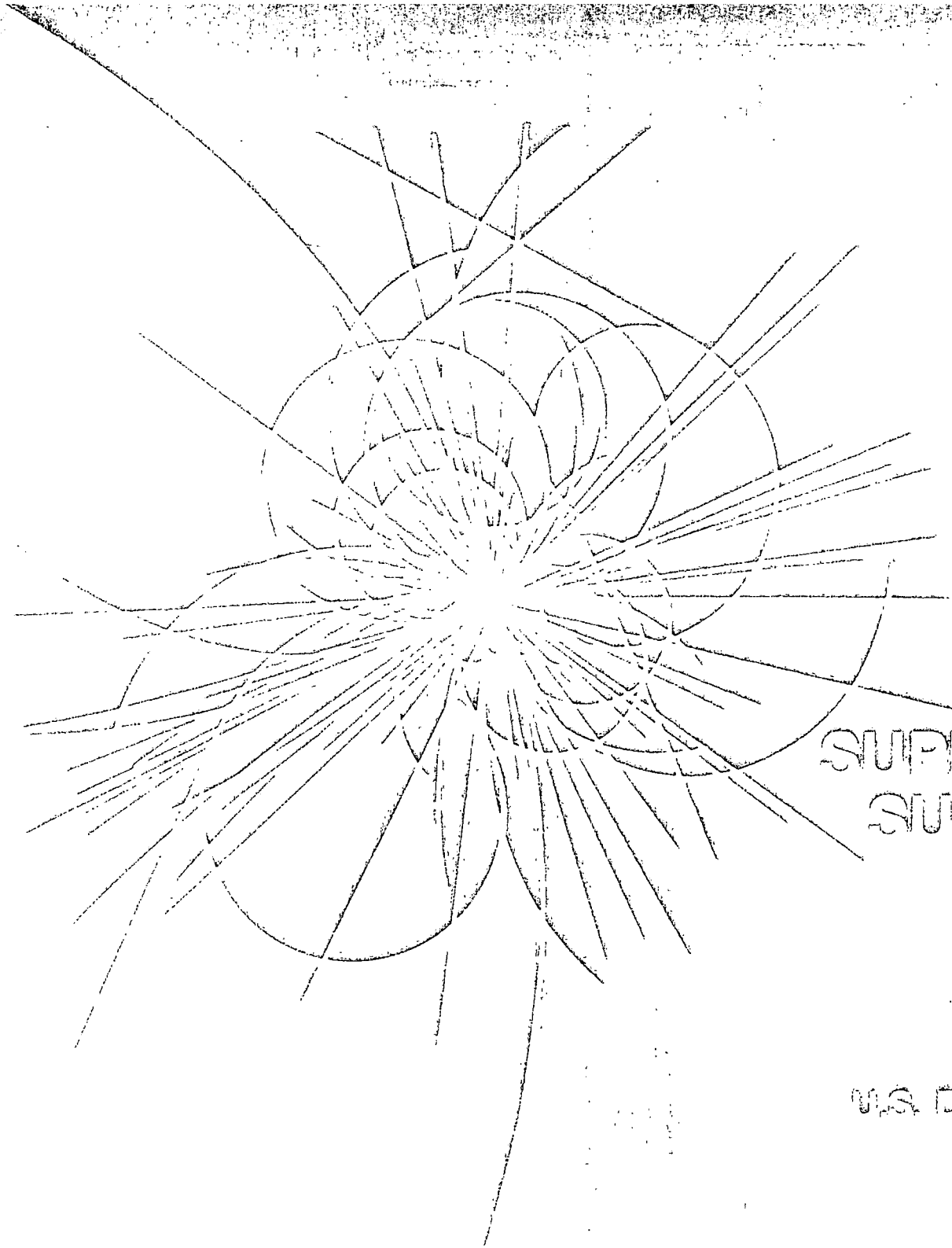

# SUPERCONDUCTING SUPER COLLIDER

APRIL 1988

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

## The Need for the Superconducting Super Collider

- The present generation of high energy physics particle accelerators varies in physical size and particle energy, depending on their research purpose.

- The largest and highest energy accelerator is the Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory's Tevatron, which has an accelerator ring that is four miles in circumference and accelerates protons so that they can collide with each other at energies up to two trillion electron volts.

- From such proton-proton collisions at these energies, scientists are able to explore certain aspects of the interior of protons.

- To continue to make progress in advancing the understanding of the fundamental building blocks of matter, scientists have documented the need for a more powerful accelerator capability by the mid-1990's.

- The SSC would permit proton-proton collisions at energies up to 40 trillion electron volts, which is twenty times the capability of the Tevatron.

- The SSC would thus ensure continued progress in high energy physics research.

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Facts on File World News Digest

July 22, 1988

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HEADLINE: Dukakis-Bentsen Ticket Wins Democratic Nomination;
Excerpts from Rev. Jesse Jackson's Speech

BODY:

Following are excerpts from the speech to the Democratic National Convention July 19 by Democratic presidential candidate Rev. Jesse L. Jackson:

Tonight, we pause and give praise and honor to God for being good enough to allow us to be at this place at this time. When I look out at this convention, I see the face of America, red, yellow, brown, black and white. We are all precious in God's sight -- the real rainbow coalition. All of us -- all of us who are here think that we are seated. But we're really standing on someone's shoulders. Ladies and gentlemen, Mrs. Rosa Parks. The mother of the civil rights movement . . . .

My right and my privilege to stand here before you has been won -- won in my lifetime -- by the blood and the sweat of the innocent . . . .Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. lies only a few miles from us tonight. Tonight he must feel good as he looks down upon us. We sit here together, a rainbow coalition -- the sons and daughters of slavemasters and the sons and daughters of slaves sitting together around a common table, to decide the direction of our party and our country. His heart would be full tonight.

As a testament to the struggles of those who have gone before; as a legacy for those who will come after; as a tribute to the endurance, the patience, the courage of our forefathers and mothers; as an assurance that their prayers are being answered, their work have not been in vain, and hope is eternal, tomorrow night my name will go into nomination for the presidency of the United States of America.

Meeting at the Crossroads

We meet tonight at the crossroads, a point of decision. Shall we exppand, be inclusive, find unity and power; or suffer division and impotence.

We've come to Atlanta, the cradle of the old South, the crucible of the new South.

Tonight there is a sense of celebration because we are moved, fundamentally moved from racial battlegrounds by law, to economic common ground, with the moral challenge to move to higher ground; common ground! . . . Common ground! That's the challenge of our party tonight.

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Left wing. Right wing. Progress will not come through boundless liberalism nor static conservatism, but at the critical mass of mutual survival . . . .

When we divide, we cannot win. We must find common ground as a basis for survival. The day when we debated, differed, deliberated, agreed to agree, agree to disagree, when we had the good judgment to argue a case and then not self-destruct, George Bush was just a little further away from the White House and a little closer to private life.

Tonight I salute Gov. Michael Dukakis. He has run -- He has run a well-managed and dignified campaign.

No matter how tired or how tried, he always resisted the temptation to stoop to demagoguery. I have watched a good mind fast at work, with steel nerves, guiding his campaign out of the crowded field without appeal to the worst in us.

I have watched his perspective grow as his environment has expanded. I've seen his toughness and tenacity close up, knew his commitment to public service . . . .

His foreparents came to America on immigrant ships. My foreparents came to America on slave ships. But whatever the original ships, we are in the same boat tonight . . . .

Our choice? Full participation in a Democratic government or more abandonment and neglect. And so this night, we choose not a false sense of independence, not our capacity to survive and endure. Tonight we choose interdependency, and our capacity to act and unite for the greater good . . . .

Finding Common Ground

We find common ground at the plant gate that closes on workers withoout notice. We find common ground at the farm auction where a good farmer loses his or her land to bad loans or diminishing markets. Common ground at the schoolyard where teachers cannot get adequate pay, and students cannot get a scholarship, and can't make a loan. Common ground at the hospital admitting room, where somebody tonight is dying because they cannot afford to go upstairs to a bed that's empty waiting for someone with insurance to get sick. We are a better nation than that. We must do better than that . . . .

Common ground. America is not a blanket, woven from one thread, one color, one cloth. When I was a child growing up in Greenville, South Carolina, and grandmomma could not afford a blanket, she didn't complain and we did not freeze. Instead she took pieces of old cloth -- patches -- wool, silk, gabardine, crockersack -- only patches, barely good enough to wipe your shoes with. But they didn't stay that way very long. With sturdy hands and a strong cord, she sewed them together into a quilt, a thing of beauty and power and culture. Now, Democrats, we must build such a quilt.

Farmers, you seek fair prices, and you are right -- but you cannot stand alone, your patch is not big enough. Workers, you fight for fair wages, you are right -- but your patch of labor is not big enough. Women, you seek comparable worth and pay equity, you are right -- but your patch is not big enough. Women, mothers, who seek Head Start, and day-care and prenatal care on the front side of life, relevant jail care and welfare on the back side of life, you are

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right -- but your patch is not big enough. Students you seek scholarships, you are right -- but your patch is not big enough.

Blacks and Hispanics, when we fight for civil rights, we are right -- but our patch is not big enough. Gays and lesbians, when you fight against discrimination and a cure for AIDS, you are right -- but your patch is not big enough. Conservatives and progressives, when you fight for what you believe, right wing, left wing, hawk, dove, you are right from your point of view -- but your point of view is not enough.

But don't despair. Be as wise as my grandma. Pull the patches and the pieces together, bound by a common thread. When we form a great quilt of unity and common ground, we'll have the power to bring about health care and housing and jobs and education and hope . . . .We the people can win . . . .

Based on the belief that the rich had too much money -- too little money -- and the poor had too much. That's classic Reaganomics. They believe that the poor had too much money and the rich had too little money so they engaged in reverse Robin Hood -- took from the poor and gave to the rich, paid for by the middle class. We cannot stand four more years of Reaganomics in any version, in any disguise.

How'd I document that case: Seven years later, the richest 1% of our society pays 20% less in taxes. The poorest 10% pay 20% more. Reaganomics.

Reagan gave the rich and the powerful a multibillion-dollar party. Now the party's over, he expects the people to pay for the damage.

I take this principal position: let us not raise taxes on the poor and the middle class, but those who had the party, the rich and the powerful, must pay for the party.

Common Sense in High Places

I just want to take common sense to high places.

We're spending $150 billion a year defending Europe and Japan 43 years after the war is over. We have more troops in Europe tonight than we had seven years ago. Yet the threat of war is ever more remote.

Germany and Japan are now creditor nations, that means they got a surplus; we are a debtor nation, it means we are in debt. Let them share more of the burden of their own defense. Use some of that money to build decent housing. Use some of that money to educate our children. Use some of that money for long-term health care. Use some of that money to wipe out these slums and put America back to work.

I just want to take common sense to high places. We can bail out Europe and Japan. We can bail out Continental Bank and Chrysler and Mr. Iacocca, makes $8,000 an hour, we can bail out the family farmer.

I just want to make common sense. It does not make sense to close down 650,000 family farms in this country while importing food from abroad subsidized by the U.S. government. Let's make sense. It does not make sense to be escorting all our tankers up and down the Persian Gulf paying $2.50 for every $1 worth

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of oil we bring out while oil wells are capped in Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana. I just want to make sense.

Leadership must meet the moral challenge of its day. What's the moral challenge of our day? We have public accommodations. We have the right to vote. We have open housing. What's the fundamental challenge of our day? It is to end economic violence. Plant closings without notice. Economic violence . . . .

Most poor people are not lazy. They're not black. They're not brown. They're mostly white and female and young. But whether white, black or brown, a hungry baby's belly turned inside out is the same color . . . .

Most poor people are not on welfare. Some of them are illiterate and can't read the want-ad section and when they can, they can't find a job that matches the address. They work hard every day. I know, I live amongst them . . . .They catch the early bus. They work every day. They raise other people's children. They work every day. They clean the streets. They work every day . . . .No, they're not lazy. Someone must defend them because it's right and they cannot speak for themselves . . . .

We need a real war on drugs. You can't just say no. It's deeper than that. You can't just get a palm reader or an astrologer. It's more profound than that.

We are spending $150 billion on drugs a year. We've gone from ignoring it to focusing on the children. Children cannot buy $150 billion worth of drugs a year. A few high-profile athletes, athletes are not laundering $150 billion a year. Bankers are.

I met children in Watts who unfortunately in their despair, their grapes of hope have become raisins of despair and they're turning on each other and they're self-destructing.

They say we don't have Saturday night specials anymore. They say we buy AK47s and Uzis, the latest make of weapons. We buy them across the counter on Long Beach Boulevard. You cannot fight a war on drugs unless, until you're going to challenge the bankers and the gun sellers and those who grow them. Don't just focus on the children. Let's stop drugs at the level of supply and demand . . . .

The Moral Challenge

Leadership must face the moral challenge of our day. In the nuclearage, buildup is irrational. Strong leadership cannot desire to look tough and let that stand in the way of the pursuit of peace.

Leadership must reverse the arms race. At least we should pledge no first use. Why? Because first use begets first retaliation. And that's mutual annihilation. That's not a rational way out . . . .

When Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev met there was a big meeting. They represented together one-eighth of the human race. Seven-eighths of the human race was locked out of that room . . . .

We're losing ground in Latin America, Middle East, South Africa because we're not focusing on the real world -- that real world. We must use basic

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principles . . . .Support human rights, we believe in that. Support self-determination, we're built on that. Support economic development, you know it's right . . . .

I am often asked, Jesse, why do you take on these toughies? They're not very political. You can't win that way. If an issue is morally right, it will eventually be political. It may be political and never be right . . . .

We can win. We must not lose to the drugs and violence, premature pregnancy, suicide, cynicism, pessimism and despair. We can win. Wherever you are tonight, now I challenge you to hope and to dream. Don't submerge your dreams. Exercise above all else -- even on drugs, dream of the day you are drug-free. Even in the gutter, dream of the day that you will be up on your feet again. You must never stop dreaming . . . .

Dream of peace. Peace is rational and reasonable. War is irrational...and unwinnable.

And I was not supposed to make it. You see, I was born of a teenage mother, who was born of a teenage mother. I understand. I know abandonment, and people being mean to you, and saying you're nothing and nobody and can never be anything. I understand . . . .

Wherever you are tonight, you can make it. Hold your head high. Stick your chest out. You can make it. It gets dark sometimes, but the morning comes. Don't you surrender. Suffering breeds character, character breeds faith, in the end faith will not disappoint.

You must not surrender. You may or may not get there but just know that you're qualified and you hold on and hold out. We must never surrender.

America will get better and better. Keep hope alive. Keep hope alive. Keep hope alive for tomorrow night and beyond. Keep hope alive. I love you very much. I love you very much.

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 2, 1989

TO: BOB GRADY

FROM: Bob Simon

RE: Speech to Congress

More oxymorons:

epic mini-series
negative growth
well-preserved ruins
fresh frozen
non-working mother
random order
elementary calculus
nightly special
freezer burn
working vacation
short business meeting
confirmed skeptic
mandatory option
transparent cover-up
efficient bureaucracy
friendly banker
living fossil
black light
soft rock
safety razor
tangible thought
casual sex
honest thief
light heavyweight
heavy metal music
normal teenager
airline food
genuine imitation

# U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

## OFFICE OF ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS

### TELEFAX

DATE: 2/6/89 TOTAL PAGES: 3

FAX NO: (202) 586-2062 FTS 896-2062

CONFIRM. NO: (202) 586-2061 FTS 896-2061

TO: NAME: Bob Simon

LOCATION: Rm. 1114 2 OEOB - Telephone - 456-773

FAX NO: 456-2461

FROM: NAME: David Moses

PHONE NO: 586-2061

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

2/5/89 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:

architect of the Capitol Tom Ward

West Terrace

Less than three weeks ago, I joined you on the ~~porch~~ of this very building and 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 -- plans for building a better America. The hand remains extended, the sleeves are rolled up, the American people are full of hope, and now it is time to produce. Let's get to work.

It is somewhat comforting to return tonight to this historic chamber. It was here, twenty-two years ago, that 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 candid and best judgement about ways to improve our common future.

In return, I ask for an honest commitment to our common mission of progress. For there will be praise aplenty if we meet the challenges and seize the opportunities on the road before us. It is only the dead end of inaction that will leave us bickering and bitter. My friends, that choice is easy: let's choose the path of cooperation.

It is also somewhat daunting to stand in chamber, on this podium, where so many great statesmen have stood before. Churchill. Roosevelt. MacAurthur. Kennedy. And yes, Ronald Reagan. Many of them faced times of great crisis. War. Depression. Loss of national sprit.

Eight years ago, Ronald Reagan stood here before you and spoke of despair across the land, of punishing inflation and interest rates at absurd 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. Our economy, now in a record 74th month of expansion continues to grow. Our people are working. The effort to control the size and bite of government begun in the last Administration was correct.

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

But I am a reformer. I propose to take a strong America -- and make it even better.

My friends, tonight is a night for some straight talk.

We meet tonight at a time when Federal spending has increased by over a trillion dollars during the past 25 years. That's a compound annual growth rate of 9.5% -- almost double the rate of inflation in a period when inflation itself was quite high.

Despite all the efforts we've made to hold the line on spending growth in these last eight years, despite all the

talk of budget "cuts", spending grew by 6% in fiscal year 1988 and 7% in fiscal year 1989.

I'm sorry to disappoint those who measure government progress by the dollars thrown at a problem, but when the increase alone in annual spending is over a trillion dollars in just a quarter century, it's time to catch our breath, take stock and make sense out of what we have, and give revenues driven by economic growth a chance to catch up.

So the budget I am submitting to you tonight has three broad features: a freeze in most federal spending, attention to urgent priorities and investments for the future, and no new taxes.

We simply don't have the luxury of taking the easy, spendthrift approach to solving problems because a return to reckless spending and higher taxes would smother the economic growth that makes all other progress possible.

In the next fiscal year, under current law with no changes, revenues will grow by over $82 billion dollars. That's an increase of almost 8-1/2 percent. That should be enough to finance our priorities. If it's not, our priorities are out of control.

We must recognize that growth above inflation in Federal programs is not preordained by nature, that not all spending initiatives were designed to be immortal. And rather than being hostage to the inexorable march of higher spending, we should be driven by priorities. That is our task -- to do what is important, but only what is important;

to invest prudently in the future, but not be slaves to the past; to manage government better, but not be managed by government.

On a church in Sussex, England, there is an inscription -- carved in stone more than two centuries ago -- that fits our situation tonight. It says:

"A vision without a task is but a dream; a task without a vision is drudgery; a vision with a task is the hope of the world."

So let me tell you about my vision.

It is a vision as old as our republic -- driven by the premise that government exists to serve the people.

I believe that low taxes help generate economic growth, and that people work best when freed from too much government interference.

I believe in giving Americans greater freedom and greater choice -- and I will work for greater 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 -- and I will work to knock down the barriers left by past discrimination, and to build a more

tolerant society that will stop such barriers from ever being built in the future.

I believe that family and faith represent the moral compass of the nation -- and I will work to make them strong, for as Lincoln said: "If a sparrow cannot fall without His notice, can a great nation rise without His aid?" (He notes the fall of a sparrow and numbers the hair of our heads; and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him.")

And I believe in giving people the power to make their own lives better -- through growth and opportunity for all -- and I will work to put power in the hands of people.

That is the vision which guides me, and which I hope will guide our investments over these next four years.

I say invest in our priorities -- so let's talk about what those priorities should be.

Priority one: let's make sure America remains the greatest, most productive nation on earth.

We should begin to invest now -- prudently at first, and increasing as resources in coming years allow -- in key priorities that will make us more competitive as a nation in the future.

That means continuing America's leadership in the knowledge business. So I propose an increase of over $300 million in basic research. I propose to make permanent the tax credit for research and development. And I would like to strengthen the role which science and technology considerations now play in our national policy deliberations. I intend to upgrade the director of the

Check
Treasury of Lincoln Quotations, compiled & edited by Fred Kerner Doubleday & Company, Inc. Garden City, NY, 1965, p. 123
letter to John D. Johnston Jan. 12, 1851

office of science and technology policy to the position of Assistant to the President.

He or she will have direct ~~assess~~ access to me. And improving our knowledge base and applying it well will move to the top rung of national concerns.

I would like to take one additional step in this area. When I was Vice President, I chaired a Task Force on Regulatory Relief which was intended to help sort through the thicket of government regulatory activity to determine which rules were hurting private productive activity, and which were helping.

Tonight, I would like to revive that task force, and expand its mission. Vice President Quayle is knowledgeable not only about regulation, but particularly about ways to use education and training programs to improve the skills of the American workforce. I will ask the Vice President to chair a Task Force on Competitiveness, which will incorporate both missions -- regulatory reform, and training for the workforce.

We will make sure that America is ready for the decade ahead -- and the century ahead.

I'd like to say a word about one area in which there is a special opportunity for American leadership. That area is space exploration. Over the past 30 years, NASA has helped open the space frontier for knowledge, for commerce, and for all mankind.

The need to search and explore rests deep within mankind, ennobling his spirit. The excitement that permeated the space program in the 1960s must be reborn in us all. For as one poet put it, "If [illegible] reach must exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?"

I am committed to a strong space program. I will pursue the manned space station with as much speed as possible. I will pursue an aggressive schedule of space shuttle launches. And in the budget revisions I am submitting to you tonight, I propose an increase of almost $2.4 billion for space activity.

Space builds jobs on earth, advances American competitiveness, and pushes civilization to new plateaus of knowledge and understanding. In this President, the space program has a friend and enthusiast.

A final project vital to our continued world leadership in science and technology is the superconducting super collider -- the world's most powerful atom smasher, that will produce an energy 20 times greater than the ~~highest~~ largest ~~energies available~~ in ~~the world~~ America today.

My friends, working with the host state, and with our allies, we should build the SSC. And we should build it fast.

I ask tonight for the cooperation of the Congress in enacting the most important competitiveness program of all -- a package of bills to improve education in America.

We must reward excellence, and cut through bureaucracy. We must help those schools that need help most. We must give choice to parents, students, teacher, and principals. And we must hold all concerned accountable -- we cannot tolerate mediocrity in this of all things.

In my budget I ask you to begin this year a $500 million program to reward America's best schools -- "merit schools" -- and to give incentives to other schools to match their excellence.

I ask for the creation special Presidential awards for excellent teachers in every state. Teaching is a noble profession, with its own unique rewards to be sure. But excellence in teaching, like excellence elsewhere, should be recognized and rewarded with tangible benefits. I will set that tone from the top. These awards will come from the President.

And if comptetitiveness is a priority, we must focus particularly on science education. I ask you to create a new National Science Scholars program to give incentives to the best students in science and mathematics. I propose that each member of the House and Senate select one scholar per year to reward the best in these critical fields -- and then to help them to college, bring them into our labs in the summer, and cultivate the talent that America needs for the challenges ahead.

I have other proposals. Magnet schools. A new effort to let those with talent and expertise in all fields become certified to teach. Incentives for innovation 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."

and let me repeat,

Let's turn to a second priority: drugs -- this scourge must stop.

I believe we should act now with dispatch to fight with all our power the devastating enemy of drugs. That means treatment. Prevention. Interdiction. Law Enforcement. Tough penalties and zero tolerance.

I'd like us to be noted in history for something else as well. Let this be recorded as the time when America rose up and said "no" to drugs.

2 weeks ago

Just last week, as I settled into this new office, I received a letter which moved me. It was 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, whom we had raised, 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 he has chosen cocaine."

"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 tought 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 23 million Americans used illegal drugs last

year -- at a staggering cost to our nation's well-being. We must respond.

I am asking tonight for an increase of three-quarters of 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 time a user must wait to get into a treatment program. When the problem is diagnosed, we should not wait to treat it. The costs are too high.

Some will be used to educate the young -- from kindergarten through college, about the dangers of drugs. But this area is not the sole province of government. We must involve parents. We must involve teachers. We must involve communities. And my friends, we must involve ourselves.

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.

But drugs are more than a health crisis, or a moral crisis, or an international supply crisis. They represent a

criminal crisis as well, and I mean to get tough on the 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.

But I also want to make sure that when a drug dealer is convicted, there is a cell waiting for him -- and not a federal court order allowing him to go free because of prison overcrowding. So a top priority in this budget is a request for funding to construct almost 7,000 new bedspaces in our prisons this year.

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

One problem related to drug use demands our urgent attention and our continuing compassion. That is the terrible tragedy of AIDS -- and my friends, we <u>are</u> going to solve this problem.

This, too, is more than a priority. It's a national emergency. It's a <u>war</u>. But let me be clear: the war is against the <u>disease</u> -- <u>not</u> against its unfortunate victims.

I am asking for a major commitment both for education to <u>prevent</u> the disease -- and for expanded research to find a <u>cure</u>.

I am asking for a $1.6 billion program to attack the problem of AIDS -- not because I believe in throwing money at the problem, but because -- even in the face of tragedy

-- I am an optimist. We conquered a frontier and put a man on the moon. Now we must solve this frightening and terrible puzzle -- and my friends, we can do it.

I believe we have certain special obligations -- to improve the quality of life in America, to care for the poor, to meet head on those pressing problems that bring tragedy to our society. In short, to create a kinder, gentler America -- and that's the priority I'd like to turn to now.

My friends, our environment -- the world's environment -- is in trouble. And we need a new attitude. A new era of global environmental cooperation. A new commitment to act now -- because the price of acting later is to great to calculate or even contemplate.

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. And I ask you to work with me to enact such a bill this year.

David Moses DOE 586-2061

One path to clean air is through cleaner use of coal -- and my commitment to a new bill is matched by our 1987 commitment to our neighbors in Canada to proceed with ~~the~~ development of new clean coal technology ~~agreement we signed in 1987~~. I will keep that agreement on schedule.

yes

David Moses DOE 586-2061

I believe we should expand our parks. So I am asking for a major increase over President Reagan's budget to fund acquistions under the land and water conservation fund. Our

parks, forests, and fisheries are among America's most valuable resources. We should protect those that are most valuable. And we should place our priority on those which the people will use -- because parks should be for people.

We must protect our coastlines. And one item in the package before you calls for a firm commitment to crack down and the enactment of new penalties against those who would dump medical waste and other trash in our precious oceans. The age of the needle on the beach must be made a sad relic of the past.

In some cases, the oceans off our shores hold the promise of reserves of oil and gas which can make our nation more secure. When these can be tapped safely, we should proceed. But we must use caution and we must respect the environment.

So tonight I am calling for the indefinite postponement of two lease sales which have raised troubling questions -- lease sale 91 off the coast of northern California and lease sale 115, which could threaten the Everglades in Florida. And I am asking for delay in a third, lease sale 95 off the beautiful beaches of southern California.

Action on these three lease sales will await the conclusions of a special task force set up to measure the potential for environmental damage. Our oceans and coastlines are too valuable to be put at risk.

And I want to protect our groundwater. So 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 those who make them necessary. And I will get them.

Ed Kline E.P.A. 382-6261

We as a people must waste less. ~~We are filling landfills faster~~ We produce more waste than any country in the world. The government can put in place programs to find the best techniques to reduce waste -- and it will. But responsibility for cutting this problem begins at home, with every American, in every community in the nation. We are going to have to live more responsibly if we are to live more safely.

That individual responsibility is matched by a national responsibility. The United States must lead the search for a new international consensus on protecting the planet. Good work is sprouting up in laboratories and offices around the globe, but we know that our leadership can pull it together and forge the will to act. The Bush Administration is ready to lead.

Hubert Humphrey check.

A kinder and gentler nation is one that shows compassion for what one of your former colleagues identified as "those in the dawn of life, the young, those in the twilight of life, the elderly, and those in the shadows of life, the poor." ((check))

Our first obligation is to the most vulnerable -- infants, pregnant women, children living in poverty -- and

my proposed budget recognizes this. It contains full funding for the Medicaid expansions you have recently enacted -- an increase of over $3 billion, offering more help for young mothers and their babies, for poor children, and incentives for those who are trying to get off welfare and go to work.

It is our offered hand to those most in need.

To the children of America, we owe the responsibility to see that they have care -- even if their parents work. And the fact is that most parents -- men and women -- do work.

Diane Herz B.L.S. 74.9% of parents work 523-1944

I believe we should help those who need it most -- low-income families with young children -- and I propose a child care tax credit that will aim our efforts at exactly those families.

Now, I know there are competing proposals. But remember this: ~~90% of all~~ over 75% of preschool (5 & under) (~76%) child care is currently provided by neighbors and relatives, ~~churches and community groups~~ or babysitters in the home. Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice.

Census Date compiled by Sandy Hoffeth the Urban Institute 857-8617

Perhaps the saddest case are those children who have no parents with whom to live. For these foster children, I believe we should encourage adoption -- not only by increasing adoption assistance and other benefits; but also by restoring -- and doubling -- the tax deduction for adoption costs.

Adoption is too often complicated and discouraging -- and yet millions of parents want it and millions of children need it. We have a moral responsibility to act.

We have a moral contract with our senior citizens -- so let me state clearly one feature of this proposed budget. Social Security is fully funded. It is off limits for budget cutters and budget raiders. Those who have earned their Social Security benefits will receive a full cost-of-living adjustment.

Of all those in the shadows of life, the plight of the homeless is the most visible, and the most tragic. The causes of homelessness are many, the history is long, buyt the moral imperative to act is clear.

Thanks to the deep well of generosity in this great land, many organizations already contribute -- and contribute greatly. To them, we all owe thanks.

But we in government cannot stand on the sidelines -- not in the face of this national shame. Greater support is needed for emergency food and shelter, for health services and measures to prevent substance abuse, and for clinics for the mentally ill. In my budget I ask for such funds -- and I propose a new initiative as well which involves each arm of government joining the private sector to do what it does best -- everyone involved helping out and pitching in. In total, I propose over a billion dollars totaI to confront in a forceful way the problems of the homeless.

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. Tackled forthrightly, they can be put behind us. So my budget contains recommendations to attend to problems from the past and manage government better in the future.

Earlier this week, I announced my support for a package of initiatives to correct the problems widespread in our savings and loan industry, and to restore the financial integrity of institutions which are responsible for the public's deposits.

Certainly, the savings of Americans must remain secure -- insured depositors must be protected. But any package to refinance the system must be accompanied by a major structural reform of the system to prohibit reckless practices and prevent with certainty such problems from surfacing in the future.

The most effective -- and absolutely necessary -- answer to the S&L crisis can be summed up in two words: never again.

Similarly, we face an obligation of substantial proportions in cleaning up the waste generated by decades of unsafe environmental practices at those plants around the country which produce the nuclear weapons vital to our national security.

Clearly, we must modernize these plants and operate them safely. That is not at issue -- we didn't come this

far to unilaterally disarm because we couldn't manage our production facilities properly. But there are two larger issues.

First, we must clean up the mess -- 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.

But beyond that, we must peer deep into our system, identify its faults, and put them to an end. I have asked the Secretary of Energy to examine and if necessary overhaul the management of these programs. In the future, the Federal government will produce the weapons it needs -- to be sure -- but in so doing, it will meet or exceed the environmental standards it requires of others.

But weapons production, of course, is but one small part -- albeit an important one -- of our entire defense mission. We have been fortunate during these past eight years. Thanks to President Reagan's leadership, and your support, 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 achieved through strength. The American people understand this -- they unambiguously support the policy of stregth

that has characterized our efforts during the past eight years. They support continued modernization of our forces, continued realism in understanding threats around the world, and continued caution in dealing with our adversaries. It is our mission and our constitutional duty to provide these things -- for they are essential to defending the security of our nation.

But the people are entitled to receive full value for the tax dollars they provide the government -- and it is our mission, too, to give them that.

It is by now no secret that the Pentagon can be managed better. We need efficient and honest procurement. We need a more sane, long-range budgeting process. We need to reform the system along the lines suggested by the Packard Commission. And, my friends, as Commander-In-Chief, I can tell you that we shall have them.

Tonight, I am directing the Secretary-designate of Defense to report to me, within 60 days, with his plans to revise Pentagon procurement practices.

With such reforms, because of President Reagan's success in leading the restoration of our military strength during the years just passed, I believe we will be able to hold the rate of growth in the military budget to the inflation rate -- and that is the level of increase I have proposed in the budget I am sending to you tonight.

As you know, this represents a cut in the defense budget from the request submitted to you by President Reagan

last month. But I should be clear on the conditions attached to this freeze on the real growth of defense:

- 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 an overall agreement on the budget, including reform of the unwieldy budget process, that meets the targets spelled out in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law, without raising taxes; and

- this defense budget freeze must be achieved in a way that does not hurt our national security -- that is, it must be achieved through better efficiency, and not by undermining our basic defense preparedness.

If these three conditions cannot be met, we will have no choice but to seek the higher defense budget increases originally contemplated.

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 make gentler the face of the world.

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 remarkable and 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 the world's most 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.

The spread and even use of other kinds of arms threatens global stability as never before. We have an obligation to face up to such proliferation.

Chemical weapons must be banned from the face of the earth, never to be used again.

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. I pledge to support the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons. In my view, its regime must be strengthened. The world's safety depends on it.

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.

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. And we are carving this indelible message on the tablet that marks this era, and all that will follow: freedom works.

So we have every reason to be optimistic. But optimism is not the only ingredient required in our recipe for securing a more peaceful world. Realism is just as vital.

Here in our own hemisphere, for example, 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 peace and freedom.

Relations with our allies, whether in Europe or Asia, are also complex. The alliance of democracies must rededicate itself to its shared ideals -- and not let the temptation to protectionism drag us into disputes that will be destructive for all concerned.

We must join our allies in forming a New Compact, updated to reflect the changing relationships of our times. The need is particularly acute in Western Europe -- where the armies of the East and West still face each other, although we are committed to reducing them -- where the Iron Curtain still divides the continent, although the rustlings behind its facade are unmistakable -- where the Berlin Wall still stands, although we will not rest until the day it comes down.

I have therefore asked the Secretary of State to visit Europe next week and consult with our allies on two critical issues:

- first, a common policy toward arms modernization and arms control; and

- second, a common policy toward East-West economic relations.

As we push to be the force for constructive change in the world, let's make sure we do it in concert with our allies.

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 defense of the Constitution, must sometimes act alone. But the system of checks and balances works best when the President and Congress work together.

Bipartisanship does not mean agreement on every issue, or cessation of argument. In a free society, that is neither possible nor desirable. But it does mean that we respect each other -- and we all work for hte national interest. It means that we consult with each other -- that we take off together and land together.

Let me suggest a first step, in an area that has proven divisive -- covert action. Covert action tests the very essence of democratic government -- the need for secrecy and speed versus the need for consultation and legal procedure -- both vital to the national interest. I will soon sign

an Executive Order to bring order to this tension -- to provide a better mechanism for consultation between the Executive Branch and Congress. The point is this: Congress will be properly informed of covert actions.

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

Let the actions of our government, in this hall and in the Oval Office, show that America will not shrink from its responsibility to be the engine of growth and the beacon of hope.

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 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. It was he, Abraham Lincoln, who said it best:

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

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

I ask this of every American in every corner of every city and town. Not just to those who work in government, although to them I say this: remember to whom your duty is owed: the public whose work supports your efforts. Set high standards for yourselves as the guardians of the public trust.

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. To avoid the temptation of quick and easy paper profits. And to think instead of your role in our long, continuing national mission -- a mission of greatness, of hope, of leadership and strength.

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. I am proposing tonight one channel for your efforts -- it's called YES, for Youth Entering Service to America.

My dream is that national service will be looked on as a badge of honor -- an integral part of a citizen's commitment to his or her country.

To the brave men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America -- thank you. I ask you to remember that 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 farmers of America -- we ask for the remarkable bounty you continue to provide, though challenged by nature, economics, and the inexorable march development. The farm economy is coming back -- but we will work with you to open foriegn markets, and to work toward the day when no nation unfairly subsidizes its products to the detriment of others.

Michael Jackson Cabinet Affairs cleared with Ag. Dept.

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 the kids in the cities -- don't give up hope. Say no to drugs. Stay in school. I ask you not to despair because of the mess our generation seems to have left. I have some ideas for bringing new opportunity to the cities.

We're going to create urban enterprize zones to bring jobs and hope to places where now there is neither. I am asking for up to 70 zones over the next four years.

We're going to increase Head Start to give your little brothers and sisters a fair chance at the starting line. We're going to crack down on the drug dealers.

But above all -- and I'm going to steal a phrase here -- "Don't you surrender, because you can make it."

To those 37 million Americans with some form of disability -- you belong in the economic mainstream. We need your talents in America's workforce. I will shortly set up a task force, in the White House, to start knocking down those barriers that sometimes keep you out. I ask that you become full partners in the opportunity society we're trying to build.

To the families of America, watching tonight in your living rooms. Hold fast to your dreams. We will work to build a goverment here in Washington that encourages economic growth, that keeps the nation secure and provides for the needy, that helps improve our schools and colleges and cleans up our environment, but ultimately America's future rests in your hands.

I ask you to keep on working. To save some for the next generation. And most of all, to believe in America, because we are the greatest, freest nation on the face of the earth, and it is only your actions that will keep us that way.

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 ultimately create more jobs.

Beyond that, it is the right thing to do. It is morally indefensible for us to spend funds today that rightfully belong to those who now have no vote --- the generations to come.

I make this pledge tonight: I and my team are prepared to work with the Congress, to negotiate in good faith, to work day and night -- if that's what is required -- to meet the budget targets set forth in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law which has helped bring that deficit down -- and to produce a budget <u>on time</u>.

Government by continuing resolution -- or government by crisis -- won't do. The people didn't send us here to stay up all night and cram our priorities into a fat and unwieldy budget that looks like a hastily prepared final exam. They sent us here to produce. And my friends, it <u>can</u> be done.

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.

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

Book of Days;

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.

But to those timid souls, I repeat Churchill's plea -- give us the tools; and we will finish the job.

Thank you, and God bless you.

# # # # # # # #

(BS)

((Grady; 2/8/89, 10:30 am))

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

Bob

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 Terrace 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. We must show we can work as one -- together, we can build a better America. And now, let's get to work.

It is comforting to return tonight 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 work together to 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.

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's Address to Congress 2/19/81

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 our deficit, and no new taxes.

I 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.

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 priorties 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.

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.

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

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

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.

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 Lincoln said: "If a sparrow cannot fall 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. Together, let's put power in the hands of people.

Three weeks ago, we celebrated the bicentannial 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 think about the future. Leadership in technology is critical to America's future. We must increase productivity. So tonight:

- I propose a $360 million increase in basic research for the National Science Foundation that will keep us on track to double its budget by 1993;

- 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 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 space 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.

- I propose that we cut the maximum tax rate on capital gians 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.

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.

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 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. For the last 10 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 23 million Americans used illegal drugs last year -- at a staggering cost to our nation's well-being.

And let this be recorded as the time when America rose up and said "no" to drugs. <u>The scourge of drugs must stop.</u>

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. So another priority in this budget is funding to construct some 7,000 new bedspaces in our prisons this year.

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 development of clean coal technologies -- fulfilling a commitment we have made to Canada. And that is a commitment we intend to meet.

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 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 two lease sales which have raised troubling questions -- one off the coast of northern California and one which could threaten the Everglades in Florida. And I am asking for delay in a third, off the coast of southern California.

Action on these three lease sales will await the conclusions of a special task force set up to measure the potential for environmental damage. Our oceans and coastlines are too valuable to be put at risk.

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 those who make them necessary. Let's clean up the dumps and throw the book at the polluters.

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 of all preschool child care is provided by neighbors and relatives, or babysitters in the home. Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice.

And for 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 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 a plan to restore the financial and moral integrity of of our savings and loan system. I ask Congress to enact our refrom proposals promptly

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. And 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.

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.

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.

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 reduce our reliance on offensive nuclear weapons for deterrence -- and I support a greater role for strategic defense 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.

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

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:

"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.

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."

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 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. <u>But let us produce</u>.

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.

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. 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 repeat the plea -- give us the tools; and we will do the job.

Thank you, and God bless you.

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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| Document No. and Type | Subject/Title of Document | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01. Letter | Gwendolyn Reese Williams to POTUS, re: The American Dream. (3 pp.) | 01/19/1989 | P-6, (b)(6) | |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records
**Office:** Speechwriting, White House Office of
**Series:** Speech File, Backup
**Subseries:**
**WHORM Cat.:**
**File Location:** Address to Joint Session of Congress 2/9/89 [2]

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|---|---|
| **Date Closed:** 9/21/2004 | **OA/ID Number:** 06853 |
| **FOIA/SYS Case #:** | |
| **Re-review Case #:** 2004-2265-S | |
| **P-2/P-5 Review Case #:** | |
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**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

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**P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]**
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**P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]**
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# TRANSFER SHEET
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| FILE FOLDER TITLE:<br>Address to Joint Session of Congress [2]<br>2/9/89 [OA 6853] | |
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| RECEIVED BY:<br>Mary Finch | DATE RECEIVED<br>5/31/96 |

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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 porch of this very building and 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 -- plans for building a better America. The hand remains extended, the sleeves are rolled up, the American people are full of hope, and now it is time to produce. Let's get to work.

It is somewhat comforting to return tonight to this historic chamber. It was here, twenty-two years ago, that 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 candid and best judgement about ways to improve our common future.

In return, I ask for an honest commitment to our common mission of progress. For there will be praise aplenty if we meet the challenges and seize the opportunities on the road before us. It is only the dead end of inaction that will leave us bickering and bitter. My friends, that choice is easy: let's choose the path of cooperation.

It is also somewhat daunting to stand in chamber, on this podium, where so many great statesmen have stood before. Churchill. Roosevelt. MacAurthur. Kennedy. And yes, Ronald Reagan. Many of them faced times of great crisis. War. Depression. Loss of national sprit.

Eight years ago, Ronald Reagan stood here before you and spoke of despair across the land, of punishing inflation and interest rates at absurd 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. Our economy, now in a record 74th month of expansion continues to grow. Our people are working. The effort to control the size and bite of government begun in the last Administration was correct.

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

But I am a reformer. I propose to take a strong America -- and make it even better.

My friends, tonight is a night for some straight talk.

We meet tonight at a time when Federal spending has increased by over a trillion dollars during the past 25 years. That's a compound annual growth rate of 9.5% -- almost double the rate of inflation in a period when inflation itself was quite high.

Despite all the efforts we've made to hold the line on spending growth in these last eight years, despite all the

talk of budget "cuts", spending grew by 6% in fiscal year 1988 and 7% in fiscal year 1989.

I'm sorry to disappoint those who measure government progress by the dollars thrown at a problem, but when the increase alone in annual spending is over a trillion dollars in just a quarter century, it's time to catch our breath, take stock and make sense out of what we have, and give revenues driven by economic growth a chance to catch up.

So the budget I am submitting to you tonight has three broad features: a freeze in most federal spending, attention to urgent priorities and investments for the future, and no new taxes.

We simply don't have the luxury of taking the easy, spendthrift approach to solving problems because a return to reckless spending and higher taxes would smother the economic growth that makes all other progress possible.

In the next fiscal year, under current law with no changes, revenues will grow by over $82 billion dollars. That's an increase of almost 8 1/2 percent. That should be enough to finance our priorities. If it's not, our priorities are out of control.

We must recognize that growth above inflation in Federal programs is not preordained by nature, that not all spending initiatives were designed to be immortal. And rather than being hostage to the inexorable march of higher spending, we should be driven by priorities. That is our task -- to do what is important, but only what is important;

to invest prudently in the future, but not be slaves to the past; to manage government better, but not be managed by government.

On a church in Sussex, England, there is an inscription -- carved in stone more than two centuries ago -- that fits our situation tonight. It says:

"A vision without a task is but a dream; a task without a vision is drudgery; a vision with a task is the hope of the world."

So let me tell you about my vision.

It is a vision as old as our republic -- driven by the premise that government exists to serve the people.

I believe that low taxes help generate economic growth, and that people work best when freed from too much government interference.

I believe in giving Americans greater freedom and greater choice -- and I will work for greater 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 -- and I will work to knock down the barriers left by past discrimination, and to build a more

tolerant society that will stop such barriers from ever being built in the future.

I believe that family and faith represent the moral compass of the nation -- and I will work to make them strong, for as Lincoln said: "If a sparrow cannot fall 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 for all -- and I will work to put power in the hands of people.

That is the vision which guides me, and which I hope will guide our investments over these next four years.

I say invest in our priorities -- so let's talk about what those priorities should be.

Priority one: let's make sure America remains the greatest, most productive nation on earth.

We should begin to invest now -- prudently at first, and increasing as resources in coming years allow -- in key priorities that will make us more competitive as a nation in the future.

That means continuing America's leadership in the knowledge business. So I propose an increase of over $300 million in basic research. I propose to make permanent the tax credit for research and development. And I would like to strengthen the role which science and technology considerations now play in our national policy deliberations. I intend to upgrade the director of the

office of science and technology policy to the position of Assistant to the President.

He or she will have direct asscess to me. And improving our knowledge base and applying it well will move to the top rung of national concerns.

I would like to take one additional step in this area. When I was Vice President, I chaired a Task Force on Regulatory Relief which was intended to help sort through the thicket of government regulatory activity to determine which rules were hurting private productive activity, and which were helping.

Tonight, I would like to revive that task force, and expand its mission. Vice President Quayle is knowledgeable not only about regulation, but particularly about ways to use education and training programs to improve the skills of the American workforce. I will ask the Vice President to chair a Task Force on Competitiveness, which will incorporate both missions -- regulatory reform, and training for the workforce.

We will make sure that America is ready for the decade ahead -- and the century ahead.

I'd like to say a word about one area in which there is a special opportunity for American leadership. That area is space exploration. Over the past 30 years, NASA has helped open the space frontier for knowledge, for commerce, and for all mankind.

The need to search and explore rests deep within mankind, ennobling his spirit. The excitement that permeated the space program in the 1960s must be reborn in us all. For as one put it, "If mankind's reach must exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?"

I am committed to a strong space program. I will pursue the manned space station with as much speed as possible. I will pursue an aggressive schedule of space shuttle launches. And in the budget revisions I am submitting to you tonight, I propose an increase of almost $2.4 billion for space activity.

Space builds jobs on earth, advances American competitiveness, and pushes civilization to new plateaus fo knowledge and understanding. In this President, the space program has a friend and enthusiast.

A final project vital to our continued world leadership in science and technology is the superconducting super collider -- the world's most powerful atom smasher, that will produce an energy 20 times greater than the highest energies available in the world today.

My friends, working with the host state, and with our allies, we should build the SSC. And we should build it fast.

I ask tonight for the cooperation of the Congress in enacting the most important competitiveness program of all -- a package of bills to improve education in America.

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 -- we cannot tolerate mediocrity in this of all things.

In my budget I ask you to begin this year a $500 million program to reward America's best schools -- "merit schools" -- and to give incentives to other schools to match their excellence.

I ask for the creation special Presidential awards for excellent teachers in every state. Teaching is a noble profession, with its own unique rewards to be sure. But excellence in teaching, like excellence elsewhere, should be recognized and rewarded with tangible benefits. I will set that tone from the top. These awards will come from President.

And if comptetitiveness is a priority, we must focus particularly on science education. I ask you to create a new National Science Scholars program to give incentives to the best students in science and mathematics. I propose that each member of the House and Senate select one scholar per year to reward the best in these critical fields -- and then to help them to college, bring them into our labs in the summer, and cultivate the talent that America needs for the challenges ahead.

I have other proposals. Magnet schools. A new effort to let those with talent and expertise in all fields become certified to teach. Incentives for innovation 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."

Let's turn to a second priority: drugs -- and let me repeat, this scourge must stop.

I believe we should act now with dispatch to fight with all our power the devastating enemy of drugs. That means treatment. Prevention. Interdiction. Law Enforcement. Tough penalties and zero tolerance.

I'd like us to be noted in history for something else as well. Let this be recorded as the time when America rose up and said "no" to drugs.

Just last week, as I settled into this new office, I received a letter which moved me. It was 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 his son, ~~whom we had raised,~~ 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. For the last 10 months Now he has chosen cocaine."

"Believe me, we raised David to have respect for his body. We inculcated the ideals to our parents...and yet this."

"Please, find a way to curb the supply of cocaine. Get tought 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 32 million Americans used illegal drugs last

year -- at a staggering cost to our nation's well-being. We must respond.

I am asking tonight for an increase of three-quarters of 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 time a user must wait to get into a treatment program. When the problem is diagnosed, we should not wait to treat it. The costs are too high.

Some will be used to educate the young -- from kindergarten through college, about the dangers of drugs. But this area is not the sole province of government. We must involve parents. We must involve teachers. We must involve communities. And my friends, we must involve ourselves.

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.

But drugs are more than a health crisis, or a moral crisis, or an international supply crisis. They represent a

criminal crisis as well, and I mean to get tough on the 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.

But I also want to make sure that when a drug dealer is convicted, there is a cell waiting for him -- and not a federal court order allowing him to go free because of prison overcrowding. So a top priority in this budget is a request for funding to construct almost 7,000 new bedspaces in our prisons this year.

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

One problem related to drug use demands our urgent attention and our continuing compassion. That is the terrible tragedy of AIDS -- and my friends, we are going to solve this problem.

This, too, is more than a priority. It's a national emergency. It's a war. But let me be clear: the war is against the disease -- not against its unfortunate victims.

I am asking for a major commitment both for education to prevent the disease -- and for expanded research to find a cure.

I am asking for a $1.6 billion program to attack the problem of AIDS -- not because I believe in throwing money at the problem, but because -- even in the face of tragedy

-- I am an optimist. We conquered a frontier and put a man on the moon. Now we must solve this frightening and terrible puzzle -- and my friends, we can do it.

I believe we have certain special obligations -- to improve the quality of life in America, to care for the poor, to meet head on those pressing problems that bring tragedy to our society. In short, to create a kinder, gentler America -- and that's the priority I'd like to turn to now.

My friends, our environment -- the world's environment -- is in trouble. And we need a new attitude. A new era of global environmental cooperation. A new commitment to act now -- because the price of acting later is too great to calculate or even contemplate.

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. And I ask you to work with me to enact such a bill this year.

One path to clean air is through cleaner use of coal -- and my commitment to a new bill is matched by our commitment to our neighbors in Canada to proceed with the clean coal technology agreement we signed in 1987. I will keep that agreement on schedule.

David Morse DOE 546-2061

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I believe we should expand our parks. So I am asking for a major increase over President Reagan's budget to fund acquistions under the land and water conservation fund. Our

parks, forests, and fisheries are among America's most valuable resources. We should protect those that are most valuable. And we should place our priority on those which the people will use -- because parks should be for people.

We must protect our coastlines. And one item in the package before you calls for a firm commitment to crack down and the enactment of new penalties against those who would dump medical waste and other trash in our precious oceans. The age of the needle on the beach must be made a sad relic of the past.

In some cases, the oceans off our shores hold the promise of reserves of oil and gas which can make our nation more secure. When these can be tapped safely, we should proceed. But we must use caution and we must respect the environment.

So tonight I am calling for the indefinite postponement of two lease sales which have raised troubling questions -- lease sale 91 off the coast of northern California and lease sale 115, which could threaten the Everglades in Florida. And I am asking for delay in a third, lease sale 95 off the beautiful beaches of southern California.

Action on these three lease sales will await the conclusions of a special task force set up to measure the potential for environmental damage. Our oceans and coastlines are too valuable to be put at risk.

And I want to protect our groundwater. So 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 those who make them necessary. And I will get them.

We as a people must waste less. We are filling landfills faster than any country in the world. The government can put in place programs to find the best techniques to reduce waste -- and it will. But responsibility for cutting this problem begins at home, with every American, in every community in the nation. We are going to have to live more responsibly if we are to live more safely.

That individual responsibility is matched by a national responsibility. The United States must lead the search for a new international consensus on protecting the planet. Good work is sprouting up in laboratories and offices around the globe, but we know that our leadership can pull it together and forge the will to act. The Bush Administration is ready to lead.

A kinder and gentler nation is one that shows compassion for what one of your former colleagues identified as "those in the dawn of life, the young, those in the twilight of life, the elderly, and those in the shadows of life, the poor." ((check))

Our first obligation is to the most vulnerable -- infants, pregnant women, children living in poverty -- and

my proposed budget recognizes this. It contains full funding for the Medicaid expansions you have recently enacted -- an increase of over $3 billion, offering more help for young mothers and their babies, for poor children, and incentives for those who are trying to get off welfare and go to work.

It is our offered hand to those most in need.

To the children of America, we owe the responsibility to see that they have care -- even if their parents work. And the fact is that most parents -- men and women -- do work.

I believe we should help those who need it most -- low income families with young children -- and I propose a child care tax credit that will aim our efforts at exactly those families.

Now, I know there are competing proposals. But remember this: 90% of all child care is currently provided by neighbors and relatives, churches and community groups. Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice.

Perhaps the saddest case are those children who have no parents with whom to live. For these foster children, I believe we should encourage adoption -- not only by increasing adoption assistance and other benefits; but also by restoring -- and doubling -- the tax deduction for adoption costs.

Adoption is too often complicated and discouraging -- and yet millions of parents want it and millions of children need it. We have a moral responsibility to act.

We have a moral contract with our senior citizens -- so let me state clearly one feature of this proposed budget. Social Security is fully funded. It is off limits for budget cutters and budget raiders. Those who have earned their Social Security benefits will receive a full cost-of-living adjustment.

Of all those in the shadows of life, the plight of the homeless is the most visible, and the most tragic. 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 -- and contribute greatly. To them, we all owe thanks.

But we in government cannot stand on the sidelines -- not in the face of this national shame. Greater support is needed for emergency food and shelter, for health services and measures to prevent substance abuse, and for clinics for the mentally ill. In my budget I ask for such funds -- and I propose a new initiative as well which involves each arm of government joining the private sector to do what it does best -- everyone involved helping out and pitching in. In total, I propose over a billion dollars total to confront in a forceful way the problems of the homeless.

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. Tackled forthrightly, they can be put behind us. So my budget contains recommendations to attend to problems from the past and manage government better in the future.

Earlier this week, I announced my support for a package of initiatives to correct the problems widespread in our savings and loan industry, and to restore the financial integrity of institutions which are responsible for the public's deposits.

Certainly, the savings of Americans must remain secure -- insured depositors must be protected. But any package to refinance the system must be accompanied by a major structural reform of the system to prohibit reckless practices and prevent with certainty such problems from surfacing in the future.

The most effective -- and absolutely necessary -- answer to the S&L crisis can be summed up in two words: never again.

Similarly, we face an obligation of substantial proportions in cleaning up the waste generated by decades of unsafe environmental practices at those plants around the country which produce the nuclear weapons vital to our national security.

Clearly, we must modernize these plants and operate them safely. That is not at issue -- we didn't come this

far to unilaterally disarm because we couldn't manage our production facilities properly. But there are two larger issues.

First, we must clean up the mess -- 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.

But beyond that, we must peer deep into our system, identify its faults, and put them to an end. I have asked the Secretary of Energy to examine and if necessary overhaul the management of these programs. In the future, the Federal government will produce the weapons it needs -- to be sure -- but in so doing, it will meet or exceed the environmental standards it requires of others.

But weapons production, of course, is but one small part -- albeit an important one -- of our entire defense mission. We have been fortunate during these past eight years. Thanks to President Reagan's leadership, and your support, 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 achieved through strength. The American people understand this -- they unambiguously support the policy of stregth

that has characterized our efforts during the past eight years. They support continued modernization of our forces, continued realism in understanding threats around the world, and continued caution in dealing with our adversaries. It is our mission and our constitutional duty to provide these things -- for they are essential to defending the security of our nation.

But the people are entitled to receive full value for the tax dollars they provide the government -- and it is our mission, too, to give them that.

It is by now no secret that the Pentagon can be managed better. We need efficient and honest procurement. We need a more sane, long range budgeting process. We need to reform the system along the lines suggested by the Packard Commission. And, my friends, as Commander-In-Chief, I can tell you that we shall have them.

Tonight, I am directing the Secretary-designate of Defense to report to me, within 60 days, with his plans to revise Pentagon procurement practices.

With such reforms, because of President Reagan's success in leading the restoration of our military strength during the years just passed, I believe we will be able to hold the rate of growth in the military budget to the inflation rate -- and that is the level of increase I have proposed in the budget I am sending to you tonight.

As you know, this represents a cut in the defense budget from the request submitted to you by President Reagan

last month. But I should be clear on the conditions attached to this freeze on the real growth of defense:

- 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 an overall agreement on the budget, including reform of the unwieldy budget process, that meets the targets spelled out in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law <u>without</u> raising taxes; and

- this defense budget freeze must be achieved in a way that does not hurt our national security -- that is, it must be achieved through better efficiency, and <u>not</u> by undermining our basic defense preparedness.

If these three conditions cannot be met, we will have no choice but to seek the higher defense budget increases originally contemplated.

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 make gentler the face of the world.

It <u>is</u> 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 remarkable and 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 the world's most 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.

The spread and even use of other kinds of arms threatens global stability as never before. We have an obligation to face up to such proliferation.

Chemical weapons must be banned from the face of the earth, never to be used again.

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. I pledge to support the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons. In my view, its regime must be strengthened. The world's safety depends on it.

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.

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. And we are carving this indelible message on the tablet that marks this era, and all that will follow: freedom works.

So we have every reason to be optimistic. But optimism is not the only ingredient required in our recipe for securing a more peaceful world. Realism is just as vital.

Here in our own hemisphere, for example, 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 peace and freedom.

Relations with our allies, whether in Europe or Asia, are also complex. The alliance of democracies must rededicate itself to its shared ideals -- and not let the temptation to protectionism drag us into disputes that will be destructive for all concerned.

We must join our allies in forming a New Compact, updated to reflect the changing relationships of our times. The need is particularly acute in Western Europe -- where the amries of the East and West still face each other, although we are committed to reducing them -- where the Iron Curtain still divides the continent, although the rustlings behind its facade are unmistakable -- where the Berlin Wall still stands, although we will not rest until the day it comes down.

I have therefore asked the Secretary of State to visit Europe next week and consult with our allies on two critical issues:

- first, a common policy toward arms modernization and arms control; and

- second, a common policy toward East-West economic relations.

As we push to be the force for constructive change in the world, let's make sure we do it in concert with our allies.

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 defense of the Constitution, must sometimes act alone. But the system of checks and balances works best when the President and Congress work together.

Bipartisanship does not mean agreement on every issue, or cessation of argument. In a free society, that is neither possible nor desirable. But it does mean that we respect each other -- and we all work for the national interest. It means that we consult with each other -- that we take off together and land together.

Let me suggest a first step, in an area that has proven divisive -- covert action. Covert action tests the very essence of democratic government -- the need for secrecy and speed versus the need for consultation and legal procedure -- both vital to the national interest. I will soon sign

an Executive Order to bring order to this tension -- to provide a better mechanism for consultation between the Executive Branch and Congress. The point is this: Congress will be properly informed of covert actions.

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

Let the actions of our government, in this hall and in the Oval Office, show that America will not shrink from its responsibility to be the engine of growth and the beacon of hope.

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 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. It was he, Abraham Lincoln, who said it best:

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

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

I ask this of every American in every corner of every city and town. Not just to those who work in government, although to them I say this: remember to whom your duty is owed: the public whose work supports your efforts. Set high standards for yourselves as the guardians of the public trust.

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. To avoid the temptation of quick and easy paper profits. And to think instead of your role in our long, continuing national mission -- a mission of greatness, of hope, of leadership and strength.

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. I am proposing tonight one channel for your efforts -- it's called YES, for Youth Entering Service to America.

My dream is that national service will be looked on as a badge of honor -- an integral part of a citizen's commitment to his or her country.

To the brave men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America -- thank you. I ask you to remember that 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 farmers of America -- we ask for the remarkable bounty you continue to provide, though challenged by nature, economics, and the inexorable march development. The farm economy is coming back -- but we will work with you to open foriegn markets, and to work toward the day when no nation unfairly subsidizes its products to the detriment of others.

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 the kids in the cities -- don't give up hope. Say no to drugs. Stay in school. I ask you not to despair because of the mess our generation seems to have left. I have some ideas for bringing new opportunity to the cities.

We're going to create urban enterprize zones to bring jobs and hope to places where now there is neither. I am asking for up to 70 zones over the next four years.

We're going to increase Head Start to give your little brothers and sisters a fair chance at the starting line. We're going to crack down on the drug dealers.

But above all -- and I'm going to steal a phrase here -- "Don't you surrender, because you can make it."

To those 37 million Americans with some form of disability -- you belong in the economic mainstream. We need your talents in America's workforce. I will shortly set up a task force, in the White House, to start knocking down those barriers that sometimes keep you out. I ask that you become full partners in the opportunity society we're trying to build.

To the families of America, watching tonight in your living rooms. Hold fast to your dreams. We will work to build a goverment here in Washington that encourages economic growth, that keeps the nation secure and provides for the needy, that helps improve our schools and colleges and cleans up our environment, but ultimately America's future rests in your hands.

I ask you to keep on working. To save some for the next generation. And most of all, to believe in America, because we are the greatest, freest nation on the face of the earth, and it is only your actions that will keep us that way.

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 ultimately create more jobs.

Beyond that, it is the right thing to do. It is morally indefensible for us to spend funds today that rightfully belong to those who now have no vote --- the generations to come.

I make this pledge tonight: I and my team are prepared to work with the Congress, to negotiate in good faith, to work day and night -- if that's what is required -- to meet the budget targets set forth in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law which has helped bring that deficit down -- and to produce a budget on time.

Government by continuing resolution -- or government by crisis -- won't do. The people didn't send us here to stay up all night and cram our priorities into a fat and unwieldy budget that looks like a hastily prepared final exam. They sent us here to produce. And my friends, it can be done.

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.

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. 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.

But to those timid souls, I repeat Churchill's plea -- give us the tools; and we will finish the job.

Thank you, and God bless you.

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