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OA/ID Number: 13782
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Folder Title:
Bush-Quayle Fundraising Drive 11/20/91 [OA 8319] [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Acknowledgements for Bush-Quayle

Bobby Holt, National Finance Chairman, Bush-Quayle '92

Jeannie Austin, co-chairperson of the RNC

Clayton Yeutter, co-chairman of the RNC

Barbara Franklin, event co-chair and husband, Wally Barnes

George Webster, Event co-chair

Rev. ^{Tully} ~~William Kelly~~, invocation

CABINET MEMBERS

Secretaries Derwinski, Madigan, and Watkins

Dias

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Barbara Franklin, event co-chair and husband, ^{Wally Barnes}XXXX (to come)

George Webster, Event co-chair

Rev. ^{Tully}~~William Kelly~~, invocation

Derwinski
Madigan
Watkins

Paid attendees

Gramm
Vander
78 (971-1703
Lynne Erbanaky

Go Gramm? !!

Members of Congress

Barbara Franklin and George Webster are co-chairing the event. George is introducing the VPRES. Barbara is introducing the PRES. She has known the PRES for several years.

The audience has been instructed to remember the PRES is not campaigning -- to keep everything Presidential.

At this point, only the PRES and VPRES will speak.

The audience makeup will include about 800-1,000 people primarily from DC, but also from MD, VA, the East Coast, and some out-of-state guests

The Redskins-Bush anecdote is being talked about a lot. Joke material.

Rose Elder, golfer Lee Elder's wife, might be in attendance. She is the woman who made the \$5 bet with POTUS re the Redskins-Oilers game.

B-Q Event People specifically mentioned people don't like to see POTUS on the defensive -- and they'd like to see him emphasize why being involved internationally is so important to Americans here at home -- in terms of job creation, etc. This will not be a locally-focused audience -- more like Washington insiders.

The Eastern High School Choir will perform at the beginning of the event. They are a celebrated choir, have traveled all over. However, they will depart before the PRES speaks.

PRE-ADVANCE/WALK-THRU QUESTIONNAIRE

EVENT: Bush-Quayle Fundraising Dinner

DATE: Wednesday, Nov. 20

TIME: 7:45 p.m. POTUS speaks / after dinner approx.

LOCATION:
(GIVE DETAILS) Grand Hyatt
Independence Ballroom

EXPECTED AUDIENCE:
(NUMBER AND COMPOSITION) 400-500 quoted, realistically expecting 800-1,000 people
Ballroom holds 1,200

PRESS COVERAGE: Open

DIAS PARTICIPANTS: Barbara Franklin, George Webster (co-chairs)
Other names to come

EXPECTED PARTICIPATION BY MEMBERS OF CABINET/CONGRESSIONAL/ADMINISTRATION: Names, if any, to come

POTUS INTRODUCTION: Barbara Franklin, B-Q Event Co-chair

PERTINENT SPEECH TOPICS: B-Q people mentioned: light on the defensive and mention of why international involvement is good for Americans here.

REASON FOR EVENT: Fundraiser

PLEASE ATTACH PRE-ADVANCE/WALK-THRU CALL SHEET

November 12, 1991

MEMORANDUM TO TONY SNOW

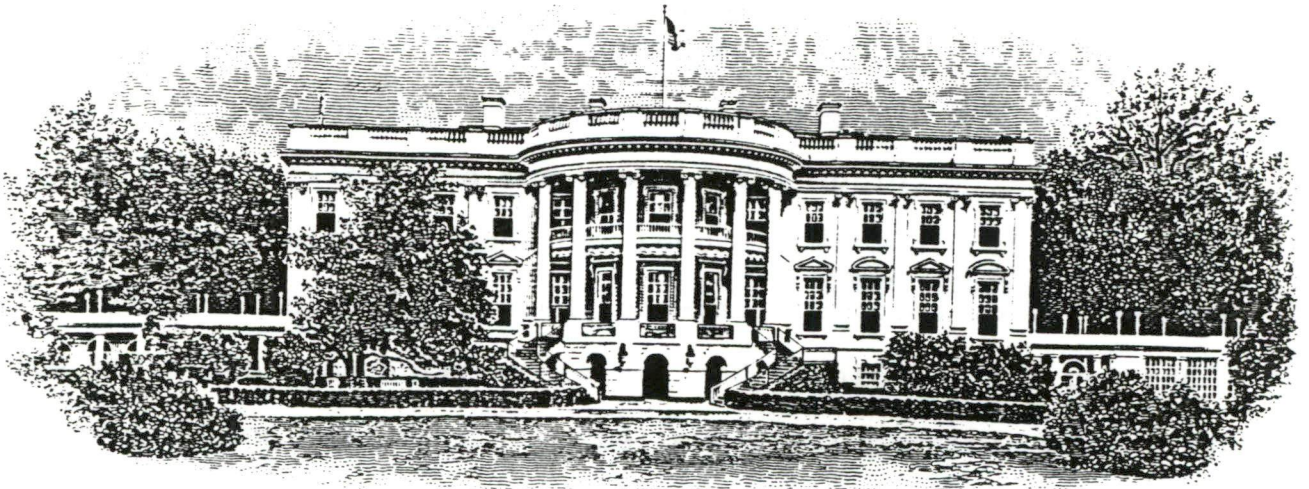
FROM: MICHELE NIX
SUBJECT: BUSH-QUAYLE FUNDRAISING DINNER

Political Affairs has yet to work out the details of the Nov. 20 B-Q event. Info thus far: The President will speak at around 6:45 p.m. at the Grand Hyatt. B-Q Event Chairperson Barbara Franklin will introduce Pres. Approximately 400 people will attend.

No info yet on anything else. Political Affairs will call me back when they have more details.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

DATE 11/20
TO David Demarest
FAX NUMBER 456-2983
OFFICE NUMBER x7620
NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 2

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

FROM Michele Nix
COMMENTS Dave - Everything checks out with latest draft of B-Q. Note page 3 language change to improve sentence accuracy.
OFFICE NUMBER x7750

Old draft

Snow/Nix
BQ2
Draft Five
November 20, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BUSH-QUAYLE FUNDRAISER
GRAND HYATT HOTEL
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1991
8:20 P.M.

Thank you, Barbara [Franklin]. It's always a special treat to be introduced by a Barbara. [Husband, Wally]

George Webster, thank you, too. You and Barbara have done a great job in organizing this event. [Wife, Ann]

Our Members of the Cabinet: Secretary Derwinski, Secretary Madigan, Secretary Watkins.

It's great to see Jeannie Austin and Clayton Yeutter here.

And Bobby Holt -- doing a great job as our National Finance Chairman.

My thanks to Reverend Tully for that special invocation.

To everyone here, greetings. I know you each made personal contributions to this event, and I can't begin to express my gratitude.

I want to thank all of you for your loyalty and support, and for helping me build a Presidency that will propel the United States to new greatness in the years ahead.

Let me also thank a great American for his selfless contributions to this Administration and to the American people. I'm talking about my vice president -- someone who's out working for our issues today, Dan Quayle.

Today, we begin to give you your money's worth. Today, we begin to do to Democrats what the Redskins have done this season to their foes. Um, that includes the Oilers. \\\

We'll have to fight many opponents, of course. In recent weeks, political rhetoric in this nation has turned demagogic and ugly. And that's just in Doonesbury. \\\

But while our opponents busy themselves with cheap shots, Dan Quayle and I have important work assigned to us. We have a responsibility to lead.

We also have the mandate. I know Democrats have been on a mud-slinging roll recently, but here's the important thing: We Republicans have the issues. We have the ideas. We have the answers. We have the record. The Tired Old Party does not -- which is why they must resort to name-calling.

In the days and weeks and months ahead, let's take our message to the people. Let's remind Americans of what we have done and what we can do. Working people want to pry free of a Democratic elite tied to old ways of looking at our changing world. ^{Working people} They want a chance to make the American dream a reality at home, in the workplace, in the schools, in the streets. They know that we understand -- and we can help.

Let me talk about a key issue that separates Republicans from the other party: the economy. For more than a decade, Republicans created growth, opportunity and prosperity. We had to fight every step along the way against the old-fashioned Democrats. Yet since ^{the early 80's} 1981 we have unleashed the greatest

peacetime economic boom in our history: 17 million new jobs, good jobs. We restored American economic leadership. We showed the rest of the world that Americans can still outwork, outproduce, out-innovate the rest of the world.

But we can't rest upon our ^{fundamental} record. We must build on it. ^{long term}
 Republicans ^{have pursued policies to bring about} believe in low inflation, ^a sound dollar, ^{and low interest rates,} a booming economy, and a culture that rewards innovation and hard work. We believe in responsible government. We put together a budget agreement that puts federal spending under control. I took a lot of heat for that agreement, but I understood the importance of leadership on the budget. Now that Congress finally feels the pinch of the agreement, Democrats want out.

Well, Democrats need to understand that they can't continue to call for taxes, taxes, taxes and spending, spending, spending. They need to understand that all the American people see when Democrats raise taxes is a federally mandated pay cut.

When Democrats talk about soaking the rich, the American people reach for an umbrella. They know that when Democrats claim to soak the rich, everyone gets wet -- and the middle class nearly drowns in those federally mandated pay cuts.

Let's get back to basics. We believe in helping working people build their own fortunes through sweat, determination and risk. ^{And we've pursued a long term, ~~economic~~ strategy founded on important and sound principles.}
 We believe in giving everyone a full chance to climb the ladder of opportunity. We believe in fairness -- good jobs to people who want to work, and fair rewards to people who produce.

To do that we
first must

by
That means

~~We've got to keep American business competitive.~~ We must
cut^{ing} away excessive red-tape and regulations. We must stop
throwing heavy new burdens on an economy just itching to burst
free. Right now, ~~people who run businesses have to moonlight as~~
^{stet} Hoodini. They must serve customers while also trying to escape a
strait-jacket of regulations, red tape, even legal threats.

^{next,} We need tort reform. Businesses shouldn't spend all their
time hiring lawyers and worrying about lawsuits. They should be
free to think about ways of giving consumers what they want.

^{third,} We must make good on our commitment to quality education and
job training -- to build a workforce ready and eager to take on
the challenges of the 21st Century.

fourth
fifth

~~And~~ we've got to make sure that American businesses get a
fair chance to compete in every corner of the global marketplace.
We have taken the free trade message to Japan and the European
market. We've won fast-track authority for a North American Free
Trade agreement that will create the largest market on earth --
Canada, America and Mexico.

Democrats want to look for scapegoats and ~~they want to~~
wallow in the quicksand of protectionism. We tried protectionism
once, and we got the worst economic depression the world has ever
seen. For the rest of our history we followed the call of free
trade -- and we became the mightiest economic power ever.

I cannot believe my ears when I hear Democrats complaining
because I have gone abroad to fight for world peace, to fight for

American jobs, and to fight for the ideals that make us all proud to be Americans.

Our long-term strategy will work, and we all know it. But we also can take some common-sense steps right now to get the economy rolling. Eight months ago I sent Congress the most comprehensive banking reform package since the 1930s. No one doubts that our system is dated and obsolete. But Congress hasn't done what we need done.

For three years now, I've pushed a dynamic group of growth incentives: a cut in the capital gains rate, family savings accounts, a permanent research and development tax credit, IRAs for first-time homebuyers; enterprise zones. You know the tale: Democrats complain -- and then don't do a thing.

This inaction comes with a price. I've seen the pain in people's eyes, and I've felt the anguish that drove many people to begin letters, "Dear Mr. President. I've never written to you before, but ... "

When we wanted to extend a helping hand to unemployed workers, Democrats dawdled for weeks. They used suffering workers as political pawns and tried to make political hay out of the people's anguish.

We Republicans don't think compassion and fairness are slogans. They're what decent people do -- without prodding by government.

Let's remember the basics. You don't create jobs by drafting an industrial policy in which bureaucrats micromanage

every aspect of our economic lives. You create jobs by giving people the freedom to work -- and earn fair pay for the sweat of their brow.

When someone wants to build a business, they don't apply to George Mitchell and Ted Kennedy. They work. They scrimp. They save. They meet payrolls and satisfy customers. Entrepreneurs need our encouragement and support, not demagogic sermons about class warfare.

We are not going to let the American people forget that
 Democrats have controlled the House since 1955, and have controlled the Senate in all but six of those years. *Those Democrats seem*
~~They seem~~
 to have forgotten that they work for the people, not the other way around. As I said in my Inaugural address, Americans didn't send us here to bicker. They sent us here to act.

Yet the Democrat-dominated Congress has become a Bermuda Triangle for the initiatives Americans want, and Congressional Democrats are content to fall back on a veto strategy. They look at our constructive initiatives, plow them under, then send me bills that no responsible President can sign. Then, when I do my job, they complain.

Let me give you a quick snapshot of what Democrats have done for the American people this year. I sent banking reform legislation to Congress on March 20 -- 245 days ago. No bill. I sent crime legislation to Congress 254 days ago. No bill. I sent energy legislation to Congress 261 days ago. No bill. I sent transportation to the Hill 280 days ago. No bill. I have prodded Congress to pass our Educational Excellence Act for two

years. Guess what? No bill. We unveiled our America 2000 Education Strategy six months ago. No bill -- even though by next week 26 states will have enacted their own Year 2000 programs.

The Tired Old Party never seems to have recovered from the elections of 1980, 1984 and 1988. They continue mounting witch hunts to tarnish those victories. They just don't get it. American voters told them over and over and over: We like jobs. We like prosperity. We like Republicans.

You'd never guess, listening to the mudslingers on the Hill that the Cold War drew to a close on our watch. The nuclear arms race drew to a halt on our watch. The specter of global war vanished on our watch. And the prospect of a new world order characterized by peace, prosperity and cooperation arose on our watch. Democrat leaders don't like that record, so they try to change the subject. Well, I'm proud of my record.

Most Liberals never met a defense cut they didn't like. But while they called us warmongers, we built the strong defenses that have created a new era of peace. Just remember what Liberal Democrats have proposed over the past 20 years. I can tell you, if I had followed the advice of liberal Democrats, Saddam Hussein's ^{army} ~~guards~~ would be camped out in Saudi Arabia today.

Remember who we are and what we have done. Republicans brought America to the verge of a world united in its support of democracy, individual liberty and free enterprise -- American

ideals. While liberal Democrats blamed America first, Republicans made America first.

we'll take this message to the American people. We'll ask them
 So ~~let me ask you~~: Who ~~do you~~ trust to build a vibrant economy, Republicans or the other party? Who ~~do you~~ trust to protect our interests abroad, ~~Republicans or the other party?~~
 Who ~~do you~~ trust to keep ~~your~~ ^{our} streets safe? Who ~~do you~~ trust to insist on the world's best schools? ~~Who do you trust to make~~ *in short - who they trust*
 sure that the 21st Century will be the Next American Century?
 I'll tell you ^{what their answer will be =} Republicans.

Three years ago I talked about making America a kinder, gentler nation. I still believe in that goal. But we cannot be kind to those who want to see political benefit in doing nothing to reform education, nothing to strike at the root causes of crime, nothing to ignite the economy, nothing on energy, nothing on the things that Americans care about.

There's an old Texas saying: Dance with the one who brung you. Well, our policies have helped bring Americans freedom, peace and prosperity, the likes of which no civilization has ever seen. Take this message to America: We don't demagog. We deliver. We don't posture, we produce. And when times get tough, no one -- no one -- better defends what this nation stands for than the Republican party.

So let's stand tall for what we are and what we can do. We're America's future. Let's elect a Republican Congress next year. The American people believe in our ideals, our values, and our abilities. They trust us with the economy. They trust us in

world affairs. And they trust us with their earnings. So let's give our voters the America they want -- a nation united in its ideals of generosity, opportunity, service and greatness.

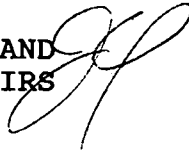
Thank you, and may God bless the United States of America.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW, DAN MCGROARTY, BETH HINCHCLIFFE, CURT SMITH, JOE DUGAN, MARY KATE GRANT & CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM: JOHN UNDELAND 
MEDIA AFFAIRS
Rm. 117
Ext. 2529

RE: POTUS QUOTES ON DOMESTIC ISSUES

The attached is a compilation of recent POTUS quotes I have culled from your quills (as well as extemporaneous remarks from the man himself). Dorrance has requested a longer, more wide-ranging collection by Monday morning. I will be re-researching your recent works for additional punchy quotes, but I'd really appreciate your taking a gander at the topics listed below and letting me know if any catchy nuggets spring to mind or if you have ideas on where I might look. Any guidance you could give me today would be great. Thanks for your help.

- An enumeration of current domestic priorities (as opposed to domestic achievements)
- America 2000 & school choice
- Civil rights
- Children's issues
- Environment
- Housing & Kempian anti-poverty ideas
- Economy
- Banking reform & credit crunch
- Unemployment & Dole substitute
- Drugs
- Crime
- Health Care

**PRESIDENTIAL QUOTES ON
THE DOMESTIC AGENDA AND CONGRESSIONAL INACTION**

"When people say that we have no domestic agenda, they simply have not seen the facts. We have a good forward-looking agenda. Congressional leaders just won't act on it."

-- AP Managing Editors Teleconference, October 17

"Our Administration's domestic philosophy really starts with a fundamental truth, and that's that the true power and potential in this land rests with the hands of the people... The problem is too often Congress simply refuses to act."

-- Larry Hopkins for Kentucky Governor Dinner, October 2

"We have launched a domestic agenda...to achieve growth and opportunity and progress. Let me just cite some accomplishments: Child care: Our Administration pushed for -- and got -- legislation that has dramatically increased child care assistance to parents in this country, giving the parents a choice as to where they want their kids taken care of when they need child care. Next, clean air: We pushed for -- and got -- pioneering legislation to combat acid rain and toxic air pollutants. Also last year we pushed for -- and got -- the first landmark civil rights legislation for people with disabilities -- the Americans with Disabilities Act. These bills represent an Administration which believes that government should serve the people -- not the other way around."

-- Buddy Roemer for Louisiana Governor Fundraiser, September 30

"The capital gains tax is a tax on the American dream. And nevertheless, in three years congressional leaders have not permitted one single up or down vote on our capital gains proposals. If they were convinced that this is a tax break for the rich and would be unpopular across the country, they ought to at least let it come to a vote."

-- AP Managing Editors Teleconference, October 17

"I'm concerned about the unemployed and I'm concerned about those families in America that are having difficulty making ends meet. And what we don't need to do is get this deficit higher and, thus, put the burden on the back of the middle class or lower-middle class, people that have jobs and are barely making ends meet. So I want a good unemployment compensation bill, but I want one that is not going to bust the budget agreement."

-- Remarks to the travel pool, October 13

"When it comes to removing...obstacles before prosecutors and investigators...time and again, Congress slumps into inaction. I firmly believe that lawmakers must do everything in their power to support our law enforcement officials.... Our crime bill...supports our men and women on the front line."

-- VANPAC Task Force Awards Ceremony, October 16

"We want a [transportation] bill that works. We don't want a bill that paves America with special projects, with pork. We want a transportation system that spends our money effectively, one that truly addresses national needs. We don't want one that simply furthers political careers by spending money on hundreds of special interest projects. We want a good transportation bill."

-- Green Line/I-105 Event, September 19

"I'm a little tired of hearing Democrats say we have no domestic agenda. The problem is their domestic agenda is to crush our domestic agenda. They're doing nothing but griping -- refusing to consider the new ideas and sending me a bunch of garbage I will not sign. I'll continue to veto the bad stuff until we get good bills."

-- New Jersey GOP Fundraiser, September 24

should be finally decreed. But I think we're going to win it.

Ambassador Brock. So do I.

Q. Mr. President, can Iraq be persuaded to accept the refugees—

The President. It doesn't have anything to do with Fast Track. I want to talk about Fast Track today, and we'll have no more press conferences today because as I mentioned to an earlier group we've had four in the last 3 days, and that's unfair to the press. [Laughter] Maybe four in the last 4 days—something like that.

Note: The President spoke at 1:21 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to William E. Brock and Robert S. Strauss, former U.S. Trade Representatives; Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee; George J. Mitchell, Senate Democratic leader; and Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Remarks at a Meeting of the American Business Conference April 9, 1991

Thank you very, very much. And, Bob, thank you, sir, for that introduction and for letting this distinguished group use this meeting room today. It's always a pleasure to be back here. Let me also salute the ABC's leader, Jim Jones. What a job he's doing. But I remember his effectiveness in the leadership role in the Congress, and I'm glad that those energies that he has are being used and shared by all of you. We have many distinguished visitors with us today, and I won't single them out. I was told that Bill Seidman and Richard Breedon were here. But as I look around, unless they're basking way back in anonymity somewhere, they may not have made it.

But in any event, I'm delighted to see this group. Great to talk to the American Business Conference. We did a little homework on this, and I've been here four times in recent years. And then, of course, we're privileged to have two of your own with us in the administration, Bob Mosbacher and Arthur Levitt. And it's an honor and a

pleasure to, as Bob says, talk to a group that stands for success—a group that admits only medium-sized companies that thrive in the marketplace. But I've got to tell you, I feel a little funny being here. After all, I'm the CEO now of an outfit that's lost money for 33 of the last 35 years. [Laughter]

But in keeping with today's theme—charting economic growth in the nineties—I'd like to talk about our administration's plan for generating more American success stories like your own. Our recent success in the Gulf has renewed Americans' belief in themselves. In just the past couple of months, consumer confidence has soared. And the stock market, of course, has been climbing toward that 3,000 mark. Most economists predict that the recession soon will give way to a new cycle of growth. And, incidentally, we agree with that assessment, inside.

But we can't rest on our laurels. There's an entire world of competition out there. The administration's economic growth package is designed to let people like you do what you do best—create jobs, create new opportunities, create wealth.

Let's start with an issue that we all have to address in the next month. And I think Bob just talked about it; Jim has been participating in a meeting with me in the Cabinet Room at the White House about it—I'm talking about the issue of free and fair trade. As you know, I have asked Congress to extend the Fast Track trade authority.

Fast Track, in my view, is another term for good faith. It guarantees that Congress will accept or reject the very same agreements that our negotiators and their counterparts have worked out. And this doesn't weaken the Congress' power to review agreements; it simply prevents 11th-hour changes that would force negotiators from all countries to start over—to start from scratch.

Our trading partners consider Fast Track a vital test of our reliability. And if we do not retain the Fast Track process, we jeopardize three critical foreign trade initiatives: the Uruguay round of trade talks, the North American free trade agreement, and the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

Americans understand the benefits of free trade. In the last 4 years, exports from

the United States, more than 10 percent, has grown. And we're growing more rapidly than any other major nation. This trade boom has involved a North American free trade agreement would place our market on a par with the trillion-dollar market of our neighbors and products that meet their standards of environmental, and other nations on our continent.

We also believe in free trade. I have asked for a governmentwide effort to support medium-sized companies and services abroad and services abroad through free trade, which is a key part of our process. We're going to continue to work on the economy. Without the kind of protection that we've had, we can't produce the great American work ethic. We're able to demonstrate a strong and vibrant work ethic.

Let me say that the Fast Track process is a nonpartisan matter, and several of them are as enthusiastic as I am in granting authority to the administration to proceed. And I also know that it is best for the American people. And I also know that our trading partners as well.

This brings me to our growth package. It's an innovative work program that sizes the import and export market that is ready to bring world economic growth. The necessity of an economic reinvention of the American nation offers opportunities.

Our education system is very obvious. When teachers go to the schools; when people with skill go to the colleges, the

to a group that that admits only that thrive in the to tell you, I feel After all, I'm the 's lost money for [ughter] today's theme— in the nineties— administration's American success recent success in ericans' belief in past couple of nce has soared. course, has been 00 mark. Most recession soon cycle of growth. with that assess-

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the United States have increased 55 percent, more than twice the rate of import growth. And export business has grown more rapidly than the rest of our economy. This trade boom has helped everyone involved. A North American free trade agreement would place us in the largest integrated market on Earth: 360 million people, \$6 trillion of annual output. It would also give our neighbors access to the technologies and products that they need to improve their standards of living, further clean their environments, and create a true community of nations on our continent.

We also believe strongly in promoting trade. I have asked Bob Mosbacher to lead a governmentwide effort to help small- and medium-sized companies sell their goods and services abroad. I know you support free trade, which is why I want to help you in persuading Congress to extend the Fast Track process. Without it, we will surrender our chance to shape the emerging world economy. Without it, we risk setting off the kind of protectionist warfare that helped produce the Great Depression. And with it, American workers and businesses will be able to demonstrate their strength in a new and vibrant world market.

Let me say that we are approaching this Fast Track process on the Hill in a totally nonpartisan manner. The Democratic leaders, several of the key Democratic leaders, are as enthusiastic about this Fast Track authority granting as I am. And we're approaching it strictly because we believe that it is best for the United States of America. And I also know that it's good for our trading partners as well.

This brings me, then, to a second part of our growth package: creating an educated, innovative work force. Our budget emphasizes the importance of building an America that is ready to take its place in an emerging world economy. It stresses the absolute necessity of an educated nation. We want to reinvent the American school, to create a nation of students, to make sure that education offers opportunity to everyone.

Our education strategy starts with some very obvious truths: that schools succeed when teachers teach; when parents support the schools; when schools accept help from people with skills—local businesses, community colleges, that huge pool of untapped

talent, our retirees; when communities fight harder to rip down barriers that prevent effective teaching—barriers such as crimes and drugs and community indifference.

And we also want to encourage entrepreneurship in education. We will support research into the best teaching methods and techniques. We want to help workers improve their knowledge and skills. Your Vital Link program offers a great way to achieve this goal. And we want to ensure that the American people are the best educated, best motivated in the entire world.

Our economic proposals also sweep away obstacles to free enterprise. What we're trying to do—we're trying to unleash the power of American imagination.

Your organization understands, I'd say better than most, that runaway government spending steals opportunity from private citizens. Last year's budget agreement—controversial though it was—placed real and stringent caps on congressional spending. If Congress wants to spend money now, more money on certain programs, it'll have to make the hard choices. It'll have to raise taxes or take the money from other programs.

This year, for the first time in years, Federal spending will actually increase less rapidly than the inflation. And I can promise you that if Congress sends me these spending bills that break this budget, I will send them back, with a veto message.

But there's lots more to do. We in government must do more. As vice president, I headed the Task Force on Regulatory Relief. And as President, I remain committed to weeding out regulations that prevent people from creating jobs and opportunities. I see some know what over-regulation means. [Laughter] But we're going to continue to do this, and we must. Last year regulations—here's why—last year regulations cost the economy at least \$185 billion, or \$1,700 for every taxpayer. The Government generated more than 5.3 billion hours of paperwork last year. And that's enough to keep 2 million people busy doing nothing but filling out forms.

Our Council on Competitiveness; as chaired by Vice President Quayle, attacks the scourge of unnecessary regulation. We want to let people turn their attention to

Cap Gains

Apr. 9 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

the more important and rewarding work of building a prosperous future. We've followed the same approach in looking at our Tax Code. We want a tax system that rewards enterprise. I have repeatedly asked the United States Congress to cut our high capital gains tax. And I can't think of any issue that's been more badly misrepresented than this one. Our critics say that a capital gains cut helps only the rich. And in my view, they are dead wrong.

Here are the facts on it. More than a quarter of all families who file capital gains have annual incomes of less than \$20,000 a year. More than three-quarters of all families who declared make less than Members of Congress. A capital gains cut isn't a sop to the rich. It rewards people who turn good ideas into goods and services—goods and services that people need.

When taxes on entrepreneurship are high, investors have no incentive to risk money on untried businesses and entrepreneurs. Before Congress cut the capital gains rate in 1978, the pool for start-up businesses had virtually dried up. And after the cut, we experienced an investment boom. Between 1978 and 1986, the number of initial public offerings increased nearly 1600 percent, from 45 to 719. The amount of investment seed money increased nearly a hundredfold, from \$250 million to \$22.5 billion. Capital gains payments to the Federal Government quadrupled. This is what happens when you reduce the cost of capital.

We must encourage savings and discourage debt. And for the past 4 years we've taxed capital gains like any other form of income. And at the same time, we have encouraged people to take on debt. Not surprisingly, people have borrowed more and invested less. Home equity lines of credit offer a perfect example. These devices, which let homeowners borrow against their increased home values, have nearly tripled in volume since tax reform.

No other major industrial power taxes capital gains at nearly the rate we do. Germany and Japan enjoy much higher savings and investment rates in part because they don't punish successful investment.

My point is simple: Taxes on growth are taxes on the American dream. We should clear away obstacles to the American

dream. And similarly, we should foster innovation wherever we can.

Our budget advocates increased Federal support for R&D, for research and development, in basic and applied science. It also encourages private-sector innovation by extending the research and experimentation tax credit. Our administration understands the power of knowledge, and we want the Tax Code to reward people who turn their big dreams into revolutionary new goods and services.

And finally, this administration believes in protecting workers' earnings and savings. Our banking reform proposals—they try to modernize the laws that affect our banking system. Let's face it: 1930's regulations and restrictions don't cut it in the 1990's.

To pick just one example, under our current laws, a California bank can open a branch in Birmingham, England, but not in Birmingham, Alabama. Think of the banking system as an irrigation network for the economy. When it works properly, it nourishes the seeds of economic growth. And when it doesn't, companies like the ones represented here can wither and die. Our reform package tries in a very comprehensive way to make our banking system more competitive, up to date, safe and sound.

We also believe in protecting retirees from undue hardship. Eight years ago, Congress adopted measures to guarantee the short-term solvency and long-term stability of the Social Security system. Congress should resist any temptation to undermine that stability by permitting raids on the trust fund balances. We need to honor our promises to the workers and retirees. I know we've got a fight on this one. But I believe we're going to prevail.

I know I have covered a lot of ground, touching on a lot of different issues here, but I wanted to make a point. Our growth package addresses the challenges posed by a new, exciting, rapidly changing world. Our themes: We want to promote growth. We want to create jobs for all Americans. We want to unleash the power of American imagination. We want to ignite people's ambitions, rather than inciting their fears.

Many people call the 20th century the American century. Well, we shouldn't be content with that. The stunning collapse of

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**Remarks at the
for the National
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April 10, 1991**

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communism in 1989 was no accident. During the 1980's, the Communist world learned that no wall, no barrier can fend off powerful ideas. It saw our prosperity and our vitality. It saw that our way is better. The prosperity of the 1980's, which began with tax cuts and progrowth policies in the United States, transformed the entire world. Our challenge now is to shape the revolution that we started to make the 21st century the next American Century.

And so, I ask your help in that quest. Together, with business working cooperatively with government, we cannot fail.

Thank you all very much for coming to Washington. And may God bless our great country.

Note: The President spoke at 2:07 p.m. in the Great Hall at the Department of Commerce. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher; L. William Seidman, Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; Richard Breedon, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission; and Arthur Levitt, nominated to be a member of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission and former chairman of the American Stock Exchange.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the National Teacher of the Year Award in Slanesville, West Virginia April 10, 1991

The President. Well, please be seated. Kids, it's great to be with you. And you ought to be very happy that I'm here because you don't have to be in school working hard, you see. [Laughter] To all those who handled the arrangements for a complex visit like this, let me at the very beginning express my sincere thanks to you, and we promise to leave right on time so things can get back to normal in this beautiful part of our country.

I want to thank Secretary Alexander for his remarks, for his kind words. Thank all of you for this West Virginia welcome. It's good to see the Governor of this State here,

a friend of education, Governor Caperton, who you met earlier.

I'm told that a former Member of Congress, Harley Stagers, is here. I'm not focusing too well from up here, but if he—they're pointing out here. But anyway—way back over there. But Harley, nice to see you, sir—a man that served his State with great distinction. I want to single out Commissioner Benedict and Superintendent Marockie; John Quam, the director of the National Teacher of the Year Program; and of course, your own principal—and now that I feel a part of this school, our own principal—Gary Kidwell.

Let me say that I'm especially pleased, on this whole broad national education front, to be side-by-side with Lamar Alexander—a former Governor, a man that is committed, a former head of a great university system, now our Secretary of Education—a man who has made it his mission, his sacred mission, to join with the teachers of this school and others all across this country to make America's schools second to none. And very soon, back in Washington, we are going to unveil our National Education Strategy. It's a long-term strategy to make America all that it can be—to spark a nationwide movement that touches every school and every student in America.

But today I want to focus on the fact that, in the end, everything we try to do in education comes down to teaching and learning, to each teacher and each student in our classrooms. There's no better way to make that point than to come here to honor someone Slanesville knows so well, the 1991 National Teacher of the Year, Rae Ellen McKee.

You know, the last time I went to a school, it was just a few miles away from the White House, and I had a third-grade kid, a boy ask me to prove that I was the President. [Laughter] I finally showed him my American Express card. [Laughter] And this time I came prepared, though. I brought the Secretary of Education so there can be no doubt. And then I flew down here on Marine One. And third, when we're done here, just to prove it, I'm going to take Mrs. McKee back up to the White House with me.

Human Services, AIDS have been since 1982. That between 6,000 w years. AIDS is cause of death the ages of one that, during the become an even eath among chil-

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ge Bush, Presi- of America ck of June 10 Pediatric AIDS on health organi- s media, and the

people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate programs and activities.

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

George Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:57 a.m., June 13, 1991]

Nomination of Christopher W.S. Ross To Be United States Ambassador to Syria

June 12, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Christopher W.S. Ross, of California, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Syrian Arab Republic. He would succeed Edward P. Djerejian.

Since 1988 Ambassador Ross has served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. Prior to this, Ambassador Ross served at the Department of State as Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, 1985-1988, and as Director of Regional Affairs at the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 1984-1985. Ambassador Ross served as special assistant to the special Presidential envoys to Lebanon, the Middle East, and Tel Aviv, 1982-1984; at the Department of State as a public affairs adviser at the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 1981-1982; and as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Algiers, Algeria, 1979-1981. Ambassador Ross served with the U.S. Information Agency in several capacities: public affairs officer in Algiers, Algeria, 1976-1979; information officer in Beirut, Lebanon, 1973-1976; branch public affairs officer in Fez, Morocco, 1970-1973; junior officer trainee in Tripoli, Libya, 1969-1970; and public affairs trainee in Washington, DC, 1968-1969. Ambassador Ross entered the U.S. Information Agency in 1968.

Ambassador Ross graduated from Princeton University (A.B., 1965) and Johns Hop-

kins University (M.A., 1967). He was born March 3, 1943, in Quito, Ecuador. Ambassador Ross is married and resides in Algiers, Algeria.

Nomination of Jeffrey C. Martin To Be General Counsel at the Department of Education

June 12, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jeffrey C. Martin, of Tennessee, to be General Counsel of the Department of Education. He would succeed Edward C. Stringer.

Currently, Mr. Martin serves as a consultant to the Secretary at the Department of Education in Washington, DC. Prior to this, Mr. Martin served with the law firm of Shea & Gardner as a partner, 1985-1991; as an associate, 1980-1985; and as an associate with Barnes Hickman, Pantzer & Boyd, 1979-1980. From 1978 to 1979, Mr. Martin served as a law clerk to the Honorable Spottswood W. Robinson III, U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

Mr. Martin graduated from Indiana University (B.A., 1975) and the University of Chicago Law School (J.D., 1978). Mr. Martin was born December 5, 1953, in Columbus, OH. He is married, has two children, and resides in Silver Spring, MD.

Remarks on the Administration's Domestic Policy

June 12, 1991

Thank you all very much. Thank you, but don't give up your daytime work. [Laughter]

Thank you all, and good evening. Members of our Cabinet here, Governor Campbell and Governor Mike Castle. Honored guests. Dr. Benjamin Payton, and old friend, the President of Tuskegee University who brings a lifelong commitment to our historically black colleges and universities, welcome. Drew Batavia, winner of the 1988 Distinguished Disabled American Award, welcome to you, sir. To Robert Egger, founder of the D.C. Central Kitchen, and the 60 other Points of Light who are here tonight, your work inspires this nation.

I believe that the people gathered here tonight, under the twilight shadow of our magnificent Washington's Monument, understand this better than most. You are extraordinary Americans, representing thousands of others. You bring to life the genius of the American spirit. And it is through you and with you that we can solve our most pressing problems. Together we can transform America, and create whole and good communities everywhere. Tonight, all Americans can help lead the way.

A great nation has the courage to be honest about itself. And we are—let's never forget it—we are a great nation. I believe that absolutely, as do you.

We are indisputably the world's most powerful force for freedom and economic growth. Still, no one can deny that we have these enormous challenges. Not all Americans are living the American Dream by a long shot. Many can't even imagine it.

There are impoverished Americans, the poor and the homeless, the hungry and the hopeless, many unable to read and write. There are Americans gone astray, the kids dragged down by drugs, the shattered families, the teenage mothers struggling to cope. Then there are Americans uneasy, troubled and bewildered by the dizzying pace of change.

For many years I've crisscrossed this country, as many here have. As President, part of my job—and it really is an exciting part—is going to the small towns and the big cities, and the schools, the neighborhoods and the factories—those are the places where you discover what's good and right about our country—and what's going wrong, too.

The state of our nation is the state of our communities. As our communities flourish, our nation will flourish. So we must seek a nation of whole communities, a nation of good communities—an America, whole and good.

What defines such a community? First, it is one that cares for the needs of its young people by building character—values and good habits for life. Second, it's a community that provides excellent schools—schools that spark a life-long interest in learning. Next, there is opportunity and hope—rooted in the dignity of work and reward

for achievement. Fourth, it's where people care about their health and their environment—and where a sense of well-being and belonging is nurtured. And finally, all of its neighborhoods are decent and safe.

Because millions of Americans have chosen to lead the way, these are not simply dreams. Thousands of whole and good communities already flourish in America—communities where ordinary people have achieved the American Dream. We should never in our anguish lose sight of that. America is the most productive, prosperous, enlightened nation on Earth—a nation that can do anything. And we can do even better.

We should be confident as a country about what lies ahead. America has a track record of success—success shaped with our own hands. Sometimes in our impatience, yes, we've made mistakes—but when we do, we dust ourselves off and go at it again. Every American should take pride in this country's fundamental goodness—decency. Each of us must resolve in our own hearts that for all the good we've done, it's time to do better—much, much better.

Conventional wisdom in our day once held that all solutions were in the hands of government—call in the best and the brightest, hand over the keys to the national treasury. Bigger government was better government: compassion was measured in dollars and cents, progress by price tag. We tried that course. As we ended the '70s, our economy strangling on inflation, soaring interest rates and unemployment, America turned away from government as "the answer."

So, conventional wisdom then turned to the genius of the free market. We began a decade of exceptional economic growth—and created 20 million new jobs. And yet, let's face it, many of our streets are still not safe, our schools have lost their edge, and millions—millions still trudge the path of poverty. There is more to be done, and the marketplace alone can't solve all our problems.

Is the harsh lesson that there must always be those who are left behind? America must have but one answer, and that answer is, no. There is a better way, one that com-

biner our efforts—those of a government properly defined, the marketplace properly understood, and services to others properly engaged. This is the only way—all three of these—to an America whole and good.

It requires all three forces of our national life. First, it requires the power of the free market; second, a competent, compassionate government; and third, the ethic of serving others, including what I call the Points of Light. These three powerful forces create the conditions for communities to be whole and free—and it's time that we harnessed all three of them.

In our complex democracy, power is fragmented. And that can be frustrating. But on balance it's for the good. And power tends to move toward those who serve the greater good: entrepreneurs like John Bryant, a young self-starter who has built a multimillion-dollar enterprise and now helps rebuild inner-city Los Angeles; caring individuals like Mack Stolarski, a retired carpenter who now helps his student apprentices repair homes for the poor and disabled.

And because of the power of the free market, what so much of the world can only imagine, we take for granted: abundant food on the shelves of our supermarkets, quality products at our shopping centers. Nothing beats the free market at generating jobs and income and wealth and a better quality of life.

The good news in communities is that the free market is now applying its resources and know-how to our social problems. Many companies, recognizing that tomorrow's workers are today's students, are leaders of a revolution in American education—partners in the exciting America 2000 strategy. Others are crusaders for environmental protection, while still others are innovators from health care to child care.

Transforming America requires not only the power of the free market, but also a dynamic government. To be the enlightened instrument of the people—the government of Jefferson and Lincoln and Roosevelt, and the embodiment of their vision—it must truly be a force for good.

I believe in this kind of government—a government of compassion and competence. And I believe in backing it up with action. Here tonight, for example, is Mrs. Lauren Jackson-Floyd, one of the first Head

Start graduates. Now she teaches preschoolers in that same marvelous program. Her success is why we expanded Head Start by almost three-quarters of a billion dollars. And last year I signed our child care bill to expand parents' choices in caring for their children.

And we fought for a Clean Air Act that puts the free market in the service of the environment—and we won that one. And the Americans with Disabilities Act, the most important civil rights bill in decades, has brought new dignity and opportunity to our nation's disabled. Disability leaders like Justin Dart and Sandy Parrino and Evan Kemp were right here, right on this platform when I signed it, and they're with us tonight.

Jack Kemp and I stood with Ramona Younger across the river in Charles Houston Community Center, over there in Alexandria. And if the Congress enacts our HOPE Initiative—H-O-P-E—these public housing tenants can become America's newest home owners. Dewey Stokes here, President of the Fraternal Order of Police, wants to help make our neighborhoods safer, and that's why he supports our crime bill. And if we get a civil rights bill—and I want one—like the one I sent to Congress, we will take an important step against discrimination in the workplace.

This is not big government—this is good government.

And finally, along with the forces of the free market and the government, we must add this ethic of voluntary service—we call it Points of Light. This is not a phrase about charity. It's about the light that is within us all, in our hearts. A light that brightens the lives of others and makes whole the lives of those who shine it. I love Randy Travis' new song. It says, "a ray of hope in the darkest hour".

Points of light is a call to every American to serve another in need. But no one of us can solve big problems like poverty or drug abuse all by ourselves. Only the combined light from every school, every business, place of worship, club, group, organization in every community can dissolve the darkness.

Whether a company holds an after-hours literacy program for its workers, a police

station counsels to phone lonely ho senior citizens a points of light sho lives truly matter.

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station counsels tough kids, or third-graders phone lonely homebound citizens—these senior citizens assigned to their rooms—points of light show those in need that their lives truly matter.

Government and the market, joined with Points of Light, will overwhelm our social problems. And this is how we must guarantee the next American century. Every person, every business, every school board, our associations, our clubs, our places of worship—we all have the duty to lead.

And only then—only then can we truly think and act anew. And now Congress, too, must understand the successes and the failures of the past and help us forge a certain future in America.

You people gathered here tonight represent those who refuse to rest easy. I look out and I see so much reflected in your faces—the strength, the conviction, the commitment. You represent those millions of Americans who use power to achieve a greater good. And I know because you brought me into your homes and your neighborhoods and your schools and your churches.

And last year, I walked through a reclaimed crack house in Kansas City with Al Brooks, the leader of an anticrime coalition. And I learned more about how we can fight crime in 2 hours than in 2 months of TV news.

Another day I visited General Hospital here in DC, and held a tiny boarder baby in my arms, the child of cocaine addicts. And the remarkable dedication—I wish every one of you could have been with me—the remarkable dedication of the women who rescued these babies was just as moving. America needs to hear that story, too.

Just a few months ago, I dropped in on a little West Virginia school in a town called Slanesville. The National Teacher of the Year teaches remedial reading there. And her name is Rae Ellen McKee, and she's here tonight. And visiting her gave me the opportunity to say to the Nation, "Thank God for our teachers".

And just yesterday, Lamar and I—Lamar Alexander, the Secretary, and I flew over and I spoke before the graduating class of the James H. Groves Adult High School in Sussex County. And we were the guests of the Governor, Mike Castle. And I invited

the class to join us tonight. And I went there with the Governor and the Secretary to honor these men and women who had the courage to go back to school and get their diplomas. And they honored us by telling America to be a nation dedicated to lifelong learning.

These are the Americans who love this country for what it is and for what it can become. These are the Americans who make this a nation of boldness—filled with problem solvers, gifted with the American tradition of living up to our ideals. And these are the Americans who prove that no one in America is without a gift to give, a skill to share, a hand to offer.

This is the genius of America—ordinary Americans doing extraordinary things.

The Congress can refer our proposals to its committees and tie itself up with debate, and produce complicated and sometimes expensive and sometimes unworkable legislation. But in the end, we and them must carry forward the magic of America. We must carry forward what is good, and reach out and embrace what is best and we must do the hard work of freedom. You see, I know you have. And I know you will. Through you, our country can become an America whole and good.

For that our country is grateful, and because of that our country—the greatest and freest on the face of the Earth—will prevail.

Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:02 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Carroll Campbell of South Carolina; Gov. Michael N. Castle of Delaware; and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp. The audience of invitees, made up of elected officials, service organization representatives, and Point of Light award recipients sang a chorus of "Happy Birthday" to the President when he appeared on the South Lawn. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of these remarks.

Remarks on Childhood Immunization June 13, 1991

The President. Let me just say at the outset of these remarks how proud I am of our Secretary, who is taking the lead in

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 26, 1991

FACT SHEET

President Bush's Proposed
Enterprise for the Americas Initiative Act of 1991

Today, President Bush transmitted to the Congress the "Enterprise for the Americas Initiative Act of 1991," a key step towards implementing his new program to promote trade, investment, growth, and environmental protection in Latin America and the Caribbean. This proposal will establish the framework for moving forward on the investment, debt, and environmental aspects of his Initiative. It builds on the provisions included in Title VI of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 as amended by section 1512 of the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990 to allow us to move forward on a portion of the debt and environmental elements. The provisions implementing the trade pillar of the Initiative are moving forward on a separate track.

The proposal authorizes:

- o A U.S. contribution of \$500 million over 5 years to the Enterprise for the Americas Investment Fund to be established by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) as a source of additional support for investment reforms as well as technical assistance;
- o The creation of the Enterprise for the Americas Facility to support the objectives of the Initiative through administration of debt reduction operations for those nations that meet the economic and investment reform conditions;
- o For eligible countries, the reduction of concessional Agency for International Development obligations;
- o The deposit of local currency interest payments on the new, reduced obligations into debtor-owned Environmental Funds to support environmental programs and projects; and
- o The sale, reduction, or cancellation of a portion of the Eximbank loans made to eligible countries or Commodity Credit Corporation assets acquired as a result of credit

guarantees made in connection with export sales to eligible countries, in order to facilitate debt-for-equity, debt-for-development, and debt-for-nature swaps.

The Enterprise for the Americas Investment Fund will foster a climate favorable to investment in Latin American and Caribbean countries. It will serve as a complement to the new IDB investment sector lending program proposed as part of the President's Initiative. In particular, the Fund would advance specific, market-oriented investment policy initiatives and reforms and finance technical assistance for privatizing government-owned industries, building enterprise development and business infrastructure, and supporting worker training and education programs.

To be eligible for debt reduction, Latin American and Caribbean countries must:

- o Have in effect, have received approval for, or in exceptional circumstances be making significant progress toward International Monetary Fund/World Bank reform programs and World Bank adjustment loans;
- o Have in place major investment reforms in conjunction with an IDB loan or otherwise be implementing or making significant progress toward open investment regimes; and
- o Have negotiated a satisfactory financing program with commercial banks, including debt and debt service reduction, if appropriate.

The Enterprise for the Americas Facility will issue instructions to the appropriate Federal agencies to effect the debt reduction, sale, or cancellation which has been negotiated with eligible countries.

Provided a beneficiary country enters into a broad environmental framework agreement with the United States, the interest payments due on restructured concessional obligations will be paid in local currency and deposited in an Environmental Fund owned by the debtor country.

These local currency resources will be used to support environmental programs and projects in the individual countries. Responsibility for identifying projects to be supported by the Environmental Funds will be made by local administering bodies made up of a majority of nongovernmental organization representatives. A public/private Environment for the Americas Board in Washington will help ensure that appropriate local administering bodies are established and will review the annual

programs prepared by these bodies. Large grants will be subject to veto by the United States Government or the debtor government involved.

Enactment of the President's Enterprise for the Americas Initiative Act of 1991 will enable the United States to move forward in nurturing a more productive relationship with our increasingly democratic neighbors in Latin America and the Caribbean.

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October 11, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM: CAROL AARHUS
JEANNIE BUNTON
MICHELE NIX
BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: REFERENCES TO SPECIFIC DOMESTIC AGENDA

Per your request, we have compiled the following outline -- month-to-month, issue-by-issue, and speech-by-speech. The number of utterances refer to the total number of instances the President mentioned each issue.

JUNE, 1991

Crime:

- June 1 -- West Point Commencement; 1 utterance
- June 4 -- Thornburgh Resignation; 1 utterance
- June 12 -- Domestic Policy Address/South Lawn; 3 utterances
- June 14 -- Cal Tech Commencement; 2 utterances
- June 15 -- Presidential Dinner; 2 utterances
- June 17 -- Kasten Fundraiser; 2 utterances
- Law Enforcement Address; 10 utterances
- June 22 -- Radio Address; 5 utterances
- June 25 -- Law Enforcement Luncheon; 10 utterances

TOTAL: 36

Growth/Capital Gains/Incentives:

- June 1 -- West Point Commencement; 1 utterance
- June 3 -- NFIB; 2 utterances
- June 15 -- Presidential Dinner; 1 utterance
- June 17 -- Kasten Fundraiser; 3 utterances
- June 22 -- Radio Address; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 8

Transportation:

June 12 -- Domestic Policy Address/South Lawn; 2 utterances
June 14 -- Cal Tech Commencement; 1 utterance
June 15 -- President's Dinner; 2 utterances
June 17 -- Kasten Fundraiser; 1 utterance
June 21 -- AASHTO; 16 utterances
June 22 -- Radio Address; 7 utterances

TOTAL: 29

Energy:

June 22 -- Radio Address; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 1

Education:

June 1 -- West Point Commencement; 1 utterance
June 3 -- National Education Goals Panel; 5 utterances
Educational Leaders; 13 utterances
June 6 -- Southern Baptist Convention; 4 utterances
June 7 -- Drug-Free Schools; 11 utterances
June 11 -- PBS; 20 utterances
Delaware High School; 12 utterances
June 12 -- Domestic Policy Address/South Lawn; 1 utterance
June 13 -- Immunization Event/Rose Garden; 1 utterance
June 14 -- Cal Tech Commencement; 2 utterances
June 15 -- President's Dinner; 2 utterances
June 17 -- Grand Junction, Colorado; 16 utterances
Kasten Fundraiser; 2 utterances
June 19 -- Presidential Scholars; 8 utterances
June 22 -- Radio Address; 2 utterances

TOTAL: 100

JULY, 1991

Crime:

July 1 -- Thomas Nomination Announcement; 3 utterances
July 18 -- News Conf. with Mitsotakis; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 4

Growth/Capital Gains/incentives:

July 1 -- Thomas Nomination Announcement; 1 utterance
July 8 -- Remarks/Affordable Housing; 2 utterances
July 10 -- Greenspan Renomination Announcement; 2 utterances
July 18 -- Press Conference with Mitsotakis; 1 utterance
July 19 -- Remarks at the Greek-American COC; 4 utterances
July 24 -- NES; 1 utterance
July 25 -- Remarks signing Literacy Act; 1 utterance
July 29 -- Upcoming Moscow Summit; 12 utterances
July 31 -- Remarks/Soviet-U.S. Businessmen; 26 utterances

TOTAL: 50

Transportation:

NONE

Energy:

July 24 -- NES; 16 utterances

TOTAL: 16

Education:

July 8 -- New American Schools; 8 utterances
July 10 -- WHCLIS; 7 utterances
July 25 -- Remarks Signing Literacy Act; 6 utterances
July 29 -- Upcoming Moscow Summit; 1 utterance
July 30 -- Moscow Institute Remarks; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 23

AUGUST, 1991

Crime:

August 6 -- All-American Cities; 1 utterance
8th Annual Night Out; 27 utterances
August 14 -- Nat'l Fraternal Order of Police; 74 utterances
August 18 -- NGA Teleconference; 1 utterance
August 22 -- Exchange With Reporters; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 104

Growth/Capital Gains/Incentives:

August 1 -- Remarks to the Supreme Soviet; 10 utterances
August 2 -- President's News Conference; 27 utterances
August 6 -- All-American Cities; 2 utterances
August 18 -- NGA Teleconference; 3 utterances

TOTAL: 42

Transportation:

August 18 -- NGA Teleconference; 10 utterances
August 22 -- Exchange With Reporters; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 11

Energy:

August 18 -- NGA Teleconference; 27 utterances
August 22 -- Exchange With Reporters; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 28

Education:

August 2 -- President's News Conference; 5 utterances
August 18 -- NGA Teleconference; 53 utterances
August 22 -- Exchange With Reporters; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 59

SEPTEMBER, 1991

Crime:

September 12 -- Philly Drug Speech; 1 utterance
 Thornburgh Fundraiser; 5 utterances
September 16 -- Medal of Sci. and Tech.; 6 utterances
September 17 -- Teleconf. w/Schoolchildren; 10 utterances
September 19 -- Packwood Fundraiser; 2 utterances
 Seymour Fundraiser; 3 utterances
September 20 -- Hispanic COC; 9 utterances
September 24 -- NJ GOP; 3 utterances
September 30 -- Disney POL Speech; 1 utterance
 Beacon Council; 4 utterances
 Buddy Roemer Fundraiser; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 45

- continued -

Growth/Capital Gains/incentives:

September 6 -- NATAT; 3 utterances
September 12 -- President's News Conference; 1 utterance
September 16 -- SERI; 1 utterance
September 20 -- Hispanic COC; 7 utterances
September 24 -- NJ GOP; 11 utterances
September 30 -- Beacon Council; 7 utterances
Buddy Roemer Fundraiser; 3 utterances

TOTAL: 33

Transportation:

September 6 -- NATAT; 6 utterances
September 12 -- Thornburgh Fundraiser; 1 utterance
September 18 -- GOP Salt Lake; 2 utterance
September 19 -- Packwood Fundraiser; 4 utterances
Green Line/I-105 Project; 12 utterances
September 30 -- Beacon Council; 1 utterance
Buddy Roemer Fundraiser; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 27

Energy:

September 12 -- Thornburgh fundraiser; 2 utterances
September 16 -- SERI; 28 utterances
Medal of Sci. and Tech.; 2 utterances
September 18 -- Grand Canyon; 1 utterance
September 19 -- Packwood Fundraiser; 1 utterance
Seymour Fundraiser; 1 utterance
September 30 -- Beacon Council; 1 utterance

TOTAL: 36

Education:

September 2 -- Labor Day Message; 1 utterance
September 3 -- Lewiston, Maine; 22 utterances
September 4 -- Exchange with Reporters; 2 utterances
Peace Corps Dir. Resig.; 2 utterances
America 2000 Conference Call; 1 utterance
September 6 -- NATAT; 10 utterances
September 11 -- Stan Scott Tribute; 3 utterances
September 18 -- SLC Airport Arrival; 2 utterances
Salt Lake City GOP; 12 utterances
September 19 -- Packwood Fundraiser; 18 utterances
Seymour Fundraiser; 11 utterances
September 24 -- NJ GOP; 8 utterances

September 25 -- Minority Business Week; 1 utterance
Blue Ribbon Schools; 9 utterances
September 30 -- Beacon Council; 3 utterances
Buddy Roemer Fundraiser; 6 utterances

TOTAL: 111

Thus concludes our research on this matter. Please call if you have any questions, or need further explanation.

Inaugural Address *January 20, 1989*

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors, and friends:

There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts and in our history. President Reagan, on behalf of our nation, I thank you for the wonderful things that you have done for America.

I've just repeated word for word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago, and the Bible on which I placed my hand is the Bible on which he placed his. It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today not only because this is our bicentennial inauguration but because Washington remains the Father of our Country. And he would, I think, be gladdened by this day; for today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: our continuity, these 200 years, since our government began.

We meet on democracy's front porch. A good place to talk as neighbors and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended. And my first act as President is a prayer. I ask you to bow your heads.

Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank You for Your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do Your work, willing to heed and hear Your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord. Amen.

I come before you and assume the Presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better. For a new breeze is

blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn. For in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken and new action to be taken. There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path. But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow.

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy through the door to freedom. Men and women of the world move toward free markets through the door to prosperity. The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows.

We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.

For the first time in this century, for the first time in perhaps all history, man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves. We must act on what we know. I take as my guide the hope of a saint: In crucial things, unity; in important things, diversity; in all things, generosity.

America today is a proud, free nation, decent and civil, a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly but as a simple fact, that this

country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good. But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work and sacrifice?

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend; a loving parent; a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood, and town better than he found it. And what do we want the men and women who work with us to say when we're no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better and stayed a moment there to trade a word of friendship?

No President, no government can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the Nation and gentler the face of the world. My friends, we have work to do. There are the homeless, lost and roaming. There are the children who have nothing, no love and no normalcy. There are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction—drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. There are young women to be helped who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love. They need our care, our guidance, and our education, though we bless them for choosing life.

The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that that is not so. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down.

We have more will than wallet, but will is what we need. We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety. And then we will do the wisest thing of all. We will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and the courage of the American people.

And I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others, a new activism, hands-on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young. For not only leadership is passed from generation to generation but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the Second World War has come of age.

I have spoken of a Thousand Points of Light, of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the Nation, doing good. We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I'll ask every member of my government to become involved. The old ideas are new again because they're not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in.

We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate. And we must bring the Federal budget into balance. And we must ensure that America stands before the world united, strong, at peace, and fiscally sound. But of course things may be difficult. We need to compromise; we've had dissension. We need harmony; we've had a chorus of discordant voices.

For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's ideas are challenged but each other's motives. And our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of

each other. It's nam. That war c that war began century ago, and nation has been final lesson of nation can long memory. A new old bipartisanship

To my friends—my friends—in the I mean loyal—I putting out my hand putting out my hand Leader. For this of the offered hand clocks, and I do fathers were you ences ended at don't wish to turn mothers were you the Congress and ble of working budget on which us negotiate soon let us produce. T action. They did They ask us to r san. "In crucial t friends, is crucial

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each other. It's been this way since Viet-
nam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends,
that war began in earnest a quarter of a
century ago, and surely the statute of limi-
tation has been reached. This is a fact: The
final lesson of Vietnam is that no great
nation can long afford to be sundered by a
memory. A new breeze is blowing, and the
old bipartisanship must be made new again.

To my friends, and, yes, I do mean
friends—in the loyal opposition and, yes, I
mean loyal—I put out my hand. I am put-
ting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker. I am
putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority
Leader. For this is the thing: This is the age
of the offered hand. And we can't turn back
clocks, and I don't want to. But when our
fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differ-
ences ended at the water's edge. And we
don't wish to turn back time, but when our
mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader,
the Congress and the Executive were capa-
ble of working together to produce a
budget on which this nation could live. Let
us negotiate soon and hard. But in the end,
let us produce. The American people await
action. They didn't send us here to bicker.
They ask us to rise above the merely partisan.
"In crucial things, unity"—and this, my
friends, is crucial.

To the world, too, we offer new engage-
ment and a renewed vow: We will stay
strong to protect the peace. The offered
hand is a reluctant fist; once made—strong,
and can be used with great effect. There
are today Americans who are held against
their will in foreign lands and Americans
who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be
shown here and will be long remembered.
Good will begets good will. Good faith can
be a spiral that endlessly moves on.

Great nations like great men must keep
their word. When America says something,
America means it, whether a treaty or an
agreement or a vow made on marble steps.
We will always try to speak clearly, for
candor is a compliment; but subtlety, too, is
good and has its place. While keeping our
alliances and friendships around the world
strong, ever strong, we will continue the
new closeness with the Soviet Union, con-
sistent both with our security and with
progress. One might say that our new rela-
tionship in part reflects the triumph of

hope and strength over experience. But
hope is good, and so is strength and vigi-
lance.

Here today are tens of thousands of our
citizens who feel the understandable satis-
faction of those who have taken part in de-
mocracy and seen their hopes fulfilled. But
my thoughts have been turning the past
few days to those who would be watching
at home, to an older fellow who will throw
a salute by himself when the flag goes by
and the woman who will tell her sons the
words of the battle hymns. I don't mean
this to be sentimental. I mean that on days
like this we remember that we are all part
of a continuum, inescapably connected by
the ties that bind.

Our children are watching in schools
throughout our great land. And to them I
say, Thank you for watching democracy's
big day. For democracy belongs to us all,
and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can
go higher and higher with the breeze. And
to all I say, No matter what your circum-
stances or where you are, you are part of
this day, you are part of the life of our great
nation.

A President is neither prince nor pope,
and I don't seek a window on men's souls.
In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, and
easygoingness about each other's attitudes
and way of life.

There are few clear areas in which we as
a society must rise up united and express
our intolerance. The most obvious now is
drugs. And when that first cocaine was
smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have
been a deadly bacteria, so much has it hurt
the body, the soul of our country. And
there is much to be done and to be said,
but take my word for it: This scourge will
stop!

And so, there is much to do. And tomor-
row the work begins. And I do not mistrust
the future. I do not fear what is ahead. For
our problems are large, but our heart is
larger. Our challenges are great, but our
will is greater. And if our flaws are endless,
God's love is truly boundless.

Some see leadership as high drama and
the sound of trumpets calling, and some-
times it is that. But I see history as a book
with many pages, and each day we fill a

page with acts of hopefulness and meaning. The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds. And so, today a chapter begins, a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity—shared, and written, together.

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

Remarks to White House Visitors January 21, 1989

The President. Good morning, everybody. [Applause] Thank you. Thank you all very much. Let me just say that I know some of you have been up all night long. And so, what we want to do is not delay this but take whoever is first. And I gather that's been sorted out by whoever got first in line into the—

Visitors. No!

The President. Not quite?

Visitors. No!

The President. Okay, so there's some injustice out there. [Laughter]

Visitor. We love you, George! I love you!

The President. No, but this is the people's house, and it just seemed appropriate on

Note: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. at the West Front of the Capitol. Prior to his address, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

this first day that we welcome as many as we can. I have a little hiatus in the middle because I do have to go over to this building. I'm sure most of you recognize that as the West Wing, and then the office you see in the corner is the President's Oval Office. And I have to go sign one or two things and at least start to work over there, and then I will come back. Barbara will be here—some of our kids inside. But we just wanted to wish you well and welcome you to the people's house.

Thank you all very, very much. Thank you. We'll scoot on in.

Note: The President spoke at 8:05 a.m. at the Executive Entrance of the White House.

Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters January 21, 1989

The President. Good morning, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

First Day as President

Q. How are you? How does it feel to be President?

The President. It feels just fine—setting in now, after the glamour and excitement of the inauguration. It's a great joy to have my mother here, the leader of our family, a great joy to have our ten kids over there last night. One got sick, so I had the duty at about 6 a.m. this morning. Ellie LeBlond—pumped a half a Tylenol into her, and she's

looking good. Ate two pancakes—what you'd call a rapid recovery.

Q. Which one was ill, sir?

The President. Ellie, Doro's daughter, the Thousand Points of Light kid that ran across in the commercial. No, but it's so exciting over there and just a joy to have the family all there. They'll start leaving. We have a luncheon today with 240.

Mrs. Bush. Oh, really?

The President. Yes, 240—family.

Mrs. Bush. Oh, my Lord!

Q. Are you responsible for all that? Are you responsible for 240?

Mrs. Bush. No.

Q. What are you

Mrs. Bush. What

Q. What are you

Mrs. Bush. Oh,

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1966-1969; management officer in London, 1965-1966; educational and cultural affairs officer and Director of the Department of State Reception Centers, 1962-1965. Mr. Krys also served as a consultant to the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, 1961. In 1983 he received the Presidential Meritorious Service Award.

Mr. Krys graduated from the University of Maryland in 1955. He was a Distinguished Graduate of the National War College in 1977. He was born in New York in 1934. He is married, has three daughters, and resides in Washington, DC.

Remarks on the 20th Anniversary of the Apollo Moon Landing July 20, 1989

Thank you all very, very much. And thank you, Mr. Vice President, for your introduction and for undertaking to head the National Space Council and for already demonstrating your skill for leadership there. And thanks to all of you, who have braved the weather to join us today.

Behind me stands one of the most visited places on Earth, a symbol of American courage and ingenuity. And before me stand those on whose shoulders this legacy was built: the men and women of the United States astronaut corps. And we are very proud to be part of this unprecedented gathering of America's space veterans and to share this stage with three of the greatest heroes of this or any other century: the crew of *Apollo 11*.

It's hard to believe that 20 years have passed. Neil and Buzz, who originated the moonwalk 15 years before Michael Jackson ever even thought of it. [Laughter] And Michael Collins, former director of this amazing museum and the brave pilot who flew alone on the dark side of the Moon while Neil [Armstrong] and Buzz [Aldrin] touched down—Mike, you must be the only American over age 10 that night who didn't get to see the Moon landing. [Laughter]

And later this evening after the crowd disperses and the Sun goes down, a nearly full Moon will rise out of the darkness and shine down on an America that is prosper-

ous and at peace. And for those old enough to remember that historic night 20 years ago, step outside tonight with your children or your grandchildren, lift your eyes skyward, and tell them of the flag—the American flag—that still flies proudly in the ancient lunar soil. And for those who were not yet born, or then too young to recall, you who are the children of the new century, raise your eyes to the heavens and join us in a great dream, an American dream, a dream without end.

Project *Apollo*, the first men on the Moon—some called it quixotic, impossible—had never been done. But America dreamed it, and America did it. And it began on July 16th, 1969. The Sun rose a second time that morning as the awesome fireball of the Saturn 5 lifted these three pioneers beyond the clouds. A crowd of one million, including half of the United States Congress, held its breath as the Earth shook beneath their feet and our view of the heavens was changed forevermore.

Three days and three nights they journeyed. It was a perilous, unprecedented, breathtaking voyage. And each of us remember the night. Barbara and our daughter, Dorothy, were with me in our red-brick house right here on the outskirts of Washington, where we moved up here to represent Houston in the United States Congress. Our 12-year-old kid, Marvin, was on a trip out West with family friends and remembers stopping at a roadside motel to watch. Second boy, Jeb, 16 that summer, teaching English and listening by radio in a small Mexican village, where electricity had yet to arrive.

The landing itself was harrowing. Alarms flashed, and a computer overload threatened to halt the mission while *Eagle* dangled thousands of feet above the Moon. Armstrong seized manual control to avoid a huge crater strewn with boulders. With new alarms signaling a loss of fuel and the view now blocked by lunar dust, Mission Control began the countdown for a mandatory abort.

America, indeed the whole world, listened—a lump in our throat and a prayer on our lips. And only 20 seconds of fuel remained. And then out of the static came

the words: "Houston. Tranquility Base here. The *Eagle* has landed."

Within one lifetime, the human race had traveled from the dunes of Kitty Hawk to the dust of another world. *Apollo* is a monument to our nation's unparalleled ability to respond swiftly and successfully to a clearly stated challenge and to America's willingness to take great risks for great rewards. We had a challenge. We set a goal. And we achieved it.

So, today is not only an occasion to thank these astronauts and their colleagues—the thousands of talented men and women across the country whose commitment, creativity, and courage brought this dream to life—it's also a time to thank the American people for their faith, because *Apollo's* success was made possible by the drive and daring of an entire nation committed to a dream.

In the building behind me are the testaments to *Apollo* and to what came before—the chariots of fire flown by Armstrong, Yeager, Lindbergh, and the Wrights. And in the National Archives, across the great expanse of grass, are preserved the founding documents of the idea that made it all possible: the world's greatest experiment in freedom and diversity. And here, standing between these twin legacies, is a fitting place to look forward to the future, because the *Apollo* astronauts left more than flags and footprints on the Moon: They also left some unfinished business. For even 20 years ago, we recognized that America's ultimate goal was not simply to go there and go back but to go there and go on. Mike Collins said it best: "The Moon is not a destination; it's a direction."

And space is the inescapable challenge to all the advanced nations of the Earth. And there's little question that, in the 21st century, humans will again leave their home planet for voyages of discovery and exploration. What was once improbable is now inevitable. The time has come to look beyond brief encounters. We must commit ourselves anew to a sustained program of manned exploration of the solar system and, yes, the permanent settlement of space. We must commit ourselves to a future where Americans and citizens of all nations will live and work in space.

And today, yes, the U.S. is the richest nation on Earth with the most powerful economy in the world. And our goal is nothing less than to establish the United States as the preeminent spacefaring nation.

From the voyages of Columbus to the Oregon Trail to the journey to the Moon itself history proves that we have never lost by pressing the limits of our frontiers. Indeed, earlier this month, one news magazine reported that *Apollo* paid down-to-earth dividends, declaring that man's conquest of the Moon "would have been a bargain at twice the price." And they called *Apollo* "the best return on investment since Leonardo da Vinci bought himself a sketch pad." [Laughter]

In 1961 it took a crisis—the space race—to speed things up. Today we don't have a crisis; we have an opportunity. To seize this opportunity, I'm not proposing a 10-year plan like *Apollo*, I'm proposing a long-range, continuing commitment. First, for the coming decade, for the 1990's—Space Station *Freedom*, our critical next step in all our space endeavors. And next, for the new century, back to the Moon. Back to the future. And this time, back to stay. And then a journey into tomorrow, a journey to another planet: a manned mission to Mars.

Each mission should and will lay the groundwork for the next. And the pathway to the stars begins, as it did 20 years ago, with you, the American people. And it continues just up the street there, to the United States Congress, where the future of the space station and our future as a spacefaring nation will be decided.

And, yes, we're at a crossroads. Hard decisions must be made now as we prepare to enter the next century. As William Jennings Bryan said, just before the last turn of the century: "Destiny is not a matter of chance; it is a matter of choice. It is not a thing to be waited for; it is a thing to be achieved."

And to those who may shirk from the challenges ahead, or who doubt our chances of success, let me say this: To this day, the only footprints on the Moon are American footprints. The only flag on the Moon is an American flag. And the know-how that accomplished these feats is American know-how. What Americans dream, Americans can do. And 10 years from now, on the 30th

anniversary of this extraordinary and astonishing flight, the way to honor the *Apollo* astronauts is not by calling them back to Washington for another round of tributes. It is to have Space Station *Freedom* up there, operational, and underway, a new bridge between the worlds and an investment in the growth, prosperity, and technological superiority of our nation. And the space station will also serve as a stepping stone to the most important planet in the solar system: planet Earth.

As I said in Europe just a few days ago, environmental destruction knows no borders. A major national and international initiative is needed to seek new solutions for ozone depletion and global warming and acid rain. And this initiative, "Mission to Planet Earth," is a critical part of our space program. And it reminds us of what the astronauts remember as the most stirring sight of all. It wasn't the Moon or the stars, as I remember. It was the Earth—tiny, fragile, precious, blue orb—rising above the arid desert of Tranquility Base.

The space station is a first and necessary step for sustained manned exploration, one that we're pleased has been endorsed by Senator Glenn, and Neil Armstrong, and so many of the veteran astronauts we honor today. But it's only a first step.

And today I'm asking my right hand man, our able Vice President, Dan Quayle, to lead the National Space Council in determining specifically what's needed for the next round of exploration—the necessary money, manpower, and materials, the feasibility of international cooperation, and develop realistic timetables, milestones along the way. The Space Council will report back to me as soon as possible with concrete recommendations to chart a new and continuing course to the Moon and Mars and beyond.

There are many reasons to explore the universe, but 10 very special reasons why America must never stop seeking distant frontiers: the 10 courageous astronauts who made the ultimate sacrifice to further the cause of space exploration. They have taken their place in the heavens so that America can take its place in the stars.

Like them, and like Columbus, we dream of distant shores we've not yet seen. Why the Moon? Why Mars? Because it is human-

ity's destiny to strive, to seek, to find. And because it is America's destiny to lead.

Six years ago, *Pioneer 10* sailed beyond the orbits of Neptune and of Pluto, the first man-made object to leave the solar system. Its destination unknown. It's now journeyed through the tenures of five Presidents—four billion miles from Earth. In the decades ahead, we will follow the path of *Pioneer 10*. We will travel to neighboring stars, to new worlds, to discover the unknown. And it will not happen in my lifetime, and probably not during the lives of my children, but a dream to be realized by future generations must begin with this generation. We cannot take the next giant leap for mankind tomorrow unless we take a single step today.

To all of you here, our able director of NASA and others who've served so well—to all of you here—and especially the astronauts, we wish you good luck in your quests, wherever that may take you. Godspeed to you, one and all, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. on the steps of the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum. In his closing remarks, he referred to Richard H. Truly, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Before making his remarks, the President viewed the Apollo 11 lunar module in the museum. Following his remarks, he participated in the unveiling of a stamp commemorating the Apollo 11 Moon mission.

Remarks at a Barbecue for Astronauts and National Aeronautics and Space Administration Officials on the 20th Anniversary of the Apollo Moon Landing

July 20, 1989

America's astronauts and spouses, friends in the United States Congress, NASA officials, and other honored guests, I say wel-

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Remarks at a Meeting of the American Society of Association Executives

February 27, 1991

Thank you very, very much. And what a wonderful reception. And I interpret that, I think properly, the same way I interpreted the applause at the State of the Union message—as strong support for those men and women that are serving our country overseas. And now the war is almost over, and I think we owe them a vote of thanks, and I think I heard it right now. So, thank you, Bill, and I'm just delighted to be here.

I want to shift and talk about domestic matters. And Bill, I couldn't help but glance at this marvelous quilt coming in here, and I do think that we owe you and all the others in the association a vote of thanks for following through and, indeed, being points of light.

I want to salute our Attorney General who is with us today; our two able Secretaries so concerned also about what we're talking about today, Secretaries Kemp and Sullivan; Ted Sanders, who is doing a superb job as our Acting Secretary at Education; and, of course, my old friend, a man so well-known to all of you, Bob Woodson of the Center for Neighborhood Enterprise. You know, it's hard to believe that a year has passed since the challenge Bill mentioned, since I challenged the members of ASAE to channel the tremendous energy of

this organization and transform a nation through community service. And what a terrific job you've done.

Looking around the room today, peeking, before I came in here, I see so many familiar faces, so many people that are making a difference in the lives of others. Every man and woman here believes in the power of the individual, and is bolstered by the conviction that America is indeed a land of opportunity. For more than 200 years, America has been the home of free markets and free people. And there is no question: Opportunity in America is the envy of the entire world.

The story of America has been the story of opportunity. Throughout our history, we've pioneered the frontiers of liberty for all humanity. Our Founding Fathers created perhaps the most simple yet profound document in modern history—our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Abraham Lincoln broke forever the chains of human slavery. The suffrage movement made the promise of democracy a reality for women. The founders of our public schools unleashed our national potential through universal education. And by their struggle for equal rights, the leaders of the civil rights movement helped bring dignity to the oppressed and disenfranchised. The story of opportunity in America is the story of Thomas Paine and Frederick Douglass, Clara Barton, the Wright brothers, Rosa Parks.

But it doesn't end there, with these heroes from our past. There are the new American heroes of today, many of them in this room. And they, too, are inspired by pride, integrity, faith in the dignity of man, and courage—yes, courage to overcome the odds. It's called leadership by example—and it's made America the world's great beacon of freedom.

These modern visionaries are the ones that are making history—propelling us into the next American century. Theirs is a movement—it's more than 200 years old—as old as the Declaration of Independence—a movement defined by what Jefferson called “the American mind” and what I've been calling “the American idea.” It continues to sweep our country today with a vigor as strong as ever. It's a vision driven

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Everyone knows the best education takes place in a safe, drug-free environment. It is difficult for children to learn if there's violence in the classroom or crime out in the schoolyard or drug pushers along the way home. And older students and workers find it hard to attend night school or put in late hours at the office because of the danger that darkness brings, especially in crime-ridden neighborhoods.

Low-income Americans are the ones more likely to be intimidated by crime, less likely to be able to take advantage of opportunities that may be across town or even just around the corner. They're the ones defending themselves and their families from the drug dealers and muggers down the hall or down the street. And they're the ones who need opportunity the most.

It is in their name that this battle for the streets of our cities must be waged. The thugs and the gangs and the drug kingpins should be the casualties of this war. Our tactics: mandatory sentences for using a firearm in a violent crime; strengthened protection against sex crimes and child abuse; tough prosecutors; courts that mete out equal justice, swiftly and surely; a prison system that is up to the job. And finally, our strategy must include an unequivocal commitment to our young people. There are meaningful and adventurous alternatives to a life of crime. And it starts with an education, a neighborhood that's safe and secure.

Opportunity is built on these foundations, but the door is opened by one thing: a job. Every American who wants a job should be able to get one. Of course, vestiges of the past remain. Bigotry and discrimination, regrettably, still do exist. But we have powerful legal tools for eliminating discrimination. And remember, the legal guarantees of equality of opportunity are largely in place: *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Fair Housing Acts of both 1968 and 1988, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

To assure that every American enjoys the equality of opportunity and access, I am determined to continue the vigorous enforcement of these and of all our civil rights laws. And where our laws need improvement, I am committed to refining them. We will soon introduce legislation with

strong new remedies to protect women from sexual harassment and minorities from racial prejudice in the workplace. And I call on the Congress to act promptly on this important initiative. But legislation that only creates a lawyer's bonanza helps no one. We all know where opportunity really begins. As I said above, it begins with a job.

In our hardest hit urban and rural areas our enterprise zone proposal will create new small businesses. We're providing new incentives for employers to hire more workers, by eliminating the capital gains tax on businesses in these areas, and attracting more seed capital. Our proposals mean economic growth, more minority entrepreneurs and most importantly, again, jobs.

The American dream also means choosing where to live and, for many working people, owning a home someday. We're offering public housing residents not only control and management of their own community, but for the first time, access to home ownership and private property to gain a stake in their communities. We've asked the Congress to provide much-needed funding for the HOPE program in 1991, to make this opportunity a reality in our inner cities this year. And we're proposing that Americans be allowed to use the money from their IRA's to buy their first home. These initiatives will bring us closer to our goal of one million new homeowners by 1992.

You know, there's something reassuring about becoming a part of a neighborhood, a community that pulls together in times of crisis, that looks out for one another. Each community in America is different, and its residents know best how to take care of each other, what the best options are for programs and services for those who need a hand. And so, we're proposing to allow communities to restructure programs at the local level.

Our strength as a nation lies in the strength of our communities, the sum of our neighborhoods and families, our hopes and dreams for the future. This is our administration's agenda for opportunity. It begins in the heart of every person who believes in freedom and lives on in the American dream. Every man and woman in this room shares its vision. The great poet, Carl Sand-

Feb. 27 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

burg, put it this way: "nothing happens unless first a dream." Our mandate is to make the dream a reality.

We face a new century, a new American century. Half a world away, our allied troops face a defining moment in the new world order. And they are succeeding in their battle because each and every one of them possesses a pride in their country, integrity in their cause, and courage in their heart.

Our troops will be home soon—coming home to a grateful nation. And I want to ensure that their return is to a land of equal opportunity. And just as they have stood to safeguard our freedom—the world's freedom—let us stand with pride, integrity, and courage in our hearts and expand the freedoms of all Americans. It's up to each of us to secure the triumph of "the American idea." And that idea is opportunity.

With God's help and yours, we will succeed. Thank you all very much. And may God bless our troops, and may God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 11:08 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to R. William Taylor, president of the American Society of Association Executives; Attorney General Dick Thornburgh; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp; and Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan.

Address to the Nation on the Suspension of Allied Offensive Combat Operations in the Persian Gulf

February 27, 1991

Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met. Kuwait is once more in the hands of Kuwaitis, in control of their own destiny. We share in their joy, a joy tempered only by our compassion for their ordeal.

Tonight the Kuwaiti flag once again flies above the capital of a free and sovereign nation. And the American flag flies above our Embassy.

Seven months ago, America and the world drew a line in the sand. We declared that the aggression against Kuwait would not stand. And tonight, America and the world have kept their word.

This is not a time of euphoria, certainly not a time to gloat. But it is a time of pride: pride in our troops; pride in the friends who stood with us in the crisis; pride in our nation and the people whose strength and resolve made victory quick, decisive, and just. And soon we will open wide our arms to welcome back home to America our magnificent fighting forces.

No one country can claim this victory as its own. It was not only a victory for Kuwait but a victory for all the coalition partners. This is a victory for the United Nations, for all mankind, for the rule of law, and for what is right.

After consulting with Secretary of Defense Cheney, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Powell, and our coalition partners, I am pleased to announce that at midnight tonight eastern standard time, exactly 100 hours since ground operations commenced and 6 weeks since the start of Desert Storm, all United States and coalition forces will suspend offensive combat operations. It is up to Iraq whether this suspension on the part of the coalition becomes a permanent cease-fire.

Coalition political and military terms for a formal cease-fire include the following requirements:

Iraq must release immediately all coalition prisoners of war, third country nationals, and the remains of all who have fallen. Iraq must release all Kuwaiti detainees. Iraq also must inform Kuwaiti authorities of the location and nature of all land and sea mines. Iraq must comply fully with all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. This includes a rescinding of Iraq's August decision to annex Kuwait, and acceptance in principle of Iraq's responsibility to pay compensation for the loss, damage, and injury its aggression has caused.

The coalition calls upon the Iraqi Government to designate military commanders to meet within 48 hours with their coalition counterparts at a place in the theater of operations to be specified, to arrange for military aspects of the cease-fire. Further, I

have asked Secretary Baker to request that the United Nations Security Council meet to form arrangements for this.

This suspension of operations is contingent upon any coalition force that launches Scud missiles against Iraq violates these terms. Iraq will be free to resume

At every opportunity, we will tell the people of Iraq that our goal is not them but instead we want to live above all, with Saddam Hussein remains the case. You are not our enemy. We will not use force or destruction. We have no intention of using force with kindness. Coalition operations are only as a last resort. The day when Iraq is prepared to live in peace.

We must now begin the process of securing and war. We must begin the process of securing the peace. We will consult with the coalition partners. We've already done so and planning for the future. Secretary Baker has consulted with our coalition partners on the region's challenges. They are not solely American challenges. But we can work with the countries of the region to bring about peace. In this spirit, we will continue to the region next round of consultation.

This war is now behind us. It is the difficult task of securing a historic peace. We are proud of what we have achieved. Let us give thanks to the coalition partners who gave their lives. Let us never forget their lives. May God bless the coalition forces and their families. Remember them in our prayers.

Good night, and thank you for the United States of America.

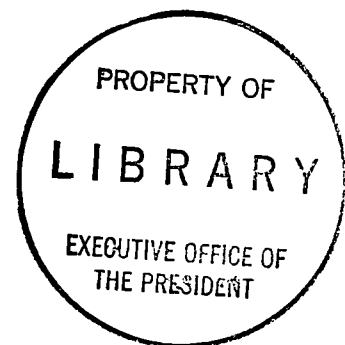
Note: President Bush spoke from the Oval Office. In his address, he mentioned Saddam Hussein.

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Allies

40 I am most anxious that in dealing with matters which every Member knows are extremely delicate matters, I should not use any phrase or expression which would cause offence to our friends and Allies on the Continent or across the Atlantic Ocean.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, chancellor of the exchequer, remarks, House of Commons, December 10, 1924.—*Parliamentary Debates (Commons)*, 5th series, vol. 179, col. 259 (1925).

The subject was inter-Allied debts.

41 It is not given to us to peer into the mysteries of the future. Still, I avow my hope and faith, sure and inviolate, that in the days to come the British and American peoples will for their own safety and for the good of all walk together side by side in majesty, in justice, and in peace.

Prime Minister WINSTON CHURCHILL, speech to a joint session of Congress, Washington, D.C., December 26, 1941.—*Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 6, p. 6541 (1974).

These words, the conclusion of Churchill's speech, were followed by "Prolonged applause, the Members of the Senate and their guests rising," according to the *Congressional Record*, vol. 87, p. 10119.

42 We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow.

LORD PALMERSTON, remarks in the House of Commons defending his foreign policy, March 1, 1848.—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3d series, vol. 97, col. 122.

America

43 It may be that without a vision men shall die. It is no less true that, without hard practical sense, they shall also die. Without Jefferson the new nation might have lost its soul. Without Hamilton it would assuredly have been killed in body.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, *Jeffersonian Principles and Hamiltonian Principles*, p. xvii (1932).

See also No. 1331.

44 But America is a great, unwieldy Body. Its Progress must be slow. It is like a large Fleet sailing under Convoy. The fleetest Sailors must wait for the dullest and slowest. Like a Coach and six—the swiftest Horses must be slackened and the slowest quickened, that all may keep an even Pace.

JOHN ADAMS, letter to Abigail Adams, June 11/June 17, 1775.—*Adams Family Correspondence*, ed. L. H. Butterfield, vol. 1, p. 216 (1963).

45 Of America it would ill beseem any Englishman, and me perhaps as little as another, to speak unkindly, to speak *unpatriotically*, if any of us even felt so. Sure enough, America is a great, and in many respects a blessed and hopeful phenomenon. Sure enough, these hardy millions of Anglosaxon men prove themselves worthy of their genealogy. . . . But as to a Model Republic, or a model anything, the wise among themselves know too well that there is nothing to be said. . . . Their Constitution, such as it may be, was made here, not there. . . . Cease to brag to me of America, and its model institutions and constitutions.

THOMAS CARLYLE, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, no. 1, pp. 23, 24 (1850).

46 Nothing that we could say could add to the impressiveness of the lesson furnished by the events of the past year, as to the needs and the dangerous condition of the neglected classes in our city. Those terrible days in July—the sudden appearance, as if from the bosom of the earth, of a most infuriated and degraded mob; the helplessness of property holders and the better classes; . . . immense destruction of property—were the first dreadful revelations to many of our people of the existence among us of a great, ignorant, irresponsible class who were growing up here without any permanent interest in the welfare of the community or the success of the government. . . . It should be remembered that there are no dangers to the value of property, or to the permanency of our institutions, so great as those from the existence of such a class of vagabond, ignorant, and ungoverned children. This “dangerous class” has not begun to show itself as it will in eight or ten years when these boys and girls are matured. Those who were too negligent or too selfish to notice them as children, will be fully aware of them as men. They will vote. They will have the same rights as we ourselves, though they have grown up ignorant of moral principle. . . . They will poison society. They will perhaps be embittered at the wealth and the luxuries they never share. Then let society beware, when the outcasts, vicious, reckless multitude . . . swarming now in every foul alley and low street, come to know their power and use it.

CHILDREN’S AID SOCIETY, 11th *Annual Report*, “written in the aftermath of the draft riots of 1864,” according to Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who quoted from it August 25, 1966.—*Federal Role in Urban Affairs*, hearings before the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, 89th Congress, 2d session, part 4, p. 919 (1966).

47 America is the only nation in history which miraculously has gone directly from barbarism to degeneration without the usual interval of civilization.

Attributed to GEORGES CLEMENCEAU.—Hans Bendix, “Merry Christmas, America!” *The Saturday Review of Literature*, December 1, 1945, p. 9.

48 What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country.

J. HECTOR ST. JOHN CRÈVECOEUR, “What Is an American,” *Letters from an American Farmer*, p. 54 (1782, reprinted 1925).

49 The metaphor of the melting pot is unfortunate and misleading. A more accurate analogy would be a salad bowl, for, though the salad is an entity, the lettuce can still be distinguished from the chicory, the tomatoes from the cabbage.

CARL N. DEGLER, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America*, rev. ed., chapter 10, section 4, p. 296 (1970).

50 To me, the irony of this involvement with size, as I observed earlier, is the unwillingness or inability of so many Americans to identify themselves with something as vast as the United States. Bigger cars, bigger parking lots, bigger corporate structures, bigger farms, bigger drug stores, bigger supermarkets, bigger motion-picture screens. The tangible and the functional expand, while the intangible and the beautiful shrink. Left to wither is the national purpose, national educational needs, literature and theater, and our critical faculties. The national dialogue is gradually being lost in a froth of misleading self-congratulation and cliché. National needs and interests are slowly being submerged by the national preoccupation with the irrelevant.

America

Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, "In Need of a Consensus," Penrose Memorial Lecture, delivered to the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 20, 1961.—*Proceedings of the Society*, August 1961, p. 352.

51 I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue, about which hangs true sublimity, and the terror of overhanging fate, is what are you going to do with all these things?

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY, address on university education delivered at the formal opening of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, September 12, 1876.—Huxley, *American Addresses*, p. 125 (1877).

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey used the same words in a commencement address at the Holton-Arms School, Bethesda, Maryland, June 1967.—*The Washington Post*, June 11, 1967, p. K3.

52 We cannot expect that everyone, to use the phrase of a decade ago, will "talk sense to the American people." But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense. And the notion that this Nation is headed for defeat through deficit, or that strength is but a matter of slogans, is nothing but just plain nonsense.

President JOHN F. KENNEDY, remarks prepared for delivery at the Trade Mart in Dallas, Texas, November 22, 1963.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1963*, p. 891.

This speech was never delivered. President Kennedy was on his way to the Trade Mart when he was assassinated.

Kennedy referred to Adlai E. Stevenson's slogan from the 1952 presidential election campaign, No. 85.

53 We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven. We have been preserved, these many years, in peace and prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth and power, as no other nation has ever grown. But we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us; and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us!

President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, proclamation appointing a National Fast Day, March 30, 1863.—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 6, p. 156 (1953).

54 To make it possible for our children, and for our children's children, to live in a world of peace. To make this country be more than ever a land of opportunity—of equal opportunity, full opportunity for every American. To provide jobs for all who can work, and generous help for those who cannot work. To establish a climate of decency and civility, in which each person respects the feelings and the dignity and the God-given rights of his neighbor. To make this a land in which each person can dare to dream, can live his dreams—not in fear, but in hope—proud of his community, proud of his country, proud of what America has meant to himself and to the world.

President RICHARD M. NIXON, address to the nation about the Watergate investigations, April 30, 1973.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1973*, p. 332.

Nixon listed "some of my goals for my second term as President."

55 Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

NORTHWEST ORDINANCE, 1787, article 3.—Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History*, p. 131 (1934).

56 We defend and we build a way of life, not for America alone, but for all mankind.

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, fireside chat on national defense, May 26, 1940.—*The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1940*, p. 240 (1941).

This sentence is one of many quotations inscribed on Cox Corridor II, a first floor House corridor, U.S. Capitol.

57 Every man among us is more fit to meet the duties and responsibilities of citizenship because of the perils over which, in the past, the nation has triumphed; because of the blood and sweat and tears, the labor and the anguish, through which, in the days that have gone, our forefathers moved on to triumph.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, assistant secretary of the Navy, speech before the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, June 1897.—“Washington’s Forgotten Maxim,” *American Ideals* (vol. 13 of *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, national ed.), chapter 12, p. 198 (1926). See No. 411 for the maxim Roosevelt felt had been forgotten.

58 Americanism means the virtues of courage, honor, justice, truth, sincerity, and hardihood—the virtues that made America. The things that will destroy America are prosperity-at-any-price, peace-at-any-price, safety-first instead of duty-first, the love of soft living and the get-rich-quick theory of life.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, letter to S. Stanwood Menken, chairman, committee on Congress of Constructive Patriotism, January 10, 1917. Roosevelt’s sister, Mrs. Douglas Robinson, read the letter to a national meeting, January 26, 1917.—*Proceedings of the Congress of Constructive Patriotism*, Washington, D.C., January 25–27, 1917, p. 172 (1917).

59 I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us, I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision . . .

CARL SANDBURG, interview with Frederick Van Ryn, *This Week Magazine*, January 4, 1953, p. 11.

Sandburg had used these words previously at a rally at Madison Square Garden, New York City, October 28, 1952, praising Adlai E. Stevenson during his 1952 presidential campaign.—*The Papers of Adlai E. Stevenson*, vol. 4, p. 175 (1955).

A similar prediction was made by Benjamin Franklin nearly two centuries earlier in a letter to George Washington, March 5, 1780: “I must soon quit the Scene, but you may live to see our Country flourish, as it will amazingly and rapidly after the War is over. Like a Field of young Indian Corn, which long Fair weather and Sunshine had enfeebled and discolored, and which in that weak State, by a Thunder Gust, of violent Wind, Hail, and Rain, seem’d to be threaten’d with absolute Destruction; yet the Storm being past, it recovers fresh Verdure, shoots up with double Vigour, and delights the Eye, not of its

America

Owner only, but of every observing Traveller."—*The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert H. Smyth, vol. 8, p. 29 (1907).

60 If she [America] forgets where she came from, if the people lose sight of what brought them along, if she listens to the deniers and mockers, then will begin the rot and dissolution.

CARL SANDBURG, *Remembrance Rock*, epilogue, chapter 2, p. 1001 (1948).

61 Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism—

- The right to criticize.
- The right to hold unpopular beliefs.
- The right to protest.
- The right of independent thought.

Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH, remarks in the Senate, June 1, 1950, *Congressional Record*, vol. 96, p. 7894.

She added, "The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as Communists or Fascists by their opponents." These and other remarks preceded the Declaration of Conscience (p. 7895), which she drafted and in which she was joined by six other Republican Senators.

62 Our nation stands at a fork in the political road. In one direction lies a land of slander and scare; the land of sly innuendo, the poison pen, the anonymous phone call and hustling, pushing, shoving; the land of smash and grab and anything to win. This is Nixonland. But I say to you that it is not America.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, *The New America*, ed. Seymour E. Harris, John B. Martin, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., p. 249 (1971).

These words were written in 1956 during Stevenson's second presidential campaign.

63 If these Commentaries shall but inspire in the rising generation a more ardent love of their country, an unquenchable thirst for liberty, and a profound reverence for the constitution and the union, then they will have accomplished all that their author ought to desire. Let the American youth never forget that they possess a noble inheritance, bought by the toils, and sufferings, and blood of their ancestors; and capable, if wisely improved, and faithfully guarded, of transmitting to their latest posterity all the substantial blessings of life, the peaceful enjoyment of liberty, property, religion, and independence. The structure has been erected by architects of consummate skill and fidelity; its foundations are solid; its compartments are beautiful as well as useful; its arrangements are full of wisdom and order; and its defences are impregnable from without. It has been reared for immortality, if the work of man may justly aspire to such a title. It may, nevertheless, perish in an hour by the folly, or corruption, or negligence of its only keepers, THE PEOPLE. Republics are created by the virtue, public spirit, and intelligence of the citizens. They fall, when the wise are banished from the public councils, because they dare to be honest, and the profligate are rewarded, because they flatter the people in order to betray them.

JOSEPH STORY, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 2d ed., vol. 2, chapter 45, p. 617 (1851). This passage was not in the first edition, but in all later editions. Justice Story served in Congress 1808–1809.

64 The surface of American society is covered with a layer of democratic paint, but from time to time one can see the old aristocratic colors breaking through.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence, vol. 1, part 1, chapter 2, p. 49 (1969). Originally published in 1835-1840.

65 I was born on July 4, 1776, and the Declaration of Independence is my birth certificate. The bloodlines of the world run in my veins, because I offered freedom to the oppressed. I am many things, and many people. *I am the nation.*

I am 213 million living souls—and the ghost of millions who have lived and died for me.

I am Nathan Hale and Paul Revere. I stood at Lexington and fired the shot heard around the world. I am Washington, Jefferson and Patrick Henry. I am John Paul Jones, the Green Mountain Boys and Davy Crockett. I am Lee and Grant and Abe Lincoln.

I remember the Alamo, the Maine and Pearl Harbor. When freedom called I answered and stayed until it was over, over there. I left my heroic dead in Flanders Fields, on the rock of Corregidor, on the bleak slopes of Korea and in the steaming jungle of Vietnam.

I am the Brooklyn Bridge, the wheat lands of Kansas and the granite hills of Vermont. I am the coalfields of the Virginias and Pennsylvania, the fertile lands of the West, the Golden Gate and the Grand Canyon. I am Independence Hall, the Monitor and the Merrimac.

I am big. I sprawl from the Atlantic to the Pacific . . . my arms reach out to embrace Alaska and Hawaii . . . 3 million square miles throbbing with industry. I am more than 5 million farms. I am forest, field, mountain and desert. I am quiet villages—and cities that never sleep.

You can look at me and see Ben Franklin walking down the streets of Philadelphia with his breadloaf under his arm. You can see Betsy Ross with her needle. You can see the lights of Christmas, and hear the strains of "Auld Lang Syne" as the calendar turns.

I am Babe Ruth and the World Series. I am 110,000 schools and colleges, and 330,000 churches where my people worship God as they think best. I am a ballot dropped in a box, the roar of a crowd in a stadium and the voice of a choir in a cathedral. I am an editorial in a newspaper and a letter to a Congressman.

I am Eli Whitney and Stephen Foster. I am Tom Edison, Albert Einstein and Billy Graham. I am Horace Greeley, Will Rogers and the Wright brothers. I am George Washington Carver, Jonas Salk, and Martin Luther King.

I am Longfellow, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Walt Whitman and Thomas Paine.

Yes, I am the nation, and these are the things that I am. I was conceived in freedom and, God willing, in freedom I will spend the rest of my days.

May I possess always the integrity, the courage and the strength to keep myself unshackled, to remain a citadel of freedom and a beacon of hope to the world.

This is my wish, my goal, my prayer in this year of 1976—two hundred years after I was born.

OTTO WHITTAKER, "I Am the Nation," *Norfolk and Western Railway Company Magazine*, January 15, 1976, front cover.

This was originally written in 1955 as a public relations advertisement for the Norfolk and Western Railway, now the Norfolk Southern Corporation, and did not contain the phrase, "the steaming jungle of Vietnam." It has been widely reprinted, generally without attribution, has been set to music, is reprinted by some newspapers every Independence Day, and has been read into the *Congressional Record* several times. Ellipses in original.

America

66 The great voice of America does not come from the seats of learning, but in a murmur from the hills and the woods and the farms and the factories and the mills, rolling on and gaining volume until it comes to us the voice from the homes of the common men. Do these murmurs come into the corridors of the university? I have not heard them.

WOODROW WILSON, president of Princeton, address to Princeton University alumni, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, April 17, 1910.—*The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link, vol. 20, p. 365 (1975).

67 I believe that we are lost here in America, but I believe we shall be found. And this belief, which mounts now to the catharsis of knowledge and conviction, is for me—and I think for all of us—not only our own hope, but America's everlasting, living dream.

THOMAS WOLFE, *You Can't Go Home Again*, chapter 48, p. 741 (1940).

68 So, then, to every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him—this, seeker, is the promise of America.

THOMAS WOLFE, *You Can't Go Home Again*, chapter 31, p. 508 (1940).

69 America It is a fabulous country, the only fabulous country; it is the only place where miracles not only happen, but where they happen all the time.

THOMAS WOLFE, *Of Time and the River*, book 2, chapter 14, p. 155 (1935).

70 When God made the oyster, he guaranteed his absolute economic and social security. He built the oyster a house, his shell, to shelter and protect him from his enemies. . . . But when God made the Eagle, He declared, "The blue sky is the limit—build your own house!". . . . The Eagle, not the oyster, is the emblem of America.

Author unknown.—Jacob M. Braude, *Braude's Source Book for Speakers and Writers*, p. 14 (1968).

American people

71 I do not choose to be a common man. It is my right to be uncommon—if I can. I seek opportunity—not security. I do not wish to be a kept citizen, humbled and dulled by having the state look after me. I want to take the calculated risk; to dream and to build, to fail and to succeed. I refuse to barter incentive for a dole. I prefer the challenges of life to the guaranteed existence; the thrill of fulfillment to the stale calm of utopia. I will not trade freedom for beneficence nor my dignity for a handout. I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat. It is my heritage to stand erect, proud and unafraid; to think and act for myself, enjoy the benefit of my creations, and to face the world boldly and say, this I have done. All this is what it means to be an American.

DEAN ALFANGE, creed.—*Who's Who in America, 1984-85*, vol. 1, p. 42. These words have appeared at the end of his entry in several successive editions.

Originally published in *This Week Magazine*. Later reprinted in *The Reader's Digest*, October 1952, p. 10, and January 1954, p. 122, lacking these words: "I will never cower before any master nor bend to any threat" and "to stand erect, proud and unafraid."

72 Sir, since the debate opened months ago those of us who have stood against this proposition have been taunted many times with being little Americans. Leave us the word American, keep that in your presumptuous impeachment, and no taunt can disturb us, no gibe discompose our purposes. Call us little Americans if you will, but leave us the consolation and the pride which the term American, however modified, still imparts.

Senator WILLIAM E. BORAH, remarks in the Senate, November 19, 1919, *Congressional Record*, vol. 58, p. 8783.

This speech, known as the "Little American" speech, referred to the treaty to ratify the League of Nations proposed after World War I.

73 Parties do not maintain themselves. They are maintained by effort. The government is not self-existent. It is maintained by the effort of those who believe in it. The people of America believe in American institutions, the American form of government and the American method of transacting business.

CALVIN COOLIDGE, governor of Massachusetts, speech before the Republican Commercial Travelers' Club, Boston, Massachusetts, April 10, 1920.—Massachusetts State Library, George Fingold Library, Boston. Manuscripts: speeches and messages of Calvin Coolidge, 1895–1924.

74 I do not want a honeymoon with you. I want a good marriage. I want progress, and I want problemsolving which requires my best efforts and also your best efforts. I have no need to learn how Congress speaks for the people. As President, I intend to listen. But I also intend to listen to the people themselves—all the people—as I promised last Friday. I want to be sure that we are all tuned in to the real voice of America.

President GERALD R. FORD, address to a joint session of Congress, August 12, 1974.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Gerald R. Ford, 1974*, p. 7.

75 Good Americans, when they die, go to Paris.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*, chapter 6, p. 143 (1868), originally published 1858, attributing this remark to "one of the wittiest of men."

Later writers have attributed the saying to Thomas Gold Appleton, a friend of Holmes's and a fellow member of the Saturday Club. In 1859, Ralph Waldo Emerson, also a member of that club, recorded in one of his journals, "T. Appleton says, that he thinks all Bostonians, when they die, if they are good, go to Paris."—*Emerson in His Journals*, ed. Joel Porte, p. 486 (1982). Although neither sentence has been found in the published writings of Appleton, the remark was probably made in the presence of Holmes and Emerson.

Oscar Wilde used Holmes's version of the statement in two of his works, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, p. 75 (*Complete Works*, vol. 4, 1923), originally published 1890, and *A Woman of No Importance*, p. 180 (*Complete Works*, vol. 7, 1923), originally published 1893.

76 They are damn good projects—excellent projects. That goes for all the projects up there. You know some people make fun of people who speak a foreign language, and dumb people criticize something they do not understand, and that is what is going on up there—God damn it!

HARRY L. HOPKINS, head of the Works Progress Administration, in a statement defending the Federal Arts Project at a press conference, April 4, 1935.—Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, p. 60 (1948).

American people

Sherwood says, "The reports of this conference quoted Hopkins as saying that 'the people are too damned dumb,' and this phrase was given plenty of circulation in the press" (p. 61). He adds in a footnote that "it will be seen from the transcript of his remarks that this particular statement was directed not at the people but at the critical orators" (p. 938).

77 Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans.

President JOHN F. KENNEDY, inaugural address, January 20, 1961.—*The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1961*, p. 1.

This is one of seven inscriptions carved on the walls at the gravesite of John F. Kennedy, Arlington National Cemetery.

78 Has it [popular sovereignty] not got down as thin as the homeopathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death?

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, rejoinder in the sixth debate with Senator Stephen A. Douglas, October 13, 1858.—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 3, p. 279 (1953).

79 I think very much of the people, as an old friend said he thought of woman. He said when he lost his first wife, who had been a great help to him in his business, he thought he was ruined—that he could never find another to fill her place. At length, however, he married another, who he found did quite as well as the first, and that his opinion now was that any woman would do well who was well done by. So I think of the whole people of this nation—they will ever do well if well done by. We will try to do well by them in all parts of the country, North and South, with entire confidence that all will be well with all of us.

President-elect ABRAHAM LINCOLN, remarks at Bloomington, Illinois, November 21, 1860.—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 4, pp. 143–44 (1953).

80 Americans never quit.

General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, president of the American Olympic committee, comment when the manager of the American boxing team in the 1928 Olympic games wanted to withdraw the team because of what he thought was an unfair decision against an American boxer.—*The New York Times*, August 9, 1928, p. 13.

81 Races didn't bother the Americans. They were something a lot better than any race. They were a People. They were the first self-constituted, self-declared, self-created People in the history of the world. And their manners were their own business. And so were their politics. And so, but ten times so, were their souls.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, Librarian of Congress, "The American Cause," address delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, November 20, 1940.—MacLeish, *A Time to Act; Selected Addresses*, p. 115 (1943).

82 Is it not the glory of the people of America, that, whilst they have paid a decent regard to the opinions of former times and other nations, they have not suffered a blind veneration for antiquity, for custom, or for names, to overrule the suggestions of their own good sense, the knowledge of their own situation, and the lessons of their own experience? To this manly spirit, posterity will be indebted for the possession, and the world for the example, of the numerous innovations displayed on the American theatre, in favor of private rights and public happiness.

JAMES MADISON, *The Federalist*, ed. Benjamin F. Wright, no. 14, p. 154 (1961).

This quotation was used on the official invitations to the 1985 presidential inaugural of President Ronald Reagan.

83 The average American is just like the child in the family. You give him some responsibility and he is going to amount to something. He is going to do something. If, on the other hand, you make him completely dependent and pamper him and cater to him too much, you are going to make him soft, spoiled and eventually a very weak individual.

President RICHARD M. NIXON, interview with Garnett D. Horner following election to a second presidential term, *The Washington Star-News*, November 9, 1972, p. 1.

84 For the American people are a very generous people and will forgive almost any weakness, with the possible exception of stupidity.

WILL ROGERS, *The Illiterate Digest*, p. 228 (1924).

85 Let's face it. Let's talk sense to the American people. Let's tell them the truth, that there are no gains without pains, that we are now on the eve of great decisions, not easy decisions, like resistance when you're attacked, but a long, patient, costly struggle which alone can assure triumph over the great enemies of man—war, poverty and tyranny—and the assaults upon human dignity which are the most grievous consequences of each.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, governor of Illinois, speech accepting presidential nomination, Democratic national convention, Chicago, Illinois, July 26, 1952.—*Speeches of Adlai Stevenson*, pp. 20-21 (1952).

86 Americans cleave to the things of this world as if assured that they will never die, . . . They clutch everything but hold nothing fast, and so lose grip as they hurry after some new delight. An American will build a house in which to pass his old age and sell it before the roof is on; he will plant a garden and rent it just as the trees are coming into bearing; he will clear a field and leave others to reap the harvest; he will take up a profession and leave it, settle in one place and soon go off elsewhere with his changing desires. If his private business allows him a moment's relaxation, he will plunge at once into the whirlpool of politics. Then, if at the end of a year crammed with work he has a little spare leisure, his restless curiosity goes with him traveling up and down the vast territories of the United States. Thus he will travel five hundred miles in a few days as a distraction from his happiness. Death steps in in the end and stops him before he has grown tired of this futile pursuit of that complete felicity which always escapes him. At first sight there is something astonishing in this spectacle of so many lucky men restless in the midst of abundance. But it is a spectacle as old as the world; all that is new is to see a whole people performing in it.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence, vol. 2, part 2, chapter 13, p. 536 (1969). Originally published in 1835-1840.

87 The people reign over the American political world as God rules over the universe. It is the cause and the end of all things; everything rises out of it and is absorbed back into it.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence, vol. 1, part 1, chapter 4, concluding sentences, p. 60 (1969). Originally published in 1835-1840.

American people

88 The people of those foreign countries are very, very ignorant. They looked curiously at the costumes we had brought from the wilds of America. They observed that we talked loudly at table sometimes. They noticed that we looked out for expenses and got what we conveniently could out of a franc, and wondered where in the mischief we came from. In Paris they just simply opened their eyes and stared when we spoke to them in French! We never did succeed in making those idiots understand their own language.

MARK TWAIN (Samuel L. Clemens), letter appearing in the *New York Herald*, November 20, 1867, the day after he arrived in New York on the steamer *Quaker City*.—*Traveling with the Innocents Abroad; Mark Twain's Original Reports from Europe and the Holy Land*, ed. Daniel M. McKeithan, p. 316 (1958).

Twain later revised the 58 letters written on the trip and turned them into *The Innocents Abroad*, where this quotation appears in "A Newspaper Valedictory," vol. 2 of *The Writings of Mark Twain*, p. 437 (1897, reprinted 1968).

Animals

89 And for these also, Dear Lord, the humble beasts, who with us bear the burden and heat of the day, and offer their guileless lives for the well-being of their country, we supplicate Thy great tenderness of heart, for Thou hast promised to save both man and beast. And great is Thy loving kindness, Oh Master, Savior of the world.

Attributed to ST. BASIL of Caesarea, prayer, A.D. 370.—*The Washington Daily News*, April 16, 1971, p. 23. Unverified.

90 To my way of thinking there's something wrong, or missing, with any person who hasn't got a soft spot in their heart for an animal of some kind. With most folks the dog stands highest as man's friend, then comes the horse, with others the cat is liked best as a pet, or a monkey is fussed over; but whatever kind of animal it is a person likes, it's all hunkydory so long as there's a place in the heart for one or a few of them.

WILL JAMES, *Smoky, the Cow Horse*, Preface, p. v (1929).

Architecture

91 The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner.
The Bible, Psalms 118:22.

92 Architecture worth great attention. As we double our numbers every 20 years we must double our houses. Besides we build of such perishable materials that one half of our houses must be rebuilt in every space of 20 years. So that in that term, houses are to be built for three fourths of our inhabitants. It is then among the most important arts: and it is desirable to introduce taste into an art which shews so much.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, hints to Americans travelling in Europe, letter to John Rutledge, Jr., June 19, 1788.—*The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, vol. 13, p. 269 (1956).

93 Architecture has its political Use; publick Buildings being the Ornament of a Country; it establishes a Nation, draws People and Commerce; makes the People love their native Country, which Passion is the Original of all great Actions in a Common-wealth. . . . Architecture aims at Eternity.