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

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**OA/ID Number:** 13780  
**Folder ID Number:** 13780-007

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**Folder Title:**  
National Republican Congressional Committee 11/12/91 [OA 8319]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>

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Susan Dawson

(Smith/Grossman)  
November 12, 1991  
Draft Four  
NRCC

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NRCC LUNCHEON 12:00  
HOTEL  
CAPITAL HILTON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1991

Barbara Morris-Lent -- congratulations on today's <sup>lunch</sup> dinner. /  
Ken Kies, chairman of the President's Forum. / Chairman of the  
NRCC -- my good friend Guy Vander Jagt, and his wife Carol. /  
Let me also salute your co-chairman, and another son of Michigan  
-- Spencer Abraham, along with his wife and NRCC comrade in arms  
(literally), Jane. / It's exciting to see you all. // Of  
course, <sup>so many</sup> more than eighty Republican members of the House. //  
Above all, I want to thank each of you for your support of the  
National Republican Congressional Committee. //

This is the third straight year I have participated in this  
event sponsored by the NRCC. The first was held to honor that  
great Son of Illinois, House Republican Leader Bob Michel. Last  
year, we honored the ranking Republican members of the House. //

There's a Latin phrase, primus inter pares -- it means "First  
among equals." Today, we honor men and women who are all first  
among equals -- every single GOP member of the House of  
Representatives. //

I begin with a news flash, and a pledge. ((There's a lot of  
speculation about when I'll make an official announcement about  
running in 1992, so I guess today is as good a time as any. //

Milly

Mike Milligan

Dr. King's latin dict.

you're doing  
-- Bob's great  
job.  
the republic  
For members  
three  
years in  
a row  
you've  
sustained  
every veto  
ever  
sent  
back

I'm following a regimen that'll have me running two miles a day, and four on weekends.)) //

((Now the pledge: I'm not going to speak for long. You have to get back to your jobs -- and I have to get back to my reading. // Recently, I began Mikhail Gorbachev's book about the overthrow in Moscow. / Of course, the book I'm really waiting for is about the overthrow in the New Jersey legislature.)) //

I am here to say: Today New Jersey, tomorrow the Congress. // If democracy can come to Moscow, it can come to the House of Representatives. / Of course, the Democrats won't just roll over. We will have to take our <sup>sold</sup> fight and our <sup>Solo</sup> issues to the people. But the times are right / and our policies are right. Americans want to liberate themselves from the tired old ~~ideas~~ of the liberal elite, and get a chance to make the American Dream a reality -- in the workplace, at home, in the schools, and on the streets. //

Let's talk about a few of the issues that separate Republicans from the other party. First, the economy. //

Americans want more growth / more jobs / more prosperity. We want to help those who have lost their jobs. We want to help them get new jobs -- better jobs. //

For months, I have pressed Congress to pass a growth package. But liberal Democrats like the old ways and old days. And they seem determined to delay / distort / and destroy our programs. For months they fiddled while recession loomed. <sup>when they</sup> ~~Now,~~ <sup>arrived</sup> ~~we have a~~ recession -- <sup>went</sup> and Democrats seem more interested in

playing the tired old game of class warfare than in appealing to people's abilities and ambitions.

Go to the industrial Midwest. They will tell you America deserves better than liberals who won't even permit a vote on our capital gains tax cut. / Travel to the small towns of Vermont. Ask if they think economic growth should be blocked by one-party control of Congress. / The liberals continue to demagogue on the economy -- exploiting people's misery in order to hustle a few votes. We waited two months for an unemployment insurance bill. Liberal leaders evidently believed that it made "good politics" to train a spotlight on people's misery, instead of stepping forward and helping them. They decided to foment economic insecurity and to foster animosity across race and income lines. America deserves better. //

MM Since 1956, Democrats have controlled the House. Because they have been unaccountable, they have become irresponsible. // Liberals don't seem to understand that Federal money is your money, not theirs. And they don't seem to believe that the law of the land also ought to apply to the lawmakers. // ((Everyone here knows that with all the pious talk by some Democrats on sexual harrasment -- the Senate, as that debate went on, had exempted itself from the very sexual harrasment laws everyone else has to live by)) Well, they can't exempt themselves from responsibility -- and our chief duty now is to stop carping and start taking common-sense steps to get the economy moving.

Democrats have spent enough time stimulating economic fear. The American people deserve hope -- and action. //

I'll be more specific. Today, I challenge Congressional Democrats to pass our growth package: A cut in the capital gains tax rate, banking reform, personal savings incentives, the creation of a permanent R&D tax credit, and increased investment in science, technology, and infrastructure. //

To the fear-mongers<sup>sp?</sup> in the House and Senate, I say: If you really care about fairness, think about this. Able, willing men and women want jobs -- but they don't have them because <sup>Sold/Used</sup> Congress thinks that prosperity might help the <sup>entire population</sup> rich. They focus on creating enemies, rather than on creating jobs. Here's fairness: jobs for people who want to work, and tax rates that let them keep the lion's share of their hard-earned money. //

((All of this reminds me of that old joke -- you know what you get when you play country music backwards? You get your job back, your wife back, your dog back . . . Well, you know what you get when you throw the Democrats out of Congress? You get your job back, your pride back, your country back.)) ///

Republicans know that prosperity comes not from the growth of government -- but from the growth of opportunity. When someone wants a job, they don't apply to George Mitchell. They rely on people who make a product, meet a payroll, and try to build toward greatness, one step at a time. So let's restore some common sense to economic policy -- and let's demand passage of our growth package.

You don't have to look far to understand that the American people want a change. They think something has gone rotten in Washington, and they're right. On important business, this town has shut down, and we can get it moving again only by electing Republican majorities to the House and Senate.

You've heard that great moderate, Teddy Kennedy, say we don't have a domestic agenda. What he really means is we don't have his domestic agenda. // We never will have his agenda as long as I am President. // I am not going to do to America what ~~L~~liberals have done to the cause of good government. //

The Democrats' stall strategy has gone on long enough. Think, for a moment, about Bob Gates. For four months, the Democratic Congress held up his nomination. //

<sup>Think of</sup>  
Remember Clarence Thomas. He went through a living purgatory because he dared think for himself. But do you know what? There came a moment when he stopped <sup>right word?</sup> [pandering] and talked about his beliefs. At that moment, his would-be Inquisitors just plain vanished -- looked down at their desks, tapped their fingers nervously. Congress tried to replace the policy of advise and consent with the politics of search and destroy. // But they learned the hard way that one tactic always wins: the truth -- plain, unrepentant, defiant. If we do one thing next year, let's restore civility and tolerance to American politics. Help me elect Republicans who will bring decency and fair play back to the United States Congress. //

Larry Lindsey remains a hostage to special interests on the Hill. Here we have important economic business to do, and liberal Democrats just want to stall -- even on a key appointment to the Federal Reserve Board. The liberal Democrats use the tired old device of the Senatorial hold -- and in the process they put our economy in a stranglehold.

Listen to these facts. // On March 20, I sent banking reform legislation to Congress. That was <sup>249</sup>238 days ago. No bill. / On March 11, I sent Congress crime legislation to take hoods off the streets. That was <sup>253</sup>247 days ago. No bill. // On March 4, I sent up energy legislation. That was <sup>260</sup>254 days ago -- no bill. // On February 13, up went our transportation legislation. That was <sup>279</sup>273 days ago -- you guessed it, no bill. //

Call Army  
Harris  
w. Harris

[[For two years Congress has blocked attempts to support a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our schools. ]] // For two years I've prodded Congress to pass our Educational Excellence Act -- and over the last six months our America 2002 program. All of us know America's schools aren't making the grade. // We need <sup>to elect</sup> more Republicans so that Congress won't continue to flunk the test. //

In each case, Democrats have pandered to special interests. NEA -- NOW -- ACLU -- the soft-on-crime crowd -- and, yes, that misnamed group, People for the American Way. // Our interests are different. We are concerned about America's interests. Nowhere is that more true than in foreign policy.

Most <sup>L</sup>liberals never met a defense cut they didn't like. Remember all the talk about a "peace dividend?" If we had invested that dividend a year ago, the world would be <sup>a far more</sup> ~~at war.~~ <sup>dangerous</sup> ~~place~~

Think of liberal Democrats <sup>sp.</sup> over the last 20 years. They were wrong about the Mayaguez / wrong about the Shah of Iran / they were wrong about the peaceniks, freeznicks, and wrong about Peace Through Strength. They were wrong about Libya / wrong about Grenada / wrong as you can be about the Strategic Defense Initiative. // Talk about a gang who, literally, can't shoot straight. // If we had followed the Democrats' advice, Saddam Hussein would be in Saudi Arabia as I speak.

Now, they're at it again. They want me to ignore my own responsibilities in the area of foreign policy, as if Americans had no stake in the rest of the world -- as if this great melting pot of ours had no ties to our ancestral homes.

When I work to crack <sup>foreign</sup> protectionism to create more American jobs and economic growth, is that foreign or domestic policy?

When drugs threatened our very survival as a people, I went to Columbia to protect the lives of our children. Is <sup>enemies</sup> ~~stopping~~ <sup>the tide of drugs</sup> ~~drug abuse~~ foreign or domestic?

When a brutal tyrant invaded Kuwait -- we helped roll back aggression and liberate a land. Was this victory foreign or domestic? Desert Storm made America a better place. I am proud of our troops. They made ours a better world. //

There's a Texas saying, "Dance with the one who brung you." Our policies have helped bring America to peace and democracy

undreamt of in human history. // Let us take this message to  
America: If you like what we've done abroad, elect more  
Republicans and we'll do the same at home. //

We don't demagogue. We deliver. // We don't posture. We  
produce. With your support, we can produce a great victory for  
Republicans, and for America. //

Thank you for your prayers and your help. Together, let's  
do even more in the months ahead. Let's set off our own  
Revolution in 1992, and usher in the era of new ideas -- and real  
solutions. Let's make 1992 the Year of the Republican, so that  
we can kick off an Age of Opportunity. // Thank you. God bless  
you, and the United States of America.

# # # #

n

① for 31 yrs demo have controlled the street

② have controlled house since '55

244

253

266

279

③ our bus stop is out "   
 ④ bus use is down "

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE  
UNTIL 12:35 P.M. EST  
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1991

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT NRCC PRESIDENTIAL FORUM LUNCHEON

Capital Hilton Hotel  
Washington, DC

November 19, 1991

This is the third straight year I have participated in this event sponsored by the NRCC. The first honored that great son of Illinois, House Republican Leader Bob Michel. Last year, we honored the Ranking Republican members of the House. Today, we honor men and women who are all first among equals -- every single GOP member of the House of Representatives.

I am here to say: Today New Jersey, tomorrow the Congress. Of course, the Democrats won't just roll over. We will have to take our fight and our issues to the people. But the times are right and our policies are right. Americans want to free themselves from the tired old ideas of the liberal elite, and get a chance to make the American dream a reality in the workplace, at home, in the schools, and on the streets.

Let's talk about a few of the issues that separate Republicans from the other party. First, the economy. For more than a decade, we Republicans have created growth, opportunity, and prosperity. We presided over the longest peacetime expansion in American history -- since 1981, 17 million new jobs. Yet a record is not something to rest upon. It's something to build upon. We have to take common-sense steps to get our economy moving again. People are hurting and our approach, if Congress would have acted, would alleviate that hurt.

As you might know, our long-term growth strategy is founded on several elements: First, we know we've got to get that deficit down. We've got a budget agreement that puts the squeeze on federal spending. Let's abide by it. We've got to keep inflation under control, as it is right now. We've got to sustain the policies that helped bring interest rates to these historic low levels.

We've also got to keep American business competitive: slash red tape and regulations wherever possible -- draw the line against government mandates that handcuff the American entrepreneur. Competitiveness means real tort reform -- capping obscene liability awards. As a nation, we've got to make good on our commitment to quality education and job training, to ensure a workforce ready for the challenges a new century will bring.

Finally, we've got to make certain American businesses compete on an equal footing and that means a government committed to the principles of free and fair trade. We have taken the free trade message to Japan and to the European Community. Closer to home, we've won fast track authority for a North American Free Trade Agreement linking the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. I reject -- unequivocally -- the quicksand of protectionism. Instead, our forward-looking initiatives create new markets for American products and new jobs for American markets.

I'm confident our long-term strategy is on target. But there are steps we've got to take right now. We begin with the overhaul of our antiquated bank system. Every one of you knows how the problems in our banking system plague this economy. So in March, I sent to Congress the first comprehensive bank reform since the 1930's. It's time the Congress enacts real reform.

The same goes for other key proposals. For three years now, I've proposed a package of growth initiatives -- not just capital gains but incentives to encourage saving, like our family savings accounts; increased incentives for R&D to help keep American business competitive; measures to help first-time buyers tap their IRA's to buy that new home; and enterprise zones to unleash the urban entrepreneur. Each one of these initiatives help the economy.

No one knows better than I the state of that economy. I've seen it in people's eyes -- felt it in their hurt. I know what the loss of jobs can mean to dreams, and lives. So I was pleased to reach agreement with Congress on extending unemployment benefits to people in need. We got this done by vetoing the Democrats' budget busting approach -- finally getting legislation that helps people and still honors the spending caps in the budget agreement. Though successful on this, too many of the initiatives we were elected to achieve disappear into the Beltway's version of the Bermuda Triangle -- Capitol Hill.

Since 1955, Democrats have controlled the House. For 30 of the last 36 years, the Senate as well. They've all too often forgotten something very fundamental: that federal money isn't their money. It's your money -- the taxpayer's money. And they don't seem to know -- as I said in my Inaugural Address, Americans "didn't send us here to bicker" -- they sent us here to act. So, today, again, I challenge the Congress to pass our growth incentives. Democrats think prosperity stems from the growth of government. Republicans believe it comes from the growth of opportunity.

You don't have to look far to understand that the American people want a change. The problem is that on crucial business, Congress isn't leading or following, it's just sitting. Here's a solution: Get Congress moving again by electing Republican majorities to the House and Senate. Nowhere is this more true than when it comes to our domestic agenda. Liberals say that we don't have one. What they mean is we don't have their agenda. I'll tell you a secret: We never will have their agenda as long as I am President.

This stall strategy has gone on long enough. Listen to these facts. I mentioned banking reform. On March 20, I sent legislation to Congress. That was 244 days ago. No bill. On March 11, I sent Congress crime legislation to take hoods off the streets. That was 253 days ago. No bill. On March 4, I sent up energy legislation -- 260 days, no bill. On February 13, up went our transportation legislation -- 279 days later, no bill. For two years I've prodded Congress to pass our Educational Excellence Act and for the last six months our America 2000 program. We all know America's schools aren't making the grade. Let's elect more Republicans so that Congress won't continue to flunk the test.

But the problem with Democrats in Congress isn't just our "domestic agenda", it's their determination to live in the last century instead of focussing on the next. Their shortsightedness about our foreign policy achievements proves the point.

Most Liberals never met a defense cut they didn't like. Republicans, on the other hand, know that a strong defense can

help keep the peace. Think of Liberal Democrats over the last 20 years. They were wrong about peace through strength. We didn't win the Cold War by following the liberal defense agenda. No, we won it because we stood foursquare behind a simple idea: freedom. And backed it up with muscle. Now we're in a new era -- a more hopeful era -- but not one without challenges. This could not have been more clearly demonstrated than in the Persian Gulf. I can assure you, had we followed the Democrats' advice, Saddam Hussein would be in Saudi Arabia as I speak.

But the Democrats tune hasn't changed. They act as if Americans had no stake in the rest of the world. The history of this century has shown time and again how wrong isolationism is. In today's inter-dependent world, it leads to folly if not worse.

When I work to beat back economic isolationism -- protectionism -- to create more American jobs and economic growth, that's not just foreign policy. It's good for Americans right here at home.

When drugs threatened our neighborhoods and our families, I went to Colombia to protect the lives of our children. Stemming the tide of drugs doesn't just benefit the globe. It helps the United States of America. And, incidentally, our drug strategy is working -- drug use is down.

When a brutal tyrant invaded Kuwait, we helped liberate a land. I am proud of our troops. They made ours a better world. They also made America an even better place.

There's a Texas saying, "Dance with the one who brung you." Our policies have helped bring America peace and democracy undreamt of in human history. Let us take this message to America: We don't demagogue, we deliver. We don't posture, we produce. With your support, we can produce a great victory for Republicans, and for America.

Thank you for your prayers and your help. Together, let's do even more in the months ahead. Let's set off our own revolution in 1992, and usher in an era of new ideas and real solutions. Let's make 1992 the Year of the Republican, so that we can kick-off an age of opportunity.

# # #

Susan Dawson  
Katherine

(Smith/Grossman)  
November 12, 1991  
Draft Four  
NRCC

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NRCC LUNCHEON 12:00  
HOTEL  
CAPITAL HILTON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1991

*Mike*  
Barbara Morris-Lent -- congratulations on today's <sup>lunch</sup> dinner. /  
Ken Kies, chairman of the President's Forum. / Chairman of the  
NRCC -- my good friend Guy Vander Jagt, and his wife Carol. /  
Let me also salute your co-chairman, and another son of Michigan  
-- Spencer Abraham, along with his wife and NRCC comrade in arms  
(literally), Jane. / It's exciting to see you all. // Of  
course, ~~more than eighty~~ <sup>so many</sup> Republican members of the House. //  
Above all, I want to thank each of you for your support of the  
National Republican Congressional Committee. //

*Mike Millington*  
This is the third straight year I have participated in this  
event sponsored by the NRCC. The first was held to honor that <sup>you're doing</sup>  
great Son of Illinois, House Republican Leader Bob Michel. <sup>Bob's great</sup> Last <sup>job.</sup>  
year, we honored the ranking Republican members of the House. <sup>(This is all the republicans for medals)</sup>  
There's a Latin phrase, primus inter pares -- it means "First  
among equals." Today, we honor men and women who are all first <sup>three years in a row</sup>  
among equals -- every single GOP member of the House of <sup>you've sustained a very veto</sup>  
Representatives. //

*Pritchard's letter about*  
I begin with a news flash, and a pledge. ((There's a lot of <sup>all the</sup>  
speculation about when I'll make an official announcement about <sup>sent</sup>  
running in 1992, so I guess today is as good a time as any. // <sup>back</sup>

I'm following a regimen that'll have me running two miles a day, and four on weekends.)) //

((Now the pledge: I'm not going to speak for long. You have to get back to your jobs -- and I have to get back to my reading. // Recently, I began Mikhail Gorbachev's book about the overthrow in Moscow. / Of course, the book I'm really waiting for is about the overthrow in the New Jersey legislature.)) //

I am here to say: Today New Jersey, tomorrow the Congress. // If democracy can come to Moscow, it can come to the House of Representatives. / Of course, the Democrats won't just roll over. We will have to take our fight and our issues to the people. But the times are right / and our policies are right. Americans want to liberate themselves from the tired old ideas of the liberal elite, and get a chance to make the American Dream a reality -- in the workplace, at home, in the schools, and on the streets. //

Let's talk about a few of the issues that separate Republicans from the other party. First, the economy. //

Americans want more growth / more jobs / more prosperity. We want to help those who have lost their jobs. We want to help them get new jobs -- better jobs. //

For months, I have pressed Congress to pass a growth package. But liberal Democrats like the old ways and old days. And they seem determined to delay / distort / and destroy our programs. For months they fiddled while recession loomed. <sup>when this</sup> ~~Now,~~ <sup>arrived</sup> ~~we have a recession~~ -- and Democrats <sup>new</sup> ~~seem more~~ interested in

playing the tired old game of class warfare than in appealing to people's abilities and ambitions.

Go to the industrial Midwest. They will tell you America deserves better than liberals who won't even permit a vote on our capital gains tax cut. / Travel to the small towns of Vermont. Ask if they think economic growth should be blocked by one-party control of Congress. / The liberals continue to demagogue on the economy -- exploiting people's misery in order to hustle a few votes. We waited two months for an unemployment insurance bill. Liberal leaders evidently believed that it made "good politics" to train a spotlight on people's misery, instead of stepping forward and helping them. They decided to foment economic insecurity and to foster animosity across race and income lines. America deserves better. //

MM

Since 1956, Democrats have controlled the House. Because they have been unaccountable, they have become irresponsible. // Liberals don't seem to understand that Federal money is your money, not theirs. And they don't seem to believe that the law of the land also ought to apply to the lawmakers. // ((Everyone here knows that with all the pious talk by some Democrats on sexual harrassment -- the Senate, as that debate went on, had exempted itself from the very sexual harrassment laws everyone else has to live by)) Well, they can't exempt themselves from responsibility -- and our chief duty now is to stop carping and start taking common-sense steps to get the economy moving.

Jack Howard  
key  
7092  
Wause  
7054  
phone back  
CONGRESS  
"Process"

Democrats have spent enough time stimulating economic fear. The American people deserve hope -- and action. //

I'll be more specific. Today, I challenge Congressional Democrats to pass our growth package: A cut in the capital gains tax rate, banking reform, personal savings incentives, the creation of a permanent R&D tax credit, and increased investment in science, technology, and infrastructure. //

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<sup>Think of</sup>  
~~Remember~~ Clarence Thomas. He went through a living purgatory because he dared think for himself. But do you know what? There came a moment when he stopped [<sup>right word?</sup>pandering] and talked about his beliefs. At that moment, his would-be Inquisitors just plain vanished -- looked down at their desks, tapped their fingers nervously. Congress tried to replace the policy of advise and consent with the politics of search and destroy. // But they learned the hard way that one tactic always wins: the truth -- plain, unrepentant, defiant. If we do one thing next year, let's restore civility and tolerance to American politics. Help me elect Republicans who will bring decency and fair play back to the United States Congress. //

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7766

Arney said he gave you the dates of

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Most Liberals never met a defense cut they didn't like. Remember all the talk about a "peace dividend?" If we had invested that dividend a year ago, the world would be ~~at war~~ <sup>a few more</sup> ~~dangerous~~ <sup>place</sup>.

Think of liberal Democrats over the last 20 years. They were wrong about the Mayaguez / wrong about the Shah of Iran / they were wrong about the peaceniks, freeznicks, and wrong about Peace Through Strength. They were wrong about Libya / wrong about Grenada / wrong as you can be about the Strategic Defense Initiative. // Talk about a gang who, literally, can't shoot straight. // If we had followed the Democrats' advice, Saddam Hussein would be in Saudi Arabia as I speak.

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# # # #

56

since '86 → Jim Dyer

80-96 Repus

## Political Party Affiliations in Congress ...

(Letter symbols for political parties: Ad—Administration; AM—Anti-Masonic; C—Coalition; D—Democratic; DR—Democratic-Republican; F—Federalist; J—Jacksonian; NR—National Republican; Op—Opposition; R—Republican; U—Unionist; W—Whig. Figures are for the beginning of the first session of each Congress.)

Year	Congress	HOUSE			SENATE			President
		Majority party	Principal minority party	Other (except vacancies)	Majority party	Principal minority party	Other (except vacancies)	
1981-1983	97th	D-242	R-189	-	R-53	D-46	1	R (Reagan)
1979-1981	96th	D-276	R-157	-	D-58	R-41	1	D (Carter)
1977-1979	95th	D-292	R-143	-	D-61	R-38	1	D (Carter)
1975-1977	94th	D-291	R-144	-	D-60	R-37	2	R (Ford)
1973-1975	93rd	D-239	R-192	1	D-56	R-42	2	R (Nixon)
1971-1973	92nd	D-254	R-180	-	D-54	R-44	2	R (Nixon)
1969-1971	91st	D-243	R-192	-	D-57	R-43	-	R (Nixon)
1967-1969	90th	D-247	R-187	-	D-64	R-36	-	D (L. Johnson)
1965-1967	89th	D-295	R-140	-	D-68	R-32	-	D (L. Johnson)
1963-1965	88th	D-258	R-177	-	D-68	R-33	-	D (L. Johnson)
1961-1963	87th	D-263	R-174	-	D-65	R-35	-	D (Kennedy)
1959-1961	86th	D-283	R-153	-	D-64	R-34	-	D (Kennedy)
1957-1959	85th	D-233	R-200	-	D-49	R-47	-	R (Eisenhower)
1955-1957	84th	D-232	R-203	-	D-48	R-47	1	R (Eisenhower)
1953-1955	83rd	R-221	D-211	1	R-48	D-47	1	R (Eisenhower)
1951-1953	82nd	D-234	R-199	1	D-49	R-47	-	D (Truman)
1949-1951	81st	D-263	R-171	1	D-54	R-42	-	D (Truman)
1947-1949	80th	R-245	D-188	1	R-51	D-45	-	D (Truman)
1945-1947	79th	D-242	R-190	2	D-56	R-38	1	D (Truman)
1943-1945	78th	D-218	R-208	4	D-58	R-37	1	D (F. Roosevelt)
1941-1943	77th	D-268	R-162	5	D-66	R-28	2	D (F. Roosevelt)
1939-1941	76th	D-261	R-164	4	D-69	R-23	4	D (F. Roosevelt)
1937-1939	75th	D-331	R-89	13	D-76	R-16	4	D (F. Roosevelt)
1935-1937	74th	D-319	R-103	10	D-69	R-25	2	D (F. Roosevelt)
1933-1935	73rd	D-310	R-117	5	D-60	R-35	1	D (F. Roosevelt)
1931-1933	72nd	D-220	R-214	1	R-48	D-47	1	R (Hoover)
1929-1931	71st	R-267	D-167	1	R-56	D-39	1	R (Hoover)
1927-1929	70th	R-237	D-195	3	R-49	D-46	1	R (Coolidge)
1925-1927	69th	R-247	D-183	4	R-56	D-39	1	R (Coolidge)
1923-1925	68th	R-225	D-205	5	R-51	D-43	2	R (Coolidge)
1921-1923	67th	R-301	D-131	1	R-59	D-37	-	R (Harding)
1919-1921	66th	R-240	D-190	3	R-49	D-47	-	D (Wilson)
1917-1919	65th	D-216	R-210	6	D-53	R-42	-	D (Wilson)
1915-1917	64th	D-230	R-196	9	D-56	R-40	-	D (Wilson)
1913-1915	63rd	D-291	R-127	17	D-51	R-44	1	D (Wilson)
1911-1913	62nd	D-228	R-161	1	R-51	D-41	-	R (Taft)
1909-1911	61st	R-219	D-172	-	R-61	D-32	-	R (Taft)
1907-1909	60th	R-222	D-164	-	R-61	D-31	-	R (T. Roosevelt)
1905-1907	59th	R-250	D-136	-	R-57	D-33	-	R (T. Roosevelt)
1903-1905	58th	R-208	D-178	-	R-57	D-33	-	R (T. Roosevelt)
1901-1903	57th	R-197	D-151	9	R-55	D-31	4	R (T. Roosevelt)
1899-1901	56th	R-185	D-163	9	R-53	D-26	8	R (McKinley)
1897-1899	55th	R-204	D-113	40	R-47	D-34	7	R (McKinley)
1895-1897	54th	R-244	D-105	7	R-43	D-39	6	D (Cleveland)
1893-1895	53rd	D-218	R-127	11	D-44	R-38	3	D (Cleveland)
1891-1893	52nd	D-235	R-88	9	R-47	D-39	2	R (B. Harrison)
1889-1891	51st	R-166	D-159	-	R-39	D-37	-	R (B. Harrison)
1887-1889	50th	D-169	R-152	4	R-39	D-37	-	D (Cleveland)
1885-1887	49th	D-183	R-140	2	R-43	D-34	-	D (Cleveland)
1883-1885	48th	D-197	R-118	10	R-38	D-36	2	R (Arthur)
1881-1883	47th	R-147	D-135	11	R-37	D-37	1	R (Arthur)
								R (Garfield)

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tain defeat, called upon the Soviet Union for help. The Soviets, angered by American failure to get Israel to accept the cease-fire, now threatened to send their own troops to help end the fighting. President Nixon immediately ordered a "precautionary alert" for all American forces around the world. A major military confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States now seemed possible.

Fortunately, the two great powers persuaded the Arabs and the Israelis to accept the cease-fire and to prepare for negotiations. Détente had survived its first critical trial.

However, many Israelis were bitter at being forced to end the fighting just as a final victory was within their grasp. Also, the Arabs were angered by American support of the Israelis. Several Arab nations cut off all shipments of oil to the United States and other countries that were friendly to Israel. Although the immediate crisis was over, the cease-fire had brought only an uneasy peace.

**President Ford's foreign policy.** On August 9, 1974, Gerald R. Ford replaced Nixon as President. One of his first acts was to ask Henry Kissinger to continue to serve as Secretary of State. This move indicated that Ford intended to follow the basic foreign policy developed during the Nixon administration.

Congress, in which Ford had served for a quarter of a century, was prepared to accept the President's leadership. However, early in 1975, when Ford urged Congress to provide \$222 million in military aid to Cambodia, Congress refused. Congress made it clear that it was determined to close the door on further military adventures by the United States.

A few months later, however, Congress joined in the praise of Ford's action in the *Mayaguez* incident. In May, the *Mayaguez*, an unarmed American cargo ship, was seized by Cambodian Communists. Ford promptly sent air, sea, and ground forces to free the vessel and its crew of 39 men. In the action 15 American servicemen were killed, 50 wounded, and 3 missing. The President was sharply criticized for what many considered an unnecessary and ill-timed venture. Others applauded him for acting decisively.

**Changes in détente.** When Ford became President, he had taken over negotiations on a trade agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. Senator Henry Jackson

of Washington was one of many critics of the proposed agreement. Jackson insisted that trade between the two nations should not be freer until the Soviet Union relaxed its restrictions on the emigration of its citizens, including political dissenters and Jews who wanted to move to Israel.

In the fall of 1974, the Soviet Union apparently accepted the "Jackson amendment." They agreed at that time to increase the number of exit visas for Jewish citizens. A few months later, however, the Soviets rejected the trade agreement. Moscow declared that it could not allow the United States to interfere with Soviet emigration policy.

The Soviet rejection was a setback for the policy of détente. As you will see, during the Carter administration this rift in the policy became noticeably wider.

## SECTION SURVEY

IDENTIFY: "protective reaction" policy, Henry Kissinger, cease-fire, refugee, War Powers Resolution of 1973, Phnom Penh, "personal diplomacy," Leonid Brezhnev, SALT, détente, Yom Kippur War, *Mayaguez* incident, Senator Henry Jackson.

1. (a) How did the United States wind down its involvement in the Vietnam War? (b) What were the terms of the 1973 cease-fire?
2. How was the conflict between North and South Vietnam finally resolved?
3. Describe President Nixon's policy of détente toward China and the Soviet Union.
4. How did President Ford's foreign policy compare with Nixon's?

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## 4 World tensions build up during the Carter and Reagan administrations

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The period of détente between the United States and the Soviet Union promoted by President Nixon and encouraged by President Ford did not last long after 1976. By 1980 tensions were approaching the breaking point.

**President Carter's goals.** Several months after his inauguration in January 1977, President Carter outlined the goals of his adminis-

these reports. Staffs will not have access to these reports.

This preserves confidentiality. In my view, it protects nominees. It protects potential witnesses against the nominees. And it protects the Members of Congress.

Third, Congress should establish a mechanism for investigating congressional leaks thoroughly, professionally, promptly. And I've met this week with several leaders from the Senate from both parties, and they agree that we must prevent future leaks and establish a suitable mechanism for investigating them swiftly, bringing culprits to justice.

There is no excuse for leaks that wreck lives and needlessly destroy reputations. The law already prohibits such leaks from the executive branch. And again, we intend to enforce that law rigorously. I know it's not easy. I've been there. I saw it when I was Director of Central Intelligence when we dealt with national security. I've seen frustrating leaks in the White House that have nothing to do with character assassination or national security, that simply relate to policy matters. I know it's not a simple matter here. But we've got to do better, both the executive and the legislative branch.

And fourth, Congress ought to follow the same laws that it imposes on everyone else. More than a dozen laws apply to the executive branch, but not the Congress. Most of these laws apply to everyone in America except Members of Congress. Congress does not have to comply with the Equal Pay Act of 1963. It does not have to follow title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a title that prohibits sexual harassment and discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, and national origin. It doesn't have to obey the provisions of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act.

I would wager that the American people do not know that Congress has exempted itself from the sexual harassment laws private employers and the executive branch must obey. And they have. We've heard choruses of criticism against the evils of sexual harassment. And we've received good suggestions about how to become more vigilant about this insidious crime. But these lessons should not be wasted on

the men and women who drafted the law. For you see, when Congress exempts itself from the very laws that it writes for others, it strikes at its own reputation and shatters public confidence in government.

These exemptions encourage special interest groups to press, then, for reckless regulations, knowing that Congress might adopt such laws if it won't feel the sting of these laws. This practice creates the appearance and reality of a privileged class of rulers who stand above the law. Our founders thought it proposterous to suggest that such behavior would ever take place in America.

We did a little research. Federalist Paper number 57 asserts that elected officials, and here's the exact language, "can make no law which will not have in full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of society." The writer of that paper also noted ominously, "If this spirit shall ever be so far debased as to tolerate a law not obligatory on the legislature as well as on the people, the people will be prepared to tolerate anything but liberty."

The people have begun to speak now. And today I call upon the Congress to take a simple step toward increasing public confidence. Submit to the laws it imposes on others, including strict enforcement provisions, not just Ethics Committee jurisdiction, and do so by the year's end.

There's a lot of just plain people up there on the Hill trying to make a living. And people who work for Congress ought to have the same rights and legal remedies as those who work for anyone else.

But Congress also must submit to the laws that is imposed on the executive branch. And this includes the Privacy Act, which prohibits inappropriate leaks by executive agencies, title VI of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law.

And all of us should demonstrate our commitment to clean and effective government. From the very start of my administration, I made it absolutely clear that I expect my appointees to follow strict standards of propriety so the American people would have full and increasing confidence in our ability and integrity.

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