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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13703
Folder ID Number: 13703-004

Folder Title:
State of the Union 1/31/90 [OA 8310] [4]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	19	6	2

December 14, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM PINKERTON

FROM: KATE MOORE
EMILY MEAD

RE: RECENT STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

After conversations with Bob Grady, David Demarest, and Andy Card in the past few days, we obtained no definitive answer to the question of whether George Bush will be giving a State of the Union Address.

Perhaps there is a plan that we don't know about, but in any event, we thought it might be helpful to review what other newly elected presidents in recent decades did in the way of a) delivering a State of the Union message, and b) addressing the Congress and the Nation early in their administration as a means of setting the policy agenda for the year.

As a reminder, it appears that President Reagan will not be giving a state of the union address this year; you may recall he had indicated last year that his 1988 State of the Union address was to be his last. <u>This creates an option for George Bush</u>.

<u>Delivery dates of State of the Union Messages:</u>

The first State of the Union Address was delivered by George Washington on January 8, 1790 (Washington was inaugurated April 30, 1789). After Washington's first inaugural, the delivery dates occured between October and December. Beginning with Monroe in 1921, December emerged as the regular pattern, until January 3, 1934 when President Roosevelt gave his first annual State of the Union address (he had used the fireside chat and other means to deliver his message to the American people during his first year in office).

The annual message was delivered by all outgoing Presidents. President Reagan's decision not to make such a address this January is a departure from a long standing tradition.

President Eisenhower's Inaugural Speech on January 20, 1953, was followed by a State of the Union address on February 2, 1953, even though President Truman had delivered his Annual Message on January 7.

President Kennedy also gave a State of the Union address 10 days after his inauguration, seeing events in a much different light from Eisenhower only 18 days before.

President Nixon declined to give a State of the Union speech in January of 1969. President Johnson having given a State of the Union speech on January 14, delivered the Budget message on January 15 followed by an Economic Report to Congress on the 16th; perhaps this was a wise decision.

President Carter confined himself to a Message of Budget Revisions in February of 1977 following Ford's earlier State of the Union message.

President Reagan chose to address the Nation on television on the state of the economy on February 5 - a very short report by State of the Union standards; he then followed up with an address to a joint session of Congress on February 18, where he presented his "Economic Recovery Program."

The bottom line is that George Bush has a choice of formats -- whether State of the Union, or, perhaps, a more focussed statement to the Congress, to set his agenda.

There is attached a chronology dating back to Franklin D. Roosevelt on State of the Union addresses given by incoming Presidents.

As a beginning effort, the following describes in more detail the approaches taken by two interesting and relevant Presidents, Reagan and Kennedy, to setting the policy agenda through major speeches in the first days of their administration.

Reagan/Carter 1981

On January 16, 1981, Jimmy Carter submitted in writing his 60-page State of the Union address. Two days earlier, he had given his farewell address to the nation which was broadcast live from the White House.

President Ronald Reagan outlined the foundation for his agenda in a televised address to the nation on "The Nation's Economy" on February 5, where he:

- described the nation's economic ills;

- decried the growth of federal spending;
- listed initial Presidential actions already taken (i.e., freeze on hiring; cuts in federal travel; a freeze on pending regulations; established the Vice President's regulatory task force; decontrol of oil; elimination of Council on Wage and Price Stability, etc.);
- announced his intention to present an economic program to Congress on February 18;
- reviewed charts on (a) forecasts of federal spending and revenues, and on (b) his alternative economic program;
- professed his confidence that the budget could be balanced, and
- called on the nation to "forge a new beginning."

On February 18, President Reagan did indeed address a joint session of Congress and outlined his "Program for Economic Recovery." Paralleling his earlier address to the nation, he reviewed the nation's economic ills and outlined his "comprehensive four-point program":

- a budget reform plan to cut the rate of growth in Federal spending;
- a series of proposals to reduce personal income tax rates and to accelerate depreciation for business investment;
- regulatory relief; and
- a monetary policy consistent with the above.

His address also included:

- specific proposals for federal spending reductions in FY82;
- assurances on the "social safety net";
- a promise to "convert a number of categorical grant programs to block grants";
- proposals on subsidies and programs to be cut or eliminated;
- a proposal to increase defense;
- proposal for tax reductions;

- o proposals to advance deregulation;
- o commitment to pursue budget policies to help the Federal reserve slow the growth in money supply;
- o a reminder that "spending by government must be limited to those functions which are the proper province of government."

Eisenhower/Kennedy: 1961

Kennedy's State of the Union address was delivered in person, January 30, 1961, to a joint session of Congress. It is useful to note that Kennedy sought to establish an immediate bond with his Congressional audience by opening with "It is a pleasure to return whence I came." Kennedy offered several concrete proposals, notwithstanding his disclaimer, "Were I to offer -- after little more than a week in office -- detailed legislation to remedy every national ill, the Congress would rightly wonder whether the desire for speed had replaced the duty of responsibility."

In the address, Kennedy:

- o Reviewed economic ills, including recession and unemployment -- "The American economy is in trouble."
- o Promised to propose specific economic actions within 14 days
- o Reviewed U.S. economy in global context (trade gaps, gold stocks, investment abroad, etc.)
- o Reviewed budget deficit
- o Commented on several domestic needs: housing (he observed that "a new housing program under a new Housing and Urban Affairs Department would be needed this year."), education, medical, research, etc., and promised a series of "messages" within the next two weeks
- o Reviewed the U.S.'s place in the world and commented on the need for:
  - strengthened military tools (promised to reappraise entire defense strategy)
  - improved economic tools (e.g., foreign aid, and "the formation of a National Peace Corps..."
  - strengthened political and diplomatic tools

- Reviewed the State of the Executive Branch ("full of honest and useful public servants", but in need of more decisiveness and encouragement of initiative)

- Closed with a reference to Franklin D. Roosevelt, "In the words of a great President, whose birthday we honor today, closing his final State of the Union Message sixteen years ago, 'We pray that we may be worthy of the unlimited opportunities that God has given us.'"

PRESIDENTIAL ACTIONS AROUND THE INAUGURATION

1953

President Truman

1/7 State of Union
1/9 Budget Message
1/14 Economic Report to Congress
1/15 Farewell on TV

President Eisenhower

1/20 Inaugural Address
2/2 State of the Union

1961

President Eisenhower

1/12 State of Union

President Kennedy

1/20 Inaugural Address
1/30 State of Union

1965

President Johnson

1/4 State of Union
1/20 Inaugural Address
1/28 Economic Report to Congress

1969

President Johnson

1/14 State of Union
1/15 Budget Message
1/16 Economic Report to Congress

President Nixon

1/20 Inaugural Address

1977

President Ford

1/12 State of Union
1/17 Budget Message
1/18 Economic Report to Congress

President Carter

1/20 Inaugural Address
1/20 Message to Nations of the World through USIA
2/22 1978 Budget Revisions

1981

President Carter

1/5 Address to Nation on Economy
1/16 Farewell Address
1/26 State of Union

President Reagan

1/20 Inaugural Address
2/5 Televised Address to Nation on Economy
2/18 Address to Joint Session of Congress: Program for Economic Recovery

PRESIDENTIAL ACTIONS AROUND THE INAUGURATION

1985

President Reagan

1/20 2nd Inaugural
2/6 State of Union

1989

President Reagan **President Bush**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 30, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER RBP

SUBJECT: State of the Union Address: Themes

My discussions with virtually all of the cabinet departments and agencies regarding their ideas and suggestions for the President's State of the Union Address at the end of next month have yielded both much consensus and the expected interest from most departments in getting mention for particular programs or policies.

1. The virtue of a thematic approach.

There is consensus, at least in principle, on the value of a thematic rather than a programmatic (a more generous word than laundry list) approach. Most laundry list State of the Union addresses in the past have consisted of a stream of initiatives involving more spending here and more spending there.

One factor encouraging a thematic approach is that budget constraints have limited the number and size of new spending programs. But this is not a cause for concern. The President was not overwhelmingly elected because voters believed he would out spend his opponent. Moreover, the broad public support he has had during this first year is not based on his advocacy of new spending programs. This simply reinforces the wisdom of a thematic as opposed to laundry list approach.

2. The value of an emphasis on foreign policy and global developments.

In addition to a preference for a thematic approach, there was a recognition by most cabinet members of the merit in a greater than normal emphasis on foreign policy given recent developments around the world. A partial list of these developments includes:

- The changing nature of the U.S.-Soviet relationship (Malta and the June 1990 Bush-Gorbachev Summit);
- The largely peaceful explosion of democracy throughout Eastern Europe;
- Our intervention in Panama and our efforts to firmly

establish democracy in this hemisphere;

- o Recent events in China;
- o The magnitude of the much-discussed "peace dividend;"
- o The nature of the global economy and the implications of EC 1992 for the United States; and
- o The U.S.-Japanese relationship.

Typically, less than one-fourth of the space in the State of the Union Address has been devoted to foreign policy. This year, there is a compelling case to consider devoting upwards of one-third (10 minutes in a 30 minute text) of the speech to foreign policy.

3. A substantial foreign policy section should articulate a set of principles or policies that others might identify as a Bush Doctrine.

Such a foreign policy section would do more than merely recite and comment on developments in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Central America, China, etc. It would need to include a set of principles for guiding U.S. policy in the future that collectively would represent the elements of a doctrine.

As Dick Darman has observed, others must proclaim it a doctrine rather than the President pronouncing it such. But it is difficult to envision a more propitious time than now for articulating such a set of principles.

4. The economic and domestic policy portion of the address should revolve around three or four memorable themes that collectively constitute a sense of where the President wants to take the country in the 1990s.

Collectively these themes should serve several purposes:

- o Explaining his fiscal policy decisions (a commitment to balancing the budget without new taxes) and his budget priorities.
- o Reinforcing and expanding on the initiatives he has already taken in dealing with the three domestic issues that Americans claim concern them most -- drugs, the environment, and education.
- o Directing attention toward the future and what he

considers the central challenges facing the country during the 1990s in preparing for the 21st century.

- o Giving individual Americans and families a sense of what he believes they can and should do.

- o Instilling a sense of confidence and reassurance without complacency, of challenge without conveying a sense of crisis.

- o Preempting the ground from under the congressional Democrats who will likely pursue two basic themes this year:

  - industrial policy/competitiveness with a probable emphasis on economic nationalism; and

  - fairness for the least advantaged in our society.

5. One of the domestic themes would be investing in America's future.

This theme has the virtue of consistency. It was a prominent phrase in this year's February 9 program, Building A Better America. It will also be prominently featured in the FY 1991 budget documents.

In structuring this theme we can underscore balance. The need to invest in:

- o Physical capital (savings and investment)

- o Intellectual capital (research and development)

- o Human capital (education and training) (drugs)

It is forward looking (investments are needed today to provide the kind of future we want for ourselves and succeeding generations). It provides a useful place for discussing the fiscal discipline budget approach the President is proposing as necessary to reduce government dissaving.

As part of this theme, in addition to articulating his fiscal policy, he would outline a select number of new proposals and repropose others:

- o The Family Savings Plan;

- o The reconfigured capital gains proposal;

- o Making permanent the R&D tax credit and the priority in the FY 1991 budget proposals for R&D;

- o The national education goals and our commitment to work with governors to achieve greater flexibility and restructuring of our education system;

- o An increased budgetary commitment to addressing the problem of illicit drug use, opposition to legalizing these drugs, and drug kingpin legislation;

The section on investing in the future would be the longest of the economic and domestic portion of the speech and would reinforce the policies the President articulated during the campaign and this past year as needed to produce increased economic growth. An underlying element of this theme is that these are the kinds of policies that are needed to increase productivity and the overall standard of living.

There are two other candidates for this section that have enthusiastic department and agency heads pushing for their inclusion. The first is announcing a National Transportation Policy strategy with the focus on the need to strengthen our nation's infrastructure as part of the pattern of investment that is needed in the future.

The second is a discussion of the space program and how the investment that we make in it will produce a stream of long-term economic and societal benefits.

6. <u>A second theme would be the need for enhancing dynamism in our economy if we are to compete successfully in the 1990s and beyond</u>.

This theme permits us to talk about those things we have long considered our economic strengths -- flexibility, innovation, adaptability, entrepreneurship.

Implicitly, and perhaps explicitly, it would argue against such ideas as expanded mandated benefits, trade protectionism, etc. It would counter the security-driven notion that we must focus on preserving what we have or redistributing it more equitably, and rather concentrate on what we must do to expand the size of the economic pie. In this sense it complements well the invest in the future theme.

As part of this theme we would discuss a limited range of initiatives and proposals:

- o Our commitment to successfully concluding the Uruguay

Round trade negotiations and opening markets for America's farmers, the service industry, and protecting intellectual property rights.

- o An antitrust policy that acknowledges the need for internal competition within the U.S. while recognizing that it is a global marketplace in which most U.S. businesses must compete. This would be the appropriate place for the joint production venture proposal that Commerce and Justice have been pushing, if it is determined to go forward with it.

- o An effort to free ourselves from the inefficiencies imposed by excessive litigation -- liability reform including product, volunteer, and medical malpractice liability.

This theme would not require as much discussion as the invest in the future theme, nor would it involve as many or as grand proposals. But it would be crucial in focusing attention on what is needed if we are to compete in the global marketplace and combined with the elements in the invest in the future theme would give us a strong counter to the competitiveness/industrial policy thrust the Democrats will likely mount during 1990.

7. A third theme would be enhanced opportunity for all Americans, particularly those with the greatest needs.

The first two themes direct attention to what is needed with respect to economic growth and competitiveness. This theme would emphasize the breadth with which the President wants this prosperity shared. It would be analogous to the kinder, gentler nation theme that has served us so well this year.

Again, this would not consume a large portion of the speech and could be the place for a discussion of such initiatives as:

- o The President's housing proposals as embodied in Project Hope.

- o The enterprise zone proposal with its emphasis on opportunity for those in economically depressed areas.

- o The child care proposal and his interest in working for legislation that will focus on helping children from low-income families. (He might also refer to Head Start which is currently in the theme on investing in the future.)

- o The Americans with Disabilities Act which the President

supports and which will likely be enacted this year.

8. A fourth theme would be the importance of stewardship of our nation's resources.

This theme would emphasize that we must be concerned not merely with the quantity, but with the quality of life in America. It would acknowledge the need for balancing economic growth and a healthy environment. It would also have a forward looking thrust toward the 21st century by drawing attention to what we must do to pass on to the next generation a beautiful America.

The centerpiece of this section would be the America the Beautiful initiative and the elements in the Endowment for the Environment. It would also permit him to call on all Americans to participate personally in a national reforestation effort by planting trees in their communities and environs.

This would not consume a large portion of the speech. Among the initiatives that might be mentioned in this section would be:

- The America the Beautiful initiative with special emphasis on the reforestation effort;
- Enactment of a Clean Air bill that achieves significant environmental benefits while relying on market incentives to minimize costs and to spur technological innovation; and
- His leadership internationally on such environmental issues as global climate change.

These four themes

Investing in America's future

Increasing economic dynamism

Enlarging opportunity

Enhancing America's environment

provide a framework for the proposals we want to highlight. They are future oriented. They provide balance between growth and competitiveness (the first two) and the kinder, gentler, qualitative dimensions of our policies (the last two).

For Discussion
12/30/89

1990 State of the Union
Draft Outline

I. Introduction: Reflections and Assessment

A. Enter a new decade following a year of great change, but also a year of peace and prosperity.

B. America has championed two great ideas in 20th century.

1. The value of democratic political institutions.

2. The superiority of market-based economic institutions and arrangements.

3. These ideas are rooted in the value of each individual, not the importance of the state.

4. They underscore freedom and dignity, opportunity and responsibility.

5. The events of 1989 confirm the wisdom of these ideas and that people everywhere yearn for freedom.

C. During last half of this century we have experienced peace (no World Wars as in first half of this century) and unprecedented economic prosperity.

1. Peace was achieved through strength and devoting the resources necessary to deter aggression. Plus establishing sound alliances.

2. Prosperity due to two major factors:

a. The diffusion of technology, communications, and transportation innovations.

b. The growth of world trade which has transformed the global economy.

3. The U.S. has been at the forefront of the twin engines of technology and trade pulling us down the track of economic prosperity.

D. Protecting and expanding freedom while preserving and enhancing prosperity remain important challenges for the coming decade. To do so in an increasingly global economy will require much of us. We must:

II. Investing in the Future

A. Saving and Physical Capital

1. Budget and fiscal policy discussion. Need to meet GRH targets. Can do so without raising taxes.

2. Must also increase private saving to provide adequate capital investment. (Family Savings Plan, Capital gains proposal)

B. Intellectual Capital and Technological Innovation

1. Research and development holds another key to our economic success.

2. Must increase private sector R&D (permanent tax credit) spending. A federal budget priority.

C. Human Capital and Education

1. Must have an educational renaissance in America.

2. This renaissance must be based on ambitious goals, flexibility and innovation in our approach to achieving them, and enhanced accountability.

3. Announce education goals and federal actions.

D. Eliminating the Scourge of Drugs

1. Oppose legalizing drugs; enact crime bill.

2. Budget priority attached to implementing drug strategy.

3. Proposed drug kingpin legislation.

III. Increasing Economic Dynamism

A. Our success will depend not simply holding on to what we have, but on our willingness to innovate, change, adapt, and adopt measures that will enhance dynamism.

B. This means sectors of our economy ready and willing to compete. Competition domestically and abroad must be both free and fair. Must remove barriers to healthy competition.

1. Successful conclusion of Uruguay Round and opening markets for farmers, services, and protecting intellectual property.

2. Antitrust policy that acknowledges need for internal competition in U.S. while recognizing that it is a global marketplace.

3. Free ourselves from inefficiencies imposed by excessive litigation -- liability reform. Product, volunteer, medical malpractice.

IV. Enlarging Opportunity for All Americans

A. We must not only compete effectively in the global marketplace, but we must open the door of opportunity for everyone to participate in the American dream.

B. Our extended hand as a people must help all Americans to realize their full potential.

C. Specifically seek enactment of:

1. HOPE grants

2. Enterprise zones

3. Housing to deal with homelessness

4. Child care

5. Head Start expansion

V. Enhancing America's Environment

A. We must be concerned not merely with the quantity, but the quality of life in America. Need to balance economic growth and a healthy environment.

B. America the Beautiful - Endowment for the Environment

1. Reforestation initiative. Call on all Americans to participate personally.

C. Call for enactment of Clean Air legislation that achieves significant environmental benefits while relying on market incentives to minimize costs and spur technological innovation.

D. America will provide leadership on international issues such as global climate change.

VI. Foreign Policy: America's Role in the World

COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY
AND THE
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

New York Times headline, December 5, 1917: Whole World Gets Wilson Message -- "President Wilson's address to Congress was heralded . . . throughout the world by the United States Government. Nearly every known means of communication -- express train, telephone, telegraph, wireless, and submarine cable -- was utilized in transmitting message."

New York Times, December 6, 1923 (first radio broadcast of the State of the Union): "The voice of President Coolidge, addressing Congress . . . will be carried over a greater portion of the United States and will be heard by more people than the voice of any man in history."

New York Times, December 7, 1923: " . . . there was no discoverable instance of a person equipped with a receiving set who did not use it to listen to Coolidge's address."

Eisenhower's 1954 address: USIA transmitted it around the world. The Voice of America broadcast the full text to an English language audience estimated at about 45,000,000. Highlights of the address were carried in 33 languages. The text was transmitted by wireless to 57 USIA overseas posts for distribution to some 10,000 foreign publications.

Eisenhower's 1958 address: "My last call for action is not primarily addressed to the Congress and people of the United States. **Rather it is a message from the people of the United States to all other peoples, especially those of the Soviet Union."**

INAUGURAL ADDRESS–*Continued*

Jackson
1,125 (first)
1,172 (second)

Van Buren
3,838

W. H. Harrison
8,445

Polk
4,776

Taylor
996

Pierce
3,319

Buchanan
2,821

Lincoln
3,634 (first)
698 (second)

Grant
1,128 (first)
1,337 (second)

Hayes
2,480

Garfield
2,978

Cleveland
1,681 (first)

B. Harrison
4,388

Cleveland
2,015 (second)

McKinley
3,967 (first)
2,217 (second)

T. Roosevelt
985

Taft
5,433

Wilson
1,802 (first)
1,526 (second)

Harding
3,318

Coolidge
4,059

Hoover
3,801

F. D. Roosevelt
1,883 (first)
1,807 (second)
1,340 (third)
559 (fourth)

Truman
2,242

Eisenhower
2,446 (first)
2,449 (second)

Kennedy
1,355

L. B. Johnson
1,437

Nixon
2,130 (first)
1,668 (second)

Carter
1,087

Reagan
2,463

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE PRESIDENCY

There are no legal requirements for the presidency except for one paragraph in Article II, section 1 of the Constitution:

> No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

PRESIDENTIAL DUTIES AND POWERS

The duties and powers of the President are specifically enumerated in the Constitution:

> ARTICLE II, SECTION 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the Executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.
>
> He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law; but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.
>
> The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.
>
> SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES

Presidential messages are not required in any specific form or at any specified time. The annual State of the Union messages are either read to Congress or delivered by the President in person. Presumably, they fulfill the require-

ment of Article 2, section 3 of the Constitution, which provides that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union." The term "State of the Union Message" came into use on January 6, 1941; before then, the messages were generally called "annual messages."

William Henry Harrison and James Abram Garfield did not prepare annual messages. Harrison served only 32 days and Garfield only 199 days.

George Washington did not prepare a message during the calendar year 1789, but delivered two messages in 1790, one on January 8 and one on December 8.

Until the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1933, there were 141 messages. Of these 125 were delivered in December, 1 in January, 1 in September, 3 in October, and 11 in November.

Since the inauguration date was changed to January, 41 messages have been made in January and 2 in February.

The longest State of the Union message was sent to Congress in 1946 by President Harry S. Truman and consisted of more than 25,000 words.

It is generally conceded that most presidential speeches are prepared by writers, presumably carrying out the wishes and thoughts of the executives. It is estimated that President Lyndon Baines Johnson's speech of January 8, 1964, consisting of 3,059 words, required the services of about twenty-four writers, who took about six weeks to draft the speech, with ten to sixteen major revisions.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

Washington

Jan. 8, 1790
Dec. 8, 1790
Oct. 25, 1791
Nov. 6, 1792
Dec. 3, 1793
Nov. 19, 1794
Dec. 8, 1795
Dec. 7, 1796

J. Adams

Nov. 22, 1797
Dec. 8, 1798
Dec. 3, 1799
Nov. 22, 1800

Jefferson

Dec. 8, 1801
Dec. 15, 1802
Oct. 17, 1803
Nov. 8, 1804
Dec. 3, 1805
Dec. 2, 1806
Oct. 27, 1807
Nov. 8, 1808

Madison

Nov. 29, 1809
Dec. 5, 1810
Nov. 5, 1811
Nov. 4, 1812
Dec. 7, 1813
Sept. 20, 1814
Dec. 5, 1815
Dec. 3, 1816

Monroe

Dec. 2, 1817
Nov. 16, 1818
Dec. 7, 1819
Nov. 14, 1820
Dec. 3, 1821
Dec. 3, 1822
Dec. 2, 1823
Dec. 7, 1824

J. Q. Adams

Dec. 6, 1825
Dec. 5, 1826
Dec. 4, 1827
Dec. 2, 1828

Jackson

Dec. 8, 1829
Dec. 6, 1830
Dec. 6, 1831
Dec. 4, 1832
Dec. 3, 1833
Dec. 1, 1834
Dec. 7, 1835
Dec. 5, 1836

Van Buren

Dec. 5, 1837
Dec. 3, 1838
Dec. 2, 1839
Dec. 5, 1840

Tyler

Dec. 7, 1841
Dec. 6, 1842
Dec. 5, 1843
Dec. 3, 1844

Polk

Dec. 2, 1845
Dec. 8, 1846
Dec. 7, 1847
Dec. 5, 1848

Taylor

Dec. 4, 1849

Fillmore

Dec. 2, 1850
Dec. 2, 1851
Dec. 6, 1852

Pierce

Dec. 5, 1853
Dec. 4, 1854
Dec. 31, 1855
Dec. 2, 1856

Buchanan

Dec. 8, 1857
Dec. 6, 1858
Dec. 19, 1859
Dec. 3, 1860

Lincoln

Dec. 3, 1861
Dec. 1, 1862
Dec. 8, 1863
Dec. 6, 1864

A. Johnson

Dec. 4, 1865
Dec. 3, 1866
Dec. 3, 1867
Dec. 9, 1868

Grant

Dec. 6, 1869
Dec. 5, 1870
Dec. 4, 1871
Dec. 2, 1872
Dec. 1, 1873
Dec. 7, 1874
Dec. 7, 1875
Dec. 5, 1876

Hayes

Dec. 3, 1877
Dec. 2, 1878
Dec. 1, 1879
Dec. 6, 1880

Arthur

Dec. 6, 1881
Dec. 4, 1882
Dec. 4, 1883
Dec. 1, 1884

Cleveland—1st Administration

Dec. 8, 1885
Dec. 6, 1886
Dec. 6, 1887
Dec. 3, 1888

B. Harrison

Dec. 3, 1889
Dec. 1, 1890
Dec. 9, 1891
Dec. 6, 1892

Cleveland—2nd Administration

Dec. 4, 1893
Dec. 3, 1894
Dec. 2, 1895
Dec. 7, 1896

McKinley

Dec. 6, 1897
Dec. 5, 1898
Dec. 5, 1899
Dec. 3, 1900

~~2 pm~~ ~~35 min~~

RR

Jan. 26, 1982
Jan 25, 1983
Jan 25, 1984
Feb 6, 1985
Feb 4, 1986
Jan 7, 1987
Jan 25, 1988

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES —Continued

T. Roosevelt
Dec. 3, 1901
Dec. 2, 1902
Dec. 7, 1903
Dec. 6, 1904
Dec. 5, 1905
Dec. 3, 1906
Dec. 3, 1907
Dec. 8, 1908

Taft
Dec. 7, 1909
Dec. 6, 1910
Dec. 5, 1911
Dec. 3, 1912

Wilson
Dec. 2, 1913 40, Tues
Dec. 8, 1914 40
Dec. 7, 1915 60
Dec. 5, 1916 18
Dec. 4, 1917 30
Dec. 2, 1918 45
Dec. 2, 1919 writ
Dec. 7, 1920 writ

Harding
Dec. 4, 1921
Dec. 8, 1922

Coolidge
Dec. 6, 1923 65
Dec. 3, 1924 writ 9p.
Dec. 8, 1925 writ
Dec. 7, 1926 writ
Dec. 6, 1927 writ
Dec. 4, 1928 writ

Hoover
Dec. 3, 1929
Dec. 2, 1930
Dec. 8, 1931
Dec. 6, 1932

F. D. Roosevelt
Jan. 3, 1934 25
Jan. 4, 1935 45
Jan. 3, 1936 9pm–50
Jan. 6, 1937 35
Jan. 3, 1938 50
Jan. 4, 1939 45
Jan. 3, 1940 35
Jan. 6, 1941 40
Jan. 6, 1942 40
Jan. 7, 1943 40
Jan. 11, 1944 writ
Jan. 6, 1945 writ

Truman
Jan. 22, 1946 writ
Jan. 6, 1947 50
Jan. 7, 1948 50
Jan. 5, 1949 30
Jan. 4, 1950 40
Jan. 8, 1951 writ
Jan. 9, 1952 40
Jan. 7, 1953 writ

Eisenhower
Feb. 2, 1953 60
Jan. 7, 1954 65
Jan. 6, 1955 60
Jan. 5, 1956 writ
Jan. 10, 1957 35
Jan. 9, 1958 45
Jan. 9, 1959 45
Jan. 7, 1960 40
Jan. 12, 1961 ?

Kennedy
Jan. 30, 1961 45
Jan. 11, 1962 60
Jan. 14, 1963 45

L. B. Johnson
Jan. 8, 1964 45
Jan. 4, 1965 50
Jan. 12, 1966 60
Jan. 10, 1967 75
Jan. 17, 1968 55
Jan. 14, 1969 45

Nixon
Jan. 22, 1970 40
Jan. 22, 1971 40
Jan. 20, 1972 30*
Feb. 2, 1973 series of writ
Jan. 30, 1974 45**

Ford
Jan. 15, 1975 45
Jan. 19, 1976 50
Jan. 12, 1977 50

Carter
Jan. 19, 1978 45
Jan. 23, 1979 40
Jan. 23, 1980 40
Jan. 16, 1981

THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO

Article I, section 7 of the Constitution contains the following provisions:

> Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. . . . If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which case it shall not be a Law.
>
> Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

The Constitution thus provides not only for a regular veto, which Congress may override by a two-thirds majority of both Houses, but also for a "pocket veto"—if the President opposes a bill sent to him ten days before the adjournment of Congress, he can, instead of vetoing it, merely ignore it, or "pocket" it, and prevent it from becoming a law.

The following list shows the number of bills vetoed by each President. Noted in parenthesis after each total are the figures comprising the total: first, the number of regular vetoes; second, the number of pocket vetoes; third, the number of vetoes sustained by Congress; and fourth, the number passed over his veto.

Washington—2 (2, 0; 2, 0)
J. Adams—0
Jefferson—0
Madison—7 (5, 2; 7, 0)
Monroe—2 (1, 1; 1, 1)
J. Q. Adams—0
Jackson—12 (5, 7; 12, 0)
Van Buren—0
W. H. Harrison—0

* 72 - 15,000 wd message
** 74 - 22,000 "

THE PAPERS OF
WOODROW WILSON

An Annual Message to Congress[1]

Gentlemen of the Congress: [Dec. 2, 1913]

In pursuance of my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union," I take the liberty of addressing you on several matters which ought, as it seems to me, particularly to engage the attention of your honorable bodies, as of all who study the welfare and progress of the Nation.

I shall ask your indulgence if I venture to depart in some degree from the usual custom of setting before you in formal review the many matters which have engaged the attention and called for the action of the several departments of the Government or which look to them for early treatment in the future, because the list is long, very long, and would suffer in the abbreviation to which I should have to subject it. I shall submit to you the reports of the heads of the several departments, in which these subjects are set forth in careful detail, and beg that they may receive the thoughtful attention of your committees and of all Members of the Congress who may have the leisure to study them. Their obvious importance, as constituting the very substance of the business of the Government, makes comment and emphasis on my part unnecessary.

The country, I am thankful to say, is at peace with all the world, and many happy manifestations multiply about us of a growing cordiality and sense of community of interest among the nations, foreshadowing an age of settled peace and good will. More and more readily each decade do the nations manifest their willingness to bind themselves by solemn treaty to the processes of peace, the processes of frankness and fair concession. So far the United States has stood at the front of such negotiations. She will, I earnestly hope and confidently believe, give fresh proof of her sincere adherence to the cause of international friendship

[1] There is a brief, undated WWhw and WWsh outline of this message in WP, DLC. One of the topics listed—"Tolls—Honour of the country—peace of the world"—Wilson did not mention in his address.

Wilson typed most of the address in sections (the WWT draft is in WP, DLC), next dictated the address to Swem, and then extensively revised the CLST draft. The first four pages of this penultimate draft are in the C. L. Swem Collection, NjP. A copy of the final typed version, the one sent to the public printer, has not survived.

by ratifying the several treaties of arbitration awaiting renewal by the Senate. In addition to these, it has been the privilege of the Department of State to gain the assent, in principle, of no less than thirty-one nations, representing four-fifths of the population of the world, to the negotiation of treaties by which it shall be agreed that whenever differences of interest or of policy arise which cannot be resolved by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they shall be publicly analyzed, discussed, and reported upon by a tribunal chosen by the parties before either nation determines its course of action.

There is only one possible standard by which to determine controversies between the United States and other nations, and that is compounded of these two elements: Our own honor and our obligations to the peace of the world. A test so compounded ought easily to be made to govern both the establishment of new treaty obligations and the interpretation of those already assumed.

There is but one cloud upon our horizon. That has shown itself to the south of us, and hangs over Mexico. There can be no certain prospect of peace in America until General Huerta has surrendered his usurped authority in Mexico; until it is understood on all hands, indeed, that such pretended governments will not be countenanced or dealt with by the Government of the United States. We are the friends of constitutional government in America; we are more than its friends, we are its champions; because in no other way can our neighbors, to whom we would wish in every way to make proof of our friendship, work out their own development in peace and liberty. Mexico has no Government. The attempt to maintain one at the City of Mexico has broken down, and a mere military despotism has been set up which has hardly more than the semblance of national authority. It originated in the usurpation of Victoriano Huerta, who, after a brief attempt to play the part of constitutional President, has at last cast aside even the pretense of legal right and declared himself dictator. As a consequence, a condition of affairs now exists in Mexico which has made it doubtful whether even the most elementary and fundamental rights either of her own people or of the citizens of other countries resident within her territory can long be successfully safeguarded, and which threatens, if long continued, to imperil the interests of peace, order, and tolerable life in the lands immediately to the south of us. Even if the usurper had succeeded in his purposes, in despite of the constitution of the Republic and the rights of its people, he would have set up nothing but a precarious and hateful power, which

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could have lasted but a little while, and whose eventual downfall would have left the country in a more deplorable condition than ever. But he has not succeeded. He has forfeited the respect and the moral support even of those who were at one time willing to see him succeed. Little by little he has been completely isolated. By a little every day his power and prestige are crumbling and the collapse is not far away. We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting. And then, when the end comes, we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions.

I turn to matters of domestic concern. You already have under consideration a bill for the reform of our system of banking and currency, for which the country waits with impatience, as for something fundamental to its whole business life and necessary to set credit free from arbitrary and artificial restraints. I need not say how earnestly I hope for its early enactment into law. I take leave to beg that the whole energy and attention of the Senate be concentrated upon it till the matter is successfully disposed of. And yet I feel that the request is not needed—that the Members of that great House need no urging in this service to the country.

I present to you, in addition, the urgent necessity that special provision be made also for facilitating the credits needed by the farmers of the country. The pending currency bill does the farmers a great service. It puts them upon an equal footing with other businessmen and masters of enterprise, as it should; and upon its passage they will find themselves quit of many of the difficulties which now hamper them in the field of credit. The farmers, of course, ask and should be given no special privilege, such as extending to them the credit of the Government itself. What they need and should obtain is legislation which will make their own abundant and substantial credit resources available as a foundation for joint, concerted local action in their own behalf in getting the capital they must use. It is to this we should now address ourselves.

It has, singularly enough, come to pass that we have allowed the industry of our farms to lag behind the other activities of the country in its development. I need not stop to tell you how fundamental to the life of the Nation is the production of its food. Our thoughts may ordinarily be concentrated upon the cities and the hives of industry, upon the cries of the crowded market place and the clangor of the factory, but it is from the quiet interspaces of the open valleys and the free hillsides that we draw the sources of

life and of prosperity, from the farm and the ranch, from the forest and the mine. Without these every street would be silent, every office deserted, every factory fallen into disrepair. And yet the farmer does not stand upon the same footing with the forester and the miner in the market of credit. He is the servant of the seasons. Nature determines how long he must wait for his crops, and will not be hurried in her processes. He may give his note, but the season of its maturity depends upon the season when his crop matures, lies at the gates of the market where his products are sold. And the security he gives is of a character not known in the broker's office or as familiarly as it might be on the counter of the banker.

The Agricultural Department of the Government is seeking to assist as never before to make farming an efficient business, of wide cooperative effort, in quick touch with the markets for foodstuffs. The farmers and the Government will henceforth work together as real partners in this field, where we now begin to see our way very clearly and where many intelligent plans are already being put into execution. The Treasury of the United States has, by a timely and well-considered distribution of its deposits, facilitated the moving of the crops in the present season and prevented the scarcity of available funds too often experienced at such times. But we must not allow ourselves to depend upon extraordinary expedients. We must add the means by which the farmer may make his credit constantly and easily available and command when he will the capital by which to support and expand his business. We lag behind many other great countries of the modern world in attempting to do this. Systems of rural credit have been studied and developed on the other side of the water while we left our farmers to shift for themselves in the ordinary money market. You have but to look about you in any rural district to see the result, the handicap and embarrassment which have been put upon those who produce our food.

Conscious of this backwardness and neglect on our part, the Congress recently authorized the creation of a special commission to study the various systems of rural credit which have been put into operation in Europe, and this commission is already prepared to report. Its report ought to make it easier for us to determine what methods will be best suited to our own farmers. I hope and believe that the committees of the Senate and House will address themselves to this matter with the most fruitful results, and I believe that the studies and recently formed plans of the Department of Agriculture may be made to serve them very greatly in their work of framing appropriate and adequate legislation. It

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would be indiscreet and presumptuous in anyone to dogmatize upon so great and many-sided a question, but I feel confident that common counsel will produce the results we must all desire.

Turn from the farm to the world of business which centers in the city and in the factory, and I think that all thoughtful observers will agree that the immediate service we owe the business communities of the country is to prevent private monopoly more effectually than it has yet been prevented. I think it will be easily agreed that we should let the Sherman antitrust law stand, unaltered, as it is, with its debatable ground about it, but that we should as much as possible reduce the areas of that debatable ground by further and more explicit legislation; and should also supplement that great act by legislation which will not only clarify it but also facilitate its administration and make it fairer to all concerned.[2] No doubt we shall all wish, and the country will expect, this to be the central subject of our deliberations during the present session; but it is a subject so many-sided and so deserving of careful and discriminating discussion that I shall take the liberty of addressing you upon it in a special message at a later date than this. It is of capital importance that the businessmen of this country should be relieved of all uncertainties of law with regard to their enterprises and investments and a clear path indicated which they can travel without anxiety. It is as important that they should be relieved of embarrassment and set free to prosper as that private monopoly should be destroyed. The ways of action should be thrown wide open.

I turn to a subject which I hope can be handled promptly and without serious controversy of any kind. I mean the method of selecting nominees for the Presidency of the United States. I feel confident that I do not misinterpret the wishes or the expectations of the country when I urge the prompt enactment of legislation which will provide for primary elections throughout the country at which the voters of the several parties may choose their nominees for the Presidency without the intervention of nominating conventions. I venture the suggestion that this legislation should provide for the retention of party conventions, but only for the purpose of declaring and accepting the verdict of the primaries and formulating the platforms of the parties; and I suggest that these conventions should consist not of delegates chosen for this single purpose, but of the nominees for Congress, the nominees for vacant seats in the Senate of the

[2] On the WWT draft, Wilson wrote "See Brandeis"—a reference to Louis D. Brandeis, "The Solution of the Trust Problem: A Program," *Harper's Weekly*, LVIII (Nov. 8, 1913), 18-19. A tearsheet of this article, with WWsh comment and the WWhw reading date, "17 Nov., 1913," is in WP, DLC.

United States, the Senators whose terms have not yet closed, the national committees, and the candidates for the Presidency themselves, in order that platforms may be framed by those responsible to the people for carrying them into effect.

These are all matters of vital domestic concern, and besides them, outside the charmed circle of our own national life in which our affections command us, as well as our consciences, there stand out our obligations toward our territories over sea.[3] Here we are trustees. Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, are ours, indeed, but not ours to do what we please with. Such territories, once regarded as mere possessions, are no longer to be selfishly exploited;[4] they are part of the domain of public conscience and of serviceable and enlightened statesmanship. We must administer them for the people who live in them and with the same sense of responsibility to them as toward our own people in our domestic affairs. No doubt we shall successfully enough bind Porto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands to ourselves by ties of justice and interest and affection, but the performance of our duty toward the Philippines is a more difficult and debatable matter. We can satisfy the obligations of generous justice toward the people of Porto Rico by giving them the ample and familiar rights and privileges accorded our own citizens in our own territories and our obligations toward the people of Hawaii by perfecting the provisions for self-government already granted them, but in the Philippines we must go further. We must hold steadily in view their ultimate independence, and we must move toward the time of that independence as steadily as the way can be cleared and the foundations thoughtfully and permanently laid.

Acting under the authority conferred upon the President by Congress, I have already accorded the people of the islands a majority in both houses of their legislative body by appointing five instead of four native citizens to the membership of the commission. I believe that in this way we shall make proof of their capacity in counsel and their sense of responsibility in the exercise of political power, and that the success of this step will be sure to clear our view for the steps which are to follow. Step by step we should extend and perfect the system of self-government in the islands, making test of them and modifying them as experience discloses their successes and their failures; that we should more and more put under the control of the native

[3] In his WWT draft, Wilson used the phrase "our colonial possessions."

[4] Wilson wrote in his typed draft: "Colonial possessions are no longer to be exploited."

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citizens of the archipelago the essential instruments of their life, their local instrumentalities of government, their schools, all the common interests of their communities, and so by counsel and experience set up a government which all the world will see to be suitable to a people whose affairs are under their own control. At last, I hope and believe, we are beginning to gain the confidence of the Filipino peoples. By their counsel and experience, rather than by our own, we shall learn how best to serve them and how soon it will be possible and wise to withdraw our supervision. Let us once find the path and set out with firm and confident tread upon it and we shall not wander from it or linger upon it.

A duty faces us with regard to Alaska which seems to me very pressing and very imperative; perhaps I should say a double duty, for it concerns both the political and the material development of the Territory. The people of Alaska should be given the full Territorial form of government, and Alaska, as a storehouse, should be unlocked. One key to it is a system of railways. These the Government should itself build and administer, and the ports and terminals it should itself control in the interest of all who wish to use them for the service and development of the country and its people.

But the construction of railways is only the first step; is only thrusting in the key to the storehouse and throwing back the lock and opening the door. How the tempting resources of the country are to be exploited is another matter, to which I shall take the liberty of from time to time calling your attention, for it is a policy which must be worked out by well-considered stages, not upon theory, but upon lines of practical expediency. It is part of our general problem of conservation. We have a freer hand in working out the problem in Alaska than in the States of the Union; and yet the principle and object are the same, wherever we touch it. We must use the resources of the country, not lock them up. There need be no conflict or jealousy as between State and Federal authorities, for there can be no essential difference of purpose between them. The resources in question must be used, but not destroyed or wasted; used, but not monopolized upon any narrow idea of individual rights as against the abiding interests of communities. That a policy can be worked out by conference and concession which will release these resources and yet not jeopard or dissipate them, I for one have no doubt; and it can be done on lines of regulation which need be no less acceptable to the people and governments of the States concerned

than to the people and Government of the Nation at large, whose heritage these resources are. We must bend our counsels to this end. A common purpose ought to make agreement easy.

Three or four matters of special importance and significance I beg that you will permit me to mention in closing.

Our Bureau of Mines ought to be equipped and empowered to render even more effectual service than it renders now in improving the conditions of mine labor and making the mines more economically productive as well as more safe. This is an all-important part of the work of conservation; and the conservation of human life and energy lies even nearer to our interest than the preservation from waste of our material resources. We owe it, in mere justice to the railway employees of the country, to provide for them a fair and effective employers' liability act; and a law that we can stand by in this matter will be no less to the advantage of those who administer the railroads of the country than to the advantage of those whom they employ. The experience of a large number of the States abundantly proves that.

We ought to devote ourselves to meeting pressing demands of plain justice like this as earnestly as to the accomplishment of political and economic reforms. Social justice comes first. Law is the machinery for its realization and is vital only as it expresses and embodies it.

An international congress for the discussion of all questions that affect safety at sea is now sitting in London at the suggestion of our own Government. So soon as the conclusions of that congress can be learned and considered we ought to address ourselves, among other things, to the prompt alleviation of the very unsafe, unjust, and burdensome conditions which now surround the employment of sailors and render it extremely difficult to obtain the services of spirited and competent men such as every ship needs if it is to be safely handled and brought to port.

May I not express the very real pleasure I have experienced in cooperating with this Congress and sharing with it the labors of common service to which it has devoted itself so unreservedly during the past seven months of uncomplaining concentration upon the business of legislation? Surely it is a proper and pertinent part of my report on "the state of the Union" to express my admiration for the diligence, the good temper, and the full comprehension of public duty which has already been manifested by both the Houses, and I hope that it may not be deemed an impertinent intrusion of myself into the picture if I say with how much and how constant satisfaction I have availed myself

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of the privilege of putting my time and energy at their disposal alike in counsel and in action.

Printed reading copy (WP, DLC).

From Myron Timothy Herrick[1]

Personal.

Dear Mr. President: Paris, December 2, 1913.

I have learned in a most confidential way through Mr. Chevalley, Sub-Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs,[2] a permanent position, and not subject to change with the administration, that for some years past there has been a persistent and concerted effort by other powers in Central Europe for France to join them in the encouragement of individual and corporate enterprises throughout the Latin Republics and Central America, also to loan money to these Governments, and take from them such pledges of security as would ensure a large control to these Governments, and to use such other means as would tend to prejudice these countries against us, while at the same time pursuing an apparent policy of good will towards us, concealing as far as possible these operations. The press of these Latin countries, which is largely dominant in Europe, and is very generally hostile towards us, seems to me to be evidence of this sinister attitude.

Mr. Chevalley added that France has at all times flatly refused to cooperate along any of these lines, on account of her friendly relations with us. The attitude of the President and of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in this recent crisis would indicate that their policy is consistent with this statement, for there is every evidence that France is doing all in her power to carry out the wishes of our Government in the present situation, and that she is sincerely desirous of the success of your policy in Mexico.

I feel that this information is of such a nature that I would like to communicate it to you personally and not have it placed on file, on account of the gentleman who gave it to me, and with whom I am on most pleasant terms.

I have the honor to be, Mr. President,

Your obedient servant, Myron T. Herrick

TLS (WP, DLC).

[1] Republican Governor of Ohio, 1903-1906, Ambassador to France, 1912-14.

[2] Daniel Abel Chevalley, sub-director for North and South America.

Sponsoring Committee: Professor Samuel P. McCutchen, Chairman:
Professor John C. Payne and Professor Christian O. Arndt

AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL "STATE OF THE UNION" MESSAGE FROM 1790 TO 1955

Seymour H. Fersh

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Education of New York University

Thesis accepted
Date APR 14 1

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> It rests with them to decide what [illegible]
> wards to be adopted for promoting the success of the
> great objects, which I have recommended to their
> attention...[1]

The prestige and reputation of Washington, however, was factor which lent weight to his recommendations even when voiced a conciliatory and deferential way to Congress and many of the binet officials, Hamilton in particular, sought to have their iews incorporated in the annual message because their present- tion to Congress in this address by the President would en- ance their acceptability and increase their chances of legis- ative enactment.

The main body of reporting and general recommendations com- leted, Washington chose to address separate sections of his ommunication to each House. To the House of Representatives, e directed specific references to the question of taxation and the debt. Invariably, he addressed his concluding remarks under a separate designation, "Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives." In his First Annual Address, in this concluding section, he indicated his inability to give a full oral report and his intention to be guided by his Constitutional duty:

> I have directed the proper officers to lay before you, respectively, such papers and estimates as regards the affairs particularly recommended to your consideration, and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union which it is my duty to afford.[2]

Each address, with minor exception, contained in the last paragraph, a pledge of co-operation to work with the Congress

1. Small, op. cit., p. 163.
2. Richardson, I, 59.

Jefferson's annual messages followed, [illegible]
outline sketched by his predecessors in office. His messages
were replete with sermonettes on pressing national problems
couched, for the most part, in a philosophic mood which tended
to place the issues in perspective without suggesting specific
solutions. The implication was that of a "Senior Statesman"
writing rather than the Chief Executive of the Federal system.

A perceptible change in the drift of the annual message
form came with the documents submitted by Madison. During his
administration and those of Monroe and John Q. Adams, the "stat
of the Union" report began its gradual upward spiral in length
which was to be continued, with few exceptions, until it reache
its size zenith under President Taft.

Whereas Washington, Adams and Jefferson had acquitted the
selves of their duty "to report and make recommendations" with
messages ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 words, the annual message
of the presidential incumbents from 1809 to 1829 consumed word
at a rate of from 3,000 to 8,000. Freed from the limitation
of length which an oral document forced upon the Presidents ar
holding the political belief that legislative sovereignty shou
rest with Congress, the Presidents of this latter period happ
retreated from their "forward observation position" and becam
increasingly more content to record for posterity and the Con
gress, a summation of the terrain which had been traveled.

Gradually but discernibly, the text of the annual messag
began to lose its general observations, its grandiose sweep
over the "state of the Union" landscape, and its imprint of
the President's [illegible]

type reports which had characterized the annual messages of Madison, Monroe and J.Q. Adams and which Jackson also incorporate into his own yearly document. The audience-focus thus tended to be bifocal; to the nation-at-large and to the Congress assembl The Jacksonian annual message thus equipped the "Ship of State" with projecting illumination from front and rear.

The gradual ebbing away of presidential prerogative which took place over the next twenty-five years had its natural effec on the form of the annual message. Recommendations tended to restrict themselves to more routine matters and their number tended to decrease in relation to the space devoted to status reporting. The presidential practice of singling out one or two topics for special treatment continued to be a feature of the pre-Civil War yearly messages. The intensity of the discussion tended to abate, however, except for the abuse heaped upon the abolitionists by Presidents Pierce and Buchanan in the annual messages of the 1850s. The message as an instrument of leader-ship gave way to the message as an increasingly factual and authoritative source of information concerning the operation of the Executive branch of the Federal Government.

The length, in keeping with the increased activity and concerns of the Executive branch and the apparent reluctance

of the Presidents to exercise a vigorous editorship over the reports submitted to them, continued to soar to unprecedented heights of verbiage. Jackson's annual communications averaged around 10,000 words each, none of the Presidents from 1829 to 1861 used less than 7,000 words for any of their "state of the Union" messages, and Polk consistently used more than 14,000 words for each of his annual reports to the Congress.

The annual message's roll down hill as an instrument of presidential leadership was brought to an abrupt halt by Lincol The country was in disunion, public opinion was confused, and leadership in the Federal Government had failed miserably to meet the challenge thrust upon it by the secessionest movemen Under Lincoln's pen, the annual message reached one of its highest peaks of prestige and importance. The length was cut to a readable 5,500 to 7,500 words by a strict exclusion from the messages of routine departmental reports. The focus was readjusted to have its sharpest impact not on Congress but on the people of the Union, North and South. In Jacksonian fashion, one or two crucial issues were selected for particul ized examination and the propagandization of administration views. Lincoln reserved for the annual message many of his choicest schemes, first for the solution of the slavery issu and later, for the implementation of the Reconstruction prog Factual reporting continued as an integral part of the annua message but on a smaller and less detailed scale.

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Johnson, the heir to Lincoln's problems but not his tal

best suited to exert the unified leadership which the times demand, it may be expected that future Chief Executives will prove less reluctant to supply the forward-looking policies whic the nation increasingly will expect from its President.

As one observer comments:

> A great President gives his people a supreme lesson in adult education. He fixes their minds on great objectives. He is a safeguard against that banal dullness which makes the democracy no more than a mass of private persons. The significance of a great president, therefore, lies not only in the measures he is able to carry out, but in the width of public interest he is able to evoke. He gives to the democratic process a vividness and a reality which it lacks when a weak president is in office.[1]

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Of the six Presidents awarded the laureate of "great,"[2] Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and F.D. Roosevelt left indelible imprints on the institution of the annual message. They, above all others, illustrated the latent power which the annual messa like Aladdin's lamp, would produce for the user with the magic touch. The two remaining members of the sextet, Washington an Jefferson, provide an example of another feature which unfortu has not survived through the years. James Reston, writing in 1948, pointed it out:

> Like most of his modern predecessors in the White House but unlike Washington and Jefferson, Mr. Truman saw the state of the Union message not as an administrative analysis of the real state of the Union and a carefully prepared plan of action for the new year, bu merely as an expression of his personal political, economic and sociological philosophy, together with a few general suggestions about how that philosophy should be carried out.[3]

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1. Harold J. Laski, The American Democracy, p. 73.
2. Presidential poll of historians, reported in Arthur M. Sch Paths to the Present, p. 96.
3. New York Times, January 8, 1948.

The results achieved by the Presidents, however, will still depend on what they have to say and how they say it rather than on the mechanical amplification that their words receive. It is safe to say that the written messages of Lincoln and the oral but non-broadcast addresses of Wilson had more effect on shaping public opinion than the First Annual Address of Calvin Coolidge which was heard by a million people. A report to the New York Times by Russell Baker provides an impression of Eisenhower's 1955 "state of the Union" address which suggests that the President's speech did not capitalize on the potentiality which the occasion offered:

> The President's speech ran fifty-five minutes. One school of criticism maintains that no speech can be so long and also be good.
> When it was thirty minutes gone, interest in the audience was obviously flagging, and from that point the chamber sank into somnolence.
> Only once was there a moment of laughter....But this flicker of gaiety passed as rapidly as it was born, and the atmosphere grew thicker and thicker.
> At the forty-five minute point only the Republicans still had the will to applaud left in them. And at the fifty-minute mark even two Cabinet members, Charles E. Wilson and John Foster Dulles, looked bored.
> Five minutes later it was over. The House stood to applaud the President and the Republican side cheered him. The burden of acting out a ceremony of state was over and, probably with a greatful sigh, both President and Congress turned back to the jobs they do better.[1]

The function of the annual message as a political institu has changed throughout the years in response to the president role which the Chief Executives have fashioned for themselves In the hands of the "strong" Presidents, the "state of the Un message has been the source of some of their most dramatic po

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[1] January 7, 1955

statements and the one document which they used consistently to influence public support for their reform programs. When leadership in the Federal Government has rested with the Congress, the annual message, like the President himself, has been relegated to the level of a perfunctory and servile instrument. Technological advances by themselves are no guarantee that the function of the annual message will undergo a basic change. The Republican Presidents since 1923 have shown a uniform inability to "cash in" on the possibilities for dynamic use of the annual messages which radio and now television has put within their easy grasp.

The present eclipse of the "state of the Union" message is only temporary. It will regain its full majesty when called upon by a President who will have need to cast powerful light on frontier areas through which he wishes to lead the people.

Since 1790, the clause which makes it a duty for the President to give a yearly report to the Congress has undergone no modification in language and has never been the subject of a Supreme Court decision. Its changes in function have been achieved by its nature as an institution. As Professor Barnes has noted:

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> Our culture and institutions represent society's crude and awkward efforts to adjust itself to the conditions of life in any given region. No human institutions have existed in their present form from the beginning; all are the changing products of perpetual readjustments to altering environmental and technological factors. Conduct and institutions are, thus, mundane in their origin and their later traits, and are not divinely created or inspired. The only valid test of the excellence and adequacy of an

before the bar of public opinion. Logically and earnestly, the President pleaded his cause with a simplicity and restraint which bespoke his heartfelt convictions. The correctness of his position and the ability with which he advocated it stand out as a monument to his memory and gives support to the warning that, "The ruling passion, be it what it will, The ruling passion conquers reason still."[1] Many of the passages of the Lincoln annual messages have become familiar through their constant use to buttress a wide range of propositions.

Andrew Johnson went beyond the pale of annaul message authorship when he secretly obtained the services of historian George Bancroft to write his First Annual Message. It has always been commonplace knowledge that the Presidents relied heavily on their Secretaries of State and other governmental officials for the substance of their "state of the Union" messages. The comment of The Nation, in 1906, makes the point:

> We are dealing of course with no vulgar question of plagiarism. The problem of authorship, strictly speaking, seldom arises in connection with Presidential messages. They, as a rule, are mosaics; and only the higher critic who can confidently dissect out the documents in the Pentateuch would venture to assign the various bits to the Secretaries, or others, who contributed them.[2]

Final responsibility for the authorship of the annual message has been expected, however, to remain with the President.

Johnson, in his unique position as the most unfortunate presidential victim of official Congressional attack, dragged

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1. Alexander Pope, Moral Essays, Epistle III, Line 153.
2. "Authors of Presidential Messages," Vol. 82, no. 2118, p. 9

upon. Barriers of topic headings, lists of recommendations and detailed Treasury Reports, all undergirded with a generous supply of statistics, have succeeded in putting to rest any fear among journalists that the annual message would become a threat to their bailwick. The crushing bulk of information which has traditionally found its way into the body of the yearly report has once again reasserted its ascendency over the streamlined message with its emphasis on impact and its dependence on hard hitting prose.

Viewing the entire record of all the annual messages, the observer can not fail to be impressed by the conscientious and industrious nature of all the contributors who have lent a hand in building the tremendous edifice which is the institution of the annual message. A sober "Men at Work" sign seems to hang over the whole construction job except for the very infrequent "breaks" for humor, as in Lincoln's and F.D.R.'s messages, or the "slowdown" tactics of Johnson.

The parallelism between superior literary style and the "great" and "near great" Presidents is impressive. Of the ten thus designated, Lincoln, Washington, F.D. Roosevelt, Wilson, Jefferson, Jackson, T. Roosevelt, Cleveland, Adams, and Polk,[1] all have earned similar laurels when they are rated for the literary quality of their annual messages. Exception need be made only for McKinley who could rank eleventh in the select literary circle.

1. Schlesinger, op. cit., p. 96.

There is reason to believe that the "going-togetherness" of the two categories alluded to above is less than casual. Great Presidents have been at the forefront in solving the issues of their times. Favorable public opinion, always an asset but in times of decision a necessity, has moved to the support of the outstanding Presidents who have been able to mak their position clear and understandable. There is reason to believe that as the office of the President assumes even larger proportions in the future scheme of things, the nation will loo more instinctively to the President for leadership.

The annual message is admirably suited to provide an able President with the most important single platform that exists in the American political system. The Chief Executive may cho to use the occasion to broadcast, in railroad announcer style, the arrivel, lay-over, and departure of the many issues housed in the Union station, making also the necessary additions of i formation concerning accommodations, special fares, and ticket regulations which are vital aids to the would-be traveler.

He may, on the other hand, utilize the many other facili which are at his disposal, such as the frequent press confere and the news making possibilities of the White House, to supp his "customers" with all the detailed facts well in advance o his "state of the Union" remarks. Thus, the traveler would n experience the panic of hearing the multitude of instructions which seem to defy understanding and tend only to encourage a fatalistic acceptance of the idea that any traveling is dange

ous and that "staying put" is therefore the safest course.

Unemcumbered by trivia, the President and his patrons could concentrate their attention on the more central question of catching the right carrier to the right destination. Much of the uncertainty of embarking on the wrong track, or perhaps worse, of never considering any travel because of the hazards involved, would be minimized.

The "great" and "near great" Presidents have shown an abilit to have their voice and spirit rise up above the din and confusion of the milling throng. Leadership implies a positive relationship between the leader and those who are led. The ability of the President, in the future as in the past, to articulate his views to the public will go a long way in deciding the success or failure of his administration.

2. Religious Thanksgiving

Professor Gabriel, writing in 1939, made the observation that:

> The differences which distinguish the twentieth century from its predecessors spring from the growth of science. The naturalism of the laboratory has replaced religion in providing a frame of reference for modern American thought. Einstein, the physicist, has become a twentieth century Aristotle.[1]

The annual message form provides an interesting support for this assertion while at the same time, indicating that the[re] is some evidence of a resurgence of religious sentiment as ex-

of faster than sound carriers has tended to merge the consideration of domestic and foreign affairs. The position of the United States as the most powerful single nation in the world had tended to transform the annual message from one concerned with the "state of the Union" to one which portrays the main outlines of the "state of the World." The point was well made by President Truman in his annual message of 1950:

> The scientific and industrial revolution which began two centuries ago has, in the last 50 years, caught up the peoples of the globe in a common destiny. Two world-shattering wars have proved that no corner of the earth can be isolated from the affairs of mankind.[1]

The gradual acceptance in fact of the idea that the Federal government can and should take action to assure the "general welfare" has had its effect on the annual message content. The extent can best be indicated by some of the 1955 "state of the Union" requests made by a Republican President:

1. Adopt a nation-wide comprehensive water resources policy now being prepared by the Administration.
2. Step up the nation's highway program along lines to be recommended.
3. Set up an office of "Co-ordinator of Public Works" in the White House.
4. Strengthen the Federal drought aid programs and enact special legislation to aid low-income farm families.
5. Authorize 35,000 more public housing units in each of the next two fiscal years.
6. Enact a Federal health reinsurance program and improve medical care for those who receive Federal-state public assistance.
7. Take Federal action to ease the classroom shortage in schools and to help the states deal with juvenile delinquency.
8. Increase the minimum wage to 90 cents an hour and broaden its coverage.
9. Pass measures concerning occupational safety, workmen's compensation for longshoremen and harbor

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1. Eighty-first Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representative

Even now, the raw material for the next annual message content is being processed and fashioned. That instant which is the fleeting present is doomed to join the past. In similar process, the "state of the Union" message will continue to cut its swath into the harvest ahead, bundling tomorrows into yesterdays.

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VOICE OF AMERICA:

Ronald Reagan and the American Rhetorical Tradition

American optimism throughout history.
Study of inspirational quotes of presidents.
Reagan's use of American ideals to increase patriotism

STEVEN HAYWARD

Ronald Reagan is often called the "Great Communicator." It is a grand accolade, resonant of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator. And it is a recognition of Mr. Reagan's special place in history. Like Lincoln, he has been the catalyst for major changes in the sentiments of Americans, and how they regard the national government.

But not because Mr. Reagan communicates brilliantly. In fact, the title "Great Communicator" seems very odd at times. The President is no orator on the model of Winston Churchill or William Jennings Bryan. He fractures his syntax at press conferences. He rambles in interviews. In his final debate with Walter Mondale, he left the American people wandering among the California wildflowers with an unfinished anecdote.

Courtesy of the White House.

It is true that Mr. Reagan excels in delivering a prepared speech; Harvey Mansfield has remarked that the President is as good a speaker as a man can be without being eloquent. His sincere manner carries enormous persuasive power, which he has used on several occasions to build popular support.

Mr. Reagan is also a master of the impromptu witticism. "There you go again," he told Jimmy Carter in the most casually devastating line of the 1980 campaign. A few months earlier, Mr. Reagan may have assured himself of the Republican nomination with another spontaneous outburst, "I paid for this microphone." In the late 1960s, Mr. Reagan was accosted by antiwar protesters with signs saying "Make love, not war." He remarked that it didn't look like they could do much of either.

But this ostensible skill at "communication" does not adequately explain Mr. Reagan's success and popularity, and the title "Great Communicator" fundamentally misstates his achievement. Americans tend to respond more to what is said than to how it is said. And it is here that Mr. Reagan's genius lies. He conveys a message of native optimism and hope for the future which is deeply rooted in the American character and in American history.

Mr. Reagan understands, as our media and intellectual elites do not, that the most prominent feature of the American character is forward-looking optimism, an innate confidence in people and the goodness of the American cause. Americans brook no ambiguity or equivocation; they are open, forthright, and idealistic on a grand scale. Only America would conceive of a war effort as being "to make the world safe for democracy"; would extend a Marshall Plan to battered Europe; or would regard the quest for the moon not simply as a technological achievement but as an expression of American aspirations.

March of Destiny

In his second inaugural address, Mr. Reagan said, "There are no limits to growth and human progress when men and women are free to follow their dreams." In the State of the Union address shortly after he said, "There are no constraints on the human mind, no walls around the human spirit, no barriers to our progress except those we ourselves erect." This is an expression of faith in individualism, in the American character—it rejects the orthodoxy of the elites of the 1970s who said that the world is terrifyingly complex, there are no easy answers, we have to accept a politics of limits, we have to learn to live with less. Mr. Reagan defined the American character quite differently in a televised address to the Chinese last year.

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no. 33 Summer 1985

> Let me tell you something of the American character. You might think that with such a varied nation there couldn't be any one character, but in many fundamental ways there is . . . We're idealists . . . We're a compassionate people . . . We're an optimistic people. Like you, we inherited a vast land of endless skies, tall mountains, rich fields, and open prairies. It made us see the possibilities in everything. It made us hopeful. And we devised an economic system that rewarded individual efforts, that gave us good reason for hope.

Mr. Reagan's image of America as a "city on a hill," a common theme of his 1984 campaign, comes from a sermon by John Winthrop of Plymouth colony who held out the promise of the New World as "a city on a hill, an alabaster city undimmed by human tears." This is not mere imagery. It is a symbol of something very deep and profound; in this case the essence of the American temperament. For Mr. Reagan, the "city on a hill" theme is hardly new. As early as 1964, in his famous speech for Barry Goldwater, he spoke of America's "rendezvous with destiny" in much the same terms as he has recently talked about keeping alight "the torch of freedom," of preserving "the last best hope of mankind." Mr. Reagan has never viewed this as a city for the few—it is a goal for all Americans, a reaffirmation of the American dream, the redemption of a promise and its extension to future generations. "The American sound," Mr. Reagan said in the second inaugural address, "is hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair." The United States is a nation "still mighty in its youth and powerful in its purpose . . . "

"Sometimes people call me an idealist," Woodrow Wilson once said. "That is why I know I am an American." Mr. Reagan's idealism and his use of American images and symbols echo the great presidents of the past. In Mr. Reagan's words, one hears at times the piety of Washington and Lincoln, the idealism of Jefferson and Wilson, and the courage and optimism of the Roosevelts and Kennedy. Always we find in Mr. Reagan what Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893 called "the distinguishing feature of America—expansion, growth, perennial rebirth, and new opportunity." Yet Turner was a pessimist when he said that; he thought America had run out of frontiers; Manifest Destiny had exhausted itself.

This is a misreading of the American character, as Mr. Reagan has recognized. This country is not bounded by geography or shrinking petroleum resources. In his first inaugural address, Mr. Reagan affirmed that "we have every right to dream heroic dreams." He asked us "to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds, to believe that together with God's help we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us." His last line, wonderfully redolent of the American dream: "And, after all, why shouldn't we believe that? We are Americans."

Mythical Malaise

Mr. Reagan's themes have been notably absent from recent American discourse. In literature and history, in popular music and films, in the general tone of rhetoric coming from pulpit and politician alike, an almost German

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

pessimism came to dominate American consciousness. Our self-confidence was shaken by Vietnam, our trust broken by Watergate, and our optimism and hope battered by a sagging economy. The captivity of 52 Americans in Iran seemed to underscore our steady slide. The "American Century" once heralded by Henry Luce now seemed at an end, with the nation entering a twilight era as everyone was abuzz with talk of limits.

The climax of this troubled time came with one of the most extraordinary moments in the history of presidential rhetoric, President Jimmy Carter's famous "malaise" speech in 1979. It was a schizophrenic speech. Mr. Carter began by affirming "the decency and the strength and the wisdom of the American people," and assuring us of the enduring strength of our political liberties, and our economic and military strength. But the heart of the speech was his warning about "a fundamental threat to American democracy . . . It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of unity and purpose for our nation."

What was unusual about Mr. Carter's speech was not that it perceived the faltering spirit of America. In 1978, Alexander Solzhenitsyn at Harvard warned of America's loss of "civic courage." Previous presidents have tackled this theme; three times in 1971 President Nixon addressed "the dark night of the American spirit." Even John F. Kennedy, the incarnation of confidence and optimism, warned during his 1960 campaign of "the increasing evidence of a lost national purpose and a soft national will."

But it was precisely this sinking of morale that Mr. Carter, like Kennedy, promised to reverse in his presidential campaign. Mr. Carter didn't limit himself to the usual promises of more prosperity for various interests; he made almost metaphysical vows to give us "a government as good as the people" or, as his autobiography put it, "why not the best?" He promised us, in other words, a govern-

ment of extraordinary strength and morality, which would uplift the natural American dynamism and greatness. But in his "malaise" speech Mr. Carter did not see tragedy as the flip side of optimism and progress; he seemed to deny optimism and progress. In essence he told us that his government was no good because the people were no good.

Today, of course, we are in the midst of a sunburst of patriotism and optimism. It is true that this resurgence cannot be attributed solely to Mr. Reagan, yet he has had more to do with it than anyone else. It is impossible to think of this revival having taken place if Mr. Carter had remained president. What Mr. Reagan did was not so much create the optimism as unleash it, give it expression; it had been dormant. Patriotism has always been a leading feature of the American character, as many European observers have discovered. Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835 was struck by the almost "irritable patriotism" of Americans; and Lord Bryce in 1889 noted "the bounding pulse of youth" that marked the American temperament. Perhaps the most significant dimension of what the press is calling "the new patriotism" is the attitude of the young, who have responded overwhelmingly to Mr. Reagan, to the chagrin of their erstwhile liberal shepherds. "Students love him," a 21 year-old was quoted in *Newsweek*. "He made me feel prouder of my country, and that I can make a difference. That's what people want to hear right now."

Q about Rs patriotism

What Mr. Reagan understands about American domestic policy is that it should be formulated and presented in the context of broader, almost philosophical, American goals. The tax cut of 1981, for instance, was not merely a scheme for improving the take-home pay of individuals, it was a moral imperative springing from Mr. Reagan's understanding that government must not come to dominate the initiatives and actions of individuals. Mr. Reagan declared in his first inaugural address:

> If we look to the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on Earth, it was because here in this great land, we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than has ever been done before. Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available here than in any other place on earth.

This is curious rhetoric coming from the most conservative president in the 20th century. Mr. Reagan's rhetoric is individualist; he believes that excessive government stifles human freedom and chokes progress. In his Goldwater speech he said, "Our Founding Fathers knew that you can't control the economy without controlling the people," which is reminiscent of that classical liberal, John Stuart Mill, who said: "a state which dwarfs men. . . will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished."

One of Mr. Reagan's favorite sources for quotations is that radical firebrand Tom Paine. "We have it in our power to begin the world over again," Mr. Reagan has often quoted Paine, in terms that surely must be anathema to traditional conservatives. All Mr. Reagan's main themes—optimism, hope, initiative, opportunity, work, and middle-class values—were once traditional themes of liberals. His rhetoric often reminds us more of Wilson, FDR, Truman, and Kennedy than the parsimonious Republican rhetoric of Taft, Goldwater, and Nixon. Even Mr. Reagan's criticism of the dependence induced by federal programs is echoed by Franklin Roosevelt, who told Congress in 1935, "Continued dependence on relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber. To dole our relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit."

Freedom and Universality

Mr. Reagan's foreign policy rhetoric is not motivated either by *Realpolitik* or fuzzy idealism, but by an understanding of universal principles enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and shared by most Americans. While President Carter worried about our "inordinate fear of Communism" and his secretary of state believed that the world's leaders "share similar dreams and aspirations," Mr. Reagan understands that Communism is subversive to the principles of human dignity and freedom held by all civilized men.

> To deny the democratic values and that they have any relevance to the developing world today, or to the millions of people who are oppressed by Communist domination, is to reject the universal significance of the basic timeless credo that all men are created equal—that they're endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . . By wedding the timeless truths and values Americans have always cherished to the realities of today's world, we have forged the beginnings of a fundamentally new direction in American foreign policy—a policy based on the unashamed, unapologetic explaining of our own priceless institutions and proof that they work, and describing the social and economic progress they so uniquely foster.

In this Mr. Reagan sounds like Lincoln, who repeatedly

reminded us that the great principle of America "was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland; but something in that Declaration giving liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time."

Mr. Reagan has cited these very words, most recently in his 1985 State of the Union message. On other occasions he has declared: "Especially in this century, America has kept alight the torch of freedom, but not just for ourselves but for millions of others around the world." "Freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few," Mr. Reagan has stressed. "It is the universal right of all God's children."

More than any other recent president—including the born-again Baptist Jimmy Carter—Mr. Reagan understands and has repeatedly spoken out about the religious foundations of American order, and the religious dimension of the American character. "Freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowledged," Mr. Reagan proclaimed in his controversial "evil empire" speech in Orlando in 1983.

He expanded on this theme in another controversial speech to a prayer breakfast during the Republican National Convention in Dallas in 1984. "The truth is," he argued, "politics and morality are inseparable. And as morality's foundation is religion, religion and politics are necessarily related." Mr. Reagan concluded:

> We establish no religion in this country nor will we ever; we command no worship, we mandate no belief. But we poison our society when we remove its theological underpinnings; we court corruption and we leave it bereft of belief . . .
>
> Without God, we are mired in the material, that flat world that tells us only what the senses perceive; without God, there is a coarsening of the society; without God, democracy will not and cannot long endure. And that, simply, is the heart of my message: if we ever forget that we are "one nation under God," then we will be a nation gone under.

That Mr. Reagan's remarks on religion should be so bitterly controversial is indicative of the lack of historical self-understanding of the nature of America by our intellectual and media elites, for Mr. Reagan's words are taken almost verbatim from Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Wilson. "And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure," Jefferson asked, "when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath?" In his farewell address, Washington admonished: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable support . . . reason and experience forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." Woodrow Wilson, in words that make Mr. Reagan's seem mild, declared: "America was born a Christian nation. America was born to exemplify that devotion to the elements of righteousness which are derived from the revelations of Holy Scripture."

Religion, indeed, lies at the very core of the American character, a fact that is either forgotten or ignored today, even though it has always been obvious to keen foreign observers of America. Tocqueville wrote that it was not until he visited the churches that he understood the genius of America. G.K. Chesterton described America as a nation "with the soul of a church."

The act of the American Founding was not merely an act of defiant separatism from the "Old World," but was the defining act, both in principle and in spirit, for what Lincoln called our "political religion." The Founding was an act of panoramic idealism and unbounded hopefulness and optimism. It is this idealism and optimism that distinguishes America from Europe; it is the basis for what is known as "American exceptionalism." "The European," Luigi Barzini noted, "is pessimistic, prudent, practical, and parsimonious, like an old-fashioned banker," while America is "alarmingly optimistic, compassionate, incredibly generous . . . It was a spiritual wind that drove Americans irresistably ahead from the beginning. Few foreigners understand this, even today." The apocalyptic gloominess and gritty *Realpolitik* that characterize European politics has never affected America; the spirit of Spengler's *Decline of the West* never applied to America. The European dwells on his past, considering it more glorious than his future. The American sees in his glorious past a prologue to an even more glorious future.

Presidents in the last generation have proceeded in the shadow of FDR, not simply because he changed the course of government—after all his New Deal policies were largely ineffective at the time—but because his infectious optimism restored confidence in the future. Few presidents have had the oratorical resonance of FDR, or now of Mr. Reagan. While it is true that Mr. Reagan's place in history books will largely depend on the outcome of discrete problems—whether the budget is controlled, whether peace and security are maintained—Mr. Reagan will probably set the standard against which the next generation of presidents will be measured. By his rhetoric, he has caused us to think again of possibilities, of growth and progress, and of confidence in our future.

"The freeman, casting with unpurchased hand,
The vote that shakes the turret of the land."
-- Oliver Wendell Holmes

"Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it."
-- Thomas Paine

"If I can only live to see the American Union firmly fixed and free government established in our western world and can leave to my children but a crust of bread and liberty, I shall die satisfied."
-- George Mason

"To live under the American Constitution is the greatest privilege that was ever accorded to the human race."
-- Calvin Coolidge

"We seek a peaceful world, a prosperous world, a free world, a world of Good Neighbors, living on terms of equality and mutual respect."
-- Harry S. Truman

"The will of the people is the only legitimate foundation of any government, and to protect its free expression should be our first object."
-- Thomas Jefferson

"The ball of liberty, I believe most piously, is now so well in motion that it will roll round the globe, at least the enlightened part of it, for light and liberty go together."
-- Thomas Jefferson

"Every man and every body of men on earth, possesses the right of self-government. They receive it with their being from the hand of nature. Individuals exercise it by their single will; collections of men by that of their majority; for the law of the majority is the natural law of every society of men."
-- Thomas Jefferson

"The election of a President of America, some years hence, will be much more interesting to certain nations of Europe than ever the election of a King of Poland was."
-- Thomas Jefferson

"Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.
To that high concept there can be no end save victory."
-- January 6, 1941

"In the future we must never forget the lesson that we have learned -- that we must have friends who will work with us in peace as they have fought at our side in war."
-- January 6, 1945 (radio address also)

"If we do not keep constantly ahead of our enemies in the development of new weapons, we pay for our backwardness with the life's blood of our sons."
-- January 6, 1945

"Ours [the United Nations] is an association not of Governments but of peoples -- and the peoples' hope is peace."
-- January 6, 1945

"Peace can be made and kept only by the united determination of free and peace-loving peoples who are willing to work together -- willing to help one another -- willing to respect and tolerate and try to understand one another's opinions and feelings."
-- January 6, 1945

" . . . in a democratic world, as in a democratic Nation, power must be linked with responsibility, and obliged to defend and justify itself within the framework of the general good."
-- January 6, 1945

"But it is a good and a useful thing -- it is an essential thing -- to have principles toward which we can aim."
-- January 6, 1945

"The aroused conscience of humanity will not permit failure in this supreme endeavor [post-war recovery]."
-- January 6, 1945

"We believe that the extraordinary advances in the means of intercommunication between peoples over the past generation offer a practical method of advancing the mutual understanding upon which peace and the institutions of peace must rest, and it is our policy and purpose to use these great technological achievements for the common advantage of the world."
-- January 6, 1945

"We Americans have always believed in freedom of opportunity, and equality of opportunity remains one of the principal objectives of our national life. What we believe in for individuals, we believe in also for Nations."
-- January 6, 1945

"We pray that we may be worth of the unlimited opportunities that God has given us." (closing line)

-- January 6, 1945

"We stand at the opening of an era which can mean either great achievement or terrible catastrophe for ourselves and for all mankind."

-- January 5, 1949

"The scientific and industrial revolution which began two centuries ago has, in the last 50 years, caught up the peoples of the globe in a common destiny. Two world-shattering wars have proved that no corner of the earth can be isolated from the affairs of mankind."

-- 1950

1890

NY Herald
NY Star
NYT
NY World

Wash Post
Wash Evening Star

NY Sun
NY Tribune

Chicago Trib

Joseph Ross
707-5775

Gay 90s
Immigrants -
Tech. Rev.

ag → ind // ind → servics
Patent - 1899

Wash Star
12/31/89 Ed.
1/1/90 - Ed.
12/31/89 WP

~~12/31/89 Ed.~~
~~1/1/90 - all~~
~~1/1/90 - Ed.?~~
~~1/1/90 Ed.~~

NYT - 862-0300

212/556-1003 - Research
Lora Korvut

Jan 1, 1890

Nellie Bly

page 1

Grippe epidemic - "No Respecter of Rank
Hard Scholarly Sick With
the Influenza

page 1

IRON FROM THE ORE
A Day Coming When Blast Furnaces Will
Be Useless

Pittsburg, Dec 31 - W. S. Mallory of the
iron firm of Mallory + Brown of Chicago
speaking of the iron business to day said:
"The production of iron in the West is
growing in volume, but the demand just now
is ~~approaching~~ ahead of the production. But
there is a crisis approaching in the iron +
steel business. I don't mean to say that
it will materialize next year, nor in
the next five years, but I believe that
at any time in from 5-15 years blast
furnaces will be dead property, so far as
their utility for pig-iron making is
concerned. I mean that the time is coming
(and it may come sooner than we expect)
when iron + steel will be successfully
produced from the ore. "Fortunes have
already been spent in experiments
on this line, + some practical men will

say it is impossible, but I am convinced that it is possible & that it will come."

page 1

THEY COVERED THE POSTERS

Beaver Falls, Penn., Dec 31 – When the members of the Rose Hill "Folly" Company arrived here today, they found aprons of paper pasted across their somewhat dizzy portraits upon the dead walls of the town. The Scotch lonenanters for several days have plastered against the Parisian nudes & Cupid's cap & ink the co. prepared to present & the pictures w/ wh they advertised the show. On Mon, led by the Rev. H.H. Sharp of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, they went about tearing down the flashy posters. Orr & Rea, lessees of the Opera Hse, objected in vain, & then decided upon a grand coup. Late last night they sent men over the town w/ instructions to cover every female picture w/ an apron, leaving only the ankles & feet exposed. Each apron bore the inscription: "This sign covered by order of H.T. Martin, H.S. McCandless, & E.P. Thompson. The performance will be given tonight w/ out fail."

The scheme was successful. There was a tremendous rush for tickets. Before noon the whole house was sold up. & the

managers were in high glee. ~~The Rev. Mr. George said~~

THE SAN SALLADOR REVOLUTION

page 1

La Libertad, Dec 31, via Galveston - The Govt has gained a great victory against the forces of Gen Rivas & has occupied six of their principal standpoints. Many were killed on both sides.

The revolution will probably soon be quelled

MILK PUNCH RULED OUT

Judge Brewer's Friends Forced to Content Themselves W/Tea

page 1

Chicago, Dec 31 - A special dispatch from Leavenworth, Kan. says: "At the banquet given to Judge Brewer last night by leading citizens of Leav~~en~~worth in honor of his elevation to the Supreme Ct of the US, the Comm of Arrangements for the banquet had prepared to furnish its guests w/a milk punch. In some way this fact reached the ears of the Police Comm's, & the proprietors of the hotel were warned by Comm Lowe that if any liquors were served they would be arrested on such info

... Rather than raise any disturbance the comm consented to forego the punch, & the only bev's at the feast were tea, coffee, milk & chocolate.

Phillips
Jan 23, 1890

page 1

MR EDISON'S INVENTIONS

... The phonograph improved & perfected will be brought out in a fortnight.

Jan 23, 1890

HE DRANK CARBOLIC ACID

Red Bank, NJ, Jan 22 - Charles Magee, Postmaster

AXES IN DEMAND

Not Enough in the country to supply Southern Markets

page 6

Brunswick, Ga. Jan 22 - The flood of last June destroyed the great axe factories of this country, & as no dies appear to have been imported, it is discovered that there is a shortage in these implements. In the southern part of this State, along Savannah Bay, this fact is causing heavy loss of business & depriving hundreds of employment.

THE BACILLUS OF INFLUENZA FOUND

page 9

Ever since the grip became epidemic professors of bacteriology all over the world have been hard at work trying to discover and classify the microbe on the generally accepted theory that an insidious germ is the root of the disease. The first announcement of success among the numerous scientific searchers came yesterday on a cablegram from Vienna to the

effect that Prof. Weichselbaum of the univ. has found the bacillus of influenza. ~~He founds~~

page 4

WAR AGAINST OLEOMARGARINE

Waterbury, Conn., Jan 22 – The war which Conn farmers are waging against the manufacture & sale of oleomargarine is waxing hotter, & it has been determined to force the issue into the domain of politics. The State Grange Patrons of Husbandry, at their annual mtg in Willimantic the other day, took a radical position on the subject. After condemning oleomargarine as fraud the grange, amid great enthusiasm, unanimously adopted resolutions urging the incoming Assembly to enact ~~this~~ prohibitory leg against the mfr & sale of imitation butter, & asking farmers to elect no State & leg officers who R not, both by word & deed, opposed to oleomargarine.

The Conn Dairymen's Assoc meets in Hartford next wk, & it will probably pass as strong anti-oleomargarine resolutions as those adopted at Willimantic. The farmers from one end of the State to the other have become thoroughly aroused, & have determined to seek leg redress for their alleged grievances.

WASH POST - Jan 23, 1890

FAMINE IN A NEW STATE

a Terrible Story of Destitution comes from South Dakota.

The True Situation Disclosed

page 1

Farmers in Twenty Counties W/out the Means of Subsistence - Brought to the Verge of Starvation by Successive Crop Failures - A Relief Movt Set on Foot

page 1

MORE TRIBUTES TO JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jackson, Miss, Jan 22 - A vast crowd gathered in the Hse of reps tonight to pay their final tributes to the late Jefferson Davis. Among the decorations were a life-size portrait of Mr. Davis, the sword worn by him at Buena Vista, the sword of Robt E Lee, & several Confederate battle flags. The Stars & Stripes were a central figure.

page 1

GERMANS SHUT OUT OF SOUTH RUSSIA

St Petersburg, Jan 22 - The govt has determined to place restrictions upon the immigration of Germans into Southern Russia.

Person
Jan 23
1st page

THE EVILS OF DIVORCE

National Reform League Discuss a Great Social Problem

Uniform Laws Not a Solution

How the Laws Should be Amended to Remedy Some Glaring Defects of the Marriage System - Desirability of an Intl. Conference on the Subject

(Boston)

page 1

THE AGNOSTICISM OF TO-DAY

It is Largely Due to the Positive Teachings of John Stuart Mill

page 2

NYT Jan 1, 1901

PLAYED BAGPIPES HIGH IN AIR

Stonemason on Top of a 262-Foot Chimney Celebrated Its Completion

Newark, NJ, Dec. 31 – John Anderson, a stone mason, standing on the top of the chimney attached to the Prudential Company's new bldg, in Bank St, 262 ft above the sidewalk, played airs on a bagpipe shortly after 3 o'clock this afternoon.

page 11

The last touches of the chimney were put on this morning, & at noon an Am flag was placed on top, marking its completion. Anderson set the first & last stones on the chimney. He got out his bagpipes this aft to celebrate the end of his job. He walked around the coping playing lively Scotch airs, which were plainly audible to those below, & thousands stopped on the street to witness the novel scene.

NYT, Jan 23, 1901

page 1

QUEEN VICTORIA DEAD AT OSBORNE
Passed Away Quietly at 6:30 o'Clock Last Evening
Scene At The Bedside
Family, with Bowed Heads, Listened to Bishop's
Prayers
Queen Bade Them Farewell
Said to Have Spoken Words of Great
Moment to Prince of Wales
Albert Edward Now King
Privy Council & Parl Will Meet in
London To-Day, & the Proclamation
of the New Monarch's Succession
Will Follow - Grief Over the
Queen's Death & Admiration for
Her Character Universal in the
United Kingdom, the British Colonies,
Europe & America - Arrangements
for the Funeral Not Yet Announced

page 5

MACARTHUR THANKS SOLDIERS
Manila, Jan 22 - The Eleventh Cavalry has
arrived here on the transport Meade. . .
The men who are to sail Sat were reviewed
& addressed this evening by Gen MacArthur.
In addressing the 26th Reg, Gen MacArthur
thanked the men enthusiastically for the part

they ably bore in the history-making epoch in the Philippines. . . .

page 1

BICYCLE DEALER SHOOTS HIMSELF —

Archie Clark, a bicycle dealer residing at 30 Franklyn Street, Jamaica, committed suicide yesterday by shooting himself w/a revolver. Besides his bicycle business Clark was in the artificial palm business w/his brother in Brooklyn. He had been in poor health for several weeks & had become despondent. He was an Odd Fellow, a Forester, & a member of the local fire company.

A home for indigent lawyers has been set in Madison, Wi. This would seem to indicate that not enough rich men in Wis R. leaving deserving wills — Boston Commercial

NYT, Dec 31, 1900

page 1

MRS. NATION REFUSES BAIL

Says she will Demolish Saloons in Other Cities if Released

~~WICHITA~~ Wichita, Kan, Dec 30 - Mrs. Carrie Nation, the Women's Christian Temperance Union woman who broke mirrors & destroyed a valuable painting in a Wichita saloon, has refused bail secured by her co-workers.

She now says that under no circumstances will she step out of jail until cleared of the charge against her & the WCTU has practically abandoned its effort to secure her release. Mrs. Nation says if she is released from imprisonment she will demolish saloon furniture in other Kansas cities.

page 2

STATEHOOD FOR ARIZONA

page 2

CENTURY SERVICES IN ENGLAND

Archdeacon Farrar Takes a Gloomy View of the Future

London, Dec 31 - ~~At the Westminster Abbey~~

... At Westminster Abbey Archdeacon Frederick W. Farrar, preaching yesterday, took a very gloomy view of the future. He said he thought it by no means improbable that

TR speech
Dec 30, 1900

early in the coming century Eng would have to meet a combination of Eur powers.

Referring to the "serious trade competition of Ger & the US," he appealed to Eng to save herself. Alluding to the great curse of intemperance, he said that the Rev. Charles Sheldon had told him that he had seen more drunkenness in Eng in one yr than in his own country, the US, in a whole lifetime.

ed page ?

THE PARTING OF THE CENTURIES
Rabbi Kaufman Kohler, Minister at Temple Beth-El, 5th Ave & 76th St —

... The first thing that strikes us is the invention of machinery, the power that chains the giant forces of nature to the chariot of man, annihilating the distances of time & space, & unlocking the hidden treasures of the earth, turning the black coal into rays of light, & the rays of the sun into a painter's palette. To take the heavy burden of labor from the shoulders of the workingman & to make him the equal of his neighbor, to provide better food, raiment, & shelter for a classes of society alike, was the object, the promise of the XIXth Cent science. Was the promise fulfilled?

✓ Geo. Marshall, Commencement Address, Harvard Univ, 1947

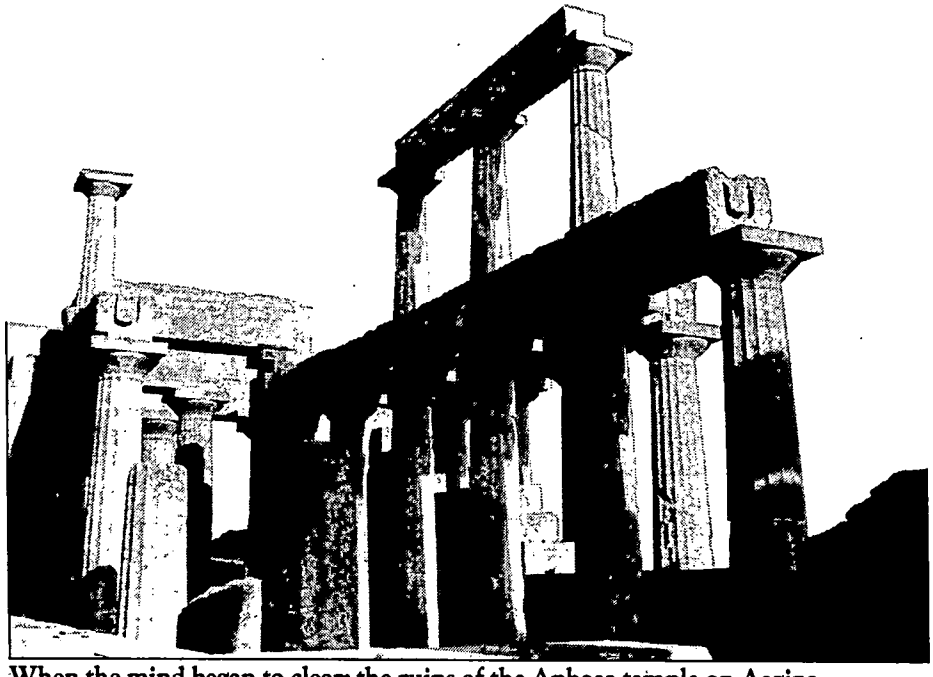
✓ Jane Addams founded Hull House in 1889

✓ Nellie Bly

gauntlet to Cong - unfinished agenda
send rep leg - or veto

? — Peace Dividend

GREAT YEARS OF HISTORY



When the mind began to clear: the ruins of the Aphaea temple on Aegina

1989, and all that

For those who like to roll the taste of history on their tongue, this has been a vintage year, though not one of the greatest. Our list of the really big years of the past, minus Adam Smith's birthday

IT HAS been a wonderful year, a year your great-grandchildren's schoolbooks will spend a whole chapter on; but it does not quite rank with the great years of history. In the great years, something new is written into the human ledger. This year has been an erasing year. It did a splendid job, clearing the page for whatever comes next; but that is not exactly the same thing.

In 1989 one of history's bigger mistakes began to be rubbed out. The institutions of Leninist communism—one-party rule, a "planned" economy—collapsed in much of Eastern Europe, looked pretty doomed in the Soviet Union, and were preserved in China only by the desperation of a communist party that had failed to read Dean Inge: you cannot sit on a throne of bayonets, not for ever. Half-noticed in the excitement about all this, one of the last outposts of an older and murkier mistake may also have started to crumble, as South Africa's new president took a new look at his country's chances of preserving one-race rule.

This is excellent. It makes 1989 even better than 1945, when Hitlerism was erased—better both because Hitler, unlike Lenin, did not claim world-wide applicability, and because removing Hitler was a far bloodier business. Yet 1989 and 1945 were clearing-out years, not creating ones. To understand the difference, look at a dozen or so of the dates in history that most people would agree were really top-ranking. No apology is needed for the fact that most of them are Euro-American dates. Today's world is shaped by the ideas that have emerged in Europe and North America in the past 500 years. On current evidence, tomorrow's world probably will be too.

Tip a hat to Pericles

Start with **457BC**, as good a year as any to sum up the extraordinary thing that happened in Greece in the middle of the fifth century before Christ. In that year Pericles got Athenian democracy firmly on its feet, the temple of Zeus at Olympia was completed, and Greeks mulled over the first production of the "Oresteia" of Aeschylus.

That mid-century in Greece was like a great clearing of the mind. Compared with what had gone before—in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Jerusalem, even India and China—thinking became sharper-edged, politics was seen to need an understanding between rulers and the ruled, the arts crystallised, architecture began to float. It was as if, for the first time, man stood back and took a steady look at himself.

It was not happening only in Greece. In 524BC or thereabouts Buddha sat under the bo tree, and in 501BC Confucius started practising his ideas about social relations in a Chinese provincial town. In several parts of the world, those 60 years or so introduced a new clarity into the previous blur. But neither Buddhism nor Confucianism ever won a global audience. Some of the things that came out of classical Greece did. Put down 457BC as Year One of the world we know.

The next huge year, even for non-Christians, has to be **30AD**, the probable year of Christ's death. Christianity has three claims to everybody's attention. It put together the things Buddha and Confucius had dealt with separately, and even the Athenians had not properly united—man's relations with God, and his relations with other men. It marked a new stage in the slow growth of human self-confidence: people who have been told that God became one of them, and let himself be crucified to help them, feel rather better about the human condition afterwards. And it was the first religion to make a plausible claim to universality, even if it never quite brought it off.

Nearly 2,000 years later, though Christianity is said to be in decline, it is striking how much its ideas still colour the modern debate. If communism's collapse does leave free-market democracy as the only sensible way of running a government, two different tendencies will still compete with each other inside free-market democracy—the one that puts the emphasis on efficiency and individual creativeness, and the one that leans towards compassion and shared responsibility. The latter will draw much of its language from Christianity. In 1989 some the best ex-communists in Eastern Europe (most of them agnostics) have been saying that Marx was just a well-intentioned stumble on a road that began in 30AD.

Then came a road-blocker of a year—**410**, when the Visigoths took Rome. In the ensuing confusion the Christian church survived, but most other forms of organisation had to be slowly and painfully rebuilt. Europe came to a halt for a few hundred years. Those who find that a Eurocentric statement should ask themselves what would have happened to subsequent history—the rise of Islam, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the growth of European empires—if Europe up to the Danube and the Scottish

border had remained one political unit, run from Rome. It wouldn't, of course; something else would have ended the Roman monopoly. But by breaking European history when it did, 410 made sure nothing would be quite the same again.

While Europe was having its dark ages, enter Islam (**622**, when Muhammed fled to Medina). The Muslim religion brought to the region east and south of the Mediterranean the same sharpening of ideas that had already happened elsewhere. There is only one God, said Islam. A man's hope of heaven is part of the same subject as the way he behaves on earth. Let everybody be aware of his separate existence (a Muslim's chief religious duty is regular prayer to Allah, which needs no priestly help). Compassion is honoured, if not always practised.

Here too the notion of the importance of the individual was beginning to take shape, and the individual was encouraged to look at himself, and the physical world around him, with a new detachment. This detachment is called objectivity. It is a necessary condition of art, science, philosophy.

Not surprisingly, Islam produced a stunning explosion of those things. While Europe was sitting in the dark, Islam was the firework display next door. This did not endure, because Islam as a culture did not discover how to go on renewing itself. Blame geography: until engines needed oil, the Muslim heartland did not have an economy that could sustain a culture. Yet Islam as a religion endures, passionately; and Islam has been an essential part of the development of the world west of India.

It never quite made it into Europe, though. Muslims will please excuse the next pair of dates. In **732**, at Poitiers, Charles Martel stopped Islam's left hook into Europe, by the Moors through Spain. Almost a millennium later, in **1683**, at Vienna, Jan Sobieski stopped its right hook, by the Turks through the Balkans. These are not just European dates. If either of those battles had gone the other way, the great new firework display of politics, economics, science and popular culture that has arisen out of Euro-America in the past few centuries—which almost everybody else seems to want to imitate—might never have happened.

The dawn wind

After the fight at Poitiers, a very long pause. China went its way, changing dynasties every now and again, and polishing its own high private culture, without any apparent wish to share that culture with the rest of the world. India was going through a confused patch, and its Hindu religion and arts were also not for export. Meanwhile, Europe laboriously reassembled itself. Then, in what Kipling called the dawn wind, came the first intimations of the astonishing sequence of inventions, intuitions and breakings-free that introduced the modern world.

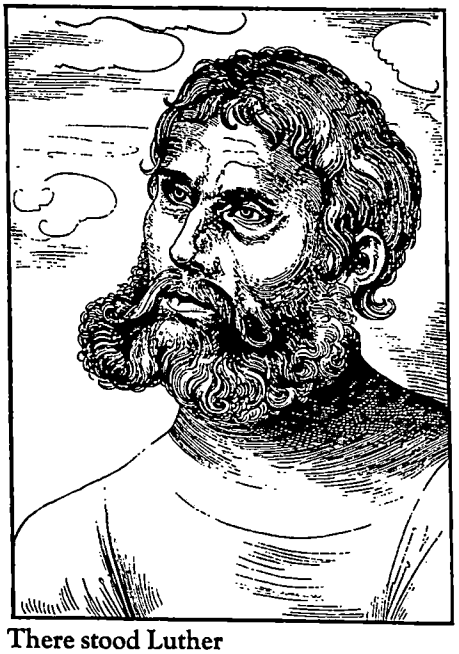
Islam saw the same point

Since science is a big part of that world, here are two early scientific dates, each coupled with a later date when the same bit of science made a new jump forward.

Gunpowder is a good test both of man's destructive power and of his willingness to control that power. Roger Bacon described gunpowder in **1249**, and Europeans began to use it seriously in the next century. Did they employ this Chinese-invented instrument of obliteration more efficiently than its inventors had done? They did indeed: look at subsequent military history. Did they show any willingness to set limits on how they employed it? They did not: ditto.

The follow-up date is **1945**, when the first atomic bomb was exploded. This time the answer to the second question may be more cheering. Since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, nuclear weapons seem to have made men a little more cautious about risking war of any sort; but place no large bets on it.

Then take printing (**1456**, the Gutenberg bible). The ability to transmit ideas and information to a large number of people may be the most innocent of science's products: less smelly than factory chimneys, less liable to fall out of the sky than aeroplanes. On balance, man has made good use of printing. Bad ideas get transmitted as well as virtuous ones, but at least everybody can make up his own mind which is which, and on the whole has made the choice quite well. The follow-up date here is **1926**, when Baird invented television. It is far from clear that sending out the information in pictures, as distinct from words, is an improvement. It hits the emotions harder but, so far, it tells you less.



There stood Luther

The biggest date in this period of rebirth, however, is not a matter of science. It is **1517**, when Luther pinned up the case for free choice in religion on the church door at Wittenberg. That began his break with the Catholic church—the signal-gun for the Reformation and for the whole body of ideas, much wider than religion, that came in the wake of the Reformation.

One way of looking at the history of the past 2,500 years is to see it as a slow, uneven but relentless focusing of human consciousness. Out of the tribal collective of the distant past, men started to become aware of themselves as separate individuals. Each individual had to make up his own mind about the big choices in life, and carry the responsibility for the choice thus made. If this is what had been taking shape since the fifth century BC, it was bound to collide with the sort of institution the Catholic church had become by 1517.

By the time Luther took his stand at Wittenberg, the church was suffering from all the symptoms of monopoly authoritarianism. It had stopped producing new ways of meeting its people's needs; its leaders were spending much of their time in a brutal competition for personal power; it was corrupt (Luther's breaking-point was the sale of indulgences). Two years after Wittenberg, Luther repeated his defiance in a famous debate at Leipzig, a city that in 1989 has seen another bad case of monopoly authoritarianism defied by those who insist on deciding for themselves. So began the Reformation, which took much of Christendom out of the Catholic church, led the Catholics into a counter-reformation of their own, and changed the future of Euro-America.

Once this had happened in religion, it was going to spread into everything else. The other side of the coin to man's growing confidence in his own judgment was his growing confidence in his ability to examine, measure and predict the physical world around him. Examination and measurement led Galileo to conclude that the earth did indeed go round the sun; and although, in **1633**, he recanted under threat of tor-

ture, kindly myth gave Galileo the muttered last word: *eppur si muove*.

Not long afterwards, in **1666**, that falling apple at Woolsthorpe set similar processes to work in Newton's mind; the result was the theory of gravity. Between them, Galileo and Newton have as good a claim as anybody to be the fathers of modern science. The quality they shared was objectivity, an insistence on the right to refer any issue to detached inspection. Authoritarians loathe objectivity, because it deprives them of their claim to lay down the law.

Politics was one of the last areas of life to yield to the new approach, for the good reason that politics is where authoritarians have most to lose. Nevertheless, by the eighteenth century it was having to be admitted that if men could claim freedom in religion they were going to demand it in politics too. Unfortunately, getting hold of freedom proved unexpectedly tricky. The last quarter of the eighteenth century contained two years that stand for two different sorts of political revolution. Until recently most people had thought one of these was better than the other. It is now becoming clear that most people had got it wrong way round.

The first revolutionary year—the rather humdrum one, it used to be thought—was **1775**, when the American colonists set about removing the British so that they could govern themselves. The Americans were fighting for the simple principle that no small group of men could write the laws for a much larger number of people, especially if the small group lived in a country far away. The Americans wanted to run their own lives, in whatever way a majority of them saw fit. This is liberal democracy, plus self-determination.

The Americans won their point, and the shot fired at Lexington is still reverberating round the world. The European revolutions of **1848** were fought on the same principle, and though they mostly failed they made it easier for democracy to come to these countries by other means later on. The post-1945 freeing of the colonial empires was carried out in the name of self-determination and liberal democracy, though it achieved little of the second. And in 1989 yet another echo from Lexington has been crashing, this time more efficiently, round Eastern Europe.

The American model has one drawback. It tends to produce a lot of nation-states, and a nation-state is no less keen on asserting its national interests when it is a democracy. This makes for an abrasive world; parts of Eastern Europe may soon be feeling the awkward side of liberated nationalism. For government by the consent of the governed, though, nothing has yet been invented to beat this definition of democracy. The majority decides how it wants to run the place—with luck, being gentle to the minority—until a new majority takes shape to replace it. No general rule applies, except that people must be free to make and re-make their own rules.

A two-century cul de sac

The eighteenth century's other revolutionary year was **1789**, when France revolted against king and nobles; but that revolution went off in a different direction. The eighteenth century, "the Enlightenment", was an eerily self-confident time. In some ways—in its music, its code of civilised conduct, its rather cerebral poetry and drama—it was a high point of European culture. But it was also the century that produced the Idea. By this time the liberation from pre-fifteenth-century constraints on the human mind was so complete that some people, particularly in France, got over-confident. They thought they could work out, with the force of scientific certainty, a set of general rules for the well-being of mankind. Apply those rules, and a new world would have begun.

The 1789 revolution, after a generous start, soon degenerated into the madnesses of ideological certainty. Not everybody agreed what the new rules were, so the slow-minded had to be coerced. This worried some of the makers of the revolution, so terror had to be applied to them too. By 1793 royal autocracy had been replaced by revolutionary autocracy. It was a process to become wearily familiar again after **1917**, when another revolution driven by a similar demon of an Idea took place in Russia. The chief difference in Russia was that Lenin had prefaced his revolution by announcing that it would all be done by a single, certain-of-itself party, so the arrival of the new autocracy took no time at all.

France, and its neighbours, were luckier than Russia and its neighbours. The chaos of the 1790s made an impatient general think he had better get a grip on France. Napoleon turned out to be an old-fashioned sort of dictator, and he also lost a war: a combination that helped France to struggle relatively soon out of the mess that 1789 had brought about. Russia and the empire it created had to wait for 70 years before it found a leader willing to admit to second thoughts.

The upheaval of 1989 is the beginning of the end of Lenin's 1917 revolution. It may also be the end of the wider error that began exactly two centuries ago: the notion that politics is a science, that people can be governed out of a laboratory.

And the bright white space on the page, thus rubbed clean to make way for something new? The puzzle of 1989 is that nobody seems to have any clear idea what the next entry in the ledger might be. For the first time in centuries, no novel political idea urgently offers itself. The apparent triumph of the individual over ideology presumably leaves free-market democracy as the world's chief politico-economic system. Since nature abhors a uniformity, the sub-categories of free-market democracy will doubtless now compete with each other more vigorously. None of this, though, is new.

In fact, it would be odd if politics or economics were the issue that led to history's next great year. They were the subject of the last argument, which has just been settled. The next argument will probably be about something different: something out there in the misty ground beyond the now routine organisation of everyday life. Muslim fundamentalists know what they think the next hundred years will be about. So do the pushy new sects on the fringes of Christianity. Neither of them looks quite like the bringer of the future. But they may be pointing in the right direction. Unless, that is, the end of history really has arrived. How unlike history that would be.

A shot still heard

November 6, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ROGER B. PORTER

THROUGH: JIM PINKERTON

FROM: WILLIAM L. EAGLE
EMILY M. MEAD

SUBJECT: Summary of the President's accomplishments.

This memo is our revised synthesis of the OPD staff summaries (attached for your examination) of the President's accomplishments that you requested.

Prosperity

- The United States is now in its 84th month of economic expansion.
- Real economic growth has been 2.9 percent.
- Since the President has taken office, there have been 1.9 million new jobs created -- an average of 209,000 per month.
- Personal income has risen by over $200 billion since January -- an average of $800 per person.
- The President is forcefully promoting the opening of world markets through the Super 301 provision of the Omnibus Trade and Competitive Act of 1988.
- The Administration has vigorously maintained an international commitment to an ambitious Uruguay Round of trade negotiations and has reached an international consensus through the Steel Trade Liberalization Program.

Fiscal Responsibility

- President Bush submitted a budget which met the Gramm Rudman targets for FY90.
- As promised, the President has held the line on taxes.

- The President successfully negotiated a 27 percent increase in the minimum wage coupled with a training wage provision.
- The President is holding his ground on capital gains.
- The President has addressed the savings and loan crisis, assuring the American people that their savings will be secure and free from further reckless, corrupted mismanagement.

Environment

- The President presented the first revision of the Clean Air Act in over ten years calling for mandated reductions in destructive emissions which cause acid rain, urban ozone and toxic air pollution.
- The President's budget included $710 million for the Clean Coal Technology Program, and $315 million for the Superfund Cleanup.
- The President also banned the export of hazardous waste and implemented a medical waste tracking program to keep needles off our beaches.
- While maintaining his commitment to "no-net-loss" of wetlands, the President has also presided over a driftnet fishing agreement with several Asian nations, as well as an international ban on the trade of African elephant ivory.
- The President has postponed oil drilling lease sales off environmentally sensitive areas of the California and Florida coasts.

Crime and Drugs

- The President sent The Comprehensive Violent Crime Control Act of 1989 to Congress, which included additional needed funds for federal enforcement, an expansion of federal prison capacity, augmentation of prosecution personnel, and a ban on certain semi-automatic weapons.
- The President unveiled his National Drug Control policy calling for increased spending of nearly $8 billion for education, treatment, enforcement and interdiction.

- Conforming to this plan, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has taken measures to provide for drug free public housing.

Education

- In February, the President proposed his Educational Excellence Act of 1989, focusing on seven initiatives, including merit schools, improved math and science education, and alternative certification for teachers.

- As promised, the "Education President" summoned the governors to a national summit on education in which they addresed the problems of the nation's educational system. The summit conferees issued a joint statement laying the groundwork for educational reform in America based on the President's principles: the recognition of excellence; addressing need, flexibility and choice; and ensuring accountability.

Kinder, Gentler America

- Consistent with his call for "A kinder and gentler America," the President has transmitted the Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989 which provides a refundable tax credit for child care and places choice in the hands of parents to decide who best can care for their children.

- The President requested an additional $250 million for the Head Start program.

- The President has requested full funding for the McKinney Act to assist homeless families and the mentally ill.

- The President has reauthorized the Low Income Opportunity Board, coordinating federal agencies, and assisting states in better utilizing federal money to aid the low-income population.

- The Americans with Disabilities Act will provide unprecedented protection against discrimination for persons with disabilities -- perhaps the most significant expansion of civil rights laws in the past two decades.

- The President called upon Congress to reauthorize the Commission on Civil Rights.

- The President signed the Whistleblower Protection Act of 1989 to strengthen the rights of employees in reporting misdeeds and mismanagement.

- To combat infant mortality rates, the President has requested the Congress to expand Medicaid eligibility of pregnant women, as well as provide for coverage of childhood immunizations.

- The President has also asked Congress to augment tax credits relating to adoption expenses.

- Though the promotion of wider availability of experimental and therapeutic drugs such as AZT, the President has demonstrated his commitment to the eradication of the HIV virus and AIDS.

Invest in our Future

- Concerned with the economic difficulty of our inner cities, the President has submitted amendments to the JTPA as well as a proposal to promote enterprise zones.

- The President has called for the development of a National Energy Strategy to provide a plan for a secure and abundant and environmentally safe energy supply for the nation. Toward that end, the President ordered the decontrol of natural gas prices.

- The President has made a commitment to the continued exploration of space through the creation of the National Space Council, chaired by the Vice President.

- In a bold new initiative, the President has proposed the deployment of Space Station Freedom, the establishment of a permanent presence on the moon, and a manned mission to Mars.

Reform

- The President has made proposals to Congress for comprehensive reforms in campaigns and elections, and ethics

in government.

- The President issued an executive order on ethical conduct covering the employees of the executive branch.

- The Office of National Service has been energized by the President's founding of the Points of Light Initiative to identify, enlarge, and duplicate successful community service programs throughout the nation.

- The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development has implemented departmental reform programs to eliminate discretionary funding, mandate documented accountability, and increase powers of the Inspector General.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Copy Chris Mark Laura

Date: 12-17-90

FOR: David Demarest

FROM: ANDREW H. CARD, Jr. Andy

- ☐ Action
- ☐ Your Comment
- ☐ Let's Talk
- ☒ FYI – for your SOTU speechwriting team.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

MITCHELL E. DANIELS, JR.

[redacted]

12/5

Andy FYI

a little overstated,
on purpose.
Hope it's somewhere
near your own thinking.

MD
12/5

[redacted]

[redacted]

Lilly

Eli Lilly and Company
Lilly Corporate Center
Indianapolis, Indiana 46285

Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.
Vice President
Corporate Affairs

bcc: Mr. Andrew Card, Jr.

December 5, 1990

The Honorable John Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear John:

Thank you for the opportunity to make a few modest proposals. I'll be concise, and I'll confine myself, with one postscript, to the domestic side.

My recommended premises for the 1991 SOTU and beyond are:

1. Don't brag on 1990 - Let's not try to persuade the country that this was a great year, especially as regards the budget. Someone in OMB may sincerely believe it, but nobody out here does. Far better to use the commonly understood shortcomings of 1990 as a predicate for a new program in 1991.

2. Stand for bold change - The public is disgusted with the status quo and will welcome a departure from business as usual. It may not know what sort of departure until one side presents one, which is a reason for the President to get there first. If he is left as the defender of things as they are, we stand to lose further ground.

3. Confront the Congress - Ok to do so via the sorrow-not-anger route, but, as 1990 showed, the President's courtesy is never reciprocated; Miss Congeniality never becomes Miss America.

Rhetorically, I recommend treating 1990 as the last test drive of the old family jalopy. As a product of the Congress, and a devoted friend of the good people who comprise it, the President did not want to believe that its flaws are institutional and structural; but, he now accepts

that they are. It's time to make a trade in on a new model budget process, campaign process, and a new model concept of what being a legislator means. We also need to trade in several key institutions--education, health care, legal--on new models better suited to the competitive world of today.

As to specifics:

I'd position the President as having paid in advance, through his agreement to new taxes, for changes Congress has yet to deliver. Where are the real spending cuts, budget reform, and entitlement change? Define the "broken pledge" on taxes as a sincere, good faith effort to meet Congress in the middle--now it's Congress' turn to come through.

Secondly, I would cast several new legislative proposals in the language of consumer sovereignty. We have the best educated populace in world history, and we trust them to make basic choices about their health, shelter, and children's education, etc.

Thatcher - "people with means always have a choice"

To give expression to these themes, I'd make proposals like these:

1. Scrap the "current services" concept. An increase is an increase and a cut is only a cut when it means less, not more. Send up a budget that labels things accordingly.

2. Propose a sequester. Recommend, among your budget strategies, a modest sequester across accounts (maybe including some outside Gramm-Rudman.) Congress will holler that 5%, or 4%, or 3% of existing budgets can't be cut, but nobody else thinks that. And it's the one sure way to get real cuts, especially in the out years.

3. Propose completely voucherized housing. The public's money should go to poor families, not rich developers.

4. Propose ending Title I and/or other federal funds to states that deny families (or at least poor familes) a full and free choice of schools.

5. Indict the American legal system. Restate the call for federal product liability legislation, citing a couple ludicrous examples. Call for the "English rule" of legal fees, or other common sense changes. (Consider dispatching the Vice President and Attorney General on a sustained national campaign to press this theme.)

6. Propose that Secretary Sullivan's study of a new health care policy consider shifting the tax benefit (and the responsibility) of choosing health insurance from employers to the individual consumer. (This would also restore fairness to the system: we currently subsidize the lucky employees of qualifying companies to the extent of $60 billion/yr.)

7. Propose an end to PACs, period.

8. Tell Congress that you expect at least a 5 percent (nominal) cut in their own legislative appropriations bill or you won't sign it. Cite the 1990 California initiative slashing legislative budgets as evidence that the time is right. (Q. If the House of Commons can support 650 members with less than 1,000 staff, why do 535 Congressmen need 30,000 assistants?)

9. Issue an Executive Order requiring all agencies and departments to publish monthly contacts from Congressmen and their offices. Let the sunshine fend off future Charles Keatings.

10. Regretfully, call for Congress to limit its own terms. Yes, the nation might occasionally lose, at least for a time, the services of a great American. But what about the thousands of great Americans who will never get the chance to serve under today's noncompetitive system?

Challenging Congress on its own turf, on national television, would be dramatic and would set a strong tone for the last two years.

In sum, I believe the President should look back on 1990 as the year of the old college try, during which he did his best to make the old arrangements produce in the public interest, but ultimately proved to himself that some fundamental change is in order. The public senses that such change is needed, and the President can be--must be--the first agent to arrive with a plausible prescription.

Oh, one more thing. Please...no capital gains.

Sincerely,

MED:mb

P.S. I've left out foreign policy because the President is the acknowledged master and because everything seems well in

hand, politically. Just one observation. Even if the Gulf situation goes very well, I think we have a major exposure on the cost and burden-sharing issue. The perception that we're carrying the military burden is aggravated by the impression that the oil producers are getting rich on $35 oil while we protect them through even larger federal deficits.

Why not a major "private placement" of T-bills, at concessionary rates, with the Saudis and others who are enjoying tens of billions in increased revenues? They could recycle the money to finance their own defense, alleviate the pressure on interest rates here, and help with our deficit at least in terms of debt service. Even a relatively small deal would carry a real symbolic impact.

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November 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM PINKERTON

FROM: BRAD MITCHELL

SUBJECT: Science and Technology Accomplishments

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY

Reinvigorated and Expanded the Office of Science and Technology Policy

The President has designated the Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy Assistant to the President for Science and Technology. The President obtained a full 82 percent increase in the OSTP budget, reflecting the importance he places on the scientific and technological advice provided by OSTP.

Doubling the National Science Foundation Budget by 1993

The President's NSF budget continues to increase at a rate that will enable the NSF's budget to double by 1993. These increases will allow the NSF to support the Engineering Research Centers, Advanced Scientific Computing Centers, and the 11 interdisciplinary Science and Technology Centers established in 1989.

Improving Science Education

The President unveiled the Educational Excellence Act of 1989 in April of this year. Included in this package is the National Science Scholars program. The National Science Scholars program would encourage achievement in the sciences by providing scholarships to graduating high school students who have excelled in the sciences, mathematics or engineering. A group of 570 scholars would be selected each year with each scholar receiving up to $10,000 a year for each year of their undergraduate education.

November 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM PINKERTON

FROM: BRAD MITCHELL

SUBJECT: Space Accomplishments

SPACE EXPLORATION

Established the National Space Council

On April 20, 1989 the President demonstrated the importance he attaches to the development of space by signing an Executive order establishing the National Space Council. President Bush named the Vice President chairman of the Council. The President charged the Council with bringing "coherence and continuity and commitment to our efforts to explore, study and develop space."

Under the leadership of the Vice President, the Council has already produced positive results. The Council resolved a long-standing policy debate surrounding the Landsat satellite system, reshaped the National Aerospace Plane (NASP) program and is developing an action plan for a moon base and a manned mission to Mars.

Bold Exploration Initiative

The President tasked the Council with developing "concrete recommendations to chart a new and continuing course to the moon and Mars and beyond". The Council is currently developing an options package for the President.

Investing Resources

The President ensured the adequate funding for space activities and obtained a 14 percent budget increase for NASA programs. The President also secured a 100 percent increase in the NASA budget for Space Station Freedom.

Accomplishments: Education

Four Education Principles

President Bush established four principles which are the foundation for his Administration's education policy and accomplishments:

- Recognition of excellence
- Addressing need
- Flexibility and choice
- Ensuring accountability

These principles have provided the basis for the President's progress toward improving educational quality for all Americans, most notably through the Education Excellence Act of 1989 and the historic President's Education Summit with Governors.

Educational Excellence Act of 1989

The Educational Excellence Act of 1989, transmitted to Congress on April 5, 1989, outlines seven initiatives to foster excellence in American education and spur educational reform.

- Presidential Merit Schools: A program to give cash awards to public and private elementary and secondary schools which have improved the quality of education of their students.

- Magnet Schools of Excellence: A program to support the establishment or enhancement of magnet schools, which increase parental choice.

- Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals: A program to encourage states to develop or expand flexible certification systems.

- President's Awards for Excellence in Education: Presidential awards for excellent private and public school teachers.

- National Science Scholars: Scholarships to encourage students to pursue the sciences in postsecondary education.

- Drug-Free Schools Urban Emergency Grants: Grants for urban districts to develop comprehensive approaches to combatting drugs and related problems.

- Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs): A bill to strengthen HBCUs through matching grants. In addition, the President signed an Executive Order providing technical assistance to HBCUs and expanding opportunities for HBCU students.

The President's Education Summit with Governors

The President's Education Summit with Governors was held on September 27 and 28 in Charlottesville, Virginia. The calling of the Summit fulfilled a commitment made during the campaign and was the third time in history a President has called on the nation's Governors to address a single issue of importance to the Nation. The Summit brought together the President, his Cabinet, and the Governors in working groups and plenary sessions to focus on issues including choice and restructuring, teaching, the learning environment, governance, a competitive workforce and life-long learning, and postsecondary education.

At the conclusion of the Summit, the Governors and the President issued a "Joint Statement" committing to four objectives to provide the groundwork for education reform in America:

- national education goals;
- increased flexibility in the use of Federal funds;
- state-by-state restructuring of the education system;
- measurement of progress.

A commitment was made to address the issues of national goals and increased flexibility in early 1990. The President and the Governors stressed the need for parents, teachers, principals, corporate leaders, and other Americans to become personally involved in the process of education reform.

At the Education Summit, the President delivered a convocation address which has been widely praised for its vision of America's future. He described an education system which is "unafraid of diversity," in which "parents are full partners in the education of their children," and which "never settles for the minimum."

President's Education Policy Advisory Committee

On June 5, 1989, in a speech to the business community, the President announced his intention to form the President's Education Policy Advisory Committee (PEPAC), the first such committee he announced as President. The committee's membership was announced in mid-October and includes representatives from education, business, labor, and media. The PEPAC will be chaired by Paul O'Neill, Chief Executive Officer of Alcoa, and will advise the President directly on issues related to education policy.

The Commitment of the Administration

The President has made it clear that education is a priority for his entire Administration. Mrs. Bush's leadership in literacy, Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos's leadership in choice, and the efforts of other Administration officials have contributed to the foundation which has been established for excellence in education.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

KEEPING THE ECONOMY STRONG

- **Steel Trade Liberalization Program.** The Administration successfully implemented the President's program 1) to extend steel voluntary restraint agreements until March 31, 1992, and 2) to reach an international consensus eliminating subsidies and increasing market access. The program represents a major step toward returning market principles to international trade in steel.

- **Uruguay Round.** The Administration has been the prime mover in maintaining international commitment to an ambitious Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. The Round would reduce barriers to trade in both goods and services. For the first time, barriers to trade in agriculture would be reduced. Negotiations are to be completed by the end of 1990.

- **The Brady Plan.** In March, the Administration launched the Brady Plan for addressing the international debt situation. The plan set a new direction for the debt strategy by emphasing reductions in debt and debt servicing levels. Previous plans had emphasized new lending. The most successful case under the Brady Plan has been the rescheduling agreement concluded in late summer between Mexico and its commercial banks.

- **Opening Foreign Markets.** The Super 301 provision of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 required the Administration to identify foreign countries that maintain barriers to U.S. exports, and to negotiate the elimination of those barriers. The Administration implemented a strategy last may that has avoided potentially serious foreign policy problems while securing more open markets abroad. In the most difficult case, Japan, we complemented the Super 301 action with the Structural Impediments Initiative, intended to address deep-seated systemic practices in Japan's economy that have the effect of keeping imports out.

- **Mexico.** During President Salinas' October visit to Washington, the two countries agreed on a framework for negotiating the elimination of a wide range of bilateral trade barriers.

November 3, 1989

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM PINKERTON

FROM: LARRY LINDSEY

SUBJECT: Accomplishments in Domestic Economic Policy

- o Continued the longest peacetime expansion in American history.
  - Real economic growth has been 2.9 percent since Bush took office.
  - November is the 84th month of this expansion.
  - 1.9 million jobs have been created since George Bush became President, an average of 209,000 each month.
  - Personal income has risen more than $200 billion since Bush took office, or roughly $800 for every man, woman, and child.
- o Enacted a 27 percent increase in the minimum wage coupled with a training wage provision. This will increase the wages of low income families while minimizing the job loss associated with less carefully structured minimum wage increases.
- o Enacted comprehensive legislation to rescue our savings and loan institutions. The legislation will assure that depositors do not lose any of the money they entrusted to savings and loans, will toughen regulations and capital requirements so that problems will not recur, and will punish wrongdoers who defrauded their depositors.
- o Held the line against tax increases for the FY90 budget. This occurred in spite of repeated calls by some in Congress for tax increases.
- o Achieved the Gramm Rudman targets for FY90, lowering our deficit to less than 2 percent of GNP, from over 5 percent in 1986.
- o Decontrolled natural gas pricing. George Bush became the first President since Eisenhower to have a completely deregulated energy industry.
- o Held an Education Summit with Governors. This was the first summit held since the 1930s between the President and the

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nation's governors and highlighted education as an urgent priority. The governors and the President concurred that accountability, flexibility, and choice were all important reforms to strengthen education, and that increased funds were not the answer.

- Submitted an Enterprise Zone proposal to the Congress to revitalize our nation's inner cities.

- Proposed amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act which will target this valuable program on those with the greatest need. Increased funds will go to those who have both a skill deficiency and are in poverty.

- Achieved passage of a capital gains tax reduction by the House of Representatives and achieved support for such an initiative by a majority of the members of the Senate.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM PINKERTON

FROM: DOREEN TORGERSON DT
HANNS KUTTNER

SUBJECT: President Bush's First-Year Accomplishments in Health and Human Services

Per Roger's request, here are our submissions for the President's first-year accomplishments in Health and Human Services. These are not in any particular order. Please contact us if we can be of further assistance.

Homeless

The President's commitment to reducing homelessness is clear. He requested full-funding of McKinney Homeless Assistance Act programs for FY 1990 ($746 million). In addition, the President requested $50 million for an initiative to reduce homelessness through public-private partnerships. Unfortunately, Congress has failed to match the President's commitment in FY 1990 appropriations.

Adoption

The President's accomplishments in the area of adoption are significant. In September, the President sent two legislative proposals to Congress designed to encourage adoption of special needs children. The first permits adoptive parents to deduct $3000 from taxable income for adoption-related expenses. The second reimburses Federal employees who adopt up to $2000 for expenses. In addition, the President has directed all Federal agencies to develop plans for supporting and promoting adoption of special needs children (e.g., flexible leave).

Head Start

The President is succeeding in giving our nation's needy preschoolers a head start in life. His FY 1990 budget request includes a $250 million increase for Head Start to be used for expanding participation to 95,000 eligible children. It does not look like Congress will fully deliver onthis commitment in its FY 1990 appropriation.

Medicaid

President Bush has taken concrete steps toward improving health care for at-risk populations and decreasing infant mortality. This year he asked Congress to raise mandatory Medicaid eligibility for pregnant women and infants to 130 percent of the poverty level. In addition, he requested an expansion of Medicaid coverage of immunizations for all children ages 0 to 5 who are eligible for Food Stamps.

AIDS

The President has made combatting AIDS a national priority. New drugs entering the market this year, namely AZT, are holding promise for people infected with the AIDS virus. As we enter a new decade, the treatment picture looks much better.

Low Income Opportunity Board

To continue progress in the area of welfare reform, the President re-instated this welfare policy coordinating unit established under President Reagan as the Interagency Low Income Opportunity Advisory Board. The Board enhances interagency coordination of Executive Branch activities designed to lift low-income Americans up from dependency, and assists States that seek to demonstrate more effective approaches for using Federal dollars to serve the low-income population.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 3, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES PINKERTON

FROM: NANCY A. MALOLEY
PAUL D. ROELLIG

SUBJECT: Presidential Initiatives

Clean Air Act. On June 12, the President announced proposals to reduce emissions which cause acid rain, urban ozone and toxic air pollution. The proposals, the first major overhaul of the Clean Air Act to be proposed by an Administration in over a decade, calls for a 10 billion ton reduction in SO2 emissions by the year 2000, a 2 million ton reduction in NOx, and a 40 percent reduction in emission of volatile organic compounds which cause urban smog, and a reduction of 75 to 90 percent in air toxic emissions. These reductions will also help to curb any increase in global warming resulting from fossil fuel combustion. The proposal also calls for use of alternative fuels in one million vehicles by 1997. Alternative fuels, while reducing ozone precursors, will also reduce the toxic aromatics which come from conventional gasoline. The President submitted a comprehensive clean air bill to the Congress on July 21 embodying the proposals announced on June 12.

Clean Coal Technologies. The President proposed $710 million in FY 1990 for the Clean Coal Technology Program.

Medical Waste. On March 10, the Department of Justice and EPA implemented a medical waste tracking program to track medical wastes to ensure proper disposal and prevent ocean pollution.

Superfund Cleanup. The President's budget proposed $315 million to pursue an aggressive cleanup schedule of toxic waste sites; the Administration has opposed Congressional efforts to cut the Superfund budget to $150 million. On June 14, EPA Administrator Reilly, following the President's direction, concluded a Management Review of the Superfund Program. The agency has decided to add five hundred people to the enforcement staff to ensure that sites are cleaned up.

National Energy Strategy. The President announced the development of a National Energy Strategy and the Department of Energy is actively working to complete the report sometime in 1990. The strategy will have as one component a plan to reconcile the need for a secure, abundant energy supply with environmental protection.

Global Climate Issues. Through its position as chairman of the Response Strategies Working Group of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) the U.S. has called for initial discussions potentially leading toward a convention on global climate change. Also, the President proposed an increase in global environmental research for FY 1990 of 43 percent, or over $190 million. In addition, the Clean Air Act initiatives and Clean Coal Technology Program will play a significant role in controlling greenhouse gas emissions. The President called for a world wide phase-out of ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000, if safe substitutes are available.

Hazardous Waste Exports. On March 10, the President called for a ban on the export of hazardous waste unless the receiving country agrees to its proper disposal through a bilateral agreement.

Natural Gas Deregulation. On July 26, the President signed into law the Wellhead Decontrol Act of 1989, which ends all remaining price controls on natural gas.

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

Ban on African Elephant Ivory. On June 5, the Administration announced a ban on the importation of African elephant ivory into the United States.

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

Wetlands. The President has called for a national goal of "no-net-loss" of wetlands. Consistent with that pledge, an interagency task force has been convened and is meeting to develop recommendations to meet that goal.

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STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

	Congress Convened	Message Delivered	Delivered in Person		
ROOSEVELT	3/9/33				
	1/3/34	1/3/34	Yes		
	1/3/35	1/4/35	Yes		
	1/3/36	1/3/36	Yes	9:00 pm	
	1/5/37	1/6/37	Yes		
	1/3/38	1/3/38	Yes		
	1/3/39	1/4/39	Yes		
	1/3/40	1/3/40	Yes		
	1/3/41	1/6/41	Yes		
	1/5/42	1/6/42	Yes		
	1/6/43	1/7/43	Yes		
	1/10/44	1/11/44	No		
	1/3/45	1/6/45	No		
TRUMAN	1/14/46	1/21/46	No		
	1/3/47	1/6/47	Yes		
	1/6/48	1/7/48	Yes	9	
	1/3/49	1/5/49	Yes	6	
	1/3/50	1/4/50	Yes	8 1/2	
	1/3/51	1/8/51	Yes	6 1/2	
	1/8/52	1/9/52	Yes	8	
	1/3/53	1/7/53	No		(Farewell Address to Nation from Oval Office on 1/15/53)
EISENHOWER	1/3/53	2/2/53	Yes	22	
	1/6/54	1/7/54	Yes	16 1/2	
	1/5/55	1/6/55	Yes	23 1/2	
	1/3/56	1/5/56	No		
	1/3/57	1/10/57	Yes	13	
	1/7/58	1/9/58	Yes	14	
	1/7/59	1/9/59	Yes	14	
	1/6/60	1/7/60	Yes	15	
	1/3/61	1/12/61	No		(Farewell Address to Nation from Oval Office on 1/17/61)
KENNEDY	1/3/61	1/30/61	Yes	9	
	1/10/62	1/11/62	Yes	10 1/2	
	1/9/63	1/14/63	Yes	8	
JOHNSON	1/7/64	1/8/64	Yes		
	1/4/65	1/4/65	Yes	9:00 pm	
	1/10/66	1/12/66	Yes	9:00 pm	
	1/10/67	1/10/67	Yes	9:30 pm	
	1/15/68	1/17/68	Yes	9:00 pm	
	1/3/69	1/14/69	Yes	9:00 pm	(No Farewell Address)
NIXON	1/3/69				(On 4/14/69 he announced he would not send a SOU Message)
	1/19/70	1/22/70	Yes	12:30 pm	
	1/21/71	1/22/71	Yes	9:00 pm	
	1/18/72	1/20/72	Yes	12:30 pm	
	1/3/73	2/2/73*	No		
	1/21/74	1/30/74	Yes	9:00 pm	
FORD	1/14/75	1/15/75	Yes	1:00 pm	
	1/19/76	1/19/76	Yes	9:00 pm	
	1/4/77	1/12/77	Yes	9:00 pm	(No Farewell Address)

* This transmittal was the first of a series of messages on the State of the Union

anchors/cross - used before?

college family savings plan - campaign?

1900 quote?

mines, mills, and workshops." It concluded its diagnosis by asserting, "in America, unbounded prosperity may be looked forward to during our forward march, making us the foremost Nation of the world."

Much the same theme dominated the State of the Union addresses by President William McKinley on December 3, 1900, and Theodore Roosevelt on December 2, 1902. But Roosevelt also noted that "there are many problems for us to face at the outset of the twentieth century—grave problems abroad and still graver at home." But he, too, reiterated the theme that "never before has material well-being been so widely diffused among our people. . . . Of course, when the conditions have favored the growth of so much that was good, they have also favored somewhat the growth of what was evil. . . . The evils are real and some of them are menacing, but they are the outgrowth, not of misery or decadence, but of prosperity."

Press editorials echoed this mood. Faith in democracy and confidence in America were seen as one. *The North American Review*, in an article entitled "The Burden of the Twentieth Century," focused on the question of the future of democracy and confidently asserted, "It is to America, and to America alone, that we must look. . . . It is a question the importance of which, to the future of humanity, cannot be exaggerated. Would that in the year 1999 or 2000 one could come back to earth, in order to hear the answer. May it be favorable to democracy. And may it be final!" And *The Washington Post* greeted the new century on January 1, 1900, with a triumphant reaffirmation of the American mission in its overseas imperial possessions, adding exultantly, "they are ours, and all talk of anti-expansion is as idle as the chatter of magpies."

On the European continent, the mood was no less confident, the view of the future similarly benign. In Great Britain, optimistic jingoism characterized the assessment offered by the *London Times* (welcoming the new century more correctly on January 1, 1901): "We have a reasonable trust that England and her sons will emerge triumphant from that ordeal at the end of the Twentieth Century as at the end of the Nineteenth, and that then and for ages to come they will live and prosper one united and Imperial people, to be 'a bulwark for the cause of men'." More serious judgments, however, focused on the longer-range threat to British primacy posed by the rise of American industrial prowess, with *The New York Times* on December

January 23, 1990

MEMORANDUM TO CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: James Klug

RE: State of the Union Suggestions

NAME:	SUGGESTIONS:
Adm. James D. Watkins	Cleanup of the nuclear weapons complex and a new conservation and renewable energy initiative. Emphasis on math and science education.
Edward Timperlake (Veterans Affairs)	Need for a new blueprint to guide the Department of Veteran Affairs into the future.
Evan J. Kemp (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission)	Support the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act. ("Would woo disabled Democrats and hold disabled Republicans.")
EPA	Discuss Alternative Fuels Program to combat auto pollution. Commit to finding solution to the factories and plants emitting toxic air pollution.
Bill Kristol (OVP)	Product liability and product liability reform legislation.
Bobbie Kilberg Sarah Decamp (Anti-Defamation League)	Address U.S.-Israel relations and Soviet Jewry and call for repeal of U.N. "Zionism is Racism" resolution. Speak out strongly against racism and anti-semitism and reiterate intolerance of bigotry and prejudice.

James W. Cicconi	"Competitiveness Package" that includes proposals for capital gains, a permanent R&D tax credit, and a plan to boost domestic savings.
Charlie Black (Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly) Public Affair Company	Focus on government ethics, a strong restatement of tax pledge, focus on campaign reform, talk drug issue with emphasis on crime, foreign affairs with emphasis on the hard challenges ahead.
Spencer Geissinger (Drug Abuse is Life Abuse)	Use "Drug Abuse is Life Abuse" program as an example of community education and involvement in combating drug use.
Jerry J. Jasinowski (National Association Manufacturers)	Innovation, continued growth and job creation through of technology, capital, quality and trade.
American Association of School Administrators	Recommend topics of discussion concerning education including: greater availability of early education, higher standards for high school curriculums, better technologies available to teachers, and more funding for "programs of hope" such as Head Start and Chapter 1.
Mark Nelson (Sematech)	Restore an environment in America that allows our free enterprise system to flourish. Refer to Sematech's success in battling the Japanese in the semiconductor industry.
Paul Weyrich	Rededication to "empowering all Americans to be able to live the American Dream."

Nick Calio (Recommendations from House Republicans for S of U)	Adopt a balance budget amendment to Constitution, reduce capital gains tax, complete "Americans with Disabilities" Legislation, revise farm bill, rebuild infrastructure by creation of Presidential Blue Ribbon panel called "America 2000," enact of Kemp's Housing Initiatives and Reform, support Yuetter's Rural Development package, support Child Care legislation, enact Crime package, enact Education Initiatives and Education Reform proposal, support legislation to clean up America's environment and support oil spill legislation, begin a reformation of America's health care system mentioning cancer and aids research, enact space agenda.
Sen. Pete Domenici	Repeat and build upon theme of kinder, gentler nation. Continue commitment to working poor, and highlight domestic programs. Mention Earned Income Tax Credit that rewards working poor.
Rep. Bob Michel Congress	Debunk myth of peace dividend, call for Congressional action on war on drugs, crime package, child care, capital gains tax cut, education, major campaign reform, clean air legislation, and a reduction of budget deficit.
Rep.Newt Gingrich Congress	Give vision and language of change to maximize party chances in 90 and 92. Discuss increased involvement of state, county and local governments in issues such as drugs and violent crime, school reform, health care and housing. Discuss lowering cost of investment capitol and the training of Latin American police forces to fight drugs.

Rep. Thomas Petri Congress	Discuss EITC/child care, health care reformation, competition in education, prison overcrowding, downsizing of military and civilian bureaucracy, major overhaul of transportation infrastructure, progress toward balance budget.
Rep. Bill Gradison Congress	Discuss comprehensive health care policy, a free trade agreement with the EEC in 1992, and unresolved issues of the Tax Reform Act of 1986 including a reduction in payroll taxes, integration of corporate and individual income taxes, and expensing of capital investments.
Rep. John Hammerschmidt Congress	Stress the need for a rebuilding of crumbling public facility infrastructure.
Rep. Arthur Ravenel Congress	Stress a strong environmental agenda.
Rep. Bill Emerson Congress	Comment on agriculture.
Rep. Michael Oxley Congress	"The two issues that will most differentiate the two parties and help the GOP in 90 and 92 are drug abuse and crime." Discuss Emergency Drug Abuse Treatment Expansion Act, Forfeiture Amendments Act, and the Assault Weapon Crime Act of 1989.
Rep. Bill Frenzel Congress	Abandon position on abortion in cases of rape and incest, give priority to achievement of the Gramm-Rudman targets, continue ethics reforms, discuss a new international policy to replace current containment policy, no new tax proposals!
Rep. Edward Roybal Congress	Long-term nursing and home health care found in the Older Americans Long-term Care Insurance Act.

Rep. Matthew Rinaldo Congress	Discuss catastrophic health care coverage for senior citizens and the Americans with Disabilities Act.
Rep. Charles Hatcher Congress	Welfare System Reforms, food stamp programs and the "Aid to Families With Dependent Children Program."
Rep. Peter Smith Congress	Defense cuts, school restructuring, child care, clean air bill, infrastructure improvement, environmental issues including wetlands, groundwater and clean water protection.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release February 9, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS

The Capitol
Washington, D.C.

9:07 P.M. EST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And here are some of my recommendations:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So tonight I'm proposing the following intitiatives:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. And

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

agricultural products. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

END 9:56 P.M. EST

JAMES BRYCE AND AMERICA

"A presidential election in America," observed James Bryce, "is something to which Europe can show nothing similar." For three months, the British visitor wrote, "processions, usually with brass bands, flags, badges, crowds of cheering spectators are the order of the day and night...." In 1888, the year that the Republicans' Benjamin Harrison narrowly vanquished the Democrats' Grover Cleveland, Bryce's mammoth portrait of *The American Commonwealth* was published on both sides of the Atlantic. Here, Morton Keller assesses this oft-quoted classic on U.S. politics, and its peripatetic Victorian author.

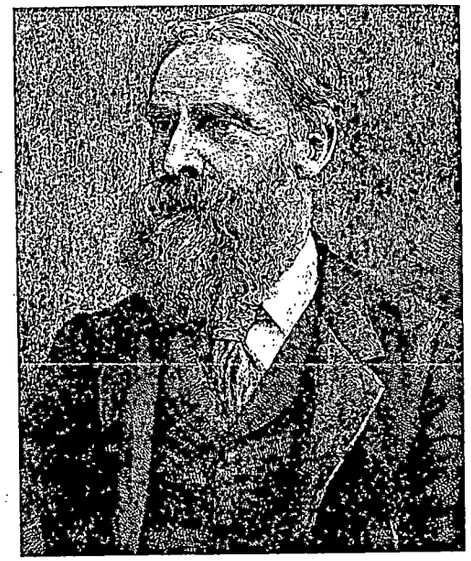
by Morton Keller

During the summer of 1870, two young British barrister-intellectuals, James Bryce and Albert V. Dicey, embarked on a voyage of discovery to the United States. Out of this trip (and two later visits) came one of the most widely read books ever written about America, Bryce's *The American Commonwealth*.

Bryce and Dicey were following in famous footsteps. Forty years earlier, another pair of young lawyers, Alexis de Tocqueville and his friend Gustave de Beaumont, also undertook a journey to America. That visit resulted, of course, in Tocqueville's great *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840).

Bryce and Tocqueville had the same subject: the nature of American institutions, most particularly the country's politics and government. Both came to the New World as men of letters and public affairs, and as 19th-century European Liberals. In that turbulent experiment across the Atlantic, each sought answers to the most compelling political question of their time: What was, and what would be, the character of a young society whose guiding principles were individual freedom, political liberty, and democratic government?

Tocqueville called himself "a liberal of a new kind"; one who combined "a lively and rational passion for liberty" with an equally strong belief in the virtues of social order. (He came from a royalist family; his father narrowly escaped Robespierre's guillotine.) How to combine the two? That, as he saw it, was the great problem facing modern political philosophy.



Author James Bryce (1838–1922), here portrayed in middle age, became ambassador to Washington and an early advocate of the League of Nations after World War I.

He came to the United States in search of an answer. He found a society uniquely, passionately dedicated to the values of individual liberty and freedom of voluntary association. But, Tocqueville observed, it was also a society that imposed order (including the order of black slavery) through a conformity imposed by public opinion: a tyranny of the majority comparable, in his mind, to the tyranny of royal authority under the *ancien régime*.

Tocqueville's account of America's early 19th-century public and private institutions, and the values and manners of its people, is to this day the most profound of all inquiries into our society. More than that, *Democracy in America* remains a seminal text on the strengths and deficiencies of democracy as a system of political organization.

And what of Bryce and *The American Commonwealth* 40 years later? What led this enormously bright, learned, energetic Scots-Irishman to set out for the United States in 1870 (and again in 1881 and 1883–84)? What prompted him to make American government and politics his chief intellectual interest for almost 20 years, to produce a three-volume study, over 1,800 pages in the first edition, and then doggedly to add, revise, and amend on a large scale in three succeeding editions? (Tocqueville never returned to the United States after his 1830 visit, never revised *Democracy in America*, and showed little further interest in the new society he had so tellingly described.)

The answer lies in the kind of man that Bryce was, and in the purpose of *The American Commonwealth*. He criticized Tocqueville for having too philosophical a purpose: "It is not democracy in America he describes, but his own theoretic view of democracy illustrated from America."

Bryce, by contrast, sought knowledge directly and massively accumulated,

and then turned to systematic analysis. His was a positivist, Victorian intellectual style exemplified in the work of both Karl Marx and Charles Darwin. (Late in life, Bryce recalled that reading Darwin's *Origin of Species* was one of the most exciting intellectual experiences of his youth.) In spirit and approach, *The American Commonwealth* resembles other pioneering works of its time such as Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution* (Bagehot, like Bryce, subscribed to "the cardinal value of occasional *little* facts") and Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government*.

Bryce was an inveterate collector—of facts, experience, people. Philosopher William James once said that to Bryce, "all facts were born free and equal." And he led one of those breathtakingly active, productive Victorian lives that so astonish us today. He was born in Belfast and raised in Glasgow, the child of vigorously intellectual Scots-Irish Presbyterian parents. His father was a teacher. He entered Trinity College, Oxford, in 1857, successfully insisting on his right as a Dissenter not to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church. Bryce was an academic prodigy, gathering up prizes, firsts, and fellowships as if they were collectibles. He then read law at Lincoln's Inn—at the same time writing a short history of the Holy Roman Empire that won him an international reputation. In 1870, at the age of 32, Bryce was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, a well-paid sinecure that he held until 1893; he served as a member of Parliament for a quarter of a century and occupied three cabinet posts; he was British ambassador to the United States from 1907 to 1913; he was created a viscount in 1914; he served on government commissions looking into British education, German atrocities in World War I, and the reform of the House of Lords.

Bryce's avocations were no less numerous. He traveled to (and wrote a book about) every inhabited continent; by his own account in 1907, he had visited every country and capital in Europe, plus Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, South Africa, India, Asia Minor, the Greek isles, Transcaucasia, Mexico, Cuba, Jamaica, almost all of the United States and Canada—"also Iceland." Soon he added Australia and New Zealand, Japan, China, and Siberia to his itinerary. He swam in every body of water and climbed every mountain within reach (including Ararat, which he proudly, if erroneously, believed he was the first European to ascend); he botanized with near-professional skill, discovering 13 new species of plants in South Africa alone. Like so many Victorian intellectuals, Bryce was

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besotted by exotic places: The one major country whose politics and government he never systematically examined was Great Britain.

Small wonder that he did not find time to marry until he was 51. He never had children.

It would be no distortion to regard *The American Commonwealth* as both a Victorian travel book and a work of Victorian social science. It is the account of a journey through the world of late-19th-century American politics and government by an exceptionally urbane, well-informed, sharp-eyed visitor. One of Bryce's reviewers said, not unjustly, that his book attained everything that was possible with a camera.

And indeed, by amassing a mountain of facts, Bryce hoped to demonstrate how the people of the world's leading democracy governed themselves.

But there was, of course, no way of avoiding the generalizing for which he criticized Tocqueville, however different their conclusions were. "The general theory I have tried to set forth," he declared, "is that in the U.S. the impression of the direct governing power of opinion, as apart from legal machinery, is far stronger than in Europe; and that while there is very little abuse of power by the majority [here he takes issue with Tocqueville], there is, at least in the realm of thought, too much disposition to believe the majority right. But possibly I have strained the facts to prove the theory."

Bryce claimed that five-sixths of his data came from observation and from conversations with Americans. He traveled everywhere: not only to New England and the Northeast but also to the upper Midwest, the Pacific Coast, the South. In particular, he relied on the knowledge and insight of experts. He said that he tried "simply to piece together and reproduce the best views of the best American observers as I picked them up." On his first day in America, he looked up E. L. Godkin, editor of *The Nation* and the *New York Evening Post*, who became perhaps his most influential source. (He failed to acknowledge Godkin's aid in the preface to his first edition, an omission that the latter did not take well. Bryce explained that if he had properly recognized Godkin, critics would have said "(not without truth) that I was reproducing the *Evening Post* and Mugwump view.")

Other notables of the Northeast, such as Harvard's President Charles W. Eliot (who remained a lifelong friend), Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., economist and financier Edward Atkinson, and the rising young politician Theodore Roosevelt, also guided him. James Angell, president of the University of Michigan, and Washington Gladden, congregational minister and social reformer, advised him on the intricacies of Midwestern politics; Thomas M. Cooley, the judge and treatise writer, introduced him to the powerful constraints on state activism imposed by the Constitution and the political culture; historian Henry C. Lea instructed him on the politics of Pennsylvania, with its railroad barons, coal towns, and party patronage.

Bryce had the gifted traveler's knack of being in the right place at the right time. On his first visit to America in 1870, he managed to meet most of the

surviving lights of New England transcendentalism and the antislavery movement: Emerson, Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Samuel Gridley and Julia Ward Howe, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the elder Oliver Wendell Holmes. His first direct exposure to American politics was at the 1870 New York State Democratic convention in Rochester, where he was able to see the regnant Tweed Ring and Tammany in full bloom.

The book that came out of Bryce's attentive listening, seeing, and reading was an exceptionally detailed, informed picture of late-19th-century American government and politics. Much of Parts I and II of *The American Commonwealth*, dealing with national and state government, may seem stilted and out-of-date when read today. But one chapter tried to answer a question that was germane before and after the Civil War, and is very much alive in our own time: "Why Great Men Are Not Chosen President." Bryce concluded that "great men are rare in politics; . . . the method of choice may not bring them to the top; . . . they are not, in quiet times, absolutely needed": not far from the present state of understanding.

Part III of *The American Commonwealth* (23 chapters, more than one-fifth of the first edition) discusses "The Party System"; here it comes alive. Bryce's perceptive description of party politics as practiced in the Gilded Age was the first, and in many ways remains the best, analysis ever written of the distinctive American system. Everything—bosses and machines, how they work and what they do; the machinery of elections; the color and passion of campaigns; the role of money and corruption—came within his view. Long before Moisey Ostrogorsky, Max Weber, and other European social scientists, Bryce recognized that "the spirit and force of party has in America been as essential to the action of the machinery of government as steam is to a locomotive engine . . . . In America the great moving forces are the parties. The government counts for less than in Europe, the parties count for more."

He held that American party politics historically embodied the conflict of two "permanent oppositions": between centralized and localized government and "between the tendency which makes some men prize the freedom of the individual as the first of social goods, and that which disposes others to insist on checking and regulating his impulses." In short, he discovered in America the same tension between "the love of liberty" and "the love of order" that so intrigued Tocqueville.

It might seem surprising that Bryce identified more closely with the Hamilton-Federalist-Republican than the Jefferson-Jackson-Democratic tradition. But it was a measure of the difference then between British and American political culture that Bryce, a member of the radical wing of mid-19th-century British Liberalism, was most comfortable with the more conservative sector of contemporary American politics.

In truth Bryce had little interest in American history (for which Woodrow Wilson, who reviewed the book when it appeared, chided him). Rather, his primary interest was in the American party politics of his own time, the 1870s

A BRYCE SAMPLER

On the American Character:

"They are a hopeful people. Whether or no they are right in calling themselves a new people, they certainly seem to feel . . . the bounding pulse of youth. They see a long vista of years stretching out before them, in which they will have time enough to cure all their faults, to overcome all the obstacles that block their path."

On the Separation of Powers:

"[The Founding Fathers] so narrowed the sphere of the executive as to prevent it from leading the country, or even its own party in the country, except indeed in a national crisis, or when the president happens to be exceptionally popular. They sought to make members of Congress independent, but in doing so they deprived them of some of the means which European legislators enjoy of learning how to administer, of learning even how to legislate in administrative topics. They condemned them to be architects without science, critics without experience, censors without responsibility."

On American Women:

"The respect for women which every American man either feels or is obliged by public sentiment to profess has a wholesome effect on his conduct and character, and serves to check the cynicism which some other peculiarities of the country foster. The nation as a whole owes to the active benevolence of its women, and their zeal in promoting social reforms, benefits which the customs of Continental Europe would scarcely have permitted women to confer."

On Politics and Sports:

"Even now business matters so occupy the mind of the financial and commercial classes, and athletic competitions the minds of the uneducated classes and of the younger sort in all classes, that political questions are apt, except at critical moments, to fall into the background."

On Presidential Elections:

"If the presidential contest may seem to have usually done less for the formation of political thought and diffusion of political knowledge than was to be expected from the immense efforts put forth and the intelligence of the voters addressed, it nevertheless rouses and stirs the public life of the country. One can hardly imagine what the atmosphere of American politics would be without this quadrennial storm sweeping through it to clear away stagnant vapours, and recall to every citizen the sense of his own responsibility for the present welfare and future greatness of his country. Nowhere does government by the people, through the people, for the people, take a more directly impressive and powerfully stimulative form than in the choice of a chief magistrate by 15 millions of citizens voting on one day."

and '80s. And here, to his displeasure, he found that "neither party has any principles, any distinctive tenets.... Both have certainly war cries, organizations, interests enlisted in their support. But those interests are in the main... getting or keeping the patronage of the government. Tenets and policies, points of political doctrine, and points of political practice, have all but vanished.... All has been lost, except office or the hope of it."

This disillusioned judgment appears to be at odds with his generally positive view of American institutions, and needs explaining. There was more to Bryce—and to *The American Commonwealth*—than facts, facts, facts. Both his letters and his masterwork had a strongly didactic tone; his book is as much the product of a moral and political philosophy as is Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*.

Bryce believed in Liberalism, the classic 19th-century Liberalism of John Bright and William Gladstone, of free trade, free speech and press, personal liberty, and *responsible* leadership. This notably genial, gregarious man had his hates, chief among them illiberal regimes: the Turkish oppressors of Bulgars and Armenians, and, later, the Kaiser's Reich in World War I.

For one holding such views, a close look at the United States of 1870 was irresistible. (Bryce toyed initially that year with a plan to cross the Channel and observe the Franco-Prussian War, but the lure of America was too great.) After a civil war fought—and won—for the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery, the United States was, in European Liberal eyes, the Golden Land. John Bright (with Gladstone one of the patron saints of Bryce's Liberalism) called the North's victory "the event of the age. The friends of freedom everywhere should thank God and take courage." The prevailing mood is evident in the English novelist-poet George Meredith's 1867 "Lines to a Friend [John Morley] Visiting America," which spoke of:

> The strange experimental land
> Where men continually dare take
> Niagara leaps;
>
> Adieu! bring back a braver dawn
> To England, and to me, my friend.

Bryce then and later was distinctly more optimistic about the present health and future prospects of the country than were his American friends such as Godkin and Holmes. He says in *The American Commonwealth*: "A hundred times in writing this book have I been disheartened by the facts I was stating: A hundred times has the recollection of the abounding strength and vitality of the nation chased away these tremors." He told Godkin, "Having criticized the machinery of government and the party system rather more sharply than I quite like—but feeling bound to do so—I have sought in describing public opinion to set out the better side of the people and of politics."

To the end of his long life he was firm in the belief that "America marks the highest level, not only of well-being, but of intelligence and happiness, which the race has yet attained." His Scots-Irish Liberalism drew him powerfully to the relative lack in America of pauperism, class distinction, and class hatred, and the diffusion of wealth among small proprietors.

It is not surprising that his book was immensely popular in the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. About a quarter of a million copies of its several editions and a widely used school abridgement were sold. It had less success in England (where one reviewer took Bryce to task for ignoring "the malaria, catarrh, earthquakes, blizzards and tornadoes" that "fill the cemeteries" of America).

But he was no Pangloss. By the time of *The American Commonwealth*'s appearance in 1888, the post–Civil War euphoria of Bryce and his American friends had substantially diminished. He strongly shared Godkin's distaste for a political system dominated by machines and bosses (though he recognized more acutely than did upper-class American reformers that most professional politicians played a necessary role in American public life).

Perceptively he observed that while Englishmen spoke of "politicians," Americans called them "the politicians," thus bestowing on them the character of a distinct social group. He ranked public men in an elaborate hierarchy of moral and intellectual qualities, descending from "the non-professional or Outer Circle politicians, those who work for their party without desiring office," down to the large, immigrant-dominated cities: "As there are weeds that follow human beings, so this species thrives best in cities, and even in the most crowded parts of cities. It is known to the Americans as the 'ward politician.'"

Bryce's condemnation of city politics and government as the great failure of American civilization is perhaps his most famous *aperçu*. But he had little more use for state governments, which he dismissed as "perennial fountains of corruption"; state legislators "can barely read the Constitution, and the nature of its legal operation is as far beyond them as the cause of thunder is beyond cats." He devoted a chapter of his book to explaining "Why The Decent Men Do Not Go Into Politics."

There was much about American politics during the 1870s and '80s to repel a British (or American) Liberal intellectual. The Civil War era had been dominated by great issues of national identity and human freedom. Intellectuals and publicists were intoxicated by that political atmosphere. Godkin, who, like Bryce, was of Irish Protestant origins and immigrated to America in 1856, wrote to a friend during the war: "I am duly thanking Heaven that I live here and in this age." In 1865 he founded *The Nation* as an organ designed to apply to postwar issues the Liberal spirit of the crusades for antislavery and the Union.

The chaos and disillusionment of Reconstruction, and the increasing domination of the political system by machines and bosses, was a profound shock to the ideological Liberals of the Civil War era. The work of Thomas Nast, the preeminent political cartoonist of his time, vividly portrays the change in political

generations. During the 1860s, Nast, with great power, portrayed the antislavery, Unionist creed of Republicanism and Liberalism. In the same spirit, he created his famous images of the rapacious Tammany tiger and the gross, porcine Boss Tweed. But as the politics of organization superseded the politics of ideology, Nast produced what came to be the accepted symbols of the major parties: the Republican elephant and the Democratic donkey. These were docile beasts, without strong symbolic meaning—eloquent embodiments of a politics that relied more on organization and sentiment than on ideology and purpose.

During the decades that followed, a running battle continued between politicos and genteel reformers. Bryce fully shared the distaste for party politics felt by most of his American friends. His own career in British politics was not unlike theirs. He never attained influence in Parliament or government commensurate with his abilities or reputation; and his dislike of British political professionals such as Joseph Chamberlain (who always referred to Bryce as "Professor") or Randolph Churchill matched Godkin's hatred of spoilsmen Roscoe Conkling and William McKinley.

The final sections of *The American Commonwealth* are given over to extended discussions of public opinion and—in the spirit of Tocqueville—American social institutions. Bryce's analysis of public opinion in America lies somewhere between Tocqueville's view of it as an independent force exercising all-powerful sway over American public life, and the more modern view (expressed by Walter Lippmann in *Public Opinion*, 1922) that it is a compound of the irrationality of the masses and manipulation by powerful vested interests. Bryce recognized that popular opinion was a significant reality in American public life—politicians ignored it at their peril—but that it was also subject to the influence of leadership.

Most Americans, he thought, were influenced by sentiment rather than by informed opinion. But he still had faith in the judgment of the majority: "The masses of the People are wiser, fairer, and more temperate in any matter to which they can be induced to bend their minds than most European philosophers have believed it possible for the masses of the people to be." Nor did he have any great faith in the wisdom of the well off: "The possession of property does more . . . to make a man timid than education does to make him hopeful." Predictably, he believed that the best hope for American public life lay in the leadership of "the group of classes loosely called professional men"; the educated, public-spirited men who were his closest American friends; indeed, the "class" to which he himself belonged. Over the past 100 years, many an American Liberal reformer has felt the same way.

Bryce dealt also with a variety of social groups and institutions, ranging from the bar and the universities to Wall Street and the situation of American women. He shared the conventional view of his time that blacks and women should not participate in politics. He lumped together blacks and recent immigrants as a social "residuum" whose views were neither worthwhile nor significant. But he never gave voice to the then prevailing belief, shared by Liberals and conservatives, in black racial inferiority. And his faith in the assimilative power of the nation was strong: "The future of America will be less affected by the influx of new blood than any one who has not studied the American democracy of today can realize."

In later years Bryce observed with growing alarm such developments as imperialism and the pre–World War I arms race, the rise of Big Business, organized labor, and, at home, socialism. These trends threatened to consign his classic 19th-century Liberalism to the dustbin of history. But he never gave way to the pessimism and despair that swept over Godkin or Henry Adams (who on renewing his acquaintanceship with Bryce in the early 1900s found his Liberalism naive). He wrote to an American friend in 1903: "The truth is that when I go to America I always see much that is depressing and disgusting, but I see also that many of the evils which I saw formerly have not increased, or are even diminishing; and I see also more clearly than before how grand are the evils arising around us in England. Hence it seems right to allow a wide margin in America for the action of the representative forces which have often proved stronger than was expected."

To the end—he died in 1922 at the age of 84—Bryce remained what he had always been, an archetypal Gladstonian Liberal. He was also widely regarded as the most learned, knowledgeable, polymathic Briton of his time. The English journalist A. G. Gardiner wrote in 1913: "If one were asked to name the greatest living Englishman, I think it would be necessary to admit, regretfully, that he was a Scotsman born in Ireland."

And yet there is a disparity between Bryce's qualities and his overall achievement—a gap evident in the book whose centennial we celebrate. Its description of the late-19th-century American polity assures it immortality. But we do not find in it the more profound insights into the nature of American society that Tocqueville's work continues to provide. The reason is that Bryce never was able to transcend his Liberalism as Tocqueville did. For all its rich detail, its recurrent, oft-quoted insights, the fact remains that while Bryce's book wonderfully illuminates its subject, it never takes the reader to a new level of understanding.

Nevertheless, on its own terms, *The American Commonwealth* remains a national treasure: a vivid, affectionate, informed portrait of how we were governed—and governed ourselves—a century ago.