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California GOP / Irvine 10/26/90 [OA 6896]

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MEMORANDUM OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY– ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY–

Irvine

OF (Organization) ~~Hilton~~ Hotel

☐ PLEASE PHONE ▶ ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON

Hyatt

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

500 people
5 minutes - 7 min.
$308/per person

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Irvine (714) 863-3111

Grant/Blymire
Draft two
October 22, 1990
A:Irvine

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CALIFORNIA GOP FUNDRAISING BREAKFAST
IRVINE, CA HILTON
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1990
TIME? 8:50 am

Were the Hilton, now the Irvine Hyatt

Mel Lukens

hotel 714-863-3111

((Acknowledgements; and it's always great to see Frank Visco, our state party chairman. What a great job he's doing.\\ ))

It's a pleasure to see everyone. ((I heard this hotel changed hands last week, and I know some people call it the Hilton, others call it the Hyatt. But we can **all** agree on what to call Pete Wilson: **The next Governor of California.** Pete says he doesn't care **what** you call him, just as long as you **don't** call him too early in the morning. ///))

Advance Lucy x7565

2/28 1854

It's great to be here in California today, just in from New Mexico and Arizona. Every year, thousands flock to California from around the world -- all in pursuit of a **dream**. The Republican Party continues today in a century-old mission to keep California the land where dreams **do** come true --the place where creativity is prized and risk-taking is rewarded.

That's because Republicans believe that power should be in the hands of **people**, not government. We prefer not to **expand the budget** but to **expand opportunity** for all Americans -- from offering more options to parents seeking child care and giving students and parents more choice in education; to creating free-market answers to environmental problems, and taking back our streets from drug dealers and murderers. In short, we're working

to build a better America, and **that's why I need Pete Wilson as Governor.**

But first, we've got to get our fiscal house in order. ((Campaign requested: Even while in California, Pete has been an integral part of the budget process -- because he **understands** fiscal responsibility and a balanced budget.)) ((BUDGET INSERT))

But instead of just telling you what the Congress hasn't done, let me tell you what they **have** done. In the past two years, they've passed 182 "commemorative" bills asking me to issue a proclamation for one thing or another. They gave me "National Asparagus Month" -- but they haven't given me a farm bill. They gave me "National Crime Prevention Month" -- but they haven't given me a crime bill. They gave me the "Year of Clean Water" -- but they haven't given me a clean air bill. They gave me "Vocational/Technical Education Week" -- but they haven't given me the Educational Excellence Act.

Now, I have nothing against asparagus, or crime awareness, or vo-tech education. But I think it's time the Congress started doing the job it was sent to Washington to do. \\ In November of 1988, the nation cast a vote to build a better America -- with opportunity for all Americans, a safe and clean environment, and improved education. To **govern** means to put the **American** interest before the **special interests.** After 35 years of a Democrat Congress, it's time they started governing. **Give me a Republican majority and believe me, we will.** \\

Here in California, voters have taken matters into their own hands -- by 3-to-1, they're favoring Proposition 140 -- the one Pete endorsed -- to limit the terms of entrenched politicians. And the Democrats are reading the writing on the wall -- ((and on their hands too, in some cases.)) They're realizing that just like Proposition 13 set the national mood a few years ago, Proposition 140 will put government in the hands of the **people**, not the **state legislators** who have set up **permanent housing** in the State Capitol. As the noted political philosopher \\ Bart Simpson \\ might say to those legislators facing term limits, **"Get a life, dude."** \\

America has waited long enough. People don't just want talk and symbolism -- they want **action** -- real action to address the serious problems facing this country today.

We're waiting for action on the environment. We all want future generations to inherit a safe and healthy world, preserved and protected for our children. In fact, Pete wrote the first Coastal Protection Act before the environmental movement ever began, and has been fighting for clean air for years. His brand of environmental activism is what California really needs -- because he proves that a leader **can** be "green" -- without being "Big Green." \\

Clean air has been one of our administration's top priorities as well. Early on, we sent to the Congress -- for the first time in nine years -- comprehensive Clean Air legislation to cut acid rain, urban smog, and air toxins. **We sent Clean Air,**

and what'd we get? **Hot Air.** Not five, not ten, but 130 **amendments** were added, and it took ~~Congress~~ House **six weeks** to appoint the members of the Conference Committee. Then, **141 negotiators** squabbled for **15 weeks** between the House and Senate versions -- and now, after nearly a year and a half, we're **still** waiting for an acceptable bill. America can't afford to wait any longer for clean air. **And neither can California.**\\

And here's **another** thing that can't wait: safe streets and schools. Here in California, Pete's worked for harsher penalties for those convicted of rape and assault. Back in Washington, he supported the Violent Crime Control Act we sent to Capitol Hill nearly 16 months ago. We still have no crime bill -- because at every turn, **liberal Democrats** have tried to soft-pedal the need to be hard on crime. Republicans, on the other hand, have demanded **capital punishment** -- a real, workable death penalty for those who kill Federal law enforcement officers. \\

That crime legislation is still in Conference Committee. If Congress sends me a **weak** bill, I will veto it. If Congress sends me a strong bill, it's because of **Republicans** -- like Pete Wilson -- who insist that cop-killers get the kind of punishment they deserve. Innocent Americans are **waiting** -- for a criminal justice system that is tougher on criminals than it is on law enforcement.\\ And I'll tell you the **only** way they'll get one: **By voting Republican on November 6.**

Congressional Democrats are worried because they **know** that Republicans are on the **right side of the issues -- we just need more Republicans on the right side of the aisle.**

Our Party has always stood for strength at home and strength abroad. **Today it is no different.** A strong America has never been more important. Our ability to stand up to naked aggression in the Persian Gulf is proof positive of the need for a strong defense. And it's proof of something else: that there is **no substitute for American leadership in the community of nations.**

What a bold legacy for future generations to inherit: **a new partnership of nations.** Our generation is the first to witness what has been sought for decades by statesmen of many nations: **a new world order.**

And our generation will be the first to thank those brave men and women -- joined by courageous soldiers from the armed forces of nations spanning four continents -- all standing firm against aggression in the hot desert sun and the glare of the Gulf waters. **They have our gratitude and our support. ** And they have our pledge to keep democracy alive and well at home -- by pledging to get ourselves to the polls to cast our ballots, just as the G.I.s are doing from their posts worldwide.

Here at home, we can fulfill the mission of **strength and greatness** set forth so long ago -- the mission begun by Abraham Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt and continued by the great sons of California, Richard Nixon and **Ronald Reagan.\\ The time has come**

to fulfill that mission. But to do it, we need more Republicans. \\

America has waited long enough. Let's get out the vote on November 6 -- and **let's make Pete Wilson the next great Republican Governor of California.** \\

Thank you and God bless every one of you.

# # #

PAIR'S WAYS AND MEANS INSPIRE ANGER AND PRAISE

President Bush's top budget honchos -- John Sununu and Richard Darman -- have gained the title "Nasty Boys" in marathon talks droning away on Capitol Hill.

Like the Cincinnati Reds' flamethrowing relief pitches of the same name, Sununu and Darman's blunt, hardball style in pressing the White House case has been bashed by critics as complicating talks, triggering flare-ups and prolonging the timetable for agreement. In the process, they've dusted off senators and Congress members used to swinging at softballs.

Rep. Lightfoot was so miffed he wrote Bush asking him to leave his "pit bulldogs at the White House" and come to Congress himself to patch up relations.

Bush, however, dismisses it as part of the game: "When the passions get high, I understand there's going to be a little broken china up there." **(Richard Benedetto, USA Today, 6A)**

QUAYLE CREDITED IN BUDGET TALKS

Vice President Quayle may emerge as a winner in the budget battle.

Quayle, who served in the House and Senate, is being credited with helping to rescue the Bush Administration's budget policy meltdown by serving as broker between the White House and Congress.

"The word is that Quayle's been very accessible and very helpful," said Rep. Mickey Edwards.

Quayle has seized the budget as an opportunity to rehabilitate his image as a drag on Bush.

In a three-day swing through Montana, Idaho and California, Quayle tirelessly parried questions about the mess:

Taxes? "The Democrats passed a whopping tax increase of $90 billion on Middle America. Take a family of four earning $35,000: their taxes are going up a staggering $270!" The blame? A runaway Congress. "They don't want to do anything except come home and run campaigns. They're not very good." The leader? "The President." Bush has compromised, but Quayle says he won't cave in to Congress. **(Jessica Lee, USA Today, 6A)**

CONFEREES COMPLETE SWEEPING CLEAN-AIR REVISION

Congressional conferees Monday gave final approval to the first clean air legislation in 13 years after compromising on a relief program for laid-off workers in a pre-dawn effort to avoid a presidential veto.

The compromise was tentatively accepted by White House officials at the session, setting the stage for a champagne toast by conference members at 5:05 a.m. The agreement provided the momentum to get conferees over the final hump, as House negotiators -- threatened by a Senate filibuster -- dropped their plan to protect the visibility of national parks in the West clouded by pollution from power plants.

Gathering again 10 hours later in the ornate caucus room of the Cannon House Office Building where the conference began 15 weeks ago, the 141 negotiators formally approved the package of new standards and technological demands designed to cleanse the air of urban smog, acid rain and toxic industrial emissions by early in the next century. **(Michael Weisskopf, Washington Post, A10)**

-more-

FAMILY TAXES WOULD GO UP $269 EACH YEAR IN PROPOSED LEVIES

Look out, Joe Sixpack: The average household would pay about $269 more a year on the taxes on beer, wine, gasoline, tobacco and liquor that Congress is considering.

That's the estimate for a family earning between $25,000 and $35,000 a year, according to a study done for the National Chamber Foundation, an opponent of the tax increases.

A 16-cent tax on a six-pack of beer would cost the average household about $19.52 annually, while 9 1/2-cent gas tax would drain about $148.97 a year, the researchers say. An 8-cent-a-pack cigarette tax increase would cost an average $27.39 more a year.

The study notes that the excise taxes would reach deepest into the pockets of the poor, women and blacks -- all traditional Democratic constituencies. **(David Dahl, Washington Times, A10)**

LONG-TERM GAIN OUTWEIGHS SHORT-TERM, ECONOMISTS SAY

John Maynard Keynes might not approve, but many private economists believe the Bush Administration and Congress are right in backing budget cuts and tax increases even in the face of a possible recession.

The view flies in the face of a major economic tenet advanced by Keynes, who argued that cutting government spending and increasing taxes is the wrong thing to do in economic hard times.

Instead, the late British economist contended the government should run deficits during recessions to prime the pump and encourage a shrinking economy to start growing again....

Economists who support this shock therapy conceded that economic growth, at least in the short-term, will be hurt by the tax hikes and spending cuts, perhaps even making a mild recession slightly worse.

But they argue that the long-term benefits outweigh the short-term pain.

"When things are this far out of kilter (with the budget deficit soaring), the benefits of solving the underlying structural problem outweigh the short-term damage," said David Wyss, senior financial economist at DRI-McGraw Hill.

However, supply-side critics of the effort charge that George Bush is in danger of becoming a modern-day Herbert Hoover. That Republican president preached the need for budgetary restraint as a response to the worsening economic situation of the early 1930s.

"The deficit-cutters have a simplistic notion that if the medicine doesn't taste good, then just swallow hard and you will feel better in the morning. I don't think that is true," said John Makin, an economist with the conservative American Enterprise Institute. **(Martin Crutsinger, AP)**

Conferees Complete Sweeping Clean-Air Revision

Issue of Relief for Laid-Off Workers Compromised in Effort to Avoid White House Veto

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congressional conferees yesterday gave final approval to the first clean air legislation in 13 years after compromising on a relief program for laid-off workers in a predawn effort to avoid a presidential veto.

The compromise was tentatively accepted by White House officials at the session, setting the stage for a champagne toast by conference members at 5:05 a.m. The agreement provided the momentum to get conferees over the final hump, as House negotiators—threatened by a Senate filibuster—dropped their plan to protect the visibility of national parks in the West clouded by pollution from power plants.

Gathering again 10 hours later in the ornate caucus room of the Cannon House Office Building where the conference began 15 weeks ago, the 141 negotiators formally approved the package of new standards and technological demands designed to cleanse the air of urban smog, acid rain and toxic industrial emissions by early in the next century.

Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.), the conference chairman, called the legislation the "most sweeping environmental law this Congress will pass this century" and predicted smooth passage by both houses later this week.

Earlier, the conference stalled for hours over a House plan to award additional unemployment benefits worth $50 million a year to workers displaced by the new, far-reaching controls on industry required by the bill.

The White House threatened to veto legislation containing the five-year program when it passed the House in May, contending it would open the treasury to costly claims by workers laid off by other environmental laws. The warning picked up credibility as the more recent economic downturn and oil shortage increased wariness within the administration over the $25 billion price tag of the overall bill.

Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman, who from the start opposed clean air legislation as an expensive frill,

SEN. MAX BAUCUS
... predicts approval by both houses

"is just looking for an opportunity to recommend a veto, and this is his smoking gun," an administration official said last week.

With a showdown looming, White House domestic policy adviser Roger Porter and Darman aide Bob Grady camped in the Republican lounge of the House Energy and Commerce Committee hearing room Sunday night as conferees debated the issue inside. Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) played broker, shuttling back and forth with proposals by House conferees and the president's advisers.

Rep. Robert E. Wise Jr. (D-W.Va.), the bill's original sponsor—whose state faces the loss of thousands of high-sulfur coal mining jobs because of new controls on acid rain emissions—finally agreed at 2:30 a.m. to narrow the scope of his plan.

He had proposed a virtual doubling of the unemployment benefits available to workers able to prove that the new law was an "important contributing factor" to their job loss. Under the compromise, workers who lose their jobs "as a consequence of" tougher clean air laws would be eligible for unemployment compensation as long as they remain in a retraining program. They would have to enroll in the program at least halfway through the 26 weeks of unemployment insurance available to anyone laid off.

Although benefits would come from a special $250 million fund, they would not serve as a new entitlement program, responding to White House concerns. Instead, the program would be part of the Economically Dislocated Workers Assistance Act.

"It was a very serious threat," Chafee said of the veto warnings. "But now that disappears. The key White House negotiators were involved in the decision."

A White House spokesman said the president's advisers were "encouraged" by the compromise but will not render final judgment until they see the language of the provision.

Having reduced the danger of a veto, conferees moved to neutralize the most ominous filibuster threat. Earlier, 24 western-state senators signed a letter pledging to oppose any legislation that contained the House visibility protection plan for national parks. With several ultra-conservative senators opposed to the bill on ideological grounds waiting in the wings to help any filibuster effort, the warning was taken seriously.

The proposal, which had the support of Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), head of the House delegation, called for controls on power plants and other sources of air pollution obscuring views of such wonders as the Grand Canyon.

But when senators refused near dawn to go beyond the study of the problem provided in their bill, Dingell announced to a caucus of House members that he would give up the fight.

"It was more important to get the legislation through the conference," he explained yesterday.

Photo Copy Preservation

October 22, 1990
5:00 p.m.

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARY KATE

FROM: CAROL

SUBJECT: ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I spoke with Lucy Muckerman and Mel Lukens this afternoon, and the following is the list of the people on the dais:

-- Marian Bergeson, Candidate for Lt. Gov.
-- Senator Pete Wilson
-- Governor Deukmejian
-- Donald Bren, Master of Ceremonies
-- George Argyrous, Co-chairman of the event
-- Tom Mayes, State Treasurer
-- Tom Fuentes, Chairman of Orange County GOP
-- Frank Visco, Chairman of California State GOP

I am waiting for the head table list from Cathy Hutchinson in Political. As far as she knows, Mrs. Bush will not be at this event, and no noted celebs as of yet. She should know by tomorrow afternoon. Call me if you need anything else.

Teresa Gorman, Ec. & Dom. Pol.
x6554
227 OEOB

# of people on conf. comm. — 130 ish

# of amendments —

6 wks. to appoint conferees

16 mos. to get it to this pt.

130 Amendments? TGorman

how many committees
how many hours
how many witnesses
date we sent bill to the Hill

Bob Portman — status
how close, really?
When —
this week?

Then count days

lang. process not signed off on then, few days after that

Clean Air Bill — David Struhs

# of amendments? - 130? — can say, "over a hundred" TG

how many committees has it gone through? — 5 in the House

how many hours of debate? —

~~how many witnesses? —~~

date we sent Bill to the Hill — 7/21/89

1+
365
10
31
30
26
462 days

To Carol

Date _____ Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Ms Ceg

of _____

Phone 3742

Area Code | Number | Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
RETURNED YOUR CALL			

Message Clean Air Act sent July 21, '89 to Congress. Admin. Announced June 12, 1989 it's package. over 200 witnesses testified impossible to Sen # hrs. of debate

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY®

23-020

# of committees involved
(held hearings or had conferees on conference)

= 7 on House Side
= 2 on Senate Side

# of amendments

Senate 250 floor amendments
nearly 300 including ones in committee

House: 100 amendments all inclusive

# of conferees
~167 on House (he says he's misplaced that # but it's in the info he gave you the other day.)

UNITED STATES ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20460

October 25, 1990

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

NOTE TO: Theresa Gorman

FROM: Todd Koeze TK

Attached is a legislative chronology highlighting the more significant Congressional action on Clean Air which dates from the President's transmittal of his proposal in June of 1989 to the naming of House Conferees in June of 1990.

The brief answers to your specific questions are as follows:

- 12 committees from both chambers have been involved in varying degrees --

SENATE	HOUSE
Environment & Pub Wrks	Energy and Commerce
Commerce, Sci. & Trans	Sci., Space & Tech
Finance	Pub. Wrks & Trans
Energy & N.R.	Ways & Means
	Education & Labor
	Interior & Ins. Affrs
	Merch., Mar. & Fish
	Rules

- The Senate began floor debate on S. 1630 on January 23, 1990, and concluded action on April 3, 1990.
- House floor debate on H.R. 3030 lasted from May 17, 1990, to May 23, 1990.
- During floor consideration, the Senate adopted 120 amendments out of the more than 250 offered.
- House committee deliberations throughout the 101st Congress produced more than 300 amendments, bills and proposals. House floor consideration was limited, thus the amendments were in package form and agreed upon before hand by leadership.

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LEGISLATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS -- CLEAN AIR ACT AMENDMENTS 7/11/90

- **JUNE 12, 1989** -- President Bush announces the Administration's clean air proposal which comprehensively addresses three areas of environmental concern: acid deposition, toxic air pollution, and urban air quality

- **JULY 21, 1989** -- the legislative language interpreting the President's proposal is submitted to Congress

- **JULY 27, 1989** -- the Administration's bill is introduced by House Energy and Commerce Committee Chairman John Dingell (D-MI) as H.R. 3030 with 146 cosponsors (eventually 166); the measure is subsequently referred to the Energy and Commerce Committee

- **AUGUST 3, 1989** -- the Administration's bill is introduced in the Senate by Senator John Chafee (R-RI) as S. 1490 with 24 cosponsors (eventually 25); the measure is subsequently referred to the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee

- **SEPTEMBER 13, 1989** -- Health and Environment Subcommittee of the House Energy and Commerce Committee holds first of 11 mark-ups on H.R.3030 that continue through October 11, 1989

- **OCTOBER 11, 1989** -- Health and Environment Subcommittee of House Energy and Commerce held their final mark-up of the Administration's bill (H.R. 3030); the measure, as amended, is sent to full committee by a 21-0 vote

- **OCTOBER 26, 1989** -- Environmental Protection Subcommittee of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee begins process of marking-up clean air legislation

- **NOVEMBER 14, 1989** -- Environmental Protection Subcommittee of Senate Environment and Public Works votes to include an Acid Rain title based on the Administration's original proposal; the Subcommittee had no further action on S. 1630

- **NOVEMBER 16, 1989** -- Senate Environment and Public Works votes out a Clean Air bill (S. 1630) by a 15 - 1 margin

- **JANUARY 23, 1990** -- Floor Debate begins in the U.S. Senate

- **FEBRUARY 1, 1990** -- a group of bipartisan Senators begin meeting with Administration officials in a month-long, closed door negotiation session on amendments to S. 1630; during which, Senate floor debate is put on hold

- **MARCH 5, 1990** -- Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell announces agreement with the Administration on several key aspects of clean air; this measure is the product of the Administration and bipartisan Senate negotiations during February and served as the vehicle for Senate floor deliberation (it would eventually become S. 1630)

- **MARCH 14, 1990** -- Energy and Power Subcommittee of House Energy and Commerce reports H.R. 3030 out to full committee; the Subcommittee had jurisdiction over the alternative fuels and acid rain provisions in the bill, but the Chairman decided not to mark-up/amend the measure

- **MARCH 14, 1990** -- House Committee on Energy and Commerce begins public mark-up of H.R. 3030

- **APRIL 3, 1990** -- the Senate votes out the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 -- **the measure was passed by a vote of 89 - 11. The following Senators voted against final passage of the bill: Byrd, Rockefeller, Simon, Dixon, McClure, Symms, Garn, Glenn, Helms, Nickles, and Wallop.**

- **MAY 17, 1990** -- House Committee on Energy and Commerce reports H.R. 3030 out of Committee by a vote of 42 - 1; the measure then moved to the entire House of Representatives

- **MAY 17, 1990** -- House Committee on Public Works and Transportaton and the House Committee on Ways and Means were given referral of certain aspects of H.R. 3030; both committees report the bill out on May 21, 1990

- **MAY 23, 1990 -- the House of Representatives votes to pass a new Clean Air Act by a vote of 401 - 21**

- **JUNE 6, 1990** -- the Senate announces their conferees for the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, they are as follows: Senators Quentin Burdick (D-ND), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), George Mitchell (D-ME), Max Baucus (D-MT), John Chafee (R-RI), Alan Simpson (R-WY), David Durenberger (R-MN) as well as Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX) and Bob Packwood (R-OR) of the Finance Committee for the fee-related, international trade (CFCs) and dislocated worker provisions only; all other conferees are Senate Environment and Public Works Committee members

- **JUNE 28, 1990** -- the House of Representatives announces their conferees for the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 -- the list includes 138 House Members overall with representation from seven committees, the six committees other than the Energy and Commerce will have jurisdiction over their individual areas in the measure only; provided below are the conferees from the Energy and Commerce Committee --

ENERGY AND COMMERCE

DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	COMMITTEES REPRESENTED
Dingell (MI)	Lent (NY)	o Public Works and Transportation
Scheuer (NY)	Madigan (IL)	o Ways and Means
Waxman (CA)	Moorhead (CA)	o Education and Labor
Sharp (IN)	Dannemeyer (CA)	o Interior and Insular Affairs
Thomas A. Luken (OH)	Whittaker (KS)	o Merchant Marine and Fisheries
Swift (WA)	Bliley (VA)	o Science, Space and Technology
Synar (OK)	Fields (TX)	
Tauzin (LA)	Oxley (OH)	
Wyden (OR)	Nielson (UT)	
Hall (TX)	Bilirakis (FL)	
Eckart (OH)		
Slattery (KS)		
Sikorski (MN)		
Boucher (VA)		
Rowland (GA)		
Manton (NY)		

Grant/Blymire
Draft five
October 25, 1990
A:Irvine

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CALIFORNIA GOP FUNDRAISING BREAKFAST
IRVINE, CA HILTON Changed to
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1990
TIME?

((Acknowledgements; and it's always great to see Frank Visco, our state party chairman. What a great job he's doing.\\ ))

It's a pleasure to see everyone. ((I heard this hotel changed hands last week, and I know some people call it the Hilton, others call it the Hyatt. But we can **all** agree on what to call Pete Wilson: **The next Governor of California.**\\ Pete says he doesn't care **what** you call him, just as long as you **don't** call him too early in the morning. //))

It's great to be here in California today, just in from New Mexico and Arizona. Every year, thousands flock to California from around the world -- all in pursuit of a **dream.** The Republican Party continues today in a century-old mission to keep California and America the land where dreams **do** come true -- the place where creativity is prized and risk-taking is rewarded.

That's because Republicans believe that power should be in the hands of **people**, not government. Republicans want to reform Washington, so we can **expand opportunity for all Americans -- instead of expanding the budget.** In education, Republicans want reform -- to **empower** parents to choose their children's schools. In child care, we want reform -- to **empower** parents to choose who will watch over their children. In the most desolate inner

cities, we want reform -- so we strive to create zones of opportunity, to remove barriers to mobility and success, to **empower** people with the spirit of enterprise. In short, we want to build a better America. **That's why I need more Republicans. And that's why I need Pete Wilson as Governor.**

Pete's been there in Washington -- he's seen it. He's seen what forty years of Democrat control of the Congress have given us: bigger and bigger government with more and more spending.

But I met yesterday with the Republican leadership of the House and Senate and one thing is clear: we are **united in our opposition** to the tax-and-spend policies of the Democrats -- something our Party has **always** fought tooth and nail. Because of the determination of the Congressional leaders I saw yesterday, and the commitment of the Administration's budget negotiators, we may be on the verge of a new agreement. It isn't the best deal ever, but it's the best deal **possible.**

The American people didn't need Democrat foot-dragging over the budget -- at the expense of the economy over the last eight months -- and at the expense of the national interest. What Americans <u>did</u> need was what Republicans stood fast for: a pro-growth budget, with lower income taxes on working Americans. And while we wait and wait for Congress to act, one thing has become clear: **This wouldn't be happening if we had more Republicans.**

And the budget isn't the only thing we've waited for. We've waited for action on the environment. We all want a safe and healthy world, preserved and protected for our children. In

fact, Pete wrote the first Coastal Protection Act before the environmental movement began, and has been fighting for clean air for years. His brand of environmental activism is what California **really** needs -- because he proves that a leader **can** be "green" -- without being "Big Green." \\

Clean air has been one of our administration's top priorities as well. On ((date)), we sent to the Congress -- for the first time in 13 years -- comprehensive Clean Air legislation to cut acid rain, urban smog, and air toxins. **We sent Clean Air**, and what'd we get? **Hot Air.** Not five, not ten, but **130 amendments** were added, and it took Congress **six weeks** to appoint the members of the Conference Committee. Then, **141 Congressional negotiators** squabbled for **15 weeks** -- and now, ((x number)) of days after we sent that legislation, we're **still** waiting for an acceptable bill. America can't afford to wait any longer for clean air. **And neither can California.**\\

And here's **another** thing that can't wait: safe streets and schools. Here in California, Pete's worked for harsher penalties for those convicted of rape and assault. Back in Washington, he supported the Violent Crime Control Act we sent to Capitol Hill nearly 16 months ago. We still have no crime bill -- because at every turn, **liberal Democrats** have tried to gut the death penalty -- but Republicans stopped them. Republicans have demanded **capital punishment** -- a real, workable death penalty for those who kill Federal law enforcement officers. \\

That crime legislation is still in Conference Committee. If Congress sends me a **weak** bill, I will veto it. If Congress sends me a strong bill, it's because of **Republicans** -- like Pete Wilson -- who insist that cop-killers get the kind of punishment they deserve. Innocent Americans are **waiting** -- for a criminal justice system that is tougher on criminals than it is on law enforcement.\\ And I'll tell you the **best** way to get one: **By voting for a new Congress -- a Republican one -- on November 6th.** \\

Congressional Democrats are upset because they **know** that Republicans are on the **right side of the issues -- we just need more Republicans on the right side of the aisle.**\\

The voters are fed up -- **and they know where the blame lies.** That's why Californians are supporting Proposition 140 -- the one Pete endorsed -- to limit the terms of entrenched politicians and put power **back in the hands of the people.**

And the Democrats are running scared -- as they say, "You can run but you can't hide" -- because our Party has always stood for strength at home and strength abroad. **Today it is no different.** A strong America has never been more important. Our ability to stand up to naked aggression in the Persian Gulf is proof positive of the need for a strong defense. And it's proof of something else: that there is **no substitute for American leadership in the community of nations.**

Here at home, we can fulfill our Party's mission of **opportunity and empowerment** set forth so long ago -- the mission

begun by Abraham Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt and continued by that great son of California, **Ronald Reagan.\\ The time has come to fulfill that mission. But to do it, we need more Republicans. **

Let's get out the vote on November 6 -- and **let's make Pete Wilson the next great Republican Governor of California. **

Thank you and God bless every one of you.

# # #

ages and abilities. True physical fitness helps us do our best in life, as well as in sports and physical activities at any level. Women's sports and fitness activities also help develop leadership skills that can carry over into many other areas. Opportunities for female athletes of every background can truly touch the lives of many people for the better and enrich our country. The same is true for greater attention in schools and communities to physical fitness for girls; fitness research; and private, volunteer, and public sports programs.

In recognition of the contributions of women's sports to our country, and of the need for continuing advances in these sports, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 196, has designated February 4, 1988, as "National Women in Sports Day" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim February 4, 1988, as National Women in Sports Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

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

Ronald Reagan

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:52 a.m., February 5, 1988*]

Statement by the Assistant to the President for Press Relations on Senate Approval of Aid to the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance

February 4, 1988

We are gratified that the Senate has affirmed its belief in the freedom fighters in Nicaragua. This vote sends an important signal to the Sandinista government that American leaders remain concerned about the peace process and will be watching its progress very carefully.

Nomination of Ernest C. Baynard III To Be an Assistant Secretary of Energy

February 5, 1988

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ernest C. Baynard III to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Environment, Safety, and Health) at the Department of Energy. He would succeed Mary L. Walker.

Since 1986 Mr. Baynard has been of counsel at the law firm of Newman & Holtzinger, P.C., in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was Deputy General Counsel for the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, 1984–1986, and Associate Solicitor for the Division of Surface Mining at the Department of the Interior, 1983–1984. He was with the law firm of Connole & O'Connell as partner, 1980–1983, and as an associate, 1972–1980.

Mr. Baynard graduated from Trinity College (B.A., 1966) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1971). He was born August 8, 1944, in Washington, DC. He served in the United States Navy, 1966–1968. Mr. Baynard is married, has four children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Remarks on Signing the Housing and Community Development Act of 1987

February 5, 1988

Well, see how many it takes to bring about a happening like this. Well, welcome. You know, when I was a kid, my family used to live over the store. Sometimes I feel like I haven't come all that way—only now, got elevators. [*Laughter*]

Well, again, welcome. And I am pleased today to sign this bill, S. 825, the Housing and Community Development Act of 1987. This comprehensive legislation represents both compromise and cooperation between

the administration, the Senate, and the House. Through a concerned effort, the legislation was transformed from a budget buster that would have reversed hard-won housing policy reforms into a rational, cost-effective bill that is fiscally responsible.

Thanks are due to many people for producing this compromise. In particular, Senators like Jake Garn, Pete Domenici, Bill Armstrong, Phil Gramm—the Republican Four Horsemen—deserve our gratitude for holding the line when an unacceptable version of the legislation came before the Senate. Senators Alan Cranston, and Al D'Amato, Dick Lugar, Pete Wilson, Dave Karnes, plus Chairman St Germain, and Representatives Chalmers Wylie, Marge Roukema, John Hiler, and Steve Bartlett's efforts were instrumental in fashioning out the final compromise with our administration.

S. 825 contains several noteworthy provisions. It makes permanent the Federal Housing Administration's insuring authority. That means we will no longer see temporary suspensions of FHA mortgage programs that benefit young families and other first-time buyers.

A key feature of this housing bill is the permanent authorization of the housing voucher program that we first proposed in 1982. The housing voucher program exemplifies our commitment to community development through public-private partnerships. Vouchers gave families the dignity of choice—the opportunity to choose the type and location of their housing and the ability to be near family and friends and schools and churches or jobs. This legislation puts the private market to work in supplying rental housing by enabling the government to help needy families with vouchers so they can afford to rent housing of their own choosing. This legislation is a big step toward our housing goal of a home for every American family.

In just the last year, our voucher program has helped 100,000 low-income families find housing of their own choosing. We know flexible housing vouchers serve needy families better at substantially less taxpayer cost. And I'm also pleased that this bill authorizes the availability of vouchers to rural areas, but it's very disappointing that the Congress refused to appropriate the funding for a rural housing voucher program this year.

S. 825 provides new opportunities for public housing residents to take control of their own lives by managing or buying their own housing. Joining me are three of our national heroes of the tenant management movement: Kimi Gray, of the Kenilworth Parkside Resident Management Corporation here in Washington, DC; Bertha Gilkey, of the Cochran Tenant Management Corporation in St. Louis; and Mildred Hailey, the founder of the Tenant Management Movement at the Bromley-Heath Tenant Management Corporation in Boston. And they remind us that ownership or control of one's own residence should be an opportunity for every citizen.

S. 825 provides training and technical support for the establishment of new resident management groups and allows them to reinvest savings from resident management to establish small business enterprises. The resident management enterprises of low-income residents have effectively combatted crime and poverty and created new pride through self-management in cities around the country.

This bill also adopts our proposal for modernization of public housing and gives us new tools to combat fraud and abuse in housing and FHA insurance programs. It also includes authority for the designation of enterprise zones—part of an initiative that we proposed in 1981.

I'm also gratified by another provision of this bill which authorizes HUD to find local, private organizations that are working to end housing discrimination. Too often—one case is too many—families and individuals seeking to buy or rent homes still confront bigotry and discrimination. Well, the fair housing initiative program section of this bill will help ensure that such racism will not be tolerated.

Special thanks to Sam Pierce for leading the 3-year fight for this program. Secretary [of Housing and Urban Development] Pierce has been one of the unsung heroes of our administration. His loyalty and hard work, his good sense and commitment can be seen in this bill. Few others could have brought such divergent forces together as Secretary Pierce, and he deserves our ap-

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preciation and applause. Thank you, Sam. [*Applause*]

Well now, this housing bill also makes some progress in eliminating ineffective programs, such as the Solar Energy Bank, the Rental Housing Development Grant, and the section 235 subsidy programs. As we work together to reduce the Federal deficit, we need to assure the American people that their tax dollars are being used to meet critical housing and community development needs in a cost-effective way.

There are, of course, a number of provisions in this bill that the administration did not support. Previously enacted cost-saving reforms were eroded, and provisions mandating unnecessary cost increases were included. The rights of landlords and owners and the Government's ability to wisely manage subsidized projects are excessively restricted. In the spirit of cooperation, the administration will work with Congress to see if we can correct these features of the bill.

But on balance, this is a sound compromise. This bill helps keep a lid on new spending while preserving our key housing reforms. It also includes features that will help ensure that our country can efficiently and effectively meet the challenge of America's changing housing needs.

In an earlier day, American pioneers would gather together and help newcomers build their homes. That same spirit of good will and cooperation is what made the passage of this bill possible. And now I'll sign it, which is the easiest part of the process. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 11:57 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. S. 825, approved February 5, was assigned Public Law No. 100–242.

Nomination of Paul Freedenberg To Be an Under Secretary of Commerce

February 5, 1988

The President today announced his intention to nominate Paul Freedenberg to be Under Secretary of Commerce for Export Administration at the Department of Commerce. This is a new position.

Since 1987 he has been Acting Under Secretary for Export Administration. Prior to this Mr. Freedenberg was Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Administration, 1985–1987. He was staff director for the Subcommittee on International Finance and Monetary Policy for the United States Senate Banking Committee, 1981–1985; minority counsel to the International Finance Subcommittee, 1979–1981; and minority professional staff for the U.S. Senate Banking Committee, 1977–1979.

Mr. Freedenberg graduated from the University of Illinois (B.A., 1965) and the University of Chicago (Ph.D., 1972). He was born February 17, 1943, in Chicago, IL. He is married, has two children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

Nomination of Mark E. Buchman To Be President of the Government National Mortgage Association

February 5, 1988

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mark E. Buchman to be president of the Government National Mortgage Association at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. He would succeed Glenn R. Wilson, Jr.

Since 1982 Mr. Buchman has been executive vice president and corporate banking division manager of Union Bank in Los Angeles, CA. Prior to this he was with Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. in various capacities from 1962 to 1982: senior vice president and deputy general manager of the international division, 1980–1982; senior vice president, 1977–1980; various international positions, 1971–1977; Far Eastern representative in Tokyo, Japan, 1966–1971; and junior officer, 1962–1966.

Mr. Buchman graduated from University of Pennsylvania, (B.S., 1959). He served in the United States Navy, 1959–1962. He was born June 19, 1937, in Caldwell, N.J. He is married, has two children, and resides in Los Angeles, CA.

observed what has happened in America, then duplicated it beyond our shores. Over the past 5, 6, 7 years, I have had requests of how to get a Christmas neighbor program started from all over the United States, Canada, and as far away as Israel. So, you can see what good publicity does.

Mr. President, today I've a special honor. On behalf of millions of volunteers in America, I want to say thank you for what you have done, to recognize your leadership and to inspire future generations of Americans to meet the standards you have established. We, the volunteers of America, have created a new award. This award will be presented each year, by all future Presidents of the United States, to the individual that symbolizes the very best of voluntarism in our country. And Mr. President, this new medal will be called "The Ronald Reagan Award for Volunteer Excellence."

And now, I would like to present you with the first strike of the Ronald Reagan Award for Volunteer Excellence. And in future years, the recipient of this award will be selected personally by the President of the United States. But this year, to keep this a surprise, you were not able to make the personal decision. [*Laughter*] However, the leaders of VOLUNTEER, the National Center, the ACTION Advisory Commission, and your Private Sector Initiatives Board of Advisors have picked the person they feel represents the type of volunteer spirit you have encouraged.

Mr. President, I would ask you to announce the first recipient of the Ronald Reagan Award for Volunteer Excellence. [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, I couldn't be more proud. The winner of the Ronald Reagan Award for Volunteer Excellence goes to "Mama" Williams. Well, I—yes, I was surprised. I am very much surprised. But also——

Ms. Williams. Great-great-grandmother's surprised too. [*Laughter*]

The President. And very proud. And proud of all of you and grateful to all of you. I'd like to just stay here and talk to you all afternoon, but Nancy tells me that I've got to help her with the dishes. [*Laughter*]

Ms. Williams. Don't you make another joke like that. [*Laughter*]

Mrs. Reagan. Did you hear what she said?

The President. No. What?

Ms. Williams. Don't make another joke like that. [*Laughter*]

Mrs. Reagan. That's right! [Laughter]

The President. "Mama"—well, "Mama" Williams, that may not be as much of a joke as you think. Because—[*laughter*]—one of the better jobs I had in my entire life, working my way through Eureka College, was washing dishes in the girls dormitory. [*Laughter*]

Ms. Williams. That was before you were married. [*Laughter*]

The President. Yes. [*Laughter*] Well, again, God bless you all. Thank you all for what you've done.

And this is—and as you've heard here today and those that have spoken already—all of this is going around the world, too, because there have been meetings abroad. And as a matter of fact, at the economic summit a year ago in Venice, Italy, between meetings, I was invited to a house and found myself looking at some Americans who were there, and who were helping Italy with their implementation of a private enterprise program of their own, so that they could do things as you do, without waiting to see if government's going to do them first. And this is spreading all over the world, and it all started right here under that grand old flag.

So, God bless all of you, and thank you.

Note: *The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.*

Message to the Senate on the Soviet-United States Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty

June 10, 1988

To the Senate of the United States:

I was gratified the United States Senate gave its advice and consent to the ratification of the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missile (INF Treaty). It was my honor to exchange instruments of ratification on June 1

in Moscow, and the Treaty has now entered into force.

During the past 4 months, the Senate has performed its constitutional duties with respect to the advice and consent to this Treaty in an exceptionally serious and diligent manner. On the Administration's part, we spared no effort to respond to the Senate's needs, and to do our best to ensure that the Senate had all the information it needed to carry out its constitutional responsibilities. Administration witnesses appeared in more than 70 formal hearings and many more informal briefings; we provided detailed written answers to over 1,300 questions for the record from the Committees and individual Senators; and we provided access to the negotiating record of the Treaty, comprising 31 bound volumes.

In short, I believe the Executive branch and the Senate took their responsibilities very seriously and made every effort to work together to fulfill them in the common interest of advancing the national security of the United States and our Allies and friends. The Treaty will bear witness to the sincerity and diligence of those in the Executive branch and the Senate who have taken part in this effort.

As noted in my statement issued on May 27, the date of final Senate action, one provision of the Resolution to Ratification adopted by the Senate causes me serious concern.

The Senate condition relating to the Treaty Clauses of the Constitution apparently seeks to alter the law of treaty interpretation. The accompanying report of the Committee on Foreign Relations accords primacy, second only to the Treaty text, to all Executive branch statements to the Senate above all other sources which international forums or even U.S. courts would consider in interpreting treaties. It subordinates fundamental and essential treaty interpretative sources such as the treaty parties' intent, the treaty negotiating record and the parties' subsequent practices.

Treaties are agreements between sovereign states and must be interpreted in accordance with accepted principles of international law and United States Supreme Court jurisprudence. As a practical matter, the Senate condition only can work against the interests of the United States by creating situations in which a treaty has one meaning under international law and another under domestic law. Unilateral restrictions on the United States should be avoided, especially in a treaty affecting vital national security interests. With respect to U.S. law, the President must respect the mutual understandings reached with the Senate during the advice and consent process. But Executive statements should be given binding weight only when they were authoritatively communicated to the Senate by the Executive and were part of the basis on which the Senate granted its advice and consent to ratification. This is in accordance with the legal standards applied by our courts in determining legislative intent. I commend the thoughtful statements made during the Senate debate by Senators Specter, Roth, Wilson, and others which amplify these concerns.

This Administration does not take the position that the Executive branch can disregard authoritative Executive statements to the Senate, and we have no intention of changing the interpretation of the INF Treaty which was presented to the Senate. On the contrary, this Administration has made it clear that it will consider all such authoritative statements as having been made in good faith. Nonetheless the principles of treaty interpretation recognized and repeatedly invoked by the courts may not be limited or changed by the Senate alone, and those principles will govern any future disputes over interpretation of this Treaty. As Senator Lugar pointed out during the debate, the Supreme Court may well have the final judgment, which would be binding on the President and Senate alike. Accordingly, I am compelled to state that I cannot accept the proposition that a condition in a resolution to ratification can alter the allocation of rights and duties under the Constitution; nor could I, consistent with my oath of office, accept any diminution claimed to be effected by such a condition in the constitutional powers and responsibilities of the Presidency.

I do not believe that any difference of views about the Senate condition will have any practical effect on the implementation of the Treaty. I believe the Executive

branch and the Senate have a very good common understanding of the terms of the Treaty, and I believe that we will handle any question of interpretation that may arise in a spirit of mutual accommodation and respect. In this spirit I welcome the entry into force of the Treaty and express my hope that it will lead to even more important advances in arms reduction and the preservation of world peace and security.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
June 10, 1988.

Proclamation 5829—Suspension of Entry as Immigrants and Nonimmigrants of Persons Who Formulate or Implement the Policies of the Noriega/Solis Palma Regime

June 10, 1988

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

In light of the current political and economic crisis in Panama and the actions of Manuel Antonio Noriega and Manuel Solis Palma and their forces that engendered this crisis and are preventing the legitimate government of President Eric Arturo Delvalle from restoring order and democracy to that country, I have determined that it is in the interests of the United States to restrict the entrance into the United States as immigrants and nonimmigrants of certain persons who formulate or implement the policies of Manuel Antonio Noriega and Manuel Solis Palma.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, by the power vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including section 212(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, as amended (8 U.S.C. 1182(f)), having found that the unrestricted immigrant and nonimmigrant entry of officers and employees who formulate or implement the policies of Manuel Antonio Noriega and Manuel Solis Palma would, except as provided for in Section 2 of this Proclamation, be detrimental to the interests of the United States, do proclaim that:

Section 1. The entry into the United States as immigrants and nonimmigrants of Panamanian nationals (and their immediate families), who formulate or implement the policies of Manuel Antonio Noriega and Manuel Solis Palma and who are designated by the Secretary of State or his designee, is hereby suspended.

Sec. 2. Nothing in this Proclamation shall be construed (1) to derogate from United States Government obligations under applicable international agreements or (2) to prohibit the entry into the United States of individuals for the purpose of submitting to legal proceedings initiated by the United States Government.

Sec. 3. This Proclamation is effective immediately and shall remain in effect until such time as the Secretary of State determines that democracy has been restored in Panama.

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

Ronald Reagan

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:32 a.m., June 13, 1988*]

Nomination of Richard Clark Barkley To Be United States Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic

June 10, 1988

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard Clark Barkley, of Michigan, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, as Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic. He would succeed Francis J. Meehan.

Mr. Barkley served in the United States Army from 1955 to 1957. From 1959 to 1961, he was a part-time instructor at the University of Maryland abroad. In 1962 he

Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Senator Pete Wilson in Irvine, California

August 23, 1988

Thank you for proving what I have always said to people when they inquire about Orange County: I've said it's where the good Republicans go before they die. [*Laughter*] Pete, thank you very much for those kind words, Reverend Moomaw and the other guests here on the top shelf. Two friends of mine who work for me at the White House are with us today. They brought the cake in—Chris Cox and Dana Rohrabacher. I know that both Chris and Dana, when they go to Washington in January, will be outstanding additions to the Congress and will serve our nation well. Also I want to thank Congressmen Bob Badham and David Dreier who have both been tireless supporters of this administration.

Now, before we begin, I should set the record straight. To most of you, it must seem pretty obvious that I came here today to show my support for Pete Wilson's reelection in this critical race. Actually I just dropped in hoping to get a little birthday cake. [*Laughter*] The truth is that I had a special reason for wanting to be here for this occasion. You see, I was very moved at my own 55th birthday when President Abraham Lincoln showed up and said a few kind words. [*Laughter*] Now, for some people, turning 55 is something of a milestone. Not for Pete. He still gets carded in bars. [*Laughter*] And, Pete, I have to tell you, I'm impressed by the size of this party. I was told that this would be just an intimate gathering of a few of your closest personal friends. [*Laughter*] I haven't seen so many people at a birthday party since I left the movie industry. [*Laughter*]

But Pete Wilson is a man with a lot of friends, and with the tremendous work that he does every day for the State of California, Pete Wilson deserves to have 27 million friends—working people, senior citizens, entrepreneurs, families—every person who believes in a California that is beautiful, safe, and prosperous. That's who Pete Wilson works for. Pete Wilson is a Teddy Roosevelt Republican who wants to conserve the natural beauty and resources of our land and who also wants a strong America that maintains a strong presence abroad. He has been a leader for environmental protection, working to preserve millions of acres of California wilderness, working for the conservation of wild rivers and the protection of our shoreline. I know he would agree with Teddy Roosevelt, who said that "A grove of giant redwoods or sequoias should be kept just as we keep a great and beautiful cathedral."

Well, on the Armed Services Committee, Senator Pete Wilson has been a strong voice for California and for the Nation. He has been an important part of our efforts to revitalize America's defenses and restore what another Roosevelt so accurately called "the great arsenal of democracy." Pete Wilson knows that a strong America is essential to world peace and vital for maintaining everything that we've accomplished in international affairs, especially our improved relations with the Soviet Union, which have produced the first treaty in history to eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles.

Now, I think I should interject here that there are some people that worry that perhaps I'm being taken in. No, I learned a Russian proverb which I have repeatedly cited to the General Secretary Gorbachev in our discussions: *Dovorey no provorey*. It means: Trust, but verify. And he's gotten so tired of hearing that that I'm now using an American one to let him know where I stand: Trust everybody, but cut the cards. [*Laughter*]

Well, Pete Wilson knows that a strong America is essential to world peace and vital for maintaining everything that we've accomplished in international affairs, as I say. Yes, we have improved those relations, as I just pointed out. Now, while the liberal opposition opposes the B–1 bomber, the MX, and our Strategic Defense Initiative, Pete Wilson knows that peace flows from strength and that a return to weakness would jeopardize all that we've achieved and that that cannot be allowed.

One of the most important issues, one that touches the lives of so many people, is the problem of crime. The physical and emotional wounds that are inflicted by violent criminals can take a lifetime to heal.

Whole neighborhoods can be destroyed by hoods, thugs, and drug dealers. Crime is not a statistic: It is an outrage and a sin. And it must be fought. Pete's opponent, like so many of the liberal Democrats on the ballot this year, just can't seem to understand that the way to fight crime is to put the criminals in jail and keep them there. To protect our communities we need tough laws, strict sentencing, and no-nonsense judges. We need Pete Wilson who has always fought for strict drug enforcement, not someone who worked to liberalize the prohibition of illegal drugs and who spent most of his career as an outspoken opponent of the death penalty. In fact, Pete's liberal opponent even opposed the crime victims' bill of rights, while Pete Wilson helped lead the successful effort to pass it. You know, ever since I was Governor, I've felt that liberals need remedial instruction on the subject of crime. So, if any liberals are listening, let's try it one more time: Criminals are not victims, and victims are not criminals.

In the Senate, Pete has been a champion for law and order. He has helped pick strong judges for the Federal bench and worked vigorously for their confirmation. When new vacancies occur on the Supreme Court, Senator Pete Wilson will continue to support strong men and women to fill those seats, while his liberal opponent would be on the opposite side. Just remember that when the people of California turned out one of the softest chief justices in the Nation, Pete's opponent was on the wrong side: the far left side. I think you'll agree with me that the judicial policy of these liberal Democrats is strictly for the birds and has no place in the United States Senate.

Four years ago today, I accepted for the second time my party's nomination for President. A few things have changed since then. America has become even stronger. The world has become even more peaceful. And, oh, yes, the economy today is even more prosperous than it was four years ago. And why shouldn't it be? With our progrowth economic policies, things just keep getting better every year.

But one other thing has changed. In 1984 our opponents—wrong-headed as their policies may have been—at least ran in the clear light of day. They ran as the liberals that they were. They told the American people what they believed and what they'd do: cut defense and raise taxes. But that's changed. The first sign of this deceptive strategy came in 1986, when many of their liberal Senate candidates ran stealth campaigns, avoiding the tough issues and using the language of conservatism to conceal their true beliefs. Well, in 1988 we're seeing this kind of covert liberalism at the national level and to an extraordinary degree. When challenged to say where they stand on the issues, their response is: Ideas don't matter, policies don't matter, ideology doesn't matter. For them, winning this election is all that matters, no matter what they have to say, or not say, to do it. In some ways, I can hardly blame them. If they told the truth, their campaign slogan would have to be: Malaise—we did it before, and we can do it again. [*Laughter*]

But, no, the message from our liberal opponents is: You can take prosperity for granted. It's time for a change, so take a change [chance] on us. Well, that's sort of like someone telling you you've stored up all the cold beer you could want, so now it's time to unplug the refrigerator. [*Laughter*] But no more than with a refrigerator, you can't unplug our progrowth economic policies and expect things to stay the same. And the funny thing is that sometimes our liberal opponents will even admit it. They like to say that beginning next year the Reagan era will be over.

Well, that's right. Vice President Bush and I, working with Senator Pete Wilson and others, have given America the longest peacetime expansion on record. The country has created over 17½ million new jobs. Inflation is low. Employment is at an all-time high. The unemployment rate recently hit a 14-year low. And, yes, if our opponents are elected this era of record prosperity will be over. But I've got news for the liberals: It's not going to happen.

There's an old saying that an optimist sees the donut, while a pessimist sees the hole. But what about our opponents? They point at the hole in the donut and say they can fill that hole by reversing the policies that made the donut in the first place. [*Laughter*] They point at swiss cheese and say they can fill the holes in swiss cheese by

reversing the policies that gave us cheese in the first place. They point at peace and prosperity and say they can expand the peace and prosperity. How? By reversing the policies that gave us peace and prosperity in the first place. My friends, the choice is between people pushing an absurd line like that and our team, which promises to continue what's working and to keep America changing for the better. And with a choice like that, I just don't see how we can lose.

While Pete's opponent opposes the balanced budget amendment and has supported high taxes, Pete Wilson has worked diligently for fiscal responsibility and as a defender of the taxpayer. Pete supports Gramm-Rudman, the balanced budget amendment, and, yes, the line-item veto, which 43 Governors have. He has supported the policies that have brought record employment in California and brought the unemployment rate to its lowest level for over a decade and a half. Let's keep Pete Wilson in the Senate and keep California and America working.

The Republican Party has shown America who talks and who delivers. We've shown them that our team can produce results today, tomorrow, and on into the next decade because our philosophy is sound and our policies work. If the 1988 election is a question, the answer is this: America is not going to trade away our winning team for third-stringers with a weak defense, a foreign policy of errors, curveball campaign promises, a set of policies to be named later, and billions of dollars in higher taxes.

Well, just last week, Pete and I were at the Republican National Convention in New Orleans. And I can tell you, our party is strong, unified, and ready to work for a victory. I'll be crisscrossing the country for our ticket. And California, this year especially, will be one of the truly critical States. With your tremendous support, I feel confident that when I return to my ranch I'll have Pete Wilson representing me in the Senate. And with what I saw in New Orleans I saw a real chance that Pete may be part of a Republican majority in the Senate. And wouldn't that be a nice gift for President George Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle?

Well, Happy Birthday, Pete! Your present will arrive this November. [*Laughter*]

I'm going to do something that wasn't planned right now. I'm just going to—you know, I'm sort of addicted to stories, and Pete tempted me when he mentioned stories in—my latest hobby is collecting stories that I can absolutely establish are told by the citizens of the Soviet Union among themselves. And it reveals they got a great sense of humor and a little cynical approach to their present system. But I came home from the Moscow summit with a new one that caught up with me on the way home. I hadn't heard it there, but one of our security detail had.

And he said the story that they were telling among themselves had me in a limousine with Gorbachev. And I had the head of our secret service unit with me, and he had his head security man with him. And we were sightseeing. And we got to a waterfall, and we all got out to see the beautiful waterfall. And Gorbachev said to my man, "Well, go ahead, jump. Go over the fall." And my man said, "I got a wife and three kids." So, Gorbachev turned to his man and said, "Jump, go over the fall." And he did. Well, my man scrambled down the rocks around the fall.

[*At this point, a glass of water was accidentally tipped over.*]

Oh! That's the waterfall. [*Laughter*] He wanted to see if he could be of help. [*Laughter*] And he got down there and found the fellow wringing out his clothes. He'd gotten over safely. And my man said to him, "Why did you do that when he told you to jump and go over the falls?" And the fellow said, "Why, I got a wife and three kids." [*Laughter*]

It does demonstrate the difference between the two systems. But, well, believe me, do everything you can. Send this man back there. For 6 years, I had a Republican Senate and a Democrat House of Representatives. But at least having that one House, we couldn't have had the recovery that we have if we had not had that one House. The difference now, in these final 2 years, with both Houses in Democratic hands, is so apparent. And when you stop to think that out of the last 56 years the Con-

gress of the United States has been dominated by the other party—for 46 of those 56 years, they've had both Houses of the Congress, and for 52 of the 56 years, they have had the House of Representatives. Every Republican President, except for a 2-year period under Ike, has had a Democratic Congress. Every Democratic President, except for 2 years during Harry Truman's term, has had a Democratic Congress.

I think it's time for us to prove that we have a right to be represented all the way around. And so, let's go after them this time and make it work. Send Pete back there.

And thank you all, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:31 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Irvine Hilton Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Reverend Donn D. Moomaw, pastor of the Belair Presbyterian Church in Los Angeles, CA; C. Christopher Cox, former Senior Associate Counsel to the President, and Dana Rohrabacher, former speechwriter for the President, who are both currently campaigning for seats in the House of Representatives; and Representatives Robert E. Badham and David Dreier.

Letter Congratulating Senator Phil Gramm of Texas on His Work on the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988

August 23, 1988

Dear Phil:

I have just approved H.R. 4848, the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988. In addition to strengthening the ability of the United States to compete in world trade, the bill repeals the "Windfall Profits" penalty tax on America's energy industry—a goal we have long sought.

Repeal of the Windfall Profits tax reflects a recognition that free market incentives—not taxes and government regulation—will keep America's oil and gas industries among the world's leading energy producers. The tax imposed substantial costs and paperwork on energy producers while raising little revenue for the Federal Treasury. It made no sense for Congress to force energy producers to spend many millions of dollars each year in accounting and administrative costs just to report that no tax was due.

The people of Texas and the Nation will benefit from the stronger and more competitive energy industry brought by the elimination of this counterproductive tax. With appreciation for your crucial leadership and hard work on the repeal of the Windfall Profits Tax, I am pleased to enclose the pen with which I signed H.R. 4848 into law.

Sincerely,

/s/ **Ronald Reagan**

[The Honorable Phil Gramm, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510]

Remarks at a Presidential Campaign Rally for George Bush in Los Angeles, California

August 24, 1988

The Vice President. What a crowd! What a wonderful, enthusiastic crowd. For a minute, I thought we'd come to the welcoming ceremony for Wayne Gretzky. [*Laughter*] This is fantastic. I want to thank the Governor, the good Duke—thank him for that introduction—to urge, with all my heart, the overwhelming reelection of Pete Wilson. That's going to benefit all of us on the ticket.

And what a glittering array of stars, each and every one of you, I thank you. And Bob [Hope]—those kind words about my dad—thank you very much for that. But we're delighted to be here, Barbara and I. There's a danger—you have President Reagan, Governor Deukmejian, and George Bush. Watch out—overdose of charisma. That's not too good. [*Laughter*] So, but Mr. President, I was listening to your wonderful speech at the convention, and all I can say is, I am grateful for those most supportive words. And, yes, we are going to go out and "Win one for the Gipper." And November—that's the one it's going to be. And California is absolutely essential, so Barbara and I will be here. My running mate and his wife, Marilyn, will be here. And we are not going to overlook any single area in this

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August 23, 1988

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/s/ **Ronald Reagan**

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August 24, 1988

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all-important State. I came to ask for your help; with it, I am convinced we can win in November. There is a profound difference between me and my opponent in this election, a difference not only of policies but really of fundamental values. And I believe the two most important issues facing our country are jobs and peace. And that's what I will focus on if elected President, and that's what this election is all about—jobs and peace.

In the last 6 years, we've created 17 million new jobs. Ninety percent of them are full-time. The majority are in higher paying categories. And we're not creating just good jobs and good wages; we're creating better jobs at better wages, and we intend to keep right on doing it. The President met with some of us earlier, and he reminded me that more Americans are at work today than ever before in the history of this country and a greater percentage of the work force is at work than any time in the history of this country. And they're making more money. And they're keeping more of it in their own pockets, where it belongs. And instead of spending it and sending it in to Uncle Sam—I mean on April 15th—we are going to keep those tax rates down and hold the line on taxes.

The Democrats, probably with that old Carter-Mondale misery index in mind, are running all around the country talking about this swiss-cheese economy. And as I said in New Orleans, that may be how it looks to the three blind mice, but that's not how it looks to the American people. And when they were in charge, it was all holes and no cheese at all. And now we're on the move. And so, I have a program to build on what the Reagan-Bush administration has done: Start with urban and rural enterprise zones; cut the capital gains tax rate to help small businesses get started; keep Congress from regulating business to death; and slash the deficit with a flexible freeze on spending and a line-item veto for the President. There's a good five-point program for you. All we have to do is keep the economy growing at the same rate and guarantee that everyone who wants a job has a job. But we'll never get it done if we return to those discredited policies of tax and spend. And as Governor, my opponent increased taxes so fast that his State was named "Taxachusetts." You've seen the bumper stickers. [*Laughter*] And if he had—this is a fact—if he had increased Federal taxes at the same rate that he's done in Massachusetts, the average American family would be paying $2,300 more this year in income taxes alone.

The Audience. Booo!

The Vice President. We cannot afford that philosophy in the White House. And our opponents are trying to give America the same old line: the unemployment line. [*Laughter*] But, of course, if I'm going to be really fair about it, I have to admit that the Governor has created one new job. He has a third man on their ticket and——

The Audience. Yes!

The Vice President. But let me just repeat what I said on taxes. I promise you, if Congress tries to raise the taxes when I'm President, and you know they will, I'll say no. And if they try again, I'll stare them right in the eye and say, Read my lips: no new taxes. To the millions of Americans taking out a loan on that new car or a mortgage on their first house, I'm going to say we've cut inflation from double digits to 4 percent. And we've cut those interest rates in half. And I'm not going to let them take it away from you. And to the leaders of this expansion—the women who helped create the new jobs and filled two out of every three of them—I say you know better than anyone that equality begins with economic empowerment. You're gaining economic power, and I'm not going to let them take that away from you either. And to the older Americans, we're going to keep that Social Security trust fund sound. And we're not going to let them take that security away from the older Americans in this country either.

I am worried about foreign affairs and the national security of this country. I'm concerned about my opponent's approach to national security matters. If there's one thing that our President has proved beyond all doubt, it is that weakness and ambivalence tempt aggressors to start wars, and strength and clarity deter aggression and preserve the peace. And we've had a bipartisan consensus on this: Roosevelt, Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, President Ronald Reagan—all of them under-

stood this, formed a basis for our bipartisan consensus on foreign policy that has kept the peace for 40 years. And I think it is fair to ask whether my opponent understands that. And his policies place him far outside the bipartisan consensus, far out on the liberal left wing. And that's where he is on these security issues.

Let me give you an example. He was the only Governor—many were approached—he was the only one to oppose and prevent construction of the ground-wave emergency network in his State, a vital communications link, vital to our national deterrent and to the security of the United States of America. And he was the only one that opposed it. And thanks, I'd rather keep this——

The Audience. Booo!

The Vice President. I'd rather keep this country prepared. And so, we're going to have a debate on these fundamental, factual issues. When it comes to the land-based part of our triad, it's three positions—no new MX, no midgetman, no flight testing of new missiles—that add up to no modernization. And in this troubled world we're in, no modernization amounts to unilateral cuts. And so I ask, Is he discarding the mainstream, strategic doctrine of Democratic and Republican Presidents alike for 30 years? Is he saying we don't need it? And I want to know, and I believe the American people have a right to know, how we're approaching these defense matters. I will make you this pledge: I will keep our forces modern. And I will keep them strong. And I will keep America secure and at peace.

My opponent has called a SDI a fantasy. Let me tell you something. The appalling danger of nuclear missiles is no fantasy: It is a nightmare. And he would leave America totally defenseless against missiles, and I will not. I will go forward with the Strategic Defense Initiative and make a safer world for our children. No, I really believe that when it comes to our vital foreign policy and our national defense and, yes, our national intelligence, we cannot take another gamble. The American people gambled once on a moderate-sounding, liberal Governor making vague promises and then avoiding the issues, and we cannot make that mistake a decade later. We must have tough, experienced leadership and someone who's been there and someone you can trust. And I am that man. A lot of the campaign——

The Audience. We want Bush! We want Bush! We want Bush!

The Vice President. Today we're entering into a new era in American history: an era of growth and opportunity, an era we're strong and hopes are high. But the foundation of our pride—the people's pride—is values, old-fashioned American values like family and faith, patriotism, persistence, and really a belief in freedom.

And I just have to insert something here. Yesterday, my opponent came out swinging, and of all things, the Pledge of Allegiance. And what is it about the Pledge of Allegiance that upsets him so much? The Democratic legislature—now, listen to these facts—the Democratic legislature in Massachusetts supports it. Ten years ago, they required teachers to lead the Pledge, and that remains the law in Massachusetts today because the legislature overrode my opponent's veto by an overwhelming vote. I would have signed that bill. Any constitutional question that someone might raise should be decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. And Governor Jim Thompson, who faced a similar choice, made the right choice: signed the same bill. And now it's law in Illinois. And let's face it, my opponent was looking for a reason not to sign that bill. I would have looked for a reason to sign that legislation. It is very hard for me to imagine that the Founding Fathers—Samuel Adams and John Adams and John Hancock—would have objected to teachers leading students in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the United States. I just don't believe that was their concept when they wrote the Constitution of our great country.

Now, I've served with a great President, and this is no time to go in the opposite direction. This is the time to build on what we have done and to take this country forward. This is the time to offer hope to every American. Some haven't benefited by this the longest recovery in history, but if we stay the course and keep this country moving ahead, everyone will benefit.

And let me be very, very clear about one last point: I have been very proud, very

proud indeed, to serve as Vice President for President Ronald Reagan. And now it is my high honor to once again introduce him to you, his friends and strong supporters—ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.

The Audience. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. Thank you. [*Laughter*] No. Thank you, Governor Deukmejian, Senator and Mrs. Wilson, and Barbara and Mr. Vice President. Well, now, wait a minute. You're already President of the Senate, so thank you, Mr. President. Now, you know, George, some people have been kind enough to say that I'm a great communicator. But after your speech to the convention, I'd say America has another great communicator. And he's going to be America's next President. And I must confess, I like your running mate, too. He has many more years of experience in dealing with national security issues than the head of the other ticket. He's the author of the Job Training Partnership Act, and thousands of Americans are working today because of that legislation. And he has the most important qualification of all for a copilot: He won't be trying to turn the plane in one direction while the pilot is flying it in the other.

Dan Quayle stands for the same principles George Bush and I stand for. We have a big job ahead of us this November. It was more than two decades ago that we first launched, right here in California, our crusade to restore America's freedom and its greatness. We Californians lit the spark here in our State. We nursed it and tended it until it grew into a flame and then into a great beacon fire that has illuminated our nation and inspired the world. As this fire has grown brighter in the last 8 years; as we cut interest rates, as George told you, to half of what they were and inflation to a third of what it was; as we set America on the longest peacetime expansion in history and gave new vitality to America's promise of opportunity; as we restored America's reduction of—well, I should say strength, not reduction—I'm jumping ahead of myself here—[*laughter*]—and negotiated the first real reduction of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles in world history; as we achieved all this, no one has been closer to my side and has contributed more to our success than George Bush.

And yet, my friends, I must tell you that everything George Bush and I have done these last 8 years, everything, could be lost faster than you can say furlough. [*Laughter*] I said in New Orleans that the convention our liberal opponents held in Atlanta was the biggest masquerade since last year's Mardi Gras. [*Laughter*] Our opponents adopted our rhetoric and our slogans, but every word was like a mask which hid the liberal face of their agenda. When they said opportunity, they meant subsidies. When they said reducing the deficit, they meant raising taxes. When they said strong defense, they meant cutting defense spending. And that's why I've just got to believe that when the American people say election day, they'll mean "We want George Bush."

Yes, hard as they tried to hide, the liberals gave themselves away when they said that if they're elected, the Reagan era will be over. Well, now, I'd like to ask you something. When George Bush and I took office 8 years ago, America was in the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. We turned that around and since our expansion began, we've created, as George told you, actually it's been now more than 17½ million jobs, reduced the unemployment rate to the lowest it's been in 14 years, and presided over the greatest flowering of new businesses and new technology in the history of the world. For every plant that closes in America today, every business that closes, six new ones are started. So, do you want this era to be over?

The Audience. No!

The President. Well, let me ask you another question. Between 1977 and 1981, the real income of the typical American family dropped by almost 7 percent. Think of what that means—if somebody were just to cut your paycheck by that much today—how much less you could buy at the grocery store, the clothes you couldn't get for your children, the books you couldn't buy for their education, and how you might have to cut back when your church or synagogue passes the collection plate each week. Yet that's just what happened under the last administration. Since 1981, the year we took office, real family income has soared

almost 9 percent. Do you want this era to be over? [*Applause*]

During the last liberal administration, the Justice Department started to lose interest in narcotics cases. Each year they brought fewer cases and convictions were down by almost half by their last year in office. Since George Bush and I got in there, Federal narcotics convictions have more than doubled. And while the number of drug users soared during the last administration, it's dropping now. And recently we got the best news of all: High school students have heard the plea of a certain lovely lady I know, and they are saying no to drugs. And that includes no to cocaine. Now, do you want this progress to be lost and this era to be over?

The Audience. No!

The President. Well, this year, the liberal opposition has fielded a three-headed ticket that doesn't know left from center. [*Laughter*] They talk about reaching for the center, but on issues like national defense, they've taken positions that only a McGovern could love. [*Laughter*] As former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger wrote recently, their ticket seems to believe that, in Secretary Schlesinger's words, "the way to deter war is to be unprepared to respond." They would cut the B–1 Bomber, the MX Missile, our Strategic Defense Initiative, as George told you, and two carrier battle groups.

The Audience. No!

The President. In fact, what they plan for the Navy is so bad, by the time they get through, Michael may have to row the boat ashore. [*Laughter*] He won't have any other choice.

Yes, my friends, when our liberal friends refuse to even whisper the "L" word and insist that "this election is not about ideology; it's about competence," they're just acknowledging that where they want to take America, America doesn't want to go. They know, as well as you do, as well as our nation does, that the one issue, the only issue that will matter after Inauguration Day is the issue of direction. Will we reelect peace and prosperity or will we play truth or consequences with trench coat liberals? [*Laughter*]

Throughout our history, whenever this great and blessed land has searched for true leadership, it has found it; and this year is no exception. I've worked more closely with George Bush these two terms than with any other member of the administration. I've seen him keep a cool head in hot crises. I've seen his leadership and vision. I've given him some of the most sensitive and difficult tasks that we've had, and he has never let me or the country down.

I once said that he is a great Vice President, but I know and I've seen that it didn't come easily. George Bush is a man of action, a man accustomed to command. The Vice Presidency doesn't fit easily on such a man. But George Bush is also a patriot. And so, he made it fit, and he served with a distinction no one has ever matched. Day in, day out, I've sought George Bush's counsel from the very first day of our administration. Believe me, no one is better prepared to lead America into the next decade and to the threshold of the next century, to continue the work that we've begun, to finish the task that is before us, than President George Bush.

There's one way, however, that I hope a Bush administration will be different. If it hadn't been for a Republican Senate in our first 6 years, we wouldn't have accomplished half of what we did. If we'd had one these last 2 years, we could have done much more. But today, with the other party in control of both Houses, we face a monkey-wrench Congress, determined to throw almost anything into the gears of government to gum up the works. I hope we can make sure that George Bush has more friends on Capitol Hill than he had on that Pacific Island where he was shot down. And there's no better way to start that than to return Pete Wilson to the United States Senate and to elect Republican congressional candidates to the House.

Should I remind you that the gerrymandering that has gone on, particularly in this State, with regard to congressional districts and State legislative districts has been such that in the last election more Californians voted for Republican congressional candidates than there were votes for the Democratic candidates. But the Democratic candidates outnumbered—when they were elected—the Republicans elected to that office because they have gerrymandered the district so, that a majority of Califor-

nians become a minority when it comes to counting by those districts.

The Audience. Booo!

The President. Nothing would please me more than for President Bush to have an Inauguration Day gift: a Republican Congress. You know, it's time for that.

Yes, I had a Republican Senate, one House for 6 years. But in the last 56 years, only one Republican President has had a Republican Congress in both Houses, and that was for only 2 of his 8 years during the Eisenhower term. For 56 years, 52 of those years the House of Representatives has been held by the Democrats.

The Audience. Booo!

The President. Well, on that Inauguration Day—it's coming—I know I'll be thinking of the journey we Californians began two decades ago, a journey of rebirth for ourselves and our nation. As it has been so often since then, our choice this year is simple: the future or the past. Back to the past of inflation, humiliation, and malaise; or continue forward with George Bush on the road of hope, opportunity, and peace. We saw here in California a few years ago how quickly a liberal administration could undo years of our good work. Let's not let that happen again.

They say our State is close, but I have a hunch I know which way California will go in the end. Because the hope, opportunity, and peace that George Bush stands for are the same things that California stands for. Hope and opportunity in a land of peace. That's what I found when I first climbed on a train and headed here so many years ago. That's what California, like America, has been for so many millions through the years.

So, here's my last request to you. Put California in the Republican column this November. Send Pete Wilson back to the Senate. Send George Bush to the White House. And yes, I know I'm copying something that was just said here once before, but I don't mind saying it again: Go out and win one last one for the Gipper.

Thank you all. Thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: Vice President George Bush spoke at 12:43 p.m. in the Los Angeles Ballroom at the Century Plaza Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Wayne Gretzky, a member of the Los Angeles Kings hockey team; Gov. George Deukmejian; and Senator Pete Wilson.

Statement by the Assistant to the President for Press Relations and the Press Secretary to the Vice President on Republican Presidential Campaign Efforts in California

August 24, 1988

The President and the Vice President met for approximately 15 minutes this morning with approximately 50 California supporters and Republican Party leaders.

The Vice President said: "California is a key part of our campaign. I want the support of all Californians. We will not give away 1 inch of ground in this State." The Vice President said he would be campaigning in California, talking about the economic recovery, peace, and other issues of importance to the people of California.

President Reagan said: "For 22 years your efforts have been critical to my campaigns. I have offered my services to George Bush to help in any way possible. I know you will join us in this effort. We have so many things to be proud of: peace, 17½ million new jobs, inflation cut to one-third of what it was 8 years ago, and vastly lower interest rates. So saddle up and ride hard to exert every bit as much energy for George as you did for me."

Note: Marlin Fitzwater is Assistant to the President for Press Relations, and Sheila Tate is Press Secretary to the Vice President.

Initial Order for Emergency Deficit Control Measures for Fiscal Year 1989

August 25, 1988

By the authority vested in me as President under the Constitution and by the statutes of the United States of America, including section 252 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act

gation. Now the Iran/Iraq war is coming to a close. Why? One reason, as retired Admirals Elmo Zumwalt and Worth Bagley put it, was that the allied naval operation designed to be a deterrent worked.

Contrast these successes with the tragic situation in Nicaragua. It's been almost 2 years since Congress has approved any military aid to the brave freedom fighters there. Here's the results: The Sandinistas come to the bargaining table making promises to bring democracy and end the war, and then they violate those promises with impunity. They kick out our ambassadors, oppress their people, arrest their opposition, muzzle the media, and engage in vicious assaults on civilians to get them to stop aiding the freedom fighters. They feel free to do all this because they do not believe that we mean business.

Our policy of peace through strength has been vindicated wherever it's been tried. There is still time to turn the tide in Nicaragua. We shouldn't be overly optimistic, for freedom still faces serious challenges, whether in South Asia or Eastern Europe. But the future for world peace is bright if we Americans continue to stand firm, stand tall, and stand for freedom.

Until next week, thank you for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:06 a.m. from the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, CA.

Remarks at a Fundraiser for Representative Robert J. Lagomarsino in Santa Barbara, California

August 27, 1988

The President. Robert, I thank you very much, Councilwoman, Norma, Gallegly's, and my roommate. [*Laughter*] Well, I thank you all today. I realize, looking around at the neckties, that I'm out of uniform. [*Laughter*] If you haven't been informed, we have just come from another fundraiser down in the San Fernando Valley—there raising money just generally for the party, which is always useful to all of us concerned—and there the uniform was prescribed. So, I brought a coat along so that I could put a coat on afterward. And since in Arizona a bolo is legally now a necktie, I figure that I can get by. [*Laughter*]

Well, we're here today because we support an outstanding Congressman, our Congressman—and that includes me because I'm in the district, too—Bob Lagomarsino. The job that Bob has done these past 14 years, believe me, has earned my vote this year. Sure, he has a tough race, his toughest ever, but I'm confident he'll win. We Santa Barbarans know that Bob didn't go to Washington to make big government ever bigger or to mess around with our defenses. He's in Washington to help build a stronger and sounder America. And that's why on November 8th we'll choose George Bush for President and Bob Lagomarsino for Congress.

Now, it's no secret that when I'm strolling down the street in Washington the House of Representatives isn't the friendliest house on the block. But it sure would be if there were more people there like Bob Lagomarsino in it. He's a standup guy, and he stood with George Bush and me time and again for what's right when too many of his colleagues turned away.

The freedom-loving people of Nicaragua know Bob. He's their champion. He knows that they thirst after the cool waters of liberty. And he's made heroic efforts to satisfy their thirst by working to aid the freedom fighters, who want to free them from Communist domination. Well, I don't know about you, but when it comes to freedom in Central America, I like a standup guy like Bob.

Bob's also a dedicated supporter of America's quest to free itself from the shadow of nuclear assault. Time after time and year after year he has voted for the Strategic Defense Initiative; that is a defense plan that kills weapons, not people. But while Bob was standing up for our space shield, the House leadership wanted to slash away at it so they could find more money to spend on their pet projects. Well, I don't know about you, but when it comes to national defense, I like a standup guy and that's Bob.

Some people say it's time for a change. Well, I agree. For 52 of the last 56 years,

the House of Representatives has been in the hands of the other party. Forty-six of those 56 years, the other party has controlled both Houses of the Congress. Now, I've heard a lot in this campaign from the other side about the evils of deficit spending, and I'm responsible. Well, Congress is the only one in government that can spend a dime. The President can't spend any. Congress makes the budget. You bet it's time for change.

We can solve our spending problems—and let me tell you something else about that more than half a century in which every 10 years they have been in charge when it came to reapportionment of the districts throughout the country. And in 48 of those 56 years, there were deficits each one of those 48 years. Four of the 8 years that there weren't deficits were in the term of Dwight Eisenhower, who for 2 years had a Republican Congress in both Houses. The only time that a Republican President has had that—well, I was fortunate, I had 6 years of my term with a Senate. And I have to tell you, I don't think we could have written what we did and the reforms that we did had that not been true. But now we're back in that with both Houses on the other side. We can solve budget problems. When it comes to Congress, the American people know that if you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem. And the solution is to reelect Bob Lagomarsino and elect 434 others like him to the House of Representatives.

Now, that's a tall order, but I have a good feeling about this year's election, particularly after seeing a speech last week that I found moving and, yes, inspiring. I don't remember when I've ever been as impressed with an orator, and I know he's going to be an even more impressive President, George Bush. George spoke about completing a mission, the mission that he and I began, side by side, 8 years ago. And look how far we've come since then: 17½ million new jobs, hundreds of thousands of new businesses, a greater proportion of Americans at work than ever before. I had to go to Washington in this job to find out how the statisticians determine figures about employment and unemployment. Did you know that the considered potential pool of employables is everybody, male and female, from 16 years of age and up? And today the highest percentage of that total pool is employed than ever in our history—62.6 percent. And that pool includes all the young people that are still going to school and in college and so forth, the people that are retired—but that's the percentage of that overall segment of our society that—[*applause*]——

Then there's the restoration of our national defenses, the recovery of our national pride, an INF treaty that abolishes an entire class, as Bob has told you, of U.S. and Soviet missiles. And just a few years after the liberation of Grenada, the Soviets are pulling out of Afghanistan. Now, I want you to know that—[*applause*]. I know that some people have expressed a fear that maybe I'm being taken in and now that I'm just not looking at them as plainly as I should. Well, I want you to know that I have made the General Secretary very familiar with a stalwart American term: Trust everybody, but cut the cards. [*Laughter*]

I want to ask you a question. Is this a record we can show proudly to our fellow citizens in California?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Well, we've done a lot, but as George said the other night, the mission is not complete. There's more to do: appointing more judges who know the difference between criminals and victims; shutting down the drug trade—I have a special assistant in that, but—[*laughter*]—more work for the cause of freedom around the world, including in Central America; and, of course, developing and deploying a technology that will protect humanity from the specter of nuclear war—the Strategic Defense Initiative; and how about a furlough for the Pledge of Allegiance? [*Laughter*]

And yet we must not forget that all we've done and all we are on the very threshold of doing can quickly be lost. We Californians saw it happen in the years of the last liberal administration in our State. Things got so bad that we had to rise up and say, No more, to the soaring taxes that were strangling economic growth and crushing the budgets of ordinary families. So, Proposition 13 was passed. We don't want to have to go through that again nationally. And there's one way to make sure we won't:

George Bush is going to America with his own proposition number one—no new taxes.

You know, I have to say one thing, and it's one thing here that must be said. If you remember back there when we were getting on our feet, after the—well, the father who preceded the son as Governor—[*laughter*]—and we began to accumulate surpluses. And some of you will remember every time we accumulated a surplus we gave it back to the people. And the last one we gave back was $850 million. And if we need a difference between the two parties, I will always remember a very reputable leader on the Democratic side of our senate who stormed into my office after my announcement about giving that money back. And he said, "Giving that money back to the people is an unnecessary expenditure of public funds." [*Laughter*]

Well, make no mistake, our economy and our national defenses are strong, but they're also under threat. They're threatened by those who want to use the law to engineer the changes in our nation that the American people do not need and do not want and that would hurt. Our liberal friends seem to love to fiddle around making big government even bigger. But they never seem to achieve their goals. And so, they fiddle around some more, but they still don't get anywhere. And then, before you know it, they've fiddled around so much that they've sent the ship of state into drydock. I know. George Bush knows. And after all, we were called in to get the ship of state seaworthy again. And the way to keep it seaworthy is to have a crew of Republicans in the Congress and George Bush at the helm. Now, Bob will be critical in that effort, and so will a great Senator who will continue to be a great Senator after the dust has settled on November 9th, Pete Wilson.

And let me add one other thing: Our statewide election this year is also critical. In 2 years, it will be time for the 1990 census. The results of that census will determine the composition of California's congressional districts. Now, we all remember what happened after the last census. The opposition controlled the two State Houses and the Governor's mansion, so they redrew the map. And what did they do? They shattered the State of California. Each congressional district looked like a piece of broken glass. Well, we can make sure such a travesty doesn't happen again by working with our State legislative leaders, Pat Nolan and Ken Maddy, to elect good Republicans to the State assembly and the State senate. That's vital. I'm going to do my part, and I know you will, too.

Every once in a while I feel we should all be reminded that one of the great secrets of the success of this country is that we are a federation of sovereign States. And our opponents, over those long 50 odd years when they were in control, have tried to usurp and take away from the States more and more power to reduce the States to administrative districts of the Federal Government. Well, we've been having a program for almost 8 years now called federalism in which we have been restoring, as much as we can, the power and authority that properly belongs to the States and never should have been taken from them.

In doing all these things, I'm going to do my part, and I know you will, too. Yes, there are still promises to keep. There's the promise to keep America strong. There's the promise to expand the frontiers of freedom. There's the promise to continue freeing the creative, enterprising energies of the American people. And with our help, on November 9th, George Bush, Pete Wilson, and Bob Lagomarsino will get to work on keeping those promises. So, now let's get to work on getting them to work.

I don't want to be even those last few weeks there without Bob Lagomarsino in the Congress. [*Laughter*] But thank you all for all you've done, and God bless you all. Thank you.

[*At this point, the President was given a campaign T-shirt by Representative Lagomarsino.*]

The President. "Congressman Bob Lagomarsino, I'm backing Bob." Since I'm out of uniform at this affair, do you suppose maybe I could be out of uniform and wear this at the first leadership meeting when we get back?

Representative Lagomarsino. Sure, I hope you do. [*Laughter*]

The President. Thank you.

Note: *The President spoke at 2:24 p.m. at the Klinger ranch. In his opening remarks,*

he referred to Santa Barbara City Councilwoman Jeanne Graffy, Mrs. Norma Lagomarsino, Representative Elton Gallegly, and Mrs. Janice Gallegly. Prior to his remarks, the President attended fundraisers for Victory '88 (the California Republican Party) and the California State Republican legislative fund in the San Fernando Valley.

White House Statement on the 25th Anniversary of the March on Washington

August 27, 1988

Twenty-five years ago, about a quarter of a million Americans gathered in Washington to bear witness to a noble cause. In their speeches, in their songs, in their prayers, those marchers recalled America's promise of liberty and opportunity and said it was time to make that promise an unblemished reality. No one was more eloquent on that day than Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Speaking from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, he said that he had a dream of freedom, justice, and hope for every American and of a day when all Americans would "not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

Since that day a quarter century ago, America has made vast progress toward fully achieving Dr. King's dream of a color-blind society. As a result, America today is a freer land for Americans of all backgrounds. And this nation, which Lincoln called "the last best hope on Earth," is an even more brilliant beacon of freedom and hope for peoples throughout the world.

On this anniversary, it is fitting that all Americans should give thanks for that progress and for the work of those who sacrificed so much to bring it about. And let us remember, as well, that freedom is our unending challenge and our continuing vocation as Americans. This was what the March on Washington was about. This is what we as a nation are about.

White House Statement on the Resumption of the Soviet-United States Nuclear Testing Talks

August 29, 1988

On Monday, August 29, the United States and the Soviet Union will resume step-by-step negotiations on nuclear testing with the opening of round III of the nuclear testing talks in Geneva. The first priority of these talks remains an agreement on effective verification measures for two existing but unratified treaties, the Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty (PNET).

We are making good progress toward our goal. On August 17 the first phase of the Joint Verification Experiment (JVE) was successfully concluded, with U.S. and Soviet scientists, technicians, and observers present at the U.S. nuclear test site in Nevada. There each side was able to demonstrate the use of its on-site, direct hydrodynamic methods to measure the yield of a U.S. nuclear explosion. In mid-September U.S. scientists, technicians, and observers will be present for the Soviet phase of the JVE at the Soviet nuclear test site at Semipalatinsk.

We will continue to press for agreement on effective verification measures so that these two treaties can be ratified. As we return to Geneva, we look for the cooperation of the Soviet Union to achieve this objective.

The U.S. delegation to the nuclear testing talks is headed by Ambassador C. Paul Robinson.

White House Statement on the 25th Anniversary of the Direct Communications Link Between the Soviet Union and the United States

August 30, 1988

Today marks the 25th anniversary of the operational start of the Direct Communications Link, or "hotline." Since its inception, this confidential and rapid communication channel has proved to be an invaluable tool. Although used infrequently, the "hotline" has permitted American Presidents to com-

Proclamation 5893—Fire Safety at Home Day—Change Your Clock, Change Your Battery, 1988

October 28, 1988

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Sunday, October 30, 1988, is the day on which Americans in jurisdictions on Daylight Savings Time must turn their clocks back 1 hour to Standard Time. That offers all of us an excellent opportunity to do one other thing simultaneously—replace our smoke detectors' batteries and then test every detector.

This easy task, maintaining and testing our smoke detectors, is one we cannot afford to neglect. The vast majority of the more than 6,000 fire fatalities in our land each year occur in fires in the home. Smoke detectors are a simple and economical way to prevent needless deaths in fires, because they can alert people and allow them to escape during the early stages of fires. Most American homes have at least one fire detector, but nearly half of these life-saving devices are inoperable at any one time because their batteries are dead or missing. We must all remember that we can avert tragedy by taking a few seconds to replace smoke detector batteries and to check our detectors' operation. That will go a long way toward protecting lives and property all across our Nation.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 381, has designated Sunday, October 30, 1988, as "Fire Safety at Home Day—Change Your Clock, Change Your Battery" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Sunday, October 30, 1988, as Fire Safety at Home Day—Change Your Clock, Change Your Battery. I call upon all Amercans to observe this day by replacing their smoke detectors' batteries and by testing their detectors at the same time they return their clocks to Standard Time.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and thirteenth.

Ronald Reagan

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:40 p.m., October 31, 1988*]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 31.

Remarks on Signing the Berne Convention Implementation Act of 1988

October 31, 1988

If I'd had this kind of a supporting cast, I never would have left Hollywood. [*Laughter*] Well, good morning. And today we celebrate victory in the name of a right as old as the Union itself and as central to our Union as any: the right all Americans have to protect their property. We're here to sign into law the Berne Convention Implementation Act of 1988. It will enable the United States to adhere to the Berne convention for the protection of literary and artistic works. The Berne convention, which was originally concluded in 1886 and approved by our Senate earlier this month, provides for the protection of copyrighted works from international pirates who make their living by stealing and then selling the creative accomplishments of others.

With 77 countries as members, including most of our trading partners, the Berne convention features the highest internationally recognized standards for the protection of works of authorship. Our membership will automatically grant the United States copyright relations with 24 new countries and will secure the highest available level of international copyright protection for U.S. artists, authors, and copyright holders. This is especially significant because American works protected by copyright—books, recordings, movies, computer software

prominent among them—have been at risk because of differences between U.S. law and the Berne convention.

The cost to Americans has been substantial not only in terms of the violation of the property rights of Americans but in terms of our trade balance as well. We've been running a trade surplus of over $1 billion annually in copyrighted goods, and it would have been much larger had it not been for the pirating of American copyright work. In 1986 alone, the entertainment industry may have lost more than $2 billion in potential revenue, and our computer and software industries more than $4 billion in potential revenue. That's why adherence to the Berne convention has been such an important goal of the administration and why this occasion marks a watershed for us.

As Ambassador Clayton Yeutter has said, joining the Berne convention will also boost U.S. efforts to strengthen intellectual property protection in multilateral negotiations. In 1986 we succeeded in placing the issue on the agenda of the Uruguay round of multilateral trade negotiations and committed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to address the relationship between trade and intellectual property rights. When trade ministers meet in Montreal in December for the midterm review of the Uruguay round, they must direct negotiators to commence substantive negotiations.

Officials in our administration worked closely with many key Members of Congress, such as Senator Pete Wilson and Congressman Carlos Moorhead, to get this bill passed in Congress. And we must also remember our good friend and former Secretary of Commerce, the late Malcolm Baldrige, who led the charge on this legislation.

And now, with great pleasure and great pride, I will sign the Berne Convention Implementation Act into law.

Note: The President spoke at 10:58 a.m. in the International Ballroom at the Beverly Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles, CA. H.R. 4262, approved October 31, was assigned Public Law No. 100–568.

Informal Exchange With Reporters
October 31, 1988

Hostages in Lebanon

Q. Mr. President, hostage Terry Anderson says that on several occasions, sir, the U.S. Government quashed a release of the hostages as they were about to be let out.

The President. That is absolutely not true, but let me point something out. Terry Anderson in that terrible confinement at the hands of those barbarians—any information he has, has to have come from them. There is no contact with the outside world. We've been doing everything we can do in the interest of our hostages, and the very simple answer to that is for those people to let them go. And we're going to continue our efforts until we get them back. But there's never been any interference, nor have we ever been negotiating any more than we would with any other kind of kidnaper on a ransom type of basis.

Q. Well, are they trying to influence the election, sir?

The President. What?

Q. Are they trying to influence the election, do you think?

The President. You'd have to ask them. I've—[*laughter*]—I can't fathom their minds.

Q. Mr. President? Mr. President?

The President. ——concerned about the whales.

Q. Mr. President?

The President. Wait a minute. Wait a minute. There's——

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy

Q. Mr. President, Terry Anderson also says, Mr. President, that both you and George Bush dealt with the terrorists in Iran-*contra* and TWA. Was George Bush involved in any negotiations in those two incidents?

The President. Nor was I, because we were never doing anything of that kind. When the covert operation—which was not with Iran or Iran's Government but with people who were looking forward to a day when there could be a decent government in Iran—that we were talking to—and it had to be covert, or they would have been executed instantly.

al Financing Bank and used the proceeds received to make loans to small business borrowers.

The amendment made by Section 1 of S. 437 would have permitted development companies to prepay their debentures held by the Bank at substantially reduced premiums and to finance the prepayments by issuing new debentures fully guaranteed by the Government. Such an arrangement would in effect allow a borrower to change the borrowing terms to which it had previously agreed any time it is financially favorable to the borrower—and therefore unfavorable to the Bank and American taxpayers—to do so. Although prepayments under the amendments made by Section 1 of S. 437 temporarily would have reduced the Federal deficit, in future years the deficit would have been substantially increased as the result of the borrowers' avoidance of interest payments that would have been paid in the absence of prepayments.

Under Section 303 of the Small Business Investment Act, the Small Business Administration may purchase debentures issued by a small business investment company. The amendment made by Section 2 of S. 437 authorizes adjustment in certain circumstances of the interest rates on such debentures and provides that the face amount of the debenture with an adjusted interest rate will not be treated as new budget authority or new credit authority. This artificial budget accounting rule conflicts with the Federal budget accounting practices of the Office of Management and Budget and the Congressional Budget Office. The result of this accounting sleight of hand would have been to understate the adverse impact of Section 2 of S. 437 on the Federal budget deficit.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
October 31, 1988.

Note: By tradition, memorandums of disapproval are issued by the President when he pocket-vetoes a bill. The memorandum states the President's policy and objections for the public record.

Remarks at a Republican Presidential Campaign Rally in Fullerton, California

November 1, 1988

The President. You are living proof of something that I have said over and over again: Orange County is where the good Republicans go before they die. But, thank you, Dr. Cobb. And thank you for that great music, both here and outdoors. Let me say a special hello to Governor Deukmejian, Gabe Kaplan, Bob Naylor, Congressmen Bill Dannemeyer and Bob Dornan, and to two future Congressmen who have already given invaluable service to their country in helping to make our administration a success. I could always count on Chris Cox to push our agenda forward and to keep his sights on why we were in Washington. And what can I say about Dana Rohrabacher? Well, for 20 years he was at my side in every campaign. In Washington, every one of my fights was his fight. I've watched him grow from a boy to a man, and I'm proud of him. So, please, please give two great new Congressmen to America: Chris Cox and Dana Rohrabacher. And let me also say hello to a group I take a kind of personal interest in: the College Republican Club. But there's also some others here I've noticed. You won't mind if I recognize my fraters in Tau Kappa Epsilon, because I'm a TEEK.

Somebody asked why I've come here today. Well, that's easy. I like great teams and I couldn't think of any greater one than the Titans.

Now, before I go any further, I have a special message from my roommate. Please, for your families, for your friends, for your country, and most of all, for yourselves, just say no to drugs.

You know, I watched a certain debate a couple of weeks ago. I don't often feel sorry for liberals, but I came close. Now, he may have been surprised at George Bush's strength, but you know something: I wasn't. I've worked more closely with George Bush these two terms than with any other member of the administration. I have seen him keep a cool head in hot crises. I've seen his leadership and vision. I've given him some of the most sensitive and difficult

tasks that we've had, and he's never let me or the country down. When you ask who led the fight to lift excessive regulations off of the shoulders of America's economy or who reassured our allies about deployment of INF missiles and set the stage for the INF treaty or who ran the initial policy meetings that led to our rescue of Grenada, or when you ask which candidate for President is on your side and America's side: George Bush is that man.

George Bush knows the importance of the values expressed in the Pledge of Allegiance. He cares that the courts won't allow children in public schools to open their day with a simple, silent, voluntary prayer. He believes that we must have judges on our courts who interpret the law and don't try to legislate and who care not just about the rights of criminals but about those of the victims of crime. That's why I want the next President of the United States to be George Bush.

But as I listened to George Bush and his opponent debate, I couldn't help thinking the problem with those fellows on the other side is not camera angles or lighting. It's not whether their candidate is likable or not. No, it's the very thing that they've spent this campaign trying desperately to hide. When our liberal friends refuse, until the last week of the campaign, even to whisper the "L" word and insist that this election is not about ideology, it's about competence, they're just acknowledging that where they want to take America, America doesn't want to go.

The American people always have a way of figuring out the facts. And that reminds me of a story. At my age, everything reminds you of a story. This is a story that happens to be about one of our intelligence agencies in Washington. They had an agent, a spy, who was over in a little town in Ireland, and they had to make contact with him. And they called in another agent and told him he was to go there and contact this man. The man's name would be Murphy. And he said, "Your recognition so that he'll know who you are is that you say, 'It's a beautiful day today, but it'll be a better one tomorrow.' " And then he was on his way. Well, he got to this little town, and he figured the best place to start his search was in the pub. So, he went into the pub and up to the bar and said to the bartender, "Where would I find a man named Murphy?" And the bartender said, "If it's Murphy the bootmaker you want, he's in the second floor of the building across the street. And if it's Murphy the farmer you want, he's a half a mile down the road, the farm on the left." "And," he said, "my name is Murphy." And the agent said, "Well, it's a beautiful day today, but it'll be better tomorrow." And the bartender said, "Oh, it's Murphy the spy you want." [*Laughter*]

Well, you know the facts, and so do the American people. Our liberal friends have spent the last 3 months trying to dress up their agenda in our clothes—and now in Harry Truman's clothes or F.D.R.'s clothes—but somehow nothing fits.

Audience members. We want Mike! We want Mike! We want Mike!

The President. You see, his supporters can't even find the right meeting. Well, now, when they say "opportunity," they mean "subsidies." When they say "reducing the deficit," they mean "raising the taxes."

The Audience. Boo!

The President. And when they say "strong defense," they mean "cut defense spending." You know, it's no wonder their favorite machine is the snowblower. They talk about it being time for a change. Well, where have they been the last 8 years? We are the change. We began it 8 years ago. And the choice this year is to go forward with the change or to go back to the stagnant status quo of the past.

When George Bush and I took office, America was in the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. High taxes and runaway regulations were driving America's families to their knees, pounding them with a 1–2–3 combination of inflation, economic stagnation, and unemployment. We turned that around. Since our expansion began, we have created over 18 million new jobs. That is more new jobs than Europe and Japan combined. And overall, job for job, those jobs pay better than the jobs that existed before our expansion began. Today we're in the longest peacetime economic expansion ever recorded. We're exporting more than ever before in our history. And a greater proportion of our potential work force and

a greater number of Americans are at work today than ever before in the history of the United States of America.

Let me explain that term "potential work force" to you. That is considered by the statisticians to be everyone in the United States, male and female, 16 years of age and up, all the way, including the retirees and all. Today 62.7 percent of that pool of Americans are employed.

Think of what this means to you when you leave school. There'll be jobs and opportunities waiting for you. It's a good time to begin a career and maybe get married to that special someone and start a family. Perhaps now or in a few years, you'll want to start your own business. Well, it's a great time for that, too. Think of how lucky you are not to have graduated in the late seventies when things looked so different. Think of how lucky you are to be graduating in our country and not some other country.

What you heard in a recent debate I've heard echoed in my talks with the leaders of many other nations: Today the United States of America is the envy of the world. Yes, we've come a long way in the last 8 years, but, my friends, everything that you and I and George Bush have worked for in these last 8 years, everything, could be lost faster than you can say furlough. Now, our opponents say they're in the tradition of F.D.R., Harry Truman, and John Kennedy, but from the economy to national defense, they've taken positions only a McGovern could love. They're so far out in left field that not even Kirk Gibson could hit a ball that deep. And don't be fooled, folks, George Bush's opponent is no Harry Truman——

Audience members. We want Mike! We want Mike! We want Mike!

The President. ——and he's no F.D.R. When the leadership of today's Democratic Party took that party over, I was a Democrat, and a lot of you probably were. Well, we took the other party over, and it's now the party of Harry Truman and F.D.R.

Not long ago, former Defense and Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, who has served in both Democratic and Republican administrations, wrote that their ticket this year seems to be, in Secretary Schlesinger's words, "viscerally antimilitary." They'd cut the B–1 bomber, the mobile MX, our strategic defense against ballistic missiles, and they would eliminate two carrier battle groups from the Navy. In fact, what they plan for the Navy is so bad that when they get through Michael may have to row the boat ashore.

Yes, it's the same Carter-Mondale liberal agenda they're pushing: less defense, more big government. For example, as part of their——

The Audience. We want Bush! We want Bush! We want Bush!

The President. You know——

The Audience. We want Bush! We want Bush! We want Bush!

The President. And you're going to have him. You know, if they'd shut up and listen, they'd learn where George was. You know, every time this happens, I wonder if some of the people who are doing that realize that maybe if they had their way about the government people wouldn't be able to do what they're doing.

The Audience. Ronnie! Ronnie! Ronnie!

The President. All right. Okay. Well, now, for that other party, and for an example of their so-called profamily agenda, they propose Federal child care assistance. A little while ago, I told an audience that under this proposal if parents want assistance and they also want to leave their child with his or her grandmother the grandmother will have to be licensed by the Federal Government.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. Now, after I first said that, a reporter called one of the congressional staffers behind that bill and asked if it was true—that grandmothers would have to get Federal licenses to take care of their own grandchildren. And the reply came, Yes, of course, it's true. After all—and here's the quote—"How else can you design a program that receives Federal funds?"

The Audience. Boo!

The President. Licensing grandmothers—can you believe it? But doesn't that tell all the difference between our two philosophies? When they say "family," they mean "Big Brother in Washington." When we say "family," we mean "honor thy father and mother."

Hearing all this, maybe it won't surprise you that this year we have an opposition

candidate for President whose appointees to his State's supreme court have been described, in the words of legal authorities who've studied their record, as "fervent proponents of the liberal social agenda committed to imposing it through judicial decree." They have opposed the death penalty and opposed mandatory sentences for drug dealers. They believe that directing teachers to lead classes in the Pledge of Allegiance is unconstitutional and have voted to strike down a ban on child pornography.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. Well, I've appointed very different Justices to the United States Supreme Court, and so will George Bush. It's just this simple: We Californians know that the U.S. Supreme Court must never come to resemble the California Supreme Court before the voters rose up and said, Enough. And in that, as in so many other battles, George Bush is on our side. That's where George is.

Now, George's opponent says this is negative campaigning. We don't do negative campaigning. We tell them the truth, and they think it's negative campaigning. You've heard that George's opponent says he's on your side. But you know better. Massachusetts has lost more than 90,000 manufacturing jobs since 1984, the years that he has been in office——

The Audience. Boo!

The President. ——while the number of manufacturing jobs nationally grew. More manufacturing jobs nationally, manufacturing jobs lost in Massachusetts—would you tell me, and shout it loud and clear, who's on your side, that fellow or George Bush?

The Audience. Bush! Bush! Bush!

The President. I can see I'm speaking to a well-educated audience. Let's try one more. The Federal deficit fell by more than $65 billion between 1986 and 1988 while the top tax rate was cut from 50 percent to 28 percent. Meanwhile, a certain New England State's spending has risen 61.7 percent since George Bush's opponent took office in 1983, double the rate of increase in Federal spending—and the Bank of Boston forecasts a deficit for the State as high as $750 million for 1989, despite the enactment of $180 million in additional State taxes and fees. Lower tax rates, lower deficits nationally; higher taxes, bigger deficits in that State—tell me again even louder the one who's on your side. Is it that other fellow or George Bush?

The Audience. Bush!

The President. Well, all right. Yes, George Bush is the one, and the only one, who's on your side. And that's not negative campaigning: That's the truth.

Now, our friends on the other side have promised that come January the Reagan era is over, and their era will be just beginning. Well, let me ask you something else, and again could you give me an answer loud enough so they can hear it all the way to Boston: Come January, do you want Washington run by those whose only pledge of allegiance is to more government and more spending and who have never let the taxpayers' dollars out on furlough?

The Audience. No!

The President. Okay. Do you want our foreign policy in the hands of those who criticized our rescue mission in Grenada and our strike on Libya and who always, always blame America first?

The Audience. No!

The President. You just made my day. This election campaign is not over. And the only poll that means a thing is the one on Election Day. And that's why it's so important for you to vote. It's disturbing to me that so many of America's young people so far don't show up at the polls to vote. With so many years ahead, you have a big stake in this election. Earlier this year, I had the privilege of doing something I never thought an American President would be able to do. There, in the Soviet Union, in the Lenin Hills, I spoke to students at Moscow State University; and my speech was about the glories of human individual freedom. Now, think of those students. Only if they're lucky and rise high in the Communist Party will any one of them have influence on the course of history that each American has by just walking into the voting booth.

So, let me ask you one or two more questions. And I'm asking you for a commitment, so if you shout yes, be sure you mean it. This November, will you show up at the polls to vote?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Will you also—and this goes for even you who are too young to vote—get your friends to show up at the polls to vote?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Will you vote to elect Don Knabe and Curt Pringle to the State legislature?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Will you vote to end 34 years of liberal control of the House of Representatives and to elect Chris Cox and Dana Rohrbacher and reelect Bill Dannemeyer and Bob Dornan?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. You know, I said 34 years. I was being easy on you. Counting this year, 58. For 58 years, the other party has controlled the House of Representatives.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. Except for 2 years during Harry Truman, every Democratic President in more than half a century has had a Democratic Congress. Well, except for 2 years in Ike's term, every Republican President but me has had a Democratic Congress. I was lucky enough to have for 6 years a majority in the Senate. And that majority is what made it possible for us to bring about the recovery that we've brought about. So, vote to return Pete Wilson to the United States Senate. And of course, will you vote for George Bush?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. You just keep on making my day.

Almost a quarter century ago, we Californians began a crusade for a stronger, braver, freer land. We've fought side by side ever since. And Nancy and I have been grateful for all the support that we've received. Right now my theme song all over Washington is "California Here I Come." And in January, I hope everyone here at home will open up those Golden Gates and welcome us back. But until then, you and I still have work to do. As Yogi Berra said: "It isn't over 'till it's over." And ours is one crusade that continues in full swing. So, if I could ask you one time: On Election Day, will you go out there and win one for the Gipper?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Thank you all very much—almost you all. Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. in the gymnasium at California State University. He was introduced by Jewel Plummer Cobb, president of the university. In his remarks, the President referred to actor Gabe Kaplan; Robert Naylor, chairman of the State Republican Party; and Kirk Gibson, a member of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Remarks at a Republican Party Rally in San Bernardino, California

November 1, 1988

The President. Thank you very much, George. You've been a great Governor, and this fall you've been a terrific quarterback for the Republican team. And I'd like to add a special thank you to seven of the best darn high school bands in America. You did yourselves proud.

Now, will you promise me you'll do all of America proud and just say no to drugs? [*Applause*] Well, now you just did me proud.

I have a special hello to Frank Visco, David Dreier, Jerry Lewis, John Paul Stark, Tom Hallock, and a big American hello to a great patriot and a very funny guy, Yakov Smirnoff. I see I've even got some fraternity brothers in the crowd. [*Applause*] T-K-E, yes.

It's great to be here in California, because you know, there's no place like home. As my time draws to a close in Washington, people in the White House are always asking me, "Mr. President, why are you humming that old song?" Well, I tell them, I just can't get the words out of my mind. Yes, when January the 20th rolls around, I'm going to be asking every one of you to open up that Golden Gate, 'cause, California, here I come.

The Audience. Reagan! Reagan! Reagan!

The President. Thank you. But you know, I'll feel just fine about leaving Washington because nobody knows better than I do just how capable are those two hands I expect will be taking the wheel come the 20th of

January. I can't think of a man alive today who's more prepared to take a hold of America's gearshift, rev up America's engine, and then downshift into America's future than my good friend and valued colleague, George Bush.

The Audience. Bush! Bush! Bush!

The President. All right. I'm here today, though, to talk to you about the great Republican ticket from the White House to the statehouse and make sure everybody who shares our hopes for the future turns out to vote on November 8th. We need people in the Senate who will work for a thriving economy, a strong national defense, and the preservation of our family values; and that means reelecting one of America's very best Senators, California's own, Pete Wilson. We need people in the House who will work for a strong national defense. The Democratic Congressman from this area is a man who has bragged openly about opposing more military funding than any Congressman in history. And he's been in Washington for 24 long, liberal years.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. Now, I want to ask you all a question: Is that the kind of thing the good people of San Bernardino believe?

The Audience. No!

The President. I didn't think so. No, San Bernardino needs a Congressman who'll do his constituents credit, a man who understands that his country needs to stand tall and fight for freedom. Well, there's only one guy in this race who'll do that, and if you will agree with me, he's going to be the next Congressman from the 36th District: John Paul Stark.

Now, the liberals are saying they're on our side. Well, I remember the last time they were—said on our time, in 1980. And when that happened, all of America told them loud and clear: Get off our back!

We've been slashing tax rates and liberating the American economy from the confiscation of the "malaise" years. When we came into office, families everywhere were reeling from tax rates that were draining this nation's initiative. Well, we took that money out of the grasping hands of the Washington bureaucrats and put it back in the wallets of the people from whom they'd confiscated it in the first place: the working men and women of America. Since our expansion began, we've created more than 18 million new jobs. We reduced the unemployment rate to nearly the lowest it's been in 14 years. And today a greater proportion of what is called our potential work force—that means everybody, male and female, from the age of 16 and up, including all students and retirees—yes, a greater proportion of that work force, 62.7 percent, is employed today. That's more than ever before in the history of the United States.

Now, we didn't do all that. No, my friends, you did it—you and every hard-working man and woman in this country. What George and Pete and John Paul and every Republican understands is that there's no greater force for change, no greater engine for progress, than the American people. We just turned you loose and got out of your way. We cleared away the wrecks the liberals left behind, waved the green flag, fired the starter pistol, and watched you go to the races.

We also went to work on our nation's defenses. We're once again respected in the world. Our Armed Forces are strong, and America is at peace.

Audience members. We love you, Reagan!

The President. We and our NATO allies stood firm in the face of Soviet missiles pointing at the heart's blood of Europe and Asia. And Mr. Gorbachev got the message. He did business because he knew we meant business. And, my friends, we still mean business.

None of our triumphs—no, not one—would have happened if our opponents had had their way. There would have been no INF treaty or rollback in Afghanistan or democratic revolutions around the globe. They opposed rebuilding our military defenses, and even today they want to cancel and eliminate two supercarrier task forces from the Navy.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. In fact, what they've planned for the Navy is so bad that by the time they get through, well, Michael may have to row the boat ashore. Yes, if they did half of what they threaten to do to our defenses, we'd all be in the tank. [The President referred to a campaign event in

which Michael Dukakis rode in a tank.] [*Laughter*]

Just listen to what they said no to. They opposed the liberation of Grenada. They opposed the blow we struck against terrorist Libya.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. They oppose our policy of helping freedom fighters advance the cause of liberty around the world.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. Well, George Bush and I did all these things, and I tell you proudly right now: We'd both do every single one of them over again.

Of all the changes we've made, the one I may be happiest about is this: Our young men and women are once again proud to wear their country's uniform. And because of them, over these past 8 years, not 1 inch on this good Earth has fallen to the Communists.

Now, another area where we differ is our understanding of the Constitution. We've appointed serious-minded judges who respect the Constitution and know the meaning of the word "punishment." Their judicial nominees—in the State of Massachusetts and in the State of California—have been, you might say, for the birds. Are those the kinds of judges we want on the United States Supreme Court?

The Audience. No!

The President. Well, this is very important because, unlike the State of California, the Constitution does not give American citizens the opportunity to vote Supreme Court Justices out of office. And I don't think America wants our highest court to look the way the California court did before the people of this great State rose up and said, No more, no way, no how.

California learned that when judges don't do their jobs right criminals feel like they can run rampant. Well, violent crime has fallen significantly in this country since 1981 because we put criminals on notice: Make one false move, and the next sound you hear is the clang of a jail cell door slamming shut. My friends, we believe there are no citizens more precious than the men and women who guard us: our State and local police. And George Bush and I stand united behind them. We must protect them from those vicious killers. Now, the other fellow opposes the death penalty.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. But as for us, we believe with all the conviction we have that a crack dealer with a machinegun who murders a police officer in the line of duty should receive the death sentence.

Now, our opponents have just said they're in the tradition of F.D.R., Franklin Delano Roosevelt; J.F.K.; and Harry Truman. But the truth is, they're so far out in left field, even Kirk Gibson couldn't hit a ball that deep. Folks, George's opponent is no Harry Truman, and he's no F.D.R.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, when our liberal friends run from their own agenda, they're just acknowledging that where they want to take America, America doesn't want to go. 'Cause as Huckleberry Finn might have said, We been there already. [*Laughter*] Now, I promise you: We won't take you back there. And I warn you: They will.

All that we've achieved, everything, can be undone faster than you can say Pledge of Allegiance if our liberal friends are successful. Remember how my successor here in California undid so many of our accomplishments before George Deukmejian rode him out on a rail? We don't want that to happen again this year. And remember what happened after the 1980 census, when a Democratic Congressman redesigned California and thwarted the will of the people by gerrymandering the State into a map that looked like a piece of shattered glass?

The Audience. Boo!

The President. We actually had more votes for Republican Congressmen than they had, but they elected more Democratic Congressmen because of the way they have divided up this State in their gerrymandering. We don't want that to happen again this year, and that means voting for a great slate of Republican candidates at the State and local levels, like Paul Woodruff and Bill Leonard, David Masters and Brian Carroll.

We've got to do all we can to get our message out. We must guard against complacency and overconfidence. This election isn't over yet, not by a long shot. And as Winston Churchill once said: "We must

wage war until victory is won." Remember, it takes the President and Congress working together to move America forward. So, if we have to ride two horses at once, shouldn't they both be headed in the same direction? [*Applause*]

Well, now let me take a little opinion poll of my own. Will you make sure to turn out for the Republican ticket on November 8th?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Will you give our next President the Senate he needs by voting for Pete Wilson on November 8th?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Will you give the next President the Congress he needs and the Congressman you deserve by casting your ballot for John Paul Stark on November 8th?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Will you vote to reelect David Dreier and Jerry Lewis on November 8th?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. And will you give California a bright future of economic opportunity and family values by voting for Bill Leonard, Paul Woodruff, David Masters, and Brian Carroll?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. You just made my day. Ladies and gentlemen, America needs the strength, the vision, and the true grit of George Bush and Pete Wilson. And with your help and God's grace, we'll all have cause to cheer just one week from today. As we head into the final lap, it's time to push the pedal to the metal and shift into overdrive. You know, some people are saying it's time for a change. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we are the change. The change began 8 years ago.

The Audience. Reagan! Reagan! Reagan!

The President. You made my day again. So, now, my fellow Californians, I want to ask you to do me one small favor: Will you go out there and win one for the Gipper? [*Applause*]

Thank you all very much, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:14 p.m. at the National Orange Show Stadium. He was introduced by Gov. George Deukmejian. In his remarks, the President referred to Frank Visco, vice chairman of the State Republican Party; entertainer Thomas Hallock; comedian Yakov Smirnoff; and Kirk Gibson, a member of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Remarks at a Campaign Rally for Senator Chic Hecht in Reno, Nevada

November 1, 1988

Thank you, Chic, and also Gail, who's with us here today. And I, too, would like to add my thanks and appreciation for the Elko High School Indian Band. And my good friend Paul Laxalt and Congresswoman Barbara Vucanovich, thank you all very much. It's great to be back in Reno, Nevada.

Well, today I've come here for a very special reason: because I want to talk to you about a friend of mine, a great Senator from Nevada, Chic Hecht. Now, like Chic, I've had a career of being underestimated. It started a number of years back. I was under contract to Warner Brothers Studio in Hollywood when it was announced that I was running for Governor. And somebody told Jack Warner about that. And Jack thought just a moment, and then he said, "No, uh-uh. Jimmy Stewart for Governor. Ronald Reagan for best friend." [*Laughter*] But Chic Hecht is a scrapper. The people who bet against him in 1982 should have learned their lesson. If anyone is so foolish as to be betting against him this year, I've got a piece of advice: Try your luck in the casinos. The odds are better. [*Laughter*]

Reno, of course, is known for its great shows: the lights, the costumes, the headline entertainers. That's sort of like the United States Congress. [*Laughter*] But in the Congress, they have an old and wise saying: There are two types of Senators—showhorses and workhorses. Chic Hecht is not a showhorse; he's a workhorse. He gets the job done for the people of Nevada. Chic doesn't grab headlines; he doesn't showboat. Chic's the kind of Senator who doesn't make a lot of noise. He just gets things done for his State. He works hard. He's effective. And he has the respect of his colleagues and the admiration of the President and Vice

ed our land and liberty from every enemy. Many women have served in the military, in occupations from pilot to nurse and in both peacetime and war. We owe all of them a special debt of gratitude for their part in advancing the promise of freedom. We do well to recall that we owe appreciation to our many veterans of military service who are women.

Today, the number of women serving in the military, and thus the number of women veterans, continues to grow; women veterans now comprise 4.4 percent of the total veteran population. They continue to enrich our country in civilian life as they bring their skills and patriotism to bear in communities across America. Let us use the welcome occasion of National Women Veterans Recognition Week, 1988, to honor the service, sacrifice, and love of country so gladly given by our women veterans.

To create greater public awareness and recognition of the many achievements of women veterans, the Congress, by Public Law 100–514, has designated the week of November 6 through November 12, 1988, as "National Women Veterans Recognition Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of November 6 through November 12, 1988, as National Women Veterans Recognition Week. I encourage all Americans and government officials at every level to celebrate this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and thirteenth.

Ronald Reagan

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:18 a.m., November 8, 1988*]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 7.

Remarks at a Republican Party Rally in Long Beach, California

November 7, 1988

The President. Thank you all very much for that welcome, and thank you, George, for that great introduction. Thank you all very much. It is great—and I do mean great—to be here in Long Beach. It feels good to come home.

Now, I came here to talk about a very good friend of mine, but I know he'd agree that there's one important thing that has to be done first. Can you let me hear, loud and clear, what Long Beach has to say about those world champion Dodgers? [*Applause*] I'll bet they heard you back in Washington. In fact, what I tell them back East is that to listen to Long Beach is to listen to the future. Your great—anybody got a Stinger? [*Laughter*] No, he's one of ours. [The President referred to a helicopter flying overhead.] Your great port is a symbol of our growing prosperity through trade, and the Long Beach Naval Shipyard is home of the U.S.S. *New Jersey,* one of our great battleships.

You know, I was in the horse cavalry, but I love battleships. [*Laughter*] I shouldn't have gotten started because I'm reminded—it's a funny thing, when you get to be my age, everything reminds you of a story. [*Laughter*] This one has to do one night with a battleship that was out there on the ocean in the night and the fog. And an admiral in command. And then suddenly, ahead of them, they saw a light, and it seemed to be right on their course. And the admiral told his signal man to signal them and tell them to turn 12 degrees to starboard. And so, the man signaled, and then he got a message back. The message back was that "you turn 12 degrees to starboard." And the admiral signaled back and says, "No, you turn to starboard. I'm a battleship." The reply came back, "Well, you turn. I'm a lighthouse." [*Laughter*]

The Audience. Reagan! Reagan! Reagan!

The President. I'm not going to take credit for that. [*Laughter*] But that story

was one worth remembering in a political campaign. The candidates can send out their messages and try to move the voters, but in the end the great American public does not move. Instead, the public decides; the people choose the candidate who has steered the truest course and most closely followed the beacon of light that represents our fundamental values and the truths that we hold dear. And that's what we mean when we say that in America there are no rulers; it's the people who rule.

You know, I get a great deal of pressure many times when I have an opportunity to speak to young people. But almost every nation has a Constitution. And then, what is so remarkable about ours? Well, all those other Constitutions are documents containing many of the same things ours does, except that it's the Government that is telling the people what they're permitted to do. Ours is the only one that says "We, the people" tell the Government what it can do.

Well, today, of course, is the last day of this, my last campaign as President. But tomorrow launches a new beginning for America. For me, Long Beach is about beginnings. That was where I had my first meeting with George Deukmejian, and from here, he became one of the greatest Governors in the history of California. Now, this is also the home of Dan Lungren, an outstanding Congressman, who's leaving office this year, but who I expect to see serving the people of California again in the future. And in my first campaign for Governor 22 years ago, the Los Angeles County head of Youth for Reagan was a kid from Long Beach. He played an important role in the campaigns that followed. He came to the White House and served with distinction. And tomorrow, I expect to see Dana Rohrabacher elected to the United States Congress. And another dedicated and talented young man I was also able to count on in the White House should be elected to Congress as well: Chris Cox. And I want you to help reelect U.S. Senator Pete Wilson. We need his leadership in Washington. Also my friend, [Representative] Bob Dornan, who's here today and who just educated me when I came on deck—because I rode in that thing in 1949 across the ocean. I didn't know it had been built in Ireland. [*Laughter*] I'm going to have to go back and take another trip and enjoy it. Well, and give our great Governor—give him Don Knabe for the State senate and State Senators Bob Beverly and Bill Campbell; and Assemblymen Paul Zeltner and Wayne Grisham and Gerry Felando.

I want to ask you something. Your votes tomorrow may be the most important ones cast in America. They will determine how California goes, and California may send the next President to the White House. So, tell me—I'm going to ask a question you've been asked before: Can I count on each one of you tomorrow to help turn out the vote for the man at the top of the ticket? [*Applause*] He's my personal choice and my good friend, George Bush.

The Audience. Bush! Bush! Bush!

The President. All right.

This is my last campaign trip as your President. And its been my privilege to have served you these past 8 years. But today, above all, I'm excited about the future. This is the advent of a new beginning of continued change, clear direction, and experienced leadership—a new beginning for America.

For the past 8 years, George Bush and I have worked together to rebuild our economy, to get America on the move again, to make the United States once again the great arsenal of democracy, a light unto the nations, the champion of freedom around the world. During the 8 years that we've worked side by side in the White House, I've come to know George Bush very well. And I also know what is required to be President of the United States. I know who should be the man at the desk, and ladies and gentleman, George Bush is that man.

The Audience. Bush! Bush! Bush!

The President. When Vice President Bush and I took office 8 years ago, America was in the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. But today America is in the longest peacetime expansion ever recorded.

We're going into our 72d month. Since the expansion began, we've created 18.4 million new jobs. They're good jobs. And the unemployment rate in this area has fallen by about a half. And statewide, real personal income is up by more than 25 percent. And today in America a greater proportion of our population is employed than ever before in the history of the United States. And let me put a number with that. I had to go to Washington to find out that the statisticians consider the potential employment pool in America is everybody, male and female, from 16 years of age and up—all of those thousands that are getting their education yet, all of of those people that are retired. And so, all are considered in that that pool. Well, 62.7 percent of that population pool today is employed.

Now, what Vice President Bush and I have done with the economy is very important, and it must continue. But what we believe in is much more than that. Our greatest treasure as a nation is our precious moral heritage: the basic values of faith and family that makes ours a great nation. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, the family is the bedrock of America.

George Bush believes that public school children should be allowed to open their day with a voluntary prayer. That's something the courts won't allow.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. I don't think they should have expelled Him from the classroom to begin with. Now, he believes that we must have—George, I mean, believes that we must have judges who interpret the law, not rewrite it, and who care not just for rights of criminals but have compassion for the decent citizens who are the victims of crime. And the Vice President knows the importance to our nation and to our children of the values expressed in the simple words: "One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

And besides restoring our economy and defending our values, we want to also work on our nation's defenses. We're once again respected in the world. Our Armed Forces are strong, and America is at peace. We and our NATO allies stood firm in the face of Soviet missiles pointing at the heart of Europe and Asia. And Mr. Gorbachev got the message. He did business because we meant business. And we still mean business.

Now, tomorrow, I feel confident that the people of the United States are going to do exactly what I did 8 years ago: They're going to choose George Bush. This year one of the best qualified men—yes, as you were told by the Governor—to ever seek the Office of President is on the ballot. I think you know his record of service in Congress, at the United Nations, in China as de facto Ambassador, and as Director of the CIA. And for the past 8 years, George Bush has served with the greatest distinction of any Vice President in the history of the United States.

I have worked more closely with him in these two terms than with any other member of the administration. Let me tell you about the man that I have come to know. He is strong, decent, loyal, wise, capable, and compassionate. And there is one man who has the experience to be President.

The Audience. Bush! Bush! Bush!

The President. Yes, that man is George Bush. And on November 8th, if you make it possible for him to carry California, California will help make him the next President of the United States.

In this, as in every campaign, two men have stood before the people. One, George Bush, has served this nation at the highest levels for nearly a quarter of a century. As for his opponent, we only really began to learn about him during the last few months. He's been as vague as to what he would do in office. Yet when we focus on his record, he objects. At the outset, our opponent announced that the issue this year was competence. In fact, that was the same thing another Democratic Governor said in his 1976 Presidential campaign. [*Laughter*] I don't think the American people want to take that risk again.

The Audience. No!

The President. They remember that the last time they took a chance on a blind date and went out with a stranger and they came home with "malaise." [*Laughter*]

But we can cut through the evasion and the rhetoric, and reach down to the record. And we find that the pieces of the puzzle fit together very clearly. I'd better not say

what they show, because I'm not supposed to use the "L" word. [*Laughter*]

But here are the pieces. Our opponent boasts of his membership in the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union].

The Audience. Boo!

The President. He is against voluntary prayer in school.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. And he vetoed a bill to require Massachusetts teachers to lead the class in the Pledge of Allegiance.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. He's appointed judges to his State's supreme court who have voted to strike down a ban on child pornography——

The Audience. Boo!

The President. ——and have opposed mandatory sentences for drug dealers.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. He had the only prison furlough program in the country that gave weekend passes to first-degree murderers serving life sentences without parole.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. And he had vetoed a bill to change that. And in every case, even for the most brutal crimes, he opposes the death penalty.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. Well, he's free to have these views, but is this the man we want choosing the Justices to sit on the Supreme Court of the United States?

The Audience. No!

The President. I think you know what I mean when I say that kind of radical judicial policy would be strictly for the birds. [*Laughter*]

On economics, he objects to being called a liberal. But what do you call someone who since 1983 has increased State spending at double the rate of increasing Federal spending? Never mind the snowblower—[*laughter*]—the special interests and bureaucrats in Massachusetts call him Santa Claus. [*laughter*] And in the last 2 years, while we cut the Federal deficit by a third, his budget gap ballooned. And what about taxes? He opposed his State's version of our Proposition 13.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. He's raised taxes seven times——

The Audience. Boo!

The President. ——and he refuses to pledge not to raise Federal taxes.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. He does say he wants to hire more IRS agents.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. Let's just say that if raising taxes becomes an Olympic event, he's going for a gold medal.

And when we look at defense, again the pieces fit. Our opponent's on the advisory board of a left-wing group that wanted to slash the defense budget by 25 percent.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. He opposes the B–1 bomber, the mobile MX, and the Midgetman missile and would eliminate two carrier battle groups from the Navy.

The Audience. Boo!

The President. In fact, what he plans for the Navy is so bad that by the time he's through Michael may have to row the boat ashore. [*Laughter*]

Now, from top to bottom, the election this year is a referendum on liberalism. Yes, the choice before the American people this year is just as clear as it was in 1980 and 1984: a choice between, on the one hand, liberal policies of tax and spend; economic stagnation; international weakness; and always, always "blame America first"——

The Audience. Boo!

The President. ——and on the other hand, what we believe—the policies of limited government, economic growth, a strong defense, and always "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America."

You know, standing here, as I've already told you, I was once a passenger on this ship, the *Queen Mary*, back when folks crossed the Atlantic by ship—you know, Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand Magellan—[*laughter*]—we all traveled that way. [*Laughter*] But I'd been in England filming a movie, "The Hasty Heart." It had finished, and I was returning to America. And one foggy morning, I got up early. And there, from the deck of that ship, looking through the mist, I saw, for the first time in my life that I'd ever seen it, the Statue of Liberty. She's become the other woman in my life. [*Laughter*] She was such a beautiful

sight; how could I not say "God bless America"?

Many years later, in 1980, after receiving the Republican nomination for President, once again I stood before Lady Liberty, this time at the event to kick off my run for the White House. And that year, as in each race, just like today, I've come back to California for the final day on the trail. And there is no place on Earth I would rather be right now. This is my last campaign, and seeing all of you, and people like George Deukmejian and Dana Rohrabacher, and seeing the *Queen Mary* again, it's like closing a circle, like sailing into the harbor after a long and wonderful voyage to be greeted by old and beloved friends.

Ladies and gentlemen, tonight, as the sun sets into the Pacific, one chapter will come to an end. But as the sun rises tomorrow, a great new chapter for America will begin when we elect George Bush.

The Audience. Bush! Bush! Bush!

The President. But let me tell you one last story. And it's about that trip to England 40 years ago. When I was over there—it was my first visit—we were in that country and stopped at an old pub. I wanted to see one of those hundreds and hundreds of years-old pubs. And there we were, a few friends and myself. And really, over here, we would have called it a mom and pop place. This quite elderly lady was waiting on us. And finally, hearing us talking to one another, she said, "You're Americans, aren't you?" And we said we were. And then she said, "Oh, there were a lot of your chaps stationed just down the road here during the war." And she said, "They used to come in here every evening, and they'd have a songfest." And she said, "They called me mom, and they called the old man pop." And then suddenly, she's no longer looking at us. She's looking beyond us into memory. And there are a couple of tears appearing. And she said, "It was Christmas Eve, and you know, we were all alone and feeling a bit let down. And suddenly, the door opened, and they burst into the place." She said, "They had presents for me and pop." And this time, as I say, the tears were really coming down. And she said, "Yes, big strapping lads they was, from a place called Ioway." [*Laughter*]

Well, one of the "big strapping lads" who served in that war was a man named George Bush. He flew 58 combat missions in the Pacific. He was the Navy's youngest pilot and was decorated for his heroism. Many years later, in 1980, he earned my lasting respect when he won a Presidential caucus in the place where the race for the White House began, a place called Ioway. And, ladies and gentlemen, America needs the strength, the vision, and the true grit of George Bush.

Some say that it's time for a change. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we are the change. It began 8 years ago.

Now, let's remember that Yogi Berra said: "It isn't over till it's over"—no complacency, no overconfidence. We need you to vote and to get others out to vote. And getting out the vote could be the difference between victory and defeat. Tomorrow's the day. It's the final game of the World Series; it's the Olympics; it's the Super Bowl, all rolled into one. And if you would, I hope you'll just win one more for the Gipper.

The Audience. Reagan! Reagan! Reagan!

The President. Let's all do this together for America. And from the bottom of my heart, thank you, and God bless you all.

The Audience. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

The President. You've all been so kind, and I've heard you say 4 and 8 and so forth, and the number of years. May I just say one thing to you? When I get out of the job, so nobody can think I'm doing it for myself, I'm going to do everything I can to see if we can't rise up and get rid of that amendment because it's an infringement on your democratic rights.

Note: The President spoke at 12:17 p.m. on the pier to which the Queen Mary was moored. He was introduced by Gov. George Deukmejian.

Remarks at a Republican Presidential Campaign Rally in San Diego, California

November 7, 1988

The President. Thank you very much, and, good Duke, thank you very much for that kind introduction. I think some thanks should go also to the Coronado High School Band and the Torrey Pines High School Band. And also I understand that some people that played a helping hand in bringing this all together happened to be my fraternity brothers from San Diego State, my fellow TEEK's. Thank you. I was told back there at Eureka College when I became a member of Tau Kappa Epsilon that it was a fraternity for life. But now let me say hello to Earl Cantos; to Congressmen Duncan Hunter and Bill Lowery; and to a great future Congressman we'll all be proud of, Rob Butterfield; and to one of America's greatest Governors, George Deukmejian; and to one of the finest Senators I know, Pete Wilson.

Now, before I start, I have a message from my roommate to every young person here. She told me to say: Please, for your parents, for your friends, for your country, but most of all for yourselves, just say no to drugs and alcohol.

The Audience. Just say no! Just say no! Just say no!

The President. All right. You know, some time ago I told Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, that if her people had come over this ocean out here instead of the Atlantic the capital of the United States would be in California. But more and more over the last 8 years, I've come to realize what a good thing it was for the settling of our continent that the pioneers had to go east to west rather than the other way around. After all, if they'd started out here in our beautiful State with all we have, they'd never have wanted to leave. Instead of "Westward Ho!", their motto would have been what mine has become: "There's no place like home."

Now, please forgive me if from time to time over the next few minutes, there seems to be a lump in my throat and a catch in my voice. This is a special moment for me in a special place and, yes, with special people. I closed both of my campaigns for the Presidency right here in San Diego. And you see, there was a reason for that. You see, when the parades have ended, the shouting is over, the speeches are done, and the final bell has sounded, a fighter wants to return to his corner and be with family and friends while he waits for the verdict of the judges. And whenever I finish in San Diego, I feel I'm with family, and I know I'm with friends. I love San Diego.

A lot of people have been mighty surprised how far you and I have gone together in our crusade over the years. I remember a story that made the rounds the time I first ran for office. Someone told my old boss, Jack Warner, that I'd announced for Governor. And Jack thought about it for just a second, and then he said, "No, Jimmy Stewart for Governor; Ronald Reagan for best friend."

But this year my name is not on the ballot. And it won't appear on a ballot ever again, unless, of course, you——

The Audience. Boo!

The President. No, no—unless you count the one that someone up there casts when your time is done and the moment has arrived for His verdict, which, when all is said and done, is the only election that really counts. But if my name isn't on your ballot tomorrow, something more important is: a principle, a legacy. No, this is not the end of an era; it's a time to refresh and strengthen the new beginning we started 8 years ago. At stake are the very things you and I have been working for and fighting for ever since we first joined together almost a quarter of a century ago and set out to restore our State and then our nation. They add up to the difference between candidates who promise that come January "the Reagan era is over" and those who say, "Read my lips: No new taxes." Yes, it's the difference between the liberals and the men and women on the Republican ticket, candidates like this district's next Congressman, Rob Butterfield; Senator Pete Wilson, and the next President of the United States of America, George Bush.

And that's why I'm here today: to ask you to turn out to vote tomorrow for our entire Federal, State, and local Republican ticket so that our principles survive, our legacy

endures, and our truth goes marching on. I've dedicated myself this autumn to making sure that all we've begun these past 8 years continues. In the House of Representatives, in the Senate, in the White House, and in the State legislatures—which will redraw congressional district lines after the 1990 census, and through that act profoundly shape the course of the entire Nation in the next decade—yes, on every level, the election this year is about what the Vice President called the other day the big issues: freedom; peace; opportunity; respect of government for family and community; the safety of law-abiding citizens; and whether we remain true to our national mission of standing with those who, like our Founding Fathers, would battle against tyranny and for liberty. It's about the values that have made America the greatest, freest nation on Earth, as Lincoln said, "the last best hope" of humanity. And we're determined to keep it that way.

I've seen some press reports these last few weeks noting how I've been campaigning so hard for Republican candidates. And they say few other Presidents have done what I've done. Well, of course, few other Presidents have had the opportunity to be succeeded by a man as good as George Bush or to stump for candidates as good as Pete Wilson and Rob Butterfield. But I'll let you in on a little secret: I'm not doing this just for George Bush or Pete Wilson or our Republican candidates on all levels around the Nation. I'm doing it for the country, of course, but for someone else as well—actually for two other people.

He was the best storyteller I've ever heard and the strongest man of principle I've ever known. He believed in honesty and hard work. He was filled with a love of justice and a hatred of bigotry. Once he was out on the road—he was a shoe salesman, traveling around northern Illinois in the winter. And this was in the depths of the Depression. And in a midst of a blizzard, he went into a small-town hotel in the town he was going through. And as he signed his name and the clerk saw the name, which was a very Irish name—"Oh," he said, "you're going to love it here." And then he told him why: Because that hotel would not allow people of a certain faith to stay there. And this man picked up his suitcase and said, "Then I don't stay here." And he spent the night in his car in the snow, caught near-pneumonia, and a short time later had the first heart attack of the several that led to his death.

We called him Jack. And just as he was strong, his wife, Nelle, was filled with goodness and love. In the darkest days of the Depression, when they themselves could barely scrape by, no one ever came to their door in need of a meal who Nelle sent away empty-handed. I'm proud of many things I've done in my life, including more than a few in the last 8 years; but nothing has ever given me as much satisfaction as when, after several years in California, I could bring my mother and father out here and give them a home, the first they had ever owned. So, you see, I'm campaigning this year also for them. A son of Jack and Nelle Reagan never walked away from a battle on principle. This year's election is that kind of fight. And by darn, we're going to win it.

Think of all those who depend on us and the principles we Republicans stand for. Young people just getting out of school, looking for their first job, and able to find it because our recovery has created an average of a quarter of a million new jobs each month for the last 71 months. Young couples looking for their first home, who can afford it because we've brought mortgage rates down by a third since we took office. Mothers and fathers trying to keep within the family budget—cutting inflation by two-thirds and bringing the top personal income tax rate that most families pay down to 15 percent has made their lives a lot better.

But these aren't the only people who depend on our success. Tomorrow on the plains of Afghanistan and in jungles around the world, freedom fighters will huddle close to their radios, hoping to catch word that the administration in America will remain their friend. In cells across the globe, political prisoners will await anxiously for assurance that America has chosen strength over weakness, because for many of them, our strength is all that keeps their hope alive.

Just on the plane coming out here I read a letter I had just received. It was a couple thanking me for the fact that they are now in the United States after having spent

more than 7 years in the prisons and psychiatric wards of the Soviet Union. But all these people—they depend on us, and so help me God, we won't let them down.

And there's some other very special people we won't let down, either. There's no change during our administration of which I'm prouder than that our young men and women once more take pride in wearing the uniform of the United States of America. Thanks to their valor, in the last 8 years not 1 square inch of land anywhere in the world has been lost to communism. And in fact, we've rescued one tiny nation, Grenada, from communism.

This year, we're facing a liberal campaign of unusual deception. First our opponents wanted to conceal their ideology. It took us 3 months to drag the "L" word out of them. [*Laughter*] And now they're trying to hide what side they're on. They say that they're on your side, but you tell me, yes or no, and shout it loud and clear: When their candidates for President, U.S. Senator and Congress refuse to rule out raising your taxes and have already made their marks as world class big spenders in State or Federal Government, are they on your side?

The Audience. No!

The President. When their candidates for President and U.S. Senator, as well as for Congress and other posts, have a history of nominating and supporting judges who oppose the death penalty and, all in all, are strictly for the birds—if you know what I mean—[*laughter*]—are they on your side?

The Audience. No!

The President. I like this audience.

The Audience. Reagan! Reagan! Reagan!

The President. Thank you. Wait a minute, I've got one more. I like this audience, I said, but one last question.

Audience member. We love you!

The President. When their candidates consistently support cutting back on the very weapons—including our Strategic Defense Initiative, SDI—that have forced the Soviets to seek to negotiate serious arms reductions with us, and when they seem to believe that a strong defense is what gets talked about in Right Guard commercials—[*laughter*]—and that a strong Navy is the color of a suit—[*laughter*]—when they do all this, are they on your side?

The Audience. No!

The President. Our liberal friends just never seem to learn: You can't be for big government, big taxes, and big bureaucracy and still be for the little guy. In the race for the White House only one guy is for the little guy, and that guy is George Bush. And in the Senate race, that guy is Pete Wilson. In this district, in the House of Representatives, it's Rob Butterfield. And in the State legislature, it's Byron Wear, Steve Baldwin, Carol Bentley, and our other great Republican candidates.

Yes, from top to bottom, the election this year is a referendum on liberalism. Do we want to risk going back to the old, failed liberal policies of the past?

The Audience. No!

The President. Or do we build on the successes of the present——

The Audience. Yes!

The President. ——to expand the chances of peace and prosperity in the future?

Consider for a moment the people you'll be sending to Washington tomorrow. Congress and the President are equal branches of government. When you vote for the Senate or for your local congressional seat, you're voting for the direction of the country and the world as much as when you vote for President. And since we have to ride two horses, Congress and the President, across every stream, shouldn't they both be going in the same direction? [*Applause*] Everyone on our ticket—led by George Bush, Pete Wilson and Rob Butterfield—is going the same way. And come to think of it, that's my way, too.

Take our great Senator and, I hope, our next great Senator as well, Pete Wilson. Pete Wilson, George Bush, and I have been a team: The Three Musketeers—one for all and all for the taxpayers and against the special interests. Now, you know, in Washington, Pete's been named "Watchdog of the Treasury"—five times he's been named that. He's guarding it against liberals like his opponent. He'll work with the new President and not try to cut him off at the knees every chance he gets. Nancy and I cast our absentee ballots last week. And I know I shouldn't tell you this, but we voted, and I hope you will too, for a great team: Pete Wilson and the entire Republican team.

Last week a major national newspaper ran a story about one of our own liberal California Congressmen. In it, he spelled out to the reporter how he tells constituents he's for a strong defense, while voting for less defense, and how he opposed the death penalty amendment to the drug bill, but says he's for the death penalty when he's back home. And then he got down to business. Quoting now, "He wants it understood that a President Bush would get no quarter from him. Any budget proposal will have to include higher taxes, he says, whether a President likes it or not. 'Otherwise, we're going to go after him.'" Well, if you ask me, it's time we went after them, and some of the people to do it are Bill Lowery, Ron Packard, Duncan Hunter, and Rob Butterfield.

We must not forget what we're up against, but we all must never forget what we're for. A poet once wrote: "I have fallen in love with American names," and Americans love no name better than the name of "freedom." Well, in this campaign, and so many others, I've heard America singing, and its song is "freedom." You can hear it in the shipyards near here, as men and women go to work. You can hear it in offices, factories, schools, and stores all over our land. You can hear it when a young man or woman dreams of striking out alone and becoming part of the great boom in entrepreneurship that has created virtually all of the new jobs in America in recent years: 84—or 80.4 million new jobs in these several years. You can hear it in the prayers from every church, synagogue, temple, and mosque in our land. Yes, "one nation, under God, indivisible"—all in the name of glorious freedom.

You know, some years ago two friends of mine were talking with a Cuban refugee who had escaped from Castro. In the midst of the tale of horrible experiences, one friend turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are? I had someplace to escape to." Well, let's keep it that way.

How sacred is our trust—we to whom God has given the custody of the name and the song of "freedom." America represents something universal in the human spirit. I received a letter not long ago from a man who said, "You can go to Japan to live, but you cannot become Japanese. You can go to France, and you'd live and not become a Frenchman. You can go to live in Germany or Turkey, and you won't become a German or a Turk." But then he added, "Anybody from any corner of the world can come to America to live and become an American."

John Adams once said that: "The way to secure liberty is to place it in the people's hands. . . ." And that's what America is: we, the people, holding liberty in our hands. This year I did something I thought that no American President would ever have an opportunity to do. There in the Lenin Hills, at Moscow State University—no TEEK chapter there—[*laughter*]—I addressed Soviet students, spoke to them, and my speech was about the wonder and glory of human and individual freedom. Now, think of those students. Only if they're very lucky and rise high in the Communist Party will any one of them ever have the influence that each American has just by walking into the voting booth.

So, let me ask you one or two more questions. And I'm asking for a commitment, so if you shout yes, be sure you mean it.

Tomorrow, will you show up at the polls and vote?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Will you get your friends and neighbors also to vote?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. For the State legislature, will you vote for Byron Wear, Steve Baldwin, Carol Bentley, and the entire Republican team?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. Will you vote to reelect Congressmen Bill Lowery, Ron Packard, and Duncan Hunter and to elect Rob Butterfield?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. And will you vote for Pete Wilson in the United States Senate?

The Audience. Yes!

The President. And will you make George Bush the next President of the United States of America?

The Audience. Yes! Bush! Bush! Bush!

The President. The same thing I'm asking you I've asked our country this year. Eight

years ago, America said it's time for a change. Well, we've heard some talk like that in this campaign. Well, we are the change. Won't you stand by the change? We started it 8 years ago. Stand by the Republican ticket, and I don't mind if you stand by me.

So, now we come to the end of this last campaign, and I just hope that Nelle and Jack are looking down on us right now and nodding their heads and saying their kid did them proud. And I hope that someday your children and grandchildren will tell of the time that a certain President came to town at the end of a long journey and asked their parents and grandparents to join him in setting America on the course to the new millenium, and that a century of peace, prosperity, opportunity, and hope had followed. So, if I could ask you just one last time. Tomorrow, when mountains greet the dawn, would you go out there and win one for the Gipper?

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 2:40 p.m. in the San Diego Community Concourse at the San Diego Convention and Performing Arts Center. He was introduced by Senator Pete Wilson. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Earl Cantos, chairman of the San Diego Republican Party. At the conclusion of his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Statement on Signing the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Amendments Act of 1988

November 7, 1988

I have today signed H.R. 4352, an Act "to amend the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act to extend programs providing urgently needed assistance for the homeless, and for other purposes." The legislation authorizes appropriations of $633.8 million for Fiscal Year 1989 and $675.8 million for Fiscal Year 1990 for programs to assist homeless Americans. It ensures that the Federal Government, directly and through cooperative efforts with State and local governments and the private sector, can address effectively the plight of those who do not have shelter.

The funds authorized by the Act support a number of major Federal programs to assist the homeless. The Federal Emergency Management Agency's Emergency Food and Shelter Program funds the work of nonprofit organizations and local governments in providing shelter, food, and supportive services for the homeless. The Department of Housing and Urban Development's Emergency Shelter Grants Program provides funds to State and local governments for renovation of buildings for use as emergency shelters and for shelter operation. The Department's Supportive Housing Demonstration Program of grants for development of innovative approaches to providing transitional housing for homeless families with children and persons with physical or mental disabilities also will continue.

The Act authorizes funds for a program of particular importance that serves both the medical needs of the homeless and the national objective of a drug-free America—the Department of Health and Human Services's Primary Health and Substance Abuse Services Program of grants to public or private nonprofit organizations for health and substance abuse services for the homeless.

The Act expands the scope of the path-breaking Job Training Partnership Act in which the private and public sectors cooperate to assist individuals in developing marketable skills that bring economic independence. This expansion of the Job Training Partnership Act should be administered in coordination with the work arrangements of the Family Support Act of 1988 that I signed last month.

Those provisions in this Act that purport to require the heads of departments and agencies to submit legislation or recommendations to the Congress must be implemented in a manner consistent with the constitutional authority and duty of the President to recommend to the Congress from time to time "such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Also, ensuring orderly and effective representation of the interests of the United States in the courts will require implementation of section 1045 of the Act, which relates to

Arbor Day, 1907: "A people without children would face a hopeless future; a country without trees is almost as hopeless."

So, let us honor the coming 100th birthday of North Dakota and the memory of the Nation's first true environmentalist by dedicating this Centennial Bur Oak along with this White House Elm. Before the year 2000, your State will plant 100 million trees, almost half as many new trees in one State as there are Americans in the Union. May each tree add to the abundance of the good life in North Dakota, cleaner air for North America. This forestation effort is just one of 600 ambitious centennial projects North Dakotans are taking on. You are fulfilling the spirit that I call 1,000 points of light: the spirit of voluntarism, from projects to help senior citizens, to the building of local and community centers, to a memorial for the North Dakotans who fell in the war.

This year you're also honoring those who settled here before North Dakota became a State by honoring their children: the sons and daughters of the pioneers, some 3,000 strong. And let us especially remember, in word and deed, those great peoples and great cultures here well before anyone else—the Native Americans of North Dakota. These Americans knew the plains when buffalo ranged in the millions. We can learn then from a special, poignant knowledge that they taught us, that nature once violated is forever altered.

Around the world there's a growing recognition that environmental problems respect no borders. In these first few months in office we've begun to act on our own and in concert with other nations to face up to this fundamental fact. We've agreed that all nations must get together to ban CFC's [chlorofluorocarbons] and to prevent global warming. And as the world wakes us to these problems—and believe me, it is awakening—North Dakota, you're already at work planting trees that exchange carbon dioxide for fresh oxygen. What a fitting way to celebrate this magnificent centennial by getting ready for the next 100 years.

As you've shown, we do not have to accept as inevitable the spoiling of our air, our rivers, our wetlands and our forests. When North Dakotans celebrate their bicentennial, these 2 trees will be mammoth, almost 50 feet tall, as hardy and strong as the people they represent. Let them stand as a symbol of our commitment to a clean and healthy environment. May we always have the priceless resource of the outdoors for the enjoyment of our children and our children's children.

Thank you for asking me to be with you today at this wonderful celebration. I just can't tell you how moved I was when I came in from the airport to be greeted by so many of your neighbors, so many citizens of this great State. The respect for the institutions that we hold dear, in this case, the Presidency. It has nothing to do with the President—the respect for the institution was clear and evident for all to see, and I am grateful for that warm welcome.

And so, I will watch with interest and lend a hand where I can, as this tree grows and develops, just like the Peace Garden State.

Happy birthday North Dakota. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 4:35 p.m. in the Great Hall of the State capitol. Following the remarks, he participated in a tree planting ceremony on the capitol lawn. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the President traveled to San Jose, CA, where he stayed overnight.

Remarks to Employees of the Ford Aerospace Space Systems Division in Palo Alto, California

April 25, 1989

The President. Thank you, Don, very much. And my respects to our congressional representatives that are here today—Pete Wilson, our United States Senator with us today; and Congressman Campbell especially; other Members of Congress that are here—and all of you at Ford. I want to thank Don Petersen for coming from Detroit for this occasion and thank everybody involved in this visit. And I know what a logistical headache a visit like this might be. [*Laughter*] So, we promise to go on time. [*Laughter*] Thank you, gentlemen from the

Navy. And, Don, thanks for the introduction, and all of you for the generous welcome. It's a pleasure to be back in the Bay area, among friends. I'm taking a chance by quoting him in north California. But it was that noted gourmet, Dodger Manager Tommy Lasorda—[*laughter*]—who conceded——

Audience members. Oh!

The President. I knew I was taking a chance. [*Laughter*] "I'm on a seafood diet. I eat all the food I can see," he said. [*Laughter*] Well, he's not like most of us: He never met a meal he didn't like. And if you ask, he'll insist that food ranks among his most precious investments. It uplifts his performance, mentally and physically. It enhances his ability to compete and, indirectly, to keep his ball club in contention. And I'm sure you've all heard the old saying, "Never invest your money in anything that eats or needs repainting." [*Laughter*]

Well, today I want to talk briefly about a different kind of investment: investments which prize the new horizons of America's technological future; investments which can create new jobs, unlock new markets and unleash new technologies; investments, in short, which will make us more competitive and keep America number one. In a sense, this attitude is typically American. For we are, at heart, a very competitive people. We measure life by today's Dow Jones average or by how our ball club did most recently or whatever the statistic. And as Americans, we expect short-term results, and historically, we get them. Government's role is to unleash America's ambition, to make us more competitive, by pointing toward the 21st century, ensuring long-term results. The best investment in the future is to slash the Federal budget deficit. And every dollar the Government does not borrow means more capital available for sound, productive investment.

Recently I unveiled an important bipartisan budget agreement with Congress to reduce the deficit. It is but a first step, but the very fact of it was important—agreement between the executive branch and the Congress. And our accord will narrow this deficit to $99.4 billion in the fiscal year that began October 1st. And that's far below the $163 billion estimated for the current fiscal year. And now, this plan's an agreed outline. Tough talks still lie ahead. And we will resume consultations soon on a plan aimed at balancing the budget by 1993.

Think of the deficit reduction as exercise, like walking the dog every day. Believe me, I know: Exercise keeps you at the top of your game. And so will another investment to build a more competitive America, one of many that I'll be asking Congress to make. And I am talking about getting Congress to restore the capital gains differential, a step which, according to Treasury estimates, will raise $4.8 billion in new revenue.

I listen to all the criticism, and I've heard, as you have, the criticism of people who ridicule cutting the capital gains tax as somehow a tax break for the rich. Well, they couldn't be more wrong. Lower capital gains taxes will create jobs for those who don't have jobs, will help build a better America. It worked once before, and it will work again. So, I would urge everybody here to give strong support, contacting your Members of the United States Congress to help me restore the capital gains differential.

Consider, on the one hand, those countries that cripple opportunity. They know firsthand the damage caused by excessive taxation on capital gains. And then consider that our second largest trading partner, Japan, with whom you are working very closely, has taxed them little, if at all. And so, the lesson then, again, is self-evident: Restoring the capital gains differential will make America more competitive. Our plan supports reducing it to 15 percent on long-held assets. So, let us act to lift revenue, help savings, and free American businesses without distorting world markets.

You know, ordinarily, I take statistics with a grain of salt. I've seen too many of these polls. These political polls go up and down. And I guess if I'd have listened to them and gotten discouraged by them I wouldn't be standing here as President of the United States of America. But I like what Woody Hayes said—remember Woody Hayes, the coach at Ohio State? He put it best: "Statistics always remind me of the fellow who drowned in a river whose average depth was only three feet." One statistic, though,

does bear reciting. Since November 1982, nearly 20 million new jobs have been created in this country. And many have been created right here in the Silicon Valley. Well, through investments to increase competitiveness, I know that we can do even better.

For instance, we have proposed a permanent extension on the research and experimentation tax credit. America must remain in the front lines of technological innovation. And we want to actively increase domestic research by multinationals and end the uncertainty of expiring temporary rules. These steps and others can help us walk the unexplored frontiers of high technology. For high tech is potent, precise, and in the end, unbeatable.

The truth is it reminds a lot of people of the way I pitch horseshoes. Would you believe—[*laughter*]—would you believe some of the people? [*Laughter*] Would you believe our dog? [*Laughter*]

Look, I want to give the high-five symbol to high tech, and I want to do it by investing in competitiveness.

And that's why I've asked Congress for an increase of $2.4 billion for NASA [National Aeronautics and Space Administration], as it moves ahead with the space station *Freedom*. We have selected a new science adviser, and I will elevate his status. It is important that the President's science adviser have access to the President and that his views be considered in a wide array of important issues. I've also just reestablished the National Space Council, headed by the Vice President, to coordinate our future space efforts.

But we can't stop there; our future won't allow it. So, let us also invest in the Superconducting Supercollider, a bold new experiment fusing science, technology, and education. Because science is so critical, let us double the National Science Foundation budget by 1993. And let us use our own technological prowess to expand free and fair trade. I'm talking about excellence in such fields as microcomputers and superconductivity and yes, aerospace.

In aerospace, we can point to satellites whose technology is American, point with pride to that—satellites like the Superbird satellite, among the largest, 5,500 pounds. The most powerful communications satellites yet developed—5,500 pounds—that's even bigger than the 49ers' offensive line. [*Laughter*] Today America's satellites are among the most competitive spacecrafts for customers who want affordable high-powered communications satellites. And they are providing regular and cable television access, telephone lines, newspaper transmission, and other telecommunications services. And best of all, they're just a preview of the next generation of satellites. In the 21st century, they will keep America as number one.

You know—remember Satchel Paige—great black pitcher, self-proclaimed philosopher? They asked him what was the secret of his competitiveness. You remember what he said: "Don't look back. Somebody might be gaining on you." Well, Satchel, like high technology, knew that as Americans we do look ahead and not back. We always have, and we must now, more than ever. For the coming decade will see and shape a rapidly changing work force. To invest its talents will be our challenge as a nation.

According to the National Science Foundation, for instance, by the year 2000 the college-age population will have shrunk almost 20 percent. Among college-age youth, minorities will comprise one-third. And women, minorities, and immigrants will total almost two-thirds of the new entrants into the labor force. These facts demand a new investment to build a more competitive America. It's an investment different from lower capital gains taxes or more funds for space and other high tech, but it is vital. And I'm referring, of course, to child care.

At Ford Aerospace, officials are responding to changing demographics and the needs of its employees. By increasing parental options, Ford's Employee Assistance Program is helping to keep us competitive. And it is involving community agencies as child care resource referrals, like the YMCA Child Care Center in Palo Alto, approved and supported by the United Way.

Now, I salute this example. And I applaud its emphasis on choice. There are some congressional child-care initiatives, well-meaning, I am sure, but which don't reflect this emphasis. Our new child-care initiative—mine, the one that I've sent up to the Con-

gress—does. And our proposal urges a new tax credit to make child care more affordable. And it puts money in the hands of the low-income parents, limits Federal intervention, and increases options. A church can help, or grandparents or professional nursery. When it comes to child care, we say: Let the parents decide. Keep the family strong. And we must do that.

For in the end, it's decisions we come down to: decisions to say yes to child care, more funds for space and other high technology; decisions which serve the entire community—workers, investors, students, parents; decisions to invest in America so that we can create a more competitive America.

As Californians, you know what I'm talking about. You've always believed in daring, aspiring, and charting unexplored frontiers. And you look ahead, not back. And you know that nothing is impossible. And by giving of yourselves and to your country, you give lift to the American Dream.

Thank you for that. Thank you for a fascinating day in the laboratories here. Thank you for your kindness and your generosity. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 9:27 a.m. in the facility's cafeteria courtyard. He was introduced by Donald Rassier, president of Ford Aerospace Space Systems Division. Donald E. Petersen is chairman of the board of Ford Motor Co.

Remarks to Members of the Law Enforcement Community at Rancho del Rio in Orange County, California

April 25, 1989

Thank you very much, Sheriff Gates. And thank all of you, the supervisors, law enforcement community. Thank you for that warm Orange County welcome. And it's good to be here. And I'm very proud that our great Attorney General is with me, Dick Thornburgh, who's doing a superb job in this battle against drugs and against crime all across the board. Dick, welcome. To Willie von Raab, the Commissioner of the Customs, I am delighted he is here. Sheriff Gates very generously telling me of the superb cooperation between the U.S. Customs and the sheriff's office here. And that's what it's going to take if we're going to have further victories in this war.

I'm delighted to be here with Senator Pete Wilson, an outstanding leader in the Senate, a man who has been really a conscience of the Senate in terms of antinarcotics, and Mike Hayde as well. And may I pay my respects to—I know four Members of the United States Congress are here today—Bill Dannemeyer and Congressman Cox. I believe I'm a little insecure in my lines here. I think we're in Chris' district, unless we flew over it. So, I'm glad to be hosted by Congressman Cox and then Congressman Bob Dornan, Congressman Gallegly as well.

So, I'm delighted again to be here. And let me just say this: that somewhere out here are 50 undercover narcotics agents; and let me say to you, you are the unsung heroes in this war, risking your lives almost every single day behind enemy lines, if you will, to save our kids' lives. And you know who you are, and we salute you and thank you for laying your lives out there for the rest of us. All of you are fighting fierce battles in one of the largest and toughest drug markets in the country, and somebody dies every other day in Orange County as a result of drugs. I don't know how many of you have seen the visuals, the display, but there is a penetrating chart that demonstrates dramatically the amounts of lives that are lost in Orange County from narcotics. And these people that have lost their lives—they've ranged from an 82-year-old man to a 1-month-old child. It doesn't spare anyone. But you're not backing down, or you're not giving up. And that's one of the reasons I wanted to come here today. The communities here in Orange County are united. Law enforcement agencies crossed over sometimes competitive lines and banded together. And you're an example of hope, determination, and the true American spirit. You know, we won't build a better America until we win this war on drugs. And so, today I want to touch on both sides of the equation: education, to cut

off demand for drugs, and enforcement, to cut off the supply.

And I might say parenthetically that our new drug czar, Bill Bennett, former Secretary of Education, is tackling the problem on both sides of the equation; education and interdiction. And I'm just delighted that he is doing the job he is in Washington. I wish he were here with us today so I could brag on him in public.

Demand for drugs is driven by a sense of hopelessness. Last year—this is so sad—an 18-year-old member of one of these gangs, in this instance the L.A. Crips gang, was asked, "If you could change the world, how would you do it?" And he said, "I wouldn't know what to do. I wouldn't know what to change." And later he was asked, "What do you think you'll be doing in 10 years?" And he said, "I don't think I'll be alive in 10 years." And that is life without hope, without meaning. And we're looking at a desperation that money alone will never cure. We won't win this one with our wallets alone. We will only win it through our collective effort and our collective will. And that means education—cutting off demand through community involvement at all levels.

Mike Hayde and Sheriff Gates and so many others, your Drug Use Is Life Abuse program is one outstanding community awareness effort. And you've got business, government, schools, religious groups, families, and law enforcement all personally committed to halting demand. There are the students that Brad was telling me about who produced the antidrug video that runs before the movies start, the workers who roll by on a sanitation truck painted on its side "Drugs Are Garbage," and every L.A. Ram—no matter who you're for—but I commend the Rams in this one—every L.A. Ram with a Drug Use Is Life Abuse patch on his uniform, over 22,000 student athletes on teams in Orange Country who will wear the same patch. And then there's my friend, Reverend Robert Schuller, who's got churches all over the county delivering a sermon on drug abuse every 3 months, and again the students, distributing tens of thousands of cards for people to sign, making a personal commitment against drugs. And that idea came from a 16-year-old child—16-year-old girl—who says: "The only thing I own is my name. I don't take signing my name lightly." Well, I want to join her. I want to proudly sign one of these cards, too, and I hope we can after this.

So, many are getting the word out. But I'd like to enlist one other group in the L.A. area that has a special responsibility: those in the entertainment industry. Television, films, and music are a positive influence. And my advice to them, my entreaty, is: Use that influence wisely to do good. I know that many in the business are already concerned and active, but I never want to see a movie again that makes drug use into something humorous. It is time that they got behind this crusade. This community has raised your voices. You've raised your voices so effectively in the cause of so many issues. Can you not raise them once more in support of a cause so important? In the work you do and the lives you lead, help us send a strong message, the right message, to a new generation of Americans: We want a drug-free America.

You get some marvelous mail in my line of work here as President, unbelievable. I quoted one yesterday from some kid, an eighth-grader or something, who said: "Well, you've got to do better. You've got to do better on the fight against drugs and helping the environment." He wrote it on January 20th, the day I was sworn in. [*Laughter*] But nevertheless, he has a point. But here's one, a young woman: "I have a brother who has wasted time, opportunity, and finally his mind. I've watched my mother and father cry and spend years of energy and effort on their addicted son instead of themselves. I hate drugs. Drugs have virtually destroyed my family." She deserves better. We all do. With the strongest means of enforcement we can devise, we must disarm, dismantle, and destroy the drug market in America.

You heard Brad Gates, the sheriff, tell us something of the history of this ground that we stand on. It was the core of an international marijuana and cocaine smuggling ring. How many lives, how many families, how many hopes and dreams have been destroyed with these chemical weapons of death and destruction—drugs? Death bought and sold by the ton—this operation had commercial packing equipment, under-

ground storage vaults, large vans with hidden compartments, jet aircraft, ocean-going vessels. Once a warehouse of death, now it is a source of hope. Rancho del Rio has been reclaimed. Thanks to the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984, pushed through by your former Congressman, Dan Lungren, we can now seize drug dealers' assets and use them in the war on drugs. And this is the first piece of forfeited drug property turned over for use by local officials in Orange County. It's going to serve as an International Narcotics Training Center and as a reminder to these merchants of death: Your money won't help you; in fact, we're going to use it against you.

So, what you see on these tables behind us is over $4 million—line up—[*laughter*]—$4 million of laundered drug money recently seized by U.S. Customs and the Regional Narcotics Suppression Program in Operation Shackle. And today I'd like to formally turn these funds over to Sheriff Gates to help fund the Rancho del Rio project. I hope that all of you can help make this project a reality. I'm also pleased to present another $6 million in drug money—confiscated through a joint DEA [Drug Enforcement Administration]-local sting operation in California and Arizona—to fund more effective, cooperative efforts between local, State, and Federal enforcement agencies. This money then, totaling $10 million, is the bounty of defeated drug criminals. And we won't stop until we nail every coward who deals in death and put them where they belong.

Now, you have had outstanding results over the last 2 years, thanks to the team efforts of local, State, and Federal agents: nearly 40 million in cash confiscated, the equivalent of 9 million injections of heroin and 38 million doses of cocaine seized. And that's 15 doses for every man, woman, and child in Orange County. Do we need any other reason than that to win this war? Let these funds go then to fighting the war they once financed. Let us raise awareness and build strength through a constellation of concerned Americans in every town, city, and community in this country. And let us send a message, loud and clear, to every drug merchant in America: You're going to be out of business. That is our message. That is my message to you today. Keep up the good work and continue to set an example for the rest of our great country.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 12:23 p.m. outside of the main ranch house. He was introduced by Orange County Sheriff Brad Gates. In his remarks, he referred to Michael K. Hayde, president of Drug Use Is Life Abuse, a nonprofit support group of the Orange County Sheriff's Advisory Council. Rev. Robert Schuller is pastor of the Crystal Cathedral in Orange County, CA. Prior to his remarks, the President toured the facility, and following his remarks, he attended a working luncheon in the ranch house with law enforcement officers.

Remarks to Members of the Spanish-American Community in Los Angeles, California

April 25, 1989

Thank you very much. And, Mr. Schwartz—Murray, thank you, sir, for the warm welcome back to this campus, and I am so delighted to be here. This is a nonpartisan appearance. And therefore I will resist any partisan commentary except to make note that it was here—not in this very room, but right on this campus—Murray Schwartz referring to my last visit here that was highly politicized, perhaps one of the most dramatic moments in our whole campaign cycle, but certainly in my life. And so, I have a feeling, a good feeling, and very pleased to be welcomed back by two people who give so much to UCLA [University of California at Los Angeles].

I would just give a word of welcome to all of you. And I'm delighted to salute UCLA, one of our great universities. I would simply say that expressing gratitude is not always easy. But I do want to express my gratitude for this warm reception. I had a chance to meet with some of the organizers early on to tell them how grateful I am for this wonderful get-together on relatively short notice.

2. Pursuant to section 1121 of the 1988 Act, the tariff provisions necessary to give effect to the Nairobi Protocol were enacted in terms of the provisions of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202). However, because of the repeal of the TSUS and the enactment of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States (HTS), effective on January 1, 1989, and pursuant to section 1204 of the 1988 Act (19 U.S.C. 3004), it is necessary to provide for the equivalent tariff treatment in the HTS of the articles covered by section 1121.

3. Section 1204(b) of the 1988 Act directs the President to proclaim such modifications to the HTS as are necessary or appropriate to implement the applicable provisions of statutes enacted, executive actions taken, and final judicial decisions rendered after January 1, 1988, and before the effective date of the HTS.

4. Section 604 of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2483), as amended, authorized the President to embody in the HTS the substance of the provisions of that act, of other acts affecting import treatment, and of actions taken thereunder.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including but not limited to sections 1121 and 1204 of the 1988 Act and section 604 of the Trade Act of 1974, do proclaim that:

(1) The HTS is modified as provided in the annex to this proclamation.

(2) The amendments to the HTS made by this proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after May 30, 1989.

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

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:22 a.m., May 16, 1989*]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 15. The annex to the proclamation will be printed in the Federal Register of May 17.

Remarks at the National Peace Officers' Memorial Day Ceremony

May 15, 1989

Thank you, Suzy. If it doesn't start clearing up, we're issuing snorkels to everybody out there. [*Laughter*] Thank you, Suzy Sawyer, and of course, to Dewey Stokes and Craig Floyd, my respects as well. You have great leadership, and I salute them. I want to say how pleased I am that the Secretary of the Treasury is with me, Nick Brady; our Attorney General, the able Dick Thornburgh; and our drug czar, Secretary Bill Bennett. The fact that we four are here is intentional. It sends the signal of our commitment and of our interest. And I know Members of Congress are here as well. I spotted my own Senator, Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, and Senator Pete Wilson. But I'm going to be in trouble because I can't see over there—who else is there. But I know many are sitting right over here, and we salute them. I see Senator Ford and others. And we're just delighted that they are here today.

Last fall a retired New York police lieutenant gave me badge number 14072, and I have it with me today—the badge his son wore the day he was gunned down by a gang of cocaine cowards. Matt Byrne asked me to keep Eddie's badge as a "reminder of all the brave police officers who put their lives on the line for us every single day." Matt, your son's badge, as I have told you, is kept in my desk at the Oval Office. And during the debate on gun-related violence that has raged in this country the past several months, neither it nor what it represents has ever been far from my mind. I've heard the many voices, the courageous and the compassionate, the wounded and the widowed, and I salute the survivors that are here today.

We gather today to respond to those voices and to honor the fallen by launching a national strategy, a partnership with America's cities and States, to take back the streets. It calls for a return to common

sense. And it begins with a clear-eyed vision of the kind of problems we face, the kind of people we are, the kind of values that we hold, and the kind of nation we intend to bequeath to our children.

The problem is violent crime, and in particular, the blood that's been shed by increasingly sophisticated guns in the hands of a new class of criminals. Usually, but not always, the deaths are tied to a cycle of dollars and drugs and dependency. The principles are simple. My generation well remembers what some believe was FDR's finest speech: The "Four Freedoms," an address to a joint session of the Congress. And the last, often forgotten, but arguably the most fundamental of those freedoms was simply this: freedom from fear. Our sworn duty to "insure domestic Tranquility" is as old as the Republic, placed in the Constitution's preamble even before the common defense and the general welfare. And so, when we ask what kind of society the American people deserve, our goal must be a nation in which law-abiding citizens are safe and feel safe.

To achieve this goal, people must be held accountable for their actions, and that's common sense. Most Americans are law-abiding, and most believe that there is such a thing as right and wrong, good and evil. And whether it's the brutalization of a young runner in a park or terrorizing a young man on to a crowded highway, these are acts that cannot be excused or explained away. A common sense approach to crime means that if we're going to affect people's behavior we must have a criminal justice system in which there is an expectation that if you commit a crime you will be caught; and if caught, you will be prosecuted; and if convicted, you will do time. For far too long, a privileged class of violent and repeat offenders have calculated that crime really does pay, that our criminal justice system is a crapshoot where the risks are worth the rewards. Well, it's time we change the odds and up the stakes enormously.

And we will lead the way. We'll do our part and then some. But no Federal effort can succeed without the full partnership of the cities and the States that you so nobly represent. Unfortunately, nowhere is your front-line role more evident than in the honor roll that will be read today: of 161 officers killed in the line of duty last year, 152 were State or local cops. And you are the first line of defense, and your respective governments have an obligation to adopt tough legislation and provide the resources—in police, prosecutors, and prisons—to fully back you up.

At the trial of Eddie Byrne's executioners, there was testimony that the hit was ordered from prison to send a message to the people behind the badge. And one witness said that they hoped to see the attack on the television news at Riker's Island. Well, today we have a message of our own: We're going to take back the streets by taking criminals off the streets. And it is an attack on all four fronts: new laws to punish them, new agents to arrest them, new prosecutors to convict them, and new prisons to hold them.

I am announcing today—and there is no more fitting place than right here—a comprehensive new offensive for combating violent crime—for Eddie Byrne, for every officer we honor here today, and for America. The first front of this campaign, new laws, starts with the semiautomatic and so-called assault weapons that criminals have taken as their gun of choice. And again, common sense has to play an important part in this discussion. The fact of the matter is, nearly half the households in this country have guns, and guns are already out there. And the overwhelming majority are legitimately owned for legitimate purposes. But in contrast to legitimate gun ownership is the chilling fact that something like 80 percent of all firearms used by felons are stolen or otherwise unlawfully obtained. Throughout our nation's history, the hard lesson we've learned is that criminals will get guns. And so, let me be very clear about our response: The right to own a gun is not a license to harm others.

And so, first I am calling on Congress today to do for dangerous firearms what it has wisely done for dangerous drugs: to double the mandatory minimum penalties for the use of semiautomatic weapons in crimes involving violence or drugs. And the math is simple. Anyone who uses a semiautomatic for crime, or so much as has one on them during a crime, will do an auto-

matic 10 extra years in Federal prison. No probation. No parole. No matter which judge they get.

And secondly, we just can't plea bargain away the lives of your loved ones, the lives of our cops and kids. And I'm directing the Attorney General to advise America's prosecutors to end plea bargaining for violent Federal firearms offenses. Those who use guns will do time—hard time.

And third, when a criminal carries a gun and someone dies, they must pay with their own lives. We are calling on Congress today to enact the steps necessary to implement the death penalty and to newly designate the use of a firearm as an aggravating factor for determining whether the death sentence should be imposed.

And I call on America's Governors to match this Federal initiative and propose these same three standards at home: mandatory time, no deals without cooperation, and the death penalty where appropriate. Your States owe it to those here today, and to the American people.

And fourth, 2 months ago, at my direction, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms suspended the importation of certain so-called assault weapons. ATF is continuing its examination to determine which, if any, of those weapons are not acceptable under standards in existing law. And at the conclusion of this study, and after careful consideration, we will permanently ban any imports that don't measure up to these standards.

Recently the U.S. News cover story on guns summed up a related challenge: "the difficulty in drafting laws that will separate assault weapons used in crime from semiautomatics frequently used for legitimate hunting and sport." And there is substantial controversy and debate on this point. You're all well aware of that. But one thing that we do know about these assault weapons is that they are invariably equipped with unjustifiably large magazines. The notorious AKS–47, for example, comes with a magazine that pumps off 30 explosive bullets without reloading. And that is why—fifth—we stand on the steps here in front of the Capitol and ask its support for legislation prohibiting the importation, manufacture, sale, or transfer of these insidious gun magazines of more than 15 rounds.

The current debate was first sparked when an unstable gunman in Stockton, California, purchased an AKS–47 over the counter and used it to lay waste to an elementary school playground. Patrick Edward Purdy had no business buying that gun. He was arrested on his first weapons charge before his 15th birthday. And by his fourth firearms arrest, Purdy had finally turned 18, and with it chalked up the first of two adult convictions. Although for violent and weapons offenses, both convictions were misdemeanors. Purdy crawled through the loophole that bars only felons from buying guns and got that deadly AKS–47. That is outrageous.

And therefore, we also propose that Congress close this Purdy loophole and others like it that allow deadly weapons to fall into deadly hands. Again, that's just plain common sense. We must not allow deadly weapons to fall into deadly hands. But we need to do more than just enact new laws. And in a recent movie about the L.A. gang wars, a woman shouts encouragement to a cop on patrol, telling him: "You get them off the street." And he answers: "Lady, we're trying." And the woman offers a four word solution: "You need more help." And believe me, we know it. Our police need more help. And I'm here today to tell you that we're prepared to match rhetoric with resources and call on our cities and States to do the same.

The second front, if you will, of our new offensive calls for increased manpower and a new strategy on guns, a strategy based on models of proven effectiveness. I have directed the Attorney General and the Treasury Secretary, working together with State and local enforcement, to launch a comprehensive, coordinated offensive against our nation's most violent criminals. And I am requesting funding for hiring 825 new Federal agents and staff—375 at ATF, 300 at the FBI, and 150 Deputy U.S. Marshals. Many of these hirings will permit experienced investigators from all three agencies to promptly combat violent crime in the field.

Of course, arresting these thugs doesn't help if we don't have the muscle to prosecute each criminal to the fullest extent of the law. And that's why the third front of

this campaign calls for Congress to back up these new troops with 1,600 new prosecutors and staff. And now, there probably isn't a police officer here who hasn't seen a case where a dangerous felon—properly arrested, fully prosecuted, and sentenced to the maximum—walked out of jail early, sometimes years early, because prisons are bursting at the seams. That is not right.

Part of our common sense approach is a simple recognition that it doesn't do any good to provide new Federal agents, new assistant U.S. Attorneys, and new laws with long-term penalties if we don't have the prison cells to keep criminals where they belong. A chain is only as strong as its weakest link. And so, as the fourth front in this comprehensive effort, I am calling on the Congress to authorize an additional $1 billion, over and above the $500 million already slated for 1990, for Federal prison construction. These 24,000 new beds will boost Federal prison capacity by nearly 80 percent.

Not since Lincoln has a President stood in front of the Capitol and been just a few miles from the front lines of a war, never was the toll more visible than in the faces of the brave men and women, the families, gathered here today. And when I first stood here as President, over there, only moments after taking the oath of office, I made a promise: "This scourge will stop." And that's a promise that we intend to keep. Ladies and gentlemen, I offer my condolences for your fallen loved ones and for your fellow officers. And I salute your commitment, and I salute your courage, and as a citizen—grateful for the protection you have provided for me and my family and my fellow countrymen. I thank you, and I wish you Godspeed.

Thank you all, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:29 p.m. on the West Front of the Capitol. In his opening remarks, he referred to Suzy Sawyer, executive director of the Fraternal Order of Police Ladies Auxiliary; Dewey Stokes, national president of the Fraternal Order of Police; and Craig Floyd, president of the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund.

White House Fact Sheet on Combating Violent Crime

May 15, 1989

The President outlined today a comprehensive program to combat violent crime. The program is designed to strengthen the Nation's criminal justice system and the Federal, State, and local law enforcement partnership. The program is grounded in the President's belief that greater certainty of apprehension, prosecution, and punishment will help deter crimes of violence. It includes proposals to strengthen current Federal, State, and local laws, to step up enforcement and to hold perpetrators of crimes fully accountable for their actions.

The President is proposing a common sense approach to crime with initiatives to limit access to weapons by criminals, to reform the criminal justice system, to enhance enforcement and prosecution, and to expand prison capacity to ensure both the certainty and severity of punishment.

Fundamental Principles

Four principles underlie the goals of our criminal justice system and the means for accomplishing them.

- A primary purpose of government is to protect citizens and their property. Americans deserve to live in a society in which they are safe and feel secure.
- Those who commit violent criminal offenses should, and must, be held accountable for their actions.
- Our criminal justice system must have as its objective the swift and certain apprehension, prosecution, and incarceration of those who break the law.
- Success in accomplishing our criminal justice system goals requires a sustained, cooperative effort by Federal, State, and local law enforcement authorities.

The President today proposed a comprehensive four-part program to strengthen current laws, enhance enforcement and apprehension of criminals, facilitate prosecutions, and expand Federal prison capacity.

the United States of America the two hundred and fourteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:56 p.m., October 20, 1989*]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 20.

Exchange With Reporters During a Tour of the Earthquake Damage in Oakland, California

October 20, 1989

Q. Mr. President, what's your impression?

The President. Well, I'm deeply moved by this, deeply moved by it. Sad in some ways, and yet very stimulated by the team effort. You heard from the Congressmen, from the Governor, from Senator Wilson, from the mayor. And then you start talking to the local officials, the police officials and the sheriff's department, and the Red Cross. God bless the volunteers and our military. I'm very proud just of what I'm told by the officials—the military just pitching in and doing.

And so, you have feelings of contradiction: one of great sadness and one of genuine appreciation for the way this community is pulling together—this area of the State and, I'd say, the country. I think you've got a lot of people out there rooting for you. You've got a lot of them rooting for you. We'll see what we can do to be a part of the answer.

Note: The President spoke at 11:51 a.m. near Interstate 880. Touring the site with the President were Representatives Ronald V. Dellums, Tom Lantos, and George Miller; Gov. George Deukmejian; Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy; San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos; Alameda Mayor Chuck Corica; Oakland Mayor Lionel J. Wilson; and State Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Jr. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Exchange With Reporters During a Tour of the Earthquake Damage in Santa Cruz, California

October 20, 1989

Q. Can you tell us a little bit about what you think you're able to do? We know you've heard a lot about money today. You've heard billions—different figures. Give us some sense of what you can do.

The President. Well, I think that FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency] will move very rapidly. I asked them to work closely with the local authorities—the Governor [George Deukmejian] on to the mayors—to get a figure. But in the meantime, the main thing is that there not be a lull.

I've been very pleased with what I'm told is extraordinary cooperation. And it's not just the Federal role cooperating. It's the State. It's the county. It's the volunteers. God bless those volunteers—when you hear that there's an enormous Red Cross effort in this relatively small community, just an outpouring.

I'll tell you one very touching thing was that this town, this community, spent $18,000 just in volunteer contributions to South Carolina just a handful of weeks ago. And here they are stricken. And I hope that the American people will respond with exactly the same compassion that this community showed to a State all the way across the country.

And so, for me, the lessons are manifold. I guess the most emotional thing was talking to the father—well, first to the doctors and then to the father of the little boy whose life was saved on the crushed freeway when the doctors went in and had to amputate his leg to get him out to the hospital. And I talked to the dad and talked to the doctor. And so, there's this human dimension that's brought home much more clearly by coming here.

But in terms of what it will cost, I don't know. But the Federal Government will work with these other entities—the government entities private entities—to see that the suffering is alleviated and restoration begins. And I'm confident that that will happen. I was talking to Senator Wilson and Governor Deukmejian coming over here,

these devastated areas. And first, I'd like to ask the Governor of the State to say a word, and then our Senator, Pete Wilson, a brief comment by our Secretary of Transportation. The FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency] leader, Mr. Grant Peterson, is with us, too, to take your questions. And then I'll just have a comment at the end.

Governor Deukmejian. Well, from the very beginning, all of the governmental agencies have been working very cooperatively together. And they have met the immediate emergency response needs. And we are just delighted that the President not only has sent Secretary of Transportation Samuel Skinner out here earlier in the week but now that he, as the President, has come here himself today.

And on behalf of all of the people in California, on behalf of all of the local government officials, as well as the people who have been working night and day to be of assistance, we want to express our deep appreciation to you, Mr. President, for coming out here to take a firsthand look and for your pledge of all-out support by the Federal agencies as we go forward now and try to get peoples' lives back to some semblance of normalcy.

Senator Wilson. Mr. President, we are enormously grateful to you for taking the time and making the effort to come out and personally visit and see the site of the tragic, tragic earthquake and to make clear the compassion that you have demonstrated to these crowds this morning. I think their reaction to you indicates their gratitude and speaks volumes. We are very grateful for the fact that you have pledged your support. The cooperation has been extraordinary. And as you have learned yourself firsthand today by visiting with the rescue workers, volunteers, as well as the professionals from both State and local governments, these are people of whom we are very proud.

This is a tragedy, but is has brought out the very best—the people of California—especially those here in the bay area. And we are very grateful that you could take time to come, sir, and see it yourself.

The President. I've asked Congressman Norm Mineta, who has been asked by the Speaker to coordinate matters for this large California delegation and the interests of that delegation, to say a word here.

Congressman?

Representative Mineta. Thank you very much, Mr. President. We are really gratified that you have taken the time to be here. Despite the human tragedy that you have been able to see and experience on this visit, we know that in terms of the long-term aspects the transportation disaster is going to be one that's going to have to be overcome. The fact that you have recognized that and sent Secretary Skinner out here to see this so that we might be able to make those kinds of preparations to get everything back into order is something that we are heartened by. And from my perspective as chairman of the committee that deals with highways and bridges and mass transit, Mr. President, I pledge you my support in terms of cooperation in order to get the job done.

Thank you very much.

The President. Well, I'd be glad to take some questions. But I will simply repeat that this matter is of national concern. I want to be sure to properly salute those volunteer agencies and those individuals that are giving of themselves just because they care, they love somebody. And that made an impression on me today, seeing those Red Cross workers. At the last stop, there were five paid Red Cross workers and, I think they said, 1,000 volunteers—or maybe it was 100. But in any event, just manyfold people working and helping out.

The most touching moment—I was asked about that at the last stop—when this doctor, this marvelously heroic doctor, and his associate told me of pulling a kid out and having to amputate his leg to get him out of this crushed car. And then I had the opportunity to talk to the dad who was at the bedside of this 6-year-old boy. And I had a chance to tell him that the American people were rooting for him, to tell his dad that we all care. And there's 1,000 of those kinds of incidents, I'm sure, that I'm not even aware of.

But it's been a very moving day, and we do want to help.

Q. Mr. President, now that you've seen the devastation, is this the kind of a cause

state-of-the-art advanced computers. The time has come for redistricting reform. And we've got to end the charade of that Phil Burton Democratic gerrymandering that has deprived this State of fair representation.

Look, unlike the Democrats, we don't need gerrymandering because Republicans can win on the issues. You heard Duke say it. In fact, we can put the Democrats out of business—on the issues. Look at what this Governor's Republican administration has accomplished since 1983: the unemployment rate was 11, cut to 5.2 percent; 2.7 million new jobs created in this great State. The list keeps growing: 14 new and expanded prisons open in 1991, education funding more than doubled, drug education now included in every school from grades four to eight. California now has some of the toughest environmental laws in the nation, with thousands of acres of sensitive lands acquired and preserved. And thanks to common-sense policies and strong leadership, California is better off than it ever has been. Let's keep it that way. Let's keep it Republican, and let's elect Pete Wilson next November to be Governor of this great State.

Unfortunately, Pete couldn't join us tonight. He's in Washington—a crucial vote in the Senate on education. I appreciate his work, for he's a proven winner—and the voters know it. And he's a strong environmentalist, a leader of the war on drugs, key member of our team in the United States Senate. And believe me, we'll miss Senator Wilson, but come to think of it, I really like the sound of Governor Pete Wilson. You know Pete will be leading a solid team of candidates for State office to victory, and with him they'll be the ones to keep the taxes low, the environment clean and the economy strong. People say I'm a cautious guy, and I can understand that—well, I really can't understand it. I'm going to go out on a limb tonight and make a prediction: 1990 will be a great year for the Golden State because Pete Wilson will be your next Governor. So my plea, in the tradition of Ronald Reagan and George Deukmejian, let's keep California great and keep it Republican.

Barbara and I are delighted to be with you. Thank you for what you're doing for this party, thank you for what you're doing for the campaign for Governor and the other statewide races. Thank you all, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:26 p.m. in the L.A. Ballroom at the Century Plaza Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Frank Visco, chairman of the California Republican Party, and Tommy Lasorda, manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Nomination of Admiral Frank B. Kelso II To Be Chief of Naval Operations

February 7, 1990

The President today announced his intention to nominate Adm. Frank B. Kelso II, USN, to be Chief of Naval Operations. He would succeed Adm. Carlisle A.H. Trost, whose term expires June 30, 1990.

Admiral Kelso is presently serving as commander in chief, United States Atlantic Command and supreme allied commander, Atlantic. Previously he was commander in chief, U.S. Atlantic Fleet, 1986–1988, and commander, 6th Fleet, 1985–1986. Admiral Kelso graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1956. He was born July 11, 1933, in Fayetteville, TN.

Remarks to the Staff of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in San Francisco, California

February 7, 1990

Thank you, Mr. Nuckolls and Dr. Wood, of course, Secretary Watkins, our Secretary of Energy, in whom I have great confidence and who is my trusted adviser on matters that affect your lives on a day-to-day basis. I'm delighted to be here. And I'm told that my visit represents a milestone, a rare phenomenon: one of the very few presentations without a viewgraph. [*Laughter*]

But before I speak about the programs I've just seen at Livermore Labs, I want to say something about the people here, about