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OA/ID Number: 13800
Folder ID Number: 13800-004

Folder Title:
Bush/Quayle Fundraiser--Los Angeles, CA 2/25/92 [OA 7568]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	22	3	4

LOS ANGELES:

- Anne Dickerson

Karl Samuelian — Like Julian Dinner Co Chair

David Murdock — Not at head table
Dinner Co Chair

Donal Bren]
Lod Cook] National Co-Chair
Dinner Co-Chair
Carol Wife

Dr. Tirso del Junco (Hunco)
Dinner Co-Chair

Al Villalobos
Dinner Co-Chair

Program:

- Cheryl Ladd, Pledge of Allegiance Husband Bryan Russell
- Bob Hope

Robbie Britt, Nat. Anthem, Wife Tamari

Rabbi Gary Greenebaum, Invocation

Celebrities:

Pat Boone, actor + wife Shirley

Jaclyn Smith, Actress

No Charlie's Angles

Mary Hart, Actress, Anchor Woman
ET

\ Burt Sugarman
Hub.

Andy Williams, Singer

Reggie Jackson

"Maj. Dad" Gerald "Mack"
McRaney

Scott Baio, Actor

Wayne ~~Rodgers~~, Actor
Rogers

Leslie Nielsen, Actor

Yakov Smirnoff

\ Linda Wife

Peter Uberoth

Don't mention
Murdock

(Snow/Gershowitz/Grossman/Chia)
LA8
Draft Eight
February 24, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BUSH-QUAYLE FUNDRAISER
CENTURY PLAZA HOTEL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1992
8:45 P.M.

Thanks, Pete [Wilson]. And thanks to everyone who organized this extraordinary gathering. Karl Samuelian and David Murdock, thanks. What did you do, tell these folks that they had moved the Academy Awards to tonight?

It's also great to see Donald Bren, one of our national co-chairs; Lod Cook, another co-chair. Greetings also to Bobby Holt, our national finance chairman; Bob Mosbacher, our campaign chairman. And what an amazing crowd. What enthusiasm. You all make me feel so young -- especially Bob Hope.

Let me tell you something you already know: I want to serve as your President four more years.

I need your help and support -- four more years.

You know, there's something about a political campaign that just gets you going.

For three months, politicians have tried to make me a target for everyone's anger and discontent. Well, that's all right. It's a political year. But Democrats who throw punches today should understand one thing: George Bush has just begun to fight. And when somebody picks a fight over principle -- over our Nation's future -- **I fight to win.** \\

For Americans, 1992 will be the Year of Decision. On one side stand Democrats, clinging to tired ways and stale ideas. Some try to sound like Republicans. But cut through the rhetoric and they're the same old tax-and-spendacrats -- more interested in life inside the Beltway than life on Main Street.

If you want change / if you want reform / if you want results -- you don't want to entrust your future to a bunch of imitators. You want a genuine Republican victory.

Under Republican leadership, Americans threw off the politics of malaise, and fired the engines of hope and change. We cut taxes. We slashed regulation. We went after spending. We stood firm against communism. We set history in motion.

Amazing changes -- but Democrats remain mired in the malaise days. They feast on hard times and bad feelings. They gloat about gloomy news. Well, here's some real bad news for them: Republicans will keep the White House.

Republicans alone can get the economy moving. Republicans alone can defend American interests around the world. We want to cut defense; they want to gut it. I won't sacrifice our long-term national security for some short-term political gain.

In 1992, the American people will choose their future. They will ask: What will be our role in the world: Will we lead or will we hide?

I say, lead. Isolationists and protectionists talk like hawks, but they're really hawkish on one thing: hiding. Remember, our national symbol is not the ostrich, it's the eagle.

An ostrich is good at three things, running, hiding and laying big eggs. As for me: I'll take the eagle any day.

In 1992, the American people will vote on values. We need leaders with the experience, toughness and judgment to guide us through turbulent and uncertain times.

Look around, and you'll see why.

Today, a kid can get a condom at school -- but cannot lead a class in prayer. Something's wrong with that.

Something's wrong when a good Samaritan gets fined for doing a good deed, while murderers collect millions in cold cash for writing about their atrocities.

Something's wrong when you fear driving down a freeway because some hoodlum might take out a gun and shoot -- just to see how it feels.

Something's wrong when welfare laws encourage single mothers to have babies -- and deadbeat dads get off scot-free.

Something's wrong when a Congress thinks the next election is more important than the next generation -- and for three full years does nothing to help the economy. Fortunately, we can set things right on November 3.

In 1992, we will focus on the big things, the important things, and we will start with our economy. If we want to succeed economically at home, we must lead economically abroad. <u>We changed the world -- now we will change America</u>.

Americans must choose between two views of competitiveness. Democrats preach protectionism, high taxes, big government, and vast spools of red tape. Republicans believe in open markets, low taxes and deregulation. These approaches have been tested side-by-side for 30 years -- on the two sides of the Berlin Wall.

We Republicans take our inspiration from the Statue of Liberty. From Day One, I have fought to crack open foreign markets, so American companies can compete fairly in the global marketplace. I want to sign a North American Free Trade Agreement as soon as possible. You understand the importance of international trade. California accounts for 15 percent of all U.S. exports. The Golden State's export business has grown at an amazing pace in recent years. In 1990 alone, exports rose nine percent, to nearly $60 billion. More than 750,000 California jobs are tied to manufactured exports alone. — Commerce insert from staffing

CA. State World Trade Commission

Commerce

So international trade matters. But we also must attend to economic basics at home. I set a March 20 deadline for an economic plan that will encourage investment / strengthen the real estate industry / and cut taxes that discourage economic expansion -- especially the capital gains tax. In other words, it helps people create jobs, buy homes, and build a secure future. It will do so immediately. The National Association of HomeBuilders estimates that the real-estate provisions alone could create 415,000 jobs this year -- but only if Congress acts by March 20.

I want to put partisanship aside long enough to pass this plan. But so far, Democrats want to stall. Some want to swap a tax cut -- a quarter a day for two years to each member of a family of four -- for a lifetime of higher taxes. In one proposal, they'd increase taxes for anyone earning more than $35,000 a year. [[So much for their flirtation with the Middle Class.]] Here's the bottom line: If they send me this kind of nonsense -- I'll send them a veto.

I want my package passed by March 20 -- three weeks from Friday -- no changes, no substitutes, and no delays.

My economic strategy involves more than this challenge. I want to cut the federal deficit. Our government is too big and it spends too much. \\ The budget agreement of 1990 puts a lid on spending -- which is why liberals now want to break the deal.

I say: No way. We've got to get the lard out of our budget. Pork producers say their product contains 31 percent less fat than it used to. I'd love to see Congress keep pace. As things stand, congressional big spenders give even pork a bad name. I want Congress to eliminate 246 programs we don't need. And I want what 43 Governors have -- a line-item veto. Somebody in Washington has to say no.

We've got to cut taxes. The other party just doesn't get it. That's why the best tax plan is a Republican Congress.

We've got to cut regulations. We can't liberate the economy if we bind our inventors, businessmen, doctors and dreamers in red tape or weigh them down with senseless work rules. I've asked major departments and agencies to put a moratorium on regulations -- to get rid of those that stifle economic activity and accelerate those that create jobs. NEW

We've got to get rid of nuisance lawsuits. People have stopped coaching Little League for fear of lawsuits. Doctors have stopped delivering babies for fear of lawsuits. Volunteers have stopped serving for fear of lawsuits.

Today, a cagey lawyer would tell the Good Samaritan -- Keep on walking. Everyone in America would be a millionaire if we were as good at promoting business as we are at promoting lawsuits. Let's get our priorities straight. Let's encourage people to talk to one another not sue each other.

In the long run, America won't lead the world unless our people have the tools to compete. Every American deserves a shot at achieving the American Dream.

Unfortunately, our welfare system sometimes traps the poor in dungeons of dependency. We need welfare that works -- a system that gives people a temporary lift -- so they can achieve permanent self-sufficiency. Let's put the bounce back in the social safety net.

Welfare programs should help the poor acquire the keys to independence. They should encourage welfare recipients to work, go to school or both. They should wipe out incentives that dull people's ambitions or crush their hopes. We should makes the poor partners in progress, rather than objects of pity.

Our future also rides on the quality of our schools.

We need better schools, and we need everyone's help in creating the very best schools in the world. That's the point of my America 2000 Education Strategy. America 2000 will create a new generation of American schools -- and unleash a revolution in American education. At the center of it lies educational choice -- letting parents choose their children's schools.

Choice in education works. When you give parents real power over their children's education, they exercise it. When you close the gap between the kitchen table and the teacher's desk, you create accountability, cooperation and pride.

I also believe that schools should equip our children for the hard decisions that wait beyond the classroom. As I said before, values must serve as our signposts. [[That's why I support a Constitutional Amendment to permit school prayer.]]

Schools should stress the basics -- not politically correct fads that leave students adrift. We must create communities where learning can happen. <u>Let's get the three Rs back in the schools -- and drugs and crack cocaine out</u>.

If ever America needed Republican leadership, it is now. Economic reform; educational reform; legal reform -- an accountable Congress: That's what Americans want. And only the Party of Lincoln -- our Party -- can deliver.

We will have a tough race this November. But after the last vote has been counted, we will win. And when history records this Republican quarter century it will say: They came, they saw, they changed the world.

We changed the world -- and now we will change America.

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

# # # #

(Snow/Gershowitz/Grossman/Chia)
LA7
Draft Seven
February 24, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BUSH-QUAYLE FUNDRAISER
XXX HOTEL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1992
TIME

[introductory acknowledgments, jokes]

I want to serve as your President four more years.

I need your help and support -- four more years.

[[I don't have to tell you that there's a battle going on. The competition is stiff and no one will spare any effort in capturing the voters' attention. But when it's all over, I'm sure the right movie will win the Academy Award.]]

You know, there's something about a political campaign that just gets you going.

For three months, politicians have tried to make me a target for everyone's anger and discontent. Well, that's all right. It's a political year. But Democrats who throw punches today should understand one thing: George Bush has just begun to fight. And when somebody picks a fight over principle -- over our Nation's future -- **I fight to win.** \\

For Americans, 1992 will be the Year of the Choice. On one side stand Democrats, clinging to tired ways and stale ideas. Some try to sound like Republicans. But cut through the rhetoric and they're the same old tax-and-spendacrats -- more interested in life inside the Beltway than life on Main Street.

If you want change / if you want reform / if you want results -- you don't want to entrust your future to a bunch of imitators. You want a genuine Republican victory.

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Amazing changes -- but Democrats remain mired in the malaise days. They feast on hard times and bad feelings. They gloat about gloomy news. But there's bad news for them: Republicans will keep the White House.

Republicans alone can get the economy moving. Republicans alone can defend American interests around the world. We want to cut defense; they want to gut it. We alone have the experience.

In 1992, the American people will choose their future. They will ask: What will be our role in the world: Will we lead or will we hide?

I say, lead. Isolationists and protectionists talk like hawks, but they're really hawkish on one thing: hiding. Remember, our national symbol is not the ostrich, it's the eagle. An ostrich is good at three things, running, hiding and laying big eggs. As for me: I'll take the eagle any day.

In 1992, the American people will vote on values. We need leaders with the experience, toughness and judgment to guide us through turbulent and uncertain times.

Look around, and you'll see why.

Today, a kid can get a condom at school -- but cannot lead a class in prayer. Something's wrong with that.

Something's wrong when a good Samaritan gets fined for doing a good deed, while murderers collect millions in cold cash for writing about their atrocities.

Something's wrong when you fear driving down a freeway because some hoodlum might take out a gun and shoot -- just to see how it feels.

Something's wrong when welfare laws encourage single mothers to have babies -- and deadbeat dads get off scot-free.

Something's wrong when a Congress thinks the next election is more important than the next generation -- and for three full years does nothing to help the economy.

In 1992, we will focus on the big things, the important things, and we will start with our economy. If we want to succeed economically at home, we must lead economically abroad. We changed the world -- now we will change America.

Americans must choose between two views of competitiveness. Democrats preach protectionism, high taxes, big government, and vast spools of red tape. Republicans believe in open markets, low taxes and deregulation. These approaches have been tested side-by-side for 30 years -- on the two sides of the Berlin Wall.

From Day One, I have fought to crack open foreign markets, so American companies can compete fairly in the global marketplace. I want to sign a North American Free Trade Agreement as soon as possible. You understand the importance of

Dave Taylor OMB

international trade. California accounts for one in every seven dollars of American exports. The Golden State's export business has grown by an average of 20 percent in the past five years, and nearly 400,000 California jobs are tied to trade.

We also must attend to economic basics at home. I set a March 20 deadline for an economic plan that will encourage investment / strengthen the real estate industry / and cut taxes that discourage economic expansion -- especially the capital gains tax. In other words, it helps people create jobs, buy homes, and build a secure future. It will do so immediately. The real-estate provisions alone will could create 415,000 jobs this year -- but only if Congress acts by March 20.

SOTU

NAHB Report 2/7/92.

I want to put partisanship aside long enough to pass this plan. But so far, Democrats want to stall. Some want to swap a tax cut -- a quarter a day for two years to each member of a family of four -- for a lifetime of higher taxes. In one proposal, they'd increase taxes for anyone earning more than $35,000 a year. [[So much for their flirtation with the Middle Class.]] Here's the bottom line: If they send me this kind of nonsense -- I'll send them a veto.

Senate Democrats who want to make temp. cut permanent ($400/year)

Dave Taylor OMB x4790

I want my package passed by March 20 -- three weeks from Friday -- no changes, no substitutes, and no delays.

My economic strategy involves more than this challenge. I want to cut the federal deficit. Our government is too big and it spends too much. \\ The budget agreement of 1990 puts a lid on spending -- which is why liberals now want to break the deal.

Dave Taylor OMB

Pork Council Producers

(515) 223-2622 Des Moines, IA.

Anne Rehnstrom Senior Sec. Nat. Pork Producers Council

I say: No way. We've got to get the lard out of our budget. Pork producers say their product contains 31% 30 percent less fat than it used to. I'd love to see Congress keep pace. As things stand, congressional big spenders give pork a bad name. I want Congress to eliminate 246 programs we don't need. And I want what 43 Governors have -- a line-item veto. Somebody in Washington has to say no.

SOTU

We've got to cut taxes. The other party just doesn't get it. That's why the best tax plan is a Republican Congress. OK

We've got to cut regulations. We can't liberate the economy if we bind our inventors, businessmen, doctors and dreamers in red tape or weigh them down with senseless work rules. I've asked major departments and agencies to put a moratorium on regulations -- to get rid of those that stifle economic activity and accelerate those that create jobs.

SOTU

New 1

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Today, a cagey lawyer would tell the Good Samaritan -- Keep on walking. Everyone in America would be a millionaire if we were as good at promoting business as we are at promoting lawsuits. Let's get our priorities straight. Let's encourage people to talk to one another, not sue each other.

In the long run, America won't lead the world unless our people have the tools to compete. Every American deserves a shot at achieving the American Dream.

Unfortunately, our welfare system sometimes traps the poor in dungeons of dependency. We need welfare that works -- a system that gives people a temporary lift -- so they can achieve permanent self-sufficiency. Let's put the bounce back in the social safety net.

Here in California, Gov. Pete Wilson's proposed Taxpayer Protection Act adopts a simple rule: If you get welfare, you must accept responsibility for getting off of welfare. You will work, or go to school or both. But you will not allow welfare to dull your ambitions or crush your hope. That's common sense. It makes the poor partners in progress, rather than objects of pity -- and that's right.

Our future also rides on the quality of our schools. We need better schools, and we need everyone's help in creating the very best schools in the world.

ok

That's the point of my America 2000 Education Strategy. America 2000 will create a new generation of American schools. It will unleash a revolution in American education. At the center of it lies the notion of educational choice -- letting parents choose their children's schools.

Choice in education works. When you give parents real power over their children's education, they exercise it. When you close the gap between the kitchen table and the teacher's desk, you create accountability, cooperation and pride.

I also believe that schools should equip our children for the hard decisions that wait beyond the classroom. As I said before, values must serve as our signposts. [[That's why I support a Constitutional Amendment to permit school prayer.]]

Schools should stress the basics -- not politically correct fads that leave students adrift. We must create communities where learning can happen. Let's get the three Rs back in the schools -- and drugs and crack cocaine out.

If ever America needed Republican leadership, it is now. Economic reform; educational reform; legal reform -- an accountable Congress: That's what Americans want. And only the Party of Lincoln -- our Party -- can deliver.

We will have a tough race this November. But after the last vote has been counted, we will win. We've got the talent. We've got the drive. We've got the issues. And we've got the record.

When history records this Republican quarter century it will say: They came, they saw, they changed the world.

We changed the world -- and now we will change America.

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

# # # #

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM DOUG CHIA, RESEARCH INTERN

RE LOS ANGELES DINNER REMARKS

CHANGES IN THE TEXT:

Draft Eight, page four, third paragraph: "National Association of **Home Builders**" (Homebuilders is two words)

Draft Eight, page five, sixth paragraph: "I've asked major departments and agencies to put a moratorium on **new** regulations..." (add the word "new")

NOTES FOR THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dinner Co-Chairmen:

Karl Samuelian
David Murdock
Donald Bren
Lod Cook
Dr. Tirso del Junco [pronounced del HOONCO]
Al Villalobos

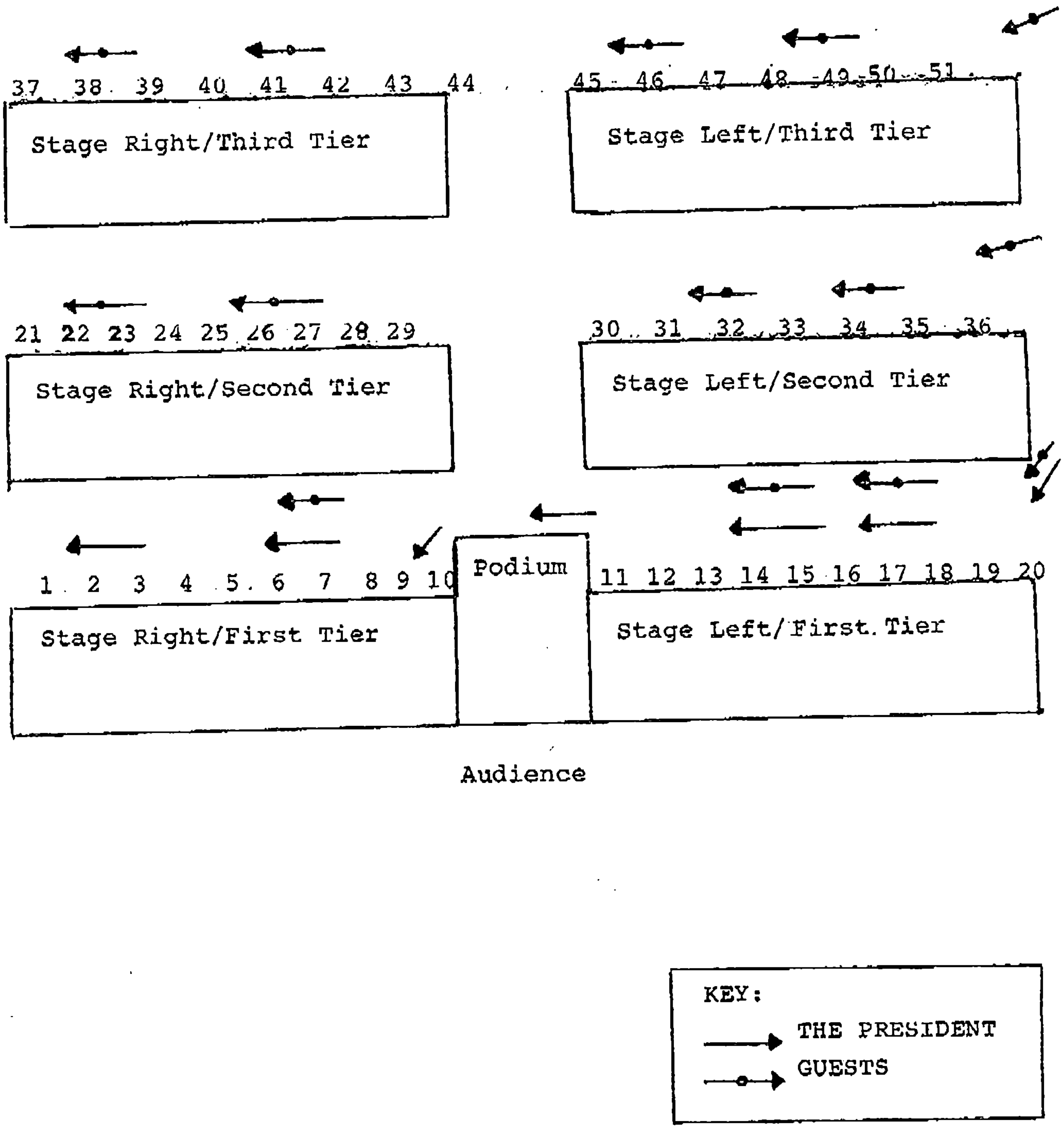
Dr. del Junco and Mr. Villalobos are not mentioned in the acknowledgements in Draft Eight of the remarks, but the other four are. Anne Dickerson of the Los Angeles staff said that David Murdock should not be mentioned, but that the other five Co-Chairs should.

Also not mentioned, but who will be at the POTUS' table are:

Rabbi Gary Greenebaum
Mr. Johnny Grant, Honorary Mayor of Hollywood and Master of Ceremonies (He's not really the Mayor)

Enclosed is the latest update on all celebrities at the dinner.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
Century Plaza Hotel
Bush-Quayle'92 Fundraising Dinner
Los Angeles Ballroom
Head Table Diagram
Tuesday, February 25, 1992



FINAL as of 2/24/92 10:00 pm

Stage Right/First Tier (Enter Stage Left)

1. Rabbi Gary Greenebaum, Exec. Dir., West Region Dist. of Amer. Jewish Committee/Invocation
2. Mrs. Tamari Greenebaum, Wife of Rabbi Greenebaum
3. Mr. Johnny Grant, Honorary Mayor of Hollywood/Master of Ceremonies
4. Mr. Bob Hope, Comedian
5. Mrs. Dolores Hope, Wife of Bob Hope
6. The Honorable Pete Wilson, Governor of California
7. Mrs. Gayle Wilson, Wife of Governor Pete Wilson
8. Mr. Donald Bren, Chairman of Irvine Co., Bush/Quayle '92 National Co-Chairman
9. THE PRESIDENT
10. Mr. Lod Cook, Chairman of ARCO, Bush/Quayle '92 National Co-Chairman

PODIUM

Stage Left, First Tier (Enter Stage Left):

11. Mrs. Carole Cook, Wife of Lod Cook
12. Mrs. Barbara Bush
13. Mr. Bobby Holt, Bush-Quayle '92 National Finance Chairman
14. Ms. Carol Hayes, Guest of Donald Bren
15. Mr. Robert Mosbacher, Bush/Quayle '92 Campaign Chairman
16. Mrs. Georgette Mosbacher, Wife of Robert Mosbacher
17. Mr. Howard Leach, Bush-Quayle '92 National Regional Chairman
18. Mrs. Gretchen Leach, Wife of Howard Leach
19. Mr. Brian Russell, Husband of Ms. Cheryl Ladd
20. Ms. Cheryl Ladd, Actress/Pledge of Allegiance

Stage Right, Second Tier (Enter Stage Left):

21. Mr. Robbie Britt, Singer/National Anthem
22. Mr. Pat Boone, Actor
23. Mrs. Shirley Boone, Wife of Pat Boone
24. Dr. Tirso del Junco, Dinner Co-Chairman and Vice-Chairman of California Republican Party
25. Mrs. Celia del Junco, Wife of Dr. Tirso del Junco
26. Dr. Bradley Allen, Guest of Jaclyn Smith
27. Ms. Jaclyn Smith, Actress
28. Mr. Burt Sugarman, Husband of Mary Hart
29. Ms. Mary Hart, Actress

Stage Left, Second Tier (Enter Stage Left):

30. Mr. Andy Williams, Entertainer
31. Ms. Tippi Hendren, Actress
32. Mr. Reggie Jackson, Retired Baseball Player
33. Mr. Gerald "Mac" McRaney, Actor
34. Mrs. Dolores Samuelian, Wife of Mr. Karl Samuelian
35. Mr. Karl Samuelian, Dinner Co-Chairman and National Vice-Chairman
36. Dr. John Tsu, Bush/Quayle '92 Dinner Vice-Chairman

Stage Right, Third Tier (Enter Stage Left):

37. Mr. A.C. Lyles, Producer with Paramount
38. Mrs. Martha Lyles, Wife of A.C. Lyles
39. Mr. V.J. Armitraj, President of ATP Tour (Worldwide Tennis Association) and President of the new TGN Network
40. Mrs. Shyamala Armitraj, Wife of V.J. Armitraj
41. Mr. Scott Baio, Actor — Not Attending
42. Guest of Mr. Scott Baio
43. Mrs. Amy Rogers, Wife of Wayne Rogers
44. Mr. Wayne Rogers, Actor

Stage Left, Third Tier (Enter Stage Left):

45. Mr. Leslie Nielsen, Actor
46. Ms. Barbaree Earl, Guest of Mr. Leslie Nielsen
47. Mr. Al Villalobos, Dinner Co-Chairman and National Vice-Chair
48. Mr. Yong C. Kim, Dinner Co-Chairman and National Vice-Chair
49. Mr. Jim Dignan, California Republican Party Chairman
50. Mrs. Linda Smirnoff, Wife of Yakov Smirnoff
51. Mr. Yakov Smirnoff, Comedian

OFFICE OF
PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

COVER PAGE

TO: Doug Chia

FROM: Anne Dickerson

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES: 4
(including cover page)

DATE: 2/25/92

TIME: 9 25 Am

MESSAGE:
Here's the Head Table update!

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS WITH THE TRANSMISSION PLEASE CALL.

TELEPHONE NUMBER: 310 275-1527

THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

FACSIMILE

DATE: February 20, 1992

PAGES (Incl. Cover): 3

TO: Ms. Jeannie Bunton
Speech Writing Office
The White House

FAX#: 202/456-6218

FR: April E. Geary

FAX#:

MESSAGE:

Jeannie:

Please see the attached 1990 California Trade Highlights which tells in brief about exports and direct investment in the State.

If you need further information, don't hesitate to call.

Regards,

Please contact ______________ at (916) 445-6075 if all pages have not been received.

GOVERNOR PETE WILSON, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA 95814 (916) 445-2841

CALIFORNIA STATE
WORLD TRADE COMMISSION

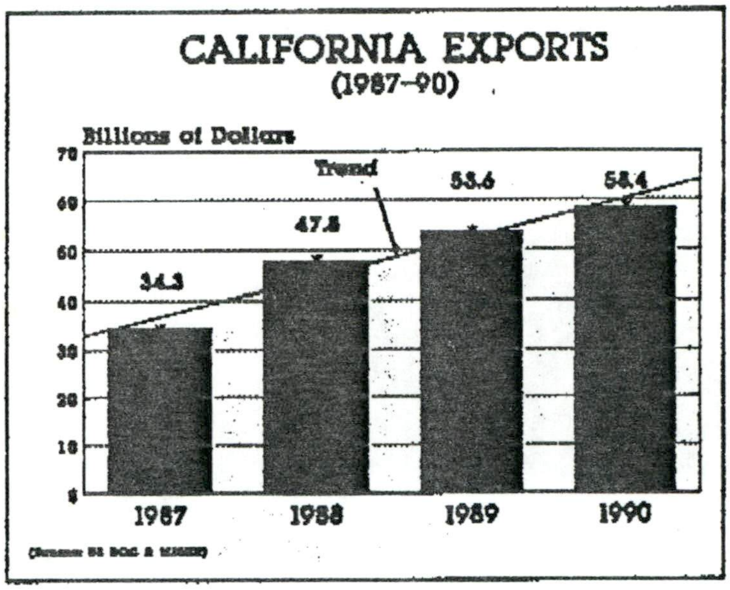
1990 CALIFORNIA TRADE HIGHLIGHTS

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION profiles California's international trade performance. Leading the United States in exporting, California accounts for one out of every seven U.S. export dollars. In 1990, California exported over $58 billion in goods, and state ports handled two-way trade valued at nearly $166 billion.

THE EXPORT PICTURE

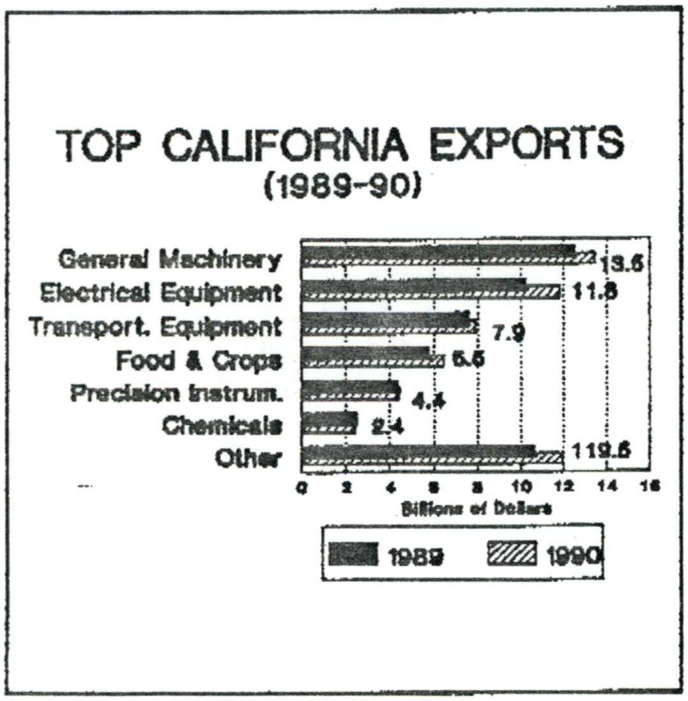
California exports grew quickly in the latter half of the 1980s, increasing by an average of 20 percent per year between 1987 and 1990. Trade growth peaked in 1988 at 39 percent, followed by moderate growth in 1989 and 1990 of 12 percent and 9 percent respectively.

California's foreign trade continues to boost state economic performance, accounting for 9 percent of the estimated $55 billion increase in gross state product in 1990.



CALIFORNIA PRODUCTS

California producers' high quality and diverse products are in strong demand from buyers around the world. The state's top three product categories account for close to 60 percent of all California exports. General Machinery -- including industrial and commercial machinery and computer equipment -- is the state's top export at $13.5 billion. Electrical Equipment exports, consisting of telecommunications equipment, consumer electronics, and electrical machinery, totaled $11.8 billion in 1990. Third-ranked Transportation Equipment, including motor vehicles, aerospace products and railroad and boat equipment, posted overseas sales of $7.9 billion.

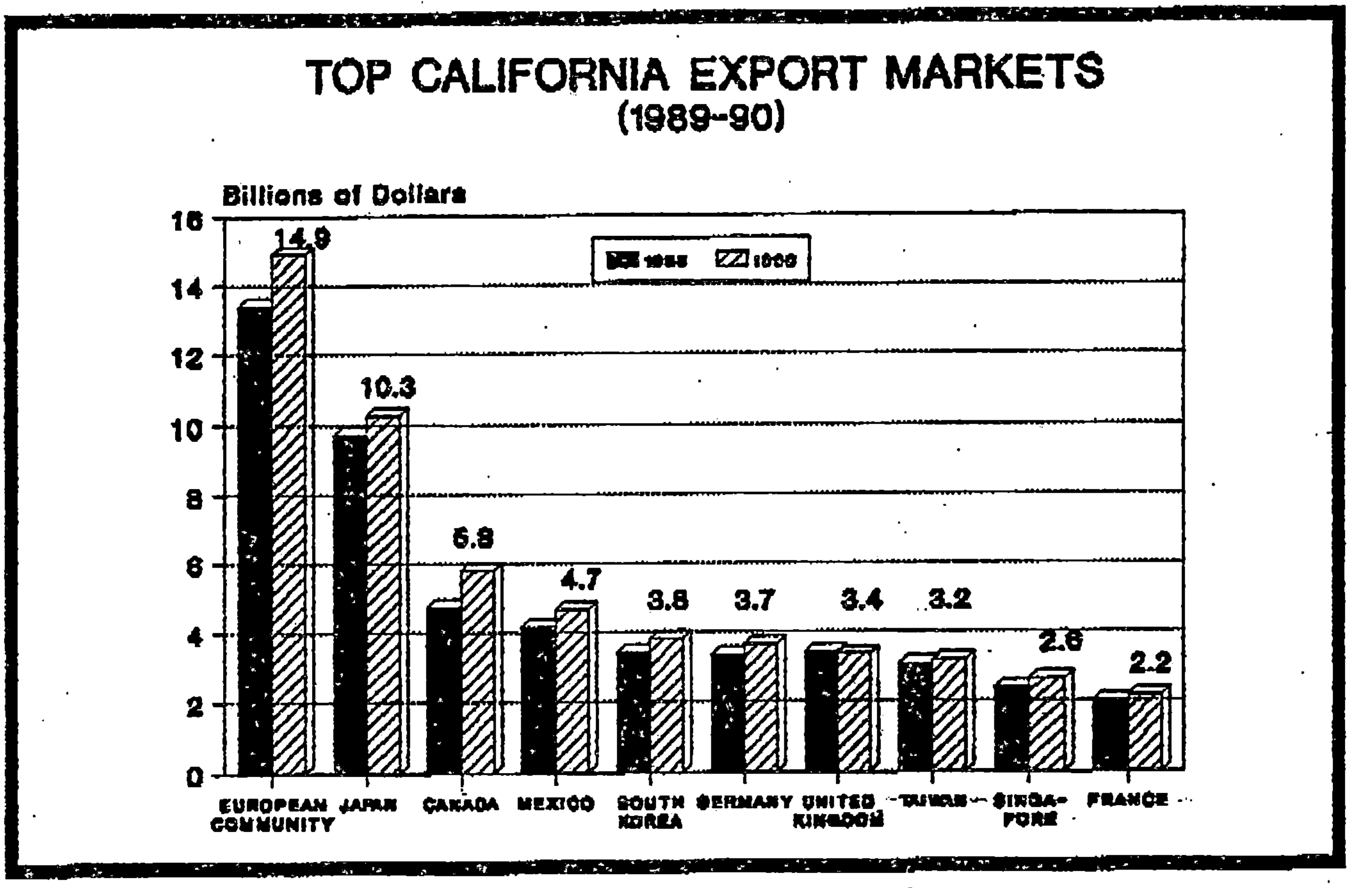


California's fastest growing major export segment was Electrical Equipment (16 percent) followed by Food and Crops (12 percent). Other leading categories grew at modest rates with General Machinery, Transportation Equipment and Precision Instruments experiencing 8, 5, and 2 percent growth respectively. Chemical product exports were the only exception to the otherwise healthy growth of California commodities, seeing a downturn of 4 percent in overseas sales. California plays a leading role in United States export development, averaging a 15 percent share of U.S. commodity exports. Leading the United States are California's exports of Electrical Equipment, Precision Instruments and General Machinery, which hold 27, 21, and 20 percent shares of all U.S. overseas sales.

PLEASE NOTE: Data presented in this analysis are adjusted figures, accounting for the difference between reported and actual export values. The source for this information is the U.S. Department of Commerce.

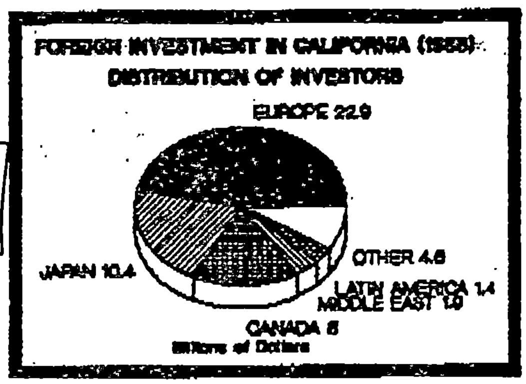
EXPORT MARKETS

The Golden State's products are sold in virtually all parts of the globe. California's top ten markets, ranging from Asia to Europe, account for over 70 percent of all state exports. The European Community, as a consolidated market, is the number one destination for California products, consuming $14.9 billion or 25 percent of all California exports. Japan, Canada and Mexico represent the top three single-country markets, receiving $10.3, $5.8, and $4.7 billion respectively in California merchandise. The fastest growing major market for California goods in 1990 was Canada, increasing purchases by 22 percent from 1989. Other key growing markets for the state's products were the Netherlands (16 percent), Mexico (12 percent), and South Korea (11 percent), while California's largest export market – Japan – increased purchases by a modest 5 percent over 1989.



FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Overseas investment in California reached nearly $50 billion in 1988, increasing 15 percent from 1987. Top investors include European nations, Japan and Canada. Total employment attributable to foreign investment was 390,300 in 1988, rising 20 percent from 324,200 jobs in 1987.



GENERAL STATISTICS 1990

Gross State Product	$731.2 billion
Population	30.4 million
Civilian Labor Force	14.7 million
Unemployment	5.6 percent
Inflation Rate	5.5 percent

Trade Through California's Custom Districts

TOTAL	$165.7 billion
Port Exports	$68.6 billion
Port Imports	$97.1 billion

THE CALIFORNIA STATE WORLD TRADE COMMISSION is the export development arm of California state government. Since its creation in 1983, the Commission has supported over $500 million dollars in exports through assisting businesses with export financing, marketing, and trade policy advocacy. For further information please contact:

CALIFORNIA STATE WORLD TRADE COMMISSION
1121 L Street, Suite 310 • Sacramento, CA 95814
Telephone: (916)324-5511 • Fax: (916)324-5791

CALIFORNIA STATE
WORLD TRADE COMMISSION

CALIFORNIA EXPORT TRADE WITH THE ASIA/PACIFIC 1990
(In dollars)

According to state of origin export figures from the U.S. Department of Commerce the Pacific Rim absorbed $26 billion worth of California goods in 1990, comprising 46% of the state's total exports. U.S. exports to the Pacific Rim reached $114 billion, comprising 29% of the total U.S. export volume.

COUNTRY	CA EXPORTS	% OF CA EXPORTS	US EXPORTS	%OF US EXPORTS	CA % OF US
JAPAN	10,265,892,048	17.6%	48,584,647,095	12.4%	21.1%
SOUTH KOREA	3,789,211,876	6.5%	14,398,719,586	3.7%	26.3%
TAIWAN	3,165,183,739	5.4%	11,482,402,725	2.9%	27.6%
SINGAPORE	2,640,108,128	4.5%	8,019,122,135	2.0%	32.9%
HONG KONG	1,684,961,981	2.9%	6,840,412,741	1.7%	24.6%
AUSTRALIA	1,508,557,546	2.6%	8,534,725,966	2.2%	17.7%
MALAYSIA	1,232,458,775	2.1%	3,424,700,246	0.9%	36.0%
PHILIPPINES	785,258,036	1.3%	2,471,573,689	0.6%	31.8%
CHINA	655,858,407	1.1%	4,807,332,471	1.2%	13.6%
THAILAND	594,022,326	1.0%	2,991,478,550	0.8%	19.9%
INDONESIA	284,287,195	0.5%	1,896,734,810	0.5%	15.0%
NEW ZEALAND	275,734,898	0.5%	1,133,299,860	0.3%	24.3%
BRUNEI	28,129,612	0.0%	142,677,287	0.0%	19.7%
PACIFIC TOTAL	26,909,664,567	46.0%	114,727,827,161	29.2%	23.4%

Post-it™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671 | # of pages ▸ 1

To JEANNIE BUNTON	From APRIL GEARY
Co.	Co.
Dept.	Phone # 916 445 6075

CALIFORNIA STATE
WORLD TRADE COMMISSION

Post-It™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671 | # of pages ▸ 1

To Jeannie Bunton	From April Geary
Co.	Co.
Dept.	Phone # 916/445-6075
Fax # 202/456-6218	Fax #

CALIFORNIA EXPORTS
(STATE OF ORIGIN OF MOVEMENT)
A 1990/1991 COMPARISON
(in dollars)

STATE OF CALIFORNIA EXPORTS

	1990	1991
Quarter 1	$14,163,648,732	$15,485,779,839
Quarter 2	$14,367,164,211	$16,069,731,586
Quarter 3	$14,382,680,904	$14,861,164,884
Quarter 4	$15,516,950,615	not yet available
TOTAL	$58,430,444,462	not yet available
TOTAL FOR QTRS 1-3	$42,913,493,847	$46,416,676,309

The following are Quarter 4 California export/state of origin figures that provide a historical reference:

Quarter 4	
1987	$ 9.7 billion
1988	$12.9 billion
1989	$13.5 billion
1990	$15.5 billion

US TRADE

1990 total US exports: $393,592,300,000
1991 total US exports: $421,850,700,000

1990
CA. / U.S. = 14.8 %

Source: Massachusetts Institute for Social and Economic Reasearch (MISER) and US Department of Commerce

1121 L Street, Suite 310 Sacramento, CA 95814 (916) 324-5511 Telex: 5106003794 Fax: (916) 324-5791

National Association of Home Builders

1201 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005-2800

(202) 822-0401 Fax No: (202) 822-0374

Kent W. Colton, Ph.D.
Executive Vice President &
Chief Executive Officer

February 7, 1992

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Jeannie Benton

FROM: Kent W. Colton Kent

SUBJECT: Impacts of Tax Credit

Attached are the numbers we promised, as well as a backup paper on the methodology for the national estimates. (The regional estimates reflect the regions share of overall U.S. construction activity in 1989.) Also attached is a background memo on other housing related information for New England which Jay Buchert may be using when he is in New Hampshire.

Please let me know if you have any questions. And if you want to follow-up on the specific methodology, please feel free to call Dave Crow directly at 202-822-0383. Dave is the gentleman who did the estimates.

KWC/di

Enclosure

NAHB
2/7/92

IMPACTS OF TAX CREDIT

Additional:		in the US:	in New England:
Starts	in 1992	215,000	9,000
	in 1993	60,000	2,500
Jobs	in 1992 —	415,000	16,900
	in 1993	125,000	5,100
Federal Tax Revenue	in 1992	$3.8 billion	$155 million
	in 1993	$1.1 billion	$45 million
Housing Activity	in 1992	$23 billion	$900 million
	in 1993	$7 billion	$280 million

Activity in New Hampshire will likely be proportionate to the state's share of the New England benefit, or about 13% of the New England effects. That translates into about 1,000 starts, 2,300 jobs, $21 million in federal tax revenue, and $120 million in housing activity in 1992.

The methodology for the national estimates is attached. The regional estimates reflect the region's share of construction activity in 1989.

Stick w/ starts & jobs —

NAHB
2/7/92

Impact of a First-Time Home Buyer's Tax Credit

The Bush proposal for a first-time home buyer's tax credit will stimulate the production of 215,000 additional housing starts in 1992 and another 60,000 additional starts in 1993. The new construction activity will increase employment by 415,000 in 1992 and by over 100,000 in 1993. An additional $23 billion in new housing investment will be added to the nation's economy in 1992 and $7 billion in 1993.

Highlights

The starts impact is the net result of a number of effects that the housing market will undergo if the credit is passed soon. NAHB estimates that 205,000 additional new home sales contracts will be signed by first-time home buyers during the 1992 qualifying period (February 1 to December 31). Another 563,000 existing home sales will be made to first-time home buyers induced to purchase because of the credit. Most of the existing home sellers will, in turn, purchase another home. An additional 190,000 new home sales will result from these move-up buyers for a total new home sales increase of 395,000.

Since the credit proposal allows the final home delivery to take place up to June 30, 1993, some of the first-time home buyer's new homes will be started in 1993 along with some of the second round purchases by move-up buyers who are not constrained by the deadlines. Hence, some added starts activity spills into 1993.

While the new home inventory is very low, NAHB also assumes that some of the added new home sales will come from existing inventory, some of which will be replaced in 1993 after the credit induced activity has diminished. Also affecting later activity, some of the credit-stimulated purchases are advanced purchases that would have occurred in 1993 and 1994. Hence, the NAHB forecast also includes some reduction in demand and starts in these two years to compensate for the timing change. The time shifting will smooth the housing production cycle and spread demands for materials, labor and land over a longer time period.

The stimulus flows through the housing market in four ways. The credit makes it possible for some households that otherwise could not afford to buy to make the down payment. Second, the credit acts like a temporary price discount, equivalent to 10 percent of the price up to $50,000 or less for higher home prices. Third, the one year window of opportunity will encourage households with intentions of buying next year to advance their purchase. Fourth, a second wave of home purchasing will occur as existing home sellers find buyers eligible for the credit and, in turn, buy another home.

Each effect and its relative contribution to the economic impact is described in the following sections. The total flow of starts, sales contracts and closing transactions is detailed in the attached table.

More Affordable

Down payments and up-front cash for closing costs are the largest hurdles to home ownership. A Census Bureau report[1] and the two most recent Joint Center for Housing Studies reports[2] demonstrate that between 80 and 90 percent of renter households cannot afford to purchase a home. Both conclude that the largest barrier is the down payment.

In addition to the published estimates in the Census Bureau report of the number of renters that can and cannot afford to buy a home, NAHB received unpublished estimates of the number of renter households, by income, that could and could not afford to purchase a home if they had an extra $5,000. In the published report, Census found that 3.4 million of the 37.7 million renter households in 1988 could afford to buy a home. Increasing their cash by $5,000 adds another 1.6 million renter households to the able-to-afford category. We have assumed that the first time home buyers can effectively employ the credit towards a down payment.[3]

The American Housing Survey reports between 1.5 and 1.7 million households become first-time home buyers in a year of which 1.2 million were renters before their purchase. As a percentage of those that are judged able to afford to buy, the "conversion" rate is about 25 percent, although it varies with income between 15 percent and 44 percent. Similar percentages can be calculated for the proportion of first-time home buyers that choose newly-built homes.

Renters make up 70 percent of the first-time home buyers. The other 30 percent are newly-formed households, either moving out of parents' homes or out of shared arrangements. Consequently, the pool of potential first-time home buyers is larger by 43 percent (30/70) than the Census figures alone would suggest. The proportion of first-time home buyers from each type of previous housing situation is used to estimate total potential demand.

The net result of applying propensities to buy newly-built homes to the number of additional households able to afford to buy results in an NAHB estimate of 118,000 additional first-time home buyers will purchase a newly-built home. Another 323,000 households will purchase existing homes because the credit solves the affordability hurdle.

The administration's proposal along with congressional proposals define first-time home buyers as those individuals that have not owned a home in the last three years. This analysis is based on a definition of households that have never owned. The AHS data does not delve into previous ownership beyond the tenure most recent to the present one for households that moved in the past year. The data does tell us that another 22 percent of recent home purchasers were not the owners of their last home. If some or all of the previously non-owners but not first-time home buyers also qualify for the credit, our estimates of additional sales are too low.

Price Discount

The second effect comes from inducing purchases by renters and newly-formed households who could already afford to buy but who otherwise would not choose to do so. The credit effectively reduces the price of a first purchase. Generally accepted academic research estimates the "price elasticity" of housing at around 1.0; that means, for every one percent fall in price, a one percent increase in home buying activity will result. The percentage change in price for each income group is calculated as the credit amount divided by the maximum home price affordable by that income.[4]

The estimated percentage increase in first-time home purchases is applied to the number of first-time home buyers in each eligible income bracket. Adding up over all eligible incomes yields an estimated sales impact of 23,000 additional purchases of newly-built homes from the reduced price stimulus of a $5,000 credit[5]. Another 86,000 existing home purchases by first-time home buyers will also be generated as a result of the price incentive.

Advancing Purchase Decisions

The third effect produces additional home purchases by encouraging future purchasers to advance their action. While some future purchases are already accounted for in the affordability effect and price effect estimates, there are other households that could afford to buy now, but simply would otherwise wait until later. If the credit is limited to one year, some households and potential households who were planning to purchase later will move up their decisions. We estimate 16 percent of a typical years first-time home buyers will shift from the following year to the year the credit is available[6].

These ratios are applied to the expected number of first-time home buyers in the next year. The result is another 64,000 additional newly-built home purchases stimulated as a result of buyers advancing their purchase plans and another 239,000 existing home purchasers.

The estimates of additional sales do not, of course, include the effect of the extra stimulus upon those who would have purchased a home during the year anyway. Those "free-riders" will receive the credit, and their tax relief adds to the overall tax cost but is not included in the stimulated sales since they would have purchased anyway. NAHB assumes a base of 1.47 million[7] first-time home buyers will receive the credit but would have purchased anyway, 321,000 buy newly-built homes and 1,146,000 buy existing homes.

The free-riders will likely spend more for their first home, add more amenities, or be able to spend more on some other housing related item like furniture or decoration because of the extra funds. About 1.47 million households would receive this windfall and could account for an additional $4.4 billion[8] in additional expenditures.

Second Round Purchases

The sum of the three effects will increase existing home purchases by first-time home buyers by 560,000. Past experience suggests that about between a quarter and a third of the existing home sellers will purchase a newly-built home. Hence, another 190,000 newly-built homes will be purchased by existing home sellers.

More existing home sales will occur as each round of selling and buying oscillates through the economy. A countervailing decline in expected sales (and starts) will begin in late 1993 and 1994 when the purchases advanced from the future would have otherwise have occurred. NAHB estimates between one-third and one-half of the stimulated home buying is borrowed from 1993 and 1994.

Sales and Starts Timing

The total effect sums to 395,000 additional newly-built home sales. The net effect on housing starts depends on existing inventory, the ability of the industry to respond, and a dampened demand for new rental housing.

Although the present inventory of for-sale new homes is low, NAHB expects 50,000 of the new home sales in 1992 will come from inventory, driving the end-of-year inventory down to only 3 months supply. Another 245,000 sales will be started in 1992 to accommodate the new sales contracts and 100,000 will be started in 1993 to satisfy the new demand.

The increased demand for ownership will reduce demand for rental units. NAHB estimates a change in the base case of 30,000 fewer multifamily starts in 1993 and 20,000 fewer in 1993. The net starts results are an additional 215,000 starts in 1992. In addition to the multifamily offset in 1993, 20,000 fewer single family homes will be built because those purchases were advanced to capture the credit, leaving 1993 with a net gain of 60,000 starts.

Summary

The credit stimulus sums to 215,000 additional housing starts in 1992. The change is the net effect of newly-built home sales because they can now afford to buy (+118,000), because the extra cash incentive effective reduces the price (+23,000), because they advance plans to the year that the credit is available (+64,000), because existing home sellers trade-up to new homes (+190,000), because some sales are made out of inventory (-50,000), because fewer multifamily rental units will be needed (-30,000), and because some homes will be started in 1993 (-100,000).

The added starts will stimulate 415,000 added jobs in 1992. The new jobs, material purchases, company profits, and stimulated economic activity in the construction and related fields will generate $3.8 billion in added federal tax revenues. Net new housing activity in 1993 will generate 127,000 new jobs, and $1.1 billion in added federal tax revenues.

Housing construction activity will increase by nearly $30 billion over the two year period.

NAHB
2/7/92

End Notes

1."Who Can Afford to Buy a House", Current Housing Report, H121/91-1, May 1991.

2. "The State of the Nation's Housing 1990" and "The State of the Nation's Housing 1991", Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard, 1990 and 1991.

3. We assume that the financial market will develop a means of advancing the credit to households that need the money for a down payment. Numerous bank and finance company arrangements already exist for "borrowing" a tax refund before the Treasury sends the check. The optimum solution would be to allow, in the statute, that the credit be transferable, i.e. allow the buyer to assign the future credit to the seller.

4. Since this procedure would call for unrealistically low new home prices at low incomes, a $35,000 floor for the home price was used.

5. If potential appreciation and tax benefits were also included, the "cost" of owning the home would be considerable less than the "price" and the credit is therefore a higher percentage of the cost. A lower base price in the elasticity calculation would imply a larger percentage change for the same credit and commensurately larger impact on the decision to purchase. At the extreme, if the credit were considered as an increase in the available down payment only, the elasticity measure would be many times larger. We have conservatively used the house price as the base for calculating the percent change in price from the credit.

6. An estimate of a 16 percent shift implies that the first two months of the following year's purchasers will shift their plans forward to qualify for the credit.

7. Eleven months of an average 1.6 million first time home buyers per year.

8.1,470,000 times $5,000 times .6 (likely proportion of credit that will be spent, the rest will be saved).

OFFICE OF
PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

COVER PAGE

TO: Gary Gershowitz

FROM: John Gumla

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES: 6
(including cover page)

DATE:

TIME: 202-456-6218

MESSAGE:

As requested

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS WITH THE TRANSMISSION PLEASE CALL.

TELEPHONE NUMBER: 310 275-1527

7:05 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Brentwood Room and begin participation in Head Table Reception.

7:20 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation in Head Table Reception, depart Brentwood Room, and proceed to Los Angeles Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area.

EVENT: BUSH-QUAYLE '92 FUNDRAISING DINNER

OPEN PRESS

DINNER

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

REMARKS

TELEPROMPTER

7:30 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Los Angeles Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area and hold briefly.

7:32 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush are announced into Los Angeles Ballroom, proceed to Seats on Stage and Remain Standing.

7:34 pm Rabbi Gary Greenebaum, Executive Director, Western Region District of the American Jewish Committee, gives Invocation.

7:36 pm Ms. Cheryl Ladd, Actress, leads Pledge of Allegiance.

7:38 pm Mr. Bobby Brett, Singer, sings National Anthem.

7:41 pm Mr. Lod Cook, Chairman ARCO and Bush-Quayle '92 National Co-Chairman, gives Brief Remarks.

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush are served Dinner at this time.

8:30 pm Bob Hope, Comedian, performs Brief Comedy Routine.

8:35 pm Mr. Donald Bren, Chairman of Irvine Company and Bush-Quayle '92 National Co-Chairman, gives Brief Remarks and Introduces Governor Wilson.

8:38 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by The Honorable Pete Wilson, Governor of California.

8:43 pm THE PRESIDENT Remarks.

9:00 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks and, with Mrs. Bush, departs Los Angeles Ballroom, and proceeds to Motorcade.

9:05 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and depart Century Plaza Hotel en route Four Seasons Hotel.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

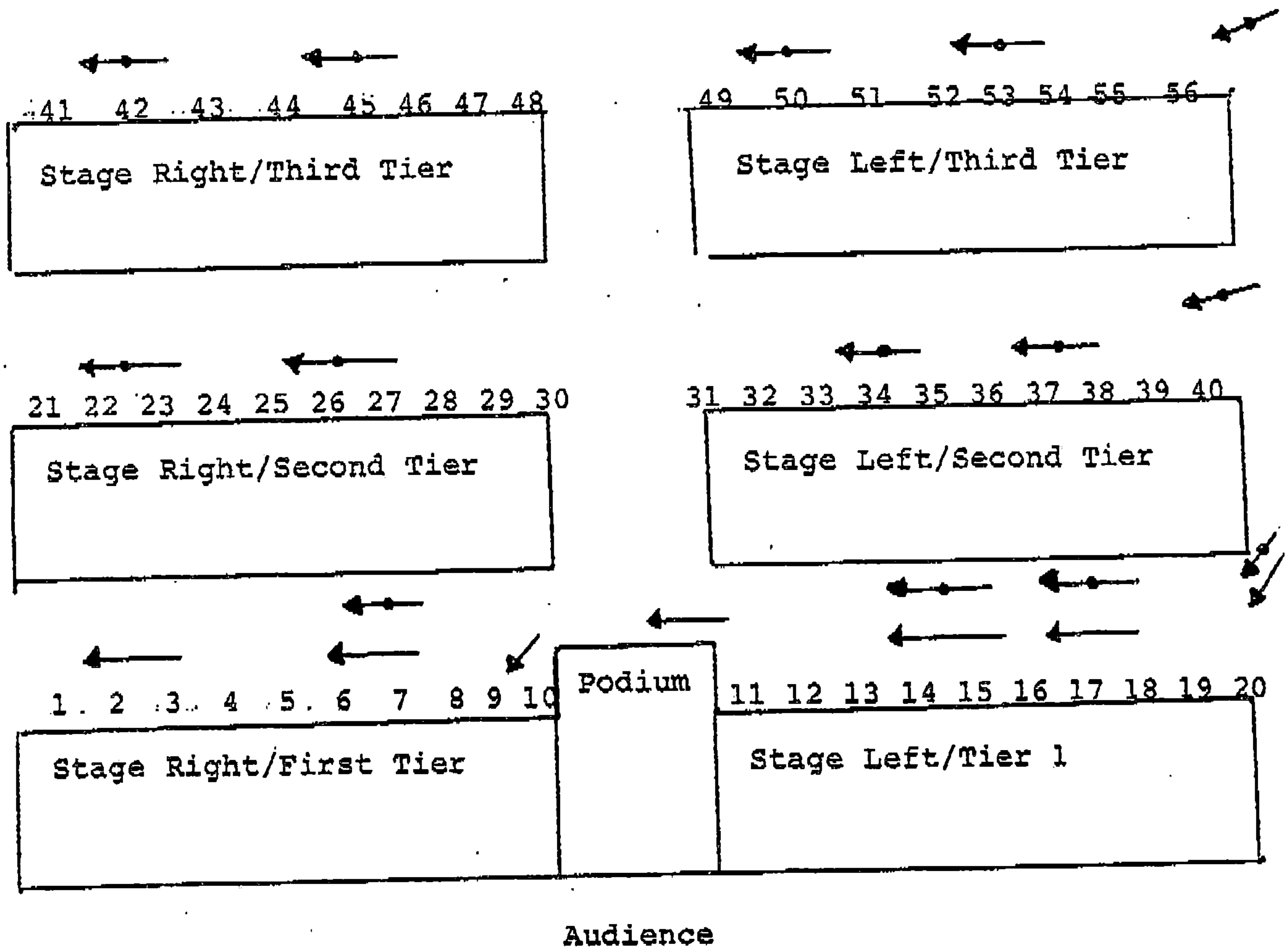
(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

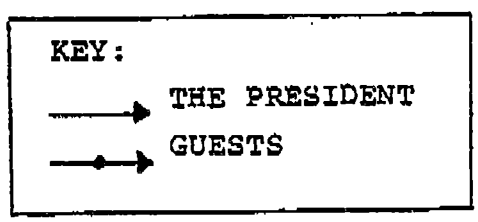
9:15 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Four Seasons Hotel and proceed to Suite for RON.

9:20 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Suite for RON.

RON Los Angeles, CA

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
Century Plaza Hotel
Bush-Quayle'92 Fundraising Dinner
Los Angeles Ballroom
Head Table Diagram
Tuesday, February 25, 1992





<u>Stage Right, Third Tier (Enter Stage Left):</u>

41. Mrs. Linda Smirnoff, Wife of Yakov Smirnoff
42. Mr. Yakov Smirnoff, Comedian
43. Mr. Leslie Nielsen
44.
45.
46.
47.
48.

<u>Stage Left, Third Tier (Enter Stage Left):</u>

49.
50.
51.
52.
53.
54.
55.
56.

Stage Right/First Tier (Enter Stage Left)

1. Mr. Robbie Britt, Singer/National Anthem
2. Mrs. Tamari Greenebaum, Wife of Rabbi Greenebaum
3. Rabbi Gary Greenebaum, Exec. Dir., West Region Dist. of Amer. Jewish Committee/Invocation
4. Mr. Bobby Holt, Bush-Quayle '92 National Finance Chairman
5. Ms. Carol Hayes, Guest of Donald Bren
6. Mr. Donald Bren, Chairman of Irvine Co., Bush/Quayle '92 National Co-Chairman
7. Mrs. Gayle Wilson, Wife of Governor Pete Wilson
8. The Honorable Peter Wilson, Governor of California
9. THE PRESIDENT
10. Mr. Bob Hope, Comedian

PODIUM

Stage Left, First Tier (Enter Stage Left):

11. Mr. Johnny Grant, Honorary Mayor of Hollywood, Master of Ceremonies
12. Mrs. Carole Cook, Wife of Lod Cook
13. Mr. Lod Cook, Chairman of ARCO, Bush/Quayle '92 National Co-Chairman
14. Mrs. Barbara Bush
15. Mr. Howard Leach, Bush-Quayle '92 National Regional Chairman
16. Mrs. Gretchen Leach, Wife of Howard Leach
17. Mr. Brian Russell, Husband of Ms. Cheryl Ladd
18. Ms. Cheryl Ladd, Actress/Pledge of Allegiance
19. Mr. Robert Mosbacher, Bush/Quayle '92 Campaign Chairman
20. Mrs. Georgette Mosbacher, Wife of Robert Mosbacher

Stage Right, Second Tier (Enter Stage Left):

21. Mr. Bruce Boxleitner, Actor
22. Mrs. Martha Lyles, Wife of A.C. Lyles
23. Mr. A.C. Lyles, Producer with Paramount
24. Ms. Mary Hart, Actress
25. Mr. Burt Sugarman, Husband of Mary Hart
26. Mr. Gerald "Mac" McRaney, Actor
27. Guest of Alfred Villalobos
28. Mr. Alfred Villalobos, Dinner Co-Chairman
29. Dr. Bradley Allen, Guest of Jacqueline Smith
30. Ms. Jacqueline Smith

Stage Left, Second Tier (Enter Stage Left):

31. Mr. Reggie Jackson, Retired Baseball Player
32. Guest of Mr. David Murdock
33. Mr. David Murdock, Dinner Co-Chairman
34. Mrs. Dolores Samuelian, Wife of Mr. Karl Samuelian
35. Mr. Karl Samuelian, Dinner Co-Chairman
36. Mrs. Celia del Junco, Wife of Dr. Tierso del Junco
37. Dr. Tierso del Junco, Dinner Co-Chairman
38. Mr. Andy Williams, Entertainer
39. Guest of Mr. Scott Baio
40. Mr. Scott Baio, Actor

THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

FACSIMILE

DATE: 20 Feb 92

PAGES (Incl. Cover): 5

TO: Gary Gershowitz

FAX#: 202-456-6218

FR: Harry Crocker
Deputy speechwriter for Governor Wilson

FAX#: 916-445-1764

MESSAGE:

Gary: Thought this radio address might provide some more good background for you.

To get the best and most concise info on the Governor's "Prevention" programs, you should call Amy Albright or Lynne Bartholomew at 916-323-[redacted] 0611.

Please contact me at (916) 445-1764 if all pages have not been received.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release January 28, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

The U.S. Capitol

9:07 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker and Mr. President, distinguished members of Congress, honored guests and fellow citizens. Thank you very much for that warm reception. You know, with the big buildup this address has had, I want to make sure it would be a big hit, but I couldn't convince Barbara to deliver it for me. (Applause.)

I see the Speaker and the Vice President are laughing. They saw what I did in Japan and they're just happy they're sitting behind me. (Laughter.)

I mean to speak tonight of big things, of big changes and the promises they hold, and of some big problems -- and how, together, we can solve them and move our country forward as the undisputed leader of the age. (Applause.)

We gather tonight at a dramatic and deeply promising time in our history, and in the history of man on Earth. For in the past twelve months the world has known changes of almost biblical proportions. And even now, months after the failed coup that doomed a failed system, I'm not sure we've absorbed the full impact, the full import of what happened. But communism died this year. (Applause.)

Even as President, with the most fascinating possible vantage point, there were times when I was so busy managing progress and helping to lead change that I didn't always show the joy that was in my heart. But the biggest thing that has happened in the world in my life, in our lives, is this: By the grace of God, America won the Cold War. (Applause.)

I mean to speak this evening of the changes that can take place in our country now that we can stop making the sacrifices we had to make when we had an avowed enemy that was a superpower. Now we can look homeward even more, and move to set right what needs to be set right.

I will speak of those things. But let me tell you something I've been thinking these past few months. It's a kind of roll call of honor. For the Cold War didn't "end" -- it was won. And I think of those who won it, in places like Korea, and Vietnam. And some of them didn't come back. Back then they were heroes, but this year they were victors. (Applause.)

The long roll call -- all the G.I. Joes and Janes, all the ones who fought faithfully for freedom, who hit the ground and sucked the dust and knew their share of horror. This may seem frivolous -- and I don't mean it so -- but it's moving to me how the world saw them.

The world saw not only their special valor, but their special style -- their rambunctious, optimistic bravery, their do-or-die unity unhampered by class or race or region. What a group we've put forth, for generations now, from the ones who wrote "Kilroy was Here" on the walls of the German stalags, to those who left signs in the Iraqi desert that said, "I Saw Elvis." What a group of kids we've sent into the world. (Applause.)

And there's another to be singled out, though it may seem inelegant. I mean a mass of people called The American Taxpayer. No one ever thinks to thank the people who pay a country's bill, or an Alliance's bill. But for half a century now, the American people have shouldered the burden and paid taxes that were higher than they would have been to support a defense that was bigger than it would have been if imperial communism had never existed.

But it did -- doesn't anymore. (Applause.)

And here's a fact I wouldn't mind the world acknowledging: The American taxpayer bore the brunt of the burden, and deserves a hunk of the glory. (Applause.)

And so now, for the first time in 35 years, our strategic bombers stand down. No longer are they on 'round-the-clock alert. Tomorrow our children will go to school and study history and how plants grow. And they won't have, as my children did, air raid drills in which they crawl under their desks and cover their heads in case of nuclear war. My grandchildren don't have to do that, andwon't have the bad dreams children had once, in decades past. There are still threats. But the long, drawn out dread is over. (Applause.)

A year ago tonight I spoke to you at a moment of high peril. American forces had just unleashed Operation Desert Storm. And after 40 days in the desert skies and four days on the ground, the men and women of America's Armed Forces, and our allies, accomplished the goals that I declared and that you endorsed: We liberated Kuwait. (Applause.)

Soon after, the Arab world and Israel sat down to talk seriously, and comprehensively, about peace -- an historic first. And soon after that, at Christmas, the last American hostages came home. Our policies were vindicated. (Applause.)

Much good can come from the prudent use of power. And much good can come of this: A world once divided into two armed camps now recognizes one sole and pre-eminent power: the United States of America. (Applause.) And they regard this with no dread. For the world trusts us with power and the world is right. They trust us to be fair and restrained; they trust us to be on the side of decency; they trust us to do what's right.

I use those words advisedly. A few days after the war began, I received a telegram from Joanne Speicher, the wife of the first pilot killed in the Gulf, Lt. Commander Scott Speicher. Even in her grief she wanted me to know that some day, when her children were old enough, she would tell them "that their father went away to war because it was the right thing to do." She said it all. It was the right thing to do.

And we did it together. There were honest differences right here in this Chamber. But when the war began, you put partisanship aside and we supported our troops. This is still a time for pride, but this is no time to boast. For problems face us, and we must stand together once again and solve them, and not let our country down. (Applause.)

Two years ago I began planning cuts in military spending that reflected the changes of the new era. But now, this year, with imperial communism gone, that process can be accelerated. Tonight can tell you of dramatic changes in our strategic nuclear force. These are actions we are taking on our own because they are the right thing to do.

After completing 20 planes for which we have begun procurement, we will shut down further production of the B-2 bomber. (Applause.) We will cancel the small ICBM program. We will cease production of new warheads for our sea-based ballistic missiles. We will stop all new production of the Peacekeeper missile. And we will not purchase any more advanced cruise missiles.

This weekend I will meet at Camp David with Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation. I've informed President Yeltsin that if the Commonwealth, the former Soviet Union, will eliminate all land-based multiple warhead ballistic missiles, I will do the following: We will eliminate all Peacekeeper missiles. We will reduce the number of warheads on Minuteman missiles to one, and reduce the number of warheads on our sea-based missiles by about one-third. And we will convert a substantial portion of our strategic bombers to primarily conventional use.

President Yeltsin's early response has been very positive, and I expect our talks at Camp David to be fruitful.

I want you to know that for half a century, American presidents have longed to make such decisions and say such words. But even in the midst of celebration, we must keep caution as a friend. For the world is still a dangerous place. Only the dead have seen the end of conflict. And though yesterday's challenges are behind us, tomorrow's are being born.

The Secretary of Defense recommended these cuts after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. And I make them with confidence. But do not misunderstand me: The reductions I have approved will save us an additional $50 billion over the next five years. By 1997, we will have cut defense by 30 percent since I took office. These cuts are deep, and you must know my resolve: This deep, and no deeper. (Applause.)

To do less would be insensible to progress, but to do more would be ignorant of history. We must not go back to the days of "the hollow army". We cannot repeat the mistakes made twice in this century, when armistice was followed by recklessness, and defense was purged as if the world were permanently safe.

I remind you this evening that I have asked for your support in funding a program to protect our country from limited nuclear missile attack. We must have this protection because too many people in too many countries have access to nuclear arms. (Applause.) And I urge you again to pass the Strategic Defense Initiative -- S.D.I. (Applause.)

There are those who say that now we can turn away from the world, that we have no special role, no special place. But we are the United States of America, the leader of the West that has become the leader of the world. And as long as I am President I will continue to lead in support of freedom everywhere -- not out of arrogance, not out of altruism, but for the safety and security of our children. (Applause.) This is a fact: Strength in the pursuit of peace is no vice; isolationism in the pursuit of security is no virtue. (Applause.)

And now to our troubles at home. They're not all economic; the primary problem is our economy. There are some good signs: Inflation, that thief, is down; and interest rates are down. But unemployment is too high, some industries are in trouble, and growth is not what it should be. Let me tell you right from the start and right from the heart: I know we're in hard times, but I know something else: This will not stand. (Applause.)

In this Chamber -- in this Chamber, we can bring the same courage and sense of common purpose to the economy that we brought to Desert Storm. And we can defeat hard times together.

I believe you'll help. One reason is that you're patriots and you want the best for your country. And I believe that in your hearts you want to put partisanship aside and get the job done because it's the right thing to do.

The power of America rests in a stirring but simple idea: That people will do great things if only you set them free. Well, we're going to set the economy free, for if this age of miracles and wonders has taught us anything, it's that if we can change the world, we can change America.

We must encourage investment. We must make it easier for people to invest money and create new products, new industries, and new jobs. We must clear away the obstacles to growth -- high taxes, high regulation, red tape, and, yes, wasteful government spending. (Applause.)

None of this will happen with a snap of the fingers, but it will happen. And the test of a plan isn't whether it's called new or dazzling. The American people aren't impressed by gimmicks; they're smarter on this score than all of us in this room. The only test of a plan is, is it sound and will it work?

We must have a short-term plan to address our immediate needs and heat up the economy. And then we need a longer-term plan to keep combustion going and to guarantee our place in the world economy.

There are certain things that a President can do without Congress, and I'm going to do them. I have, this evening, asked major Cabinet departments and federal agencies to institute a 90-day moratorium on any new federal regulations that could hinder growth. (Applause.) In those 90 days major departments and agencies will carry out a top-to-bottom review of all regulations, old and new -- to stop the ones that will hurt growth, and speed up those that will help growth.

Further, for the untold number of hard-working, responsible American workers and businessmen and women who've been forced to go without needed bank loans, the banking credit crunch must end. (Applause.) I won't neglect my responsibility for sound regulations that serve the public good, but regulatory overkill must be stopped. (Applause.) And I've instructed our government regulators to stop it. (Applause.)

I have directed Cabinet departments and federal agencies, to speed up progrowth expenditures as quickly as possible. This should put an extra $10 billion into the economy in the next six months. And our new transportation bill provides more than $150 billion for construction and maintenance projects that are vital to our growth and well-being. And that means jobs building roads, jobs building bridges, and jobs building railways.

And I have, this evening, directed the Secretary of the Treasury to change the federal tax withholding tables. With this change, millions of Americans, from whom the government withholds more than necessary, can now choose to have the government withhold less from their paychecks. Something tells me a number of taxpayers may take us up on this. This initiative could return about $25 billion back into our economy over the next 12 months -- money people

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can use to help pay for clothing, college, or to get a new car. Finally, working with the Federal Reserve, we will continue to support monetary policy that keeps both interest rates and inflation down.

Now, these are the things I can do. And now, members of Congress, let me tell you what you can do for your country. (Applause.) You must pass the other elements of my plan to meet our economic needs. Everyone knows that investment spurs recovery. I am proposing this evening a change in the alternative minimum tax, and the creation of a new 15-percent investment tax allowance. (Applause.) This will encourage businesses to accelerate investment and bring people back to work.

Real estate has led our economy out of almost all the tough times we've ever had. Once building starts, carpenters and plumbers work, people buy homes and take out mortgages. My plan would modify the passive loss rule for active real estate developers. (Applause.) And it would make it easier for pension plans to purchase real estate.

For those Americans who dream of buying a first home, but who can't quite afford it, my plan would allow first-time homebuyers to withdraw savings from IRAs without penalty and provide a $5,000 tax credit for the first purchase of that home. (Applause.)

And finally, my immediate plan calls on Congress to give crucial help to people who own a home, to everyone who has a business, or a farm, or a single investment.

This time, at this hour, I cannot take no for an answer: You must cut the capital gains tax on the people of our country. (Applause.) Never has an issue been more demagogued by its opponents. (Applause.) But the demagogues are wrong -- they are wrong and they know it. Sixty percent of the people who benefit from lower capital gains have incomes under $50,000. A cut in the capital gains tax increases jobs and helps just about everyone in our country. (Applause.) And so I'm asking you to cut the capital gains tax to a maximum of 15.4 percent. (Applause.)

And I'll tell you, those of you who say, oh, no, someone who's comfortable may benefit from that, you kind of remind me of the old definition of the Puritan who couldn't sleep at night, worrying that somehow someone somewhere was out having a good time. (Applause.)

The opponents of this measure -- and those who have authored various so-called soak-the-rich bills that are floating around this Chamber -- should be reminded of something: When they aim at the big guy they usually hit the little guy. And maybe it's time that stopped. (Applause.)

This, then, is my short-term plan. Your part, members of Congress, requires enactment of these common-sense proposals that will have a strong effect on the economy -- without breaking the budget agreement and without raising tax rates. (Applause.)

While my plan is being passed and kicking in, we've got to care for those in trouble today. I have provided for up to $4.4 billion in my budget to extend federal unemployment benefits. And I ask for congressional action right away. (Applause.) And I thank the committee. (Applause.) Well, at last.

And let's be frank. Let's be frank. Let me level with you. I know and you know that my plan is unveiled in a political season. (Laughter.) I know and you know that everything I propose will be viewed by some in merely partisan terms. But I ask you to know what is in my heart, and my aim is to increase our nation's good. I'm doing what I think is right; I am proposing what I know will help. (Applause.)

I pride myself that I'm a prudent man and I believe that patience is a virtue. But I understand that politics is, for some, a game -- and that sometimes the game is to stop all progress and then decry the lack of improvement. (Laughter.) But let me tell you: far more important than my political future -- and far more important than yours -- is the well-being of our country. (Applause.) Members of this Chamber are practical people, and I know you won't resent some practical advice. When people put their party's fortunes -- whatever the party, whatever side of this aisle -- before the public good, they court defeat not only for their country, but for themselves. And they will certainly deserve it. (Applause.)

I submit my plan tomorrow, and I'm asking you to pass it by March 20th. (Applause.) And I ask the American people to let you know they want this action by March 20th.

From the day after that, if it must be, the battle is joined. And you know, when principle is at stake I relish a good fair fight. (Applause.)

I said my plan has two parts, and it does. And it's the second part that is the heart of the matter. For it's not enough to get an immediate burst, we need long-term improvement in our economic position.

We all know that the key to our economic future is to ensure that America continues an economic leader of the world. We have that in our power. Here, then, is my long-term plan to guarantee our future.

First, trade: We will work to break down the walls that stop world trade. We will work to open markets everywhere. And in our major trade negotiations I will continue pushing to eliminate tariffs and subsidies that damage America's farmers and workers. (Applause.)

And we'll get more good American jobs within our own hemisphere through the North American Free Trade Agreement, and through the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. But changes are here, and more are coming. The workplace of the future will demand more highly-skilled workers than ever -- more people who are computer-literate, highly-educated. We must be the world's leader in education. And we must revolutionize America's schools. (Applause.)

My America 2000 strategy will help us reach that goal. My plan will give parents more choice, give teachers more flexibility, and help communities create New American Schools. (Applause.) Thirty states across the nation have established America 2000 programs. Hundreds of cities and towns have joined in. Now Congress must join this great movement: Pass my proposals for New American Schools.

That was my second long-term proposal, and here's my third: We must make common-sense investments that will help us compete, long-term in the marketplace. We must encourage research and development. My plan is to make the R&D tax credit permanent, and to provide record levels of support -- (applause) -- over $76 billion this year alone -- for people who will explore the promise of emerging technologies. (Applause.)

Fourth, we must do something about crime and drugs. (Applause.) It is time for a major, renewed investment in fighting violent street crime. It saps our strength and hurts our faith in our society, and in our future together. Surely, a tired woman on her way to work at 6:00 a.m. in the morning on a subway deserves the right to get there safely. (Applause.) And surely it's true that everyone who changes his or her life because of crime, from those afraid to go out at night to those afraid to walk in the parks they pay for, surely these people have been denied a basic civil right. (Applause.)

It is time to restore it. Congress, pass my comprehensive crime bill. (Applause.) It is tough on criminals and supportive of police, and it has been languishing in these hollowed halls for years now. Pass it. Help your country. (Applause.)

And fifth, I ask you tonight to fund our HOPE housing proposal and to pass my enterprise zone legislation, which will get businesses into the inner city. We must empower the poor with the pride that comes from owning a home, getting a job, becoming a part of things. (Applause.) My plan would encourage real estate construction by extending tax incentives for mortgage revenue bonds and low income housing. (Applause.)

And I ask tonight for record expenditures for the program that helps children born into want move into excellence, Head Start. (Applause.)

Step six -- we must reform our health care system. (Applause.) For this, too, bears on whether or not we can compete in the world. American health costs have been exploding. This year America will spend over $800 billion on health, and that is expected to grow to $1.6 trillion by the end of the decade. We simply cannot afford this.

The cost of health care shows up not only in your family budget, but in the price of everything we buy and everything we sell. When health coverage for a fellow on an assembly line costs thousands of dollars, the cost goes into the products he makes and you pay the bill.

We must make a choice. Now, some pretend we can have it both ways. They call it "play or pay", but that expensive approach is unstable. It will mean higher taxes, fewer jobs and, eventually, a system under complete government control.

Really, there are only two options. And we can move toward a nationalized system -- (applause) -- a system which will restrict patient choice in picking a doctor and force the government to ration services arbitrarily. And what we'll get is patients in long lines, indifferent service, and a huge new tax burden. (Applause.) Or we can reform our own private health care system, which still gives us, for all its flaws, the best quality health care in the world. (Applause.)

Well, let's build on our strengths. My plan provides insurance security for all Americans, while preserving and increasing the idea of choice. We make basic health insurance affordable for all low-income people not now covered, and we do it by providing a health insurance tax credit of up to $3,750 for each low-income family. And the middle class gets help, too. And by reforming the health insurance market, my plan assures that Americans will have access to basic health insurance even if they change jobs or develop serious health problems.

We must bring costs under control, preserve quality, preserve choice and reduce the people's nagging daily worry about health insurance. My plan, the details of which I will announce very shortly, does just that.

And seventh, we must get the federal deficit under control. (Applause.) We now have in law enforceable spending caps and a requirement that we pay for the programs we create. There are those in Congress who would ease that discipline now, but I cannot let them do it, and I won't. (Applause.)

My plan would freeze all domestic discretionary budget authority, which means no more next year than this year. (Applause.)

I will not tamper with Social Security -- (applause) -- but I would put real caps on the growth of uncontrolled spending. And I would also freeze federal domestic government employment. (Applause.)

And with the help of Congress, my plan will get rid of 246 programs that don't deserve federal funding. (Applause.) Some of them have noble titles, but none of them is indispensable. We can get rid of each and every one of them.

You know, it's time we rediscovered a home truth the American people have never forgotten: this government is too big and spends too much. (Applause.) And I call upon Congress to adopt a measure that will help put an end to the annual ritual of filling the budget with pork-barrel appropriations. Every year, the press has a field day making fun of outrageous examples -- a Lawrence Welk museum, research grants for Belgian endive. We all know how these things get into the budget and maybe you need someone to help you say no. I know how to say it and I know what I need to make it stick. Give me the same thing 43 governors have, the line item veto, and let me help you control spending. (Applause.)

We must put an end to unfinanced federal government mandates. These are the requirements Congress puts on our cities, counties and states without supplying the money. If Congress passes a mandate, it should be forced to pay for it, and balance the cost with savings elsewhere. After all, a mandate just increases someone else's burden and that means higher taxes at the state and local level.

Step eight, Congress should enact the bold reform proposals that are still awaiting congressional action -- bank reform, civil justice reform, tort reform, and my national energy strategy. (Applause.)

And finally, we must strengthen the family because it is the family that has the greatest bearing on our future. (Applause.) When Barbara holds an AIDS baby in her arms, and reads to children, she's saying to every person in this country, family matters.

And I am announcing tonight a new Commission on America's Urban Families. I've asked Missouri's Governor John Ashcroft to be Chairman, former Dallas Mayor Ned Strauss to be Co-Chair. You know, I had mayors, the leading mayors from the League of Cities in the other day at the White House, and they told me something striking. They said that every one of them, Republican or Democrat, agreed on one thing: that the major cause of the problems of the cities is the dissolution of the family. They asked for this commission, and they were right to ask, because it's time to determine what we can do to keep families together, strong and sound. (Applause.)

There's one thing we can do right away, ease the burden of rearing a child. I ask you tonight to raise the personal exemption by $500 per child for every family. (Applause.) For a family with four kids, that's an increase of $2,000. This is a good start, in the right direction, and it's what we can afford.

It's time to allow families to deduct the interest they pay on student loans. (Applause.) I am asking you to do just that. And I'm asking you to allow people to use money from their IRAs to pay medical and education expenses -- all without penalties. (Applause.)

And I'm asking for more. Ask American parents what they dislike about how things are going in our country, and chances are good that pretty soon they'll get to welfare. Americans are the most generous people on Earth. But we have to go back to the insight of Franklin Roosevelt who, when he spoke of what became the welfare program, warned that it must not become "a narcotic" and a "subtle destroyer" of the spirit.

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Welfare was never meant to be a lifestyle; it was never meant to be a habit; it was never supposed to be passed from generation to generation like a legacy. It's time to replace the assumptions of the welfare state and help reform the welfare system. (Applause.)

States throughout the country are beginning to operate with new assumptions: that when able-bodied people receive government assistance, they have responsibilities to the taxpayer. A responsibility to seek work, education, or job training; a responsibility to get their lives in order; a responsibility to hold their families together and refrain from having children out of wedlock and a responsibility to obey the law.

We are going to help this movement. Often, state reform requires waiving certain federal regulations. I will act to make that process easier and quicker for every state that asks our help.

And I want to add, as we make these changes -- we work together to improve this system -- that our intention is not scapegoating or finger-pointing. If you read the papers or watch TV you know there's been a rise these days in a certain kind of ugliness, racist comments, anti-Semitism, an increased sense of division. Really, this is not us. This is not who we are. And this is not acceptable. (Applause.)

And so you have my plan for America. And I'm asking for big things, but I believe in my heart you will do what's right.

And you know, it's kind of an American tradition to show a certain skepticism toward our democratic institutions. I, myself, have sometimes thought the aging process could be delayed if it had to make its way through Congress. (Laughter and applause.) You will deliberate, and you will discuss, and that is fine. But, my friends, the people cannot wait. They need help now.

And there's a mood among us. People are worried. There's been talk of decline. Someone even said our workers are lazy and uninspired. And I thought, really? You go tell Neil Armstrong standing on the moon. Tell the men and women who put him there. Tell the American farmer who feeds his country and the world. Tell the men and women of Desert Storm. (Applause.)

Moods come and go, but greatness endures. Ours does. And maybe for a moment it's good to remember what, in the dailiness of our lives, we forget: We are still and ever the freest nation on Earth, the kindest nation on Earth, the strongest nation on Earth. And we have always risen to the occasion. (Applause.)

And we are going to lift this nation out of hard times inch by inch and day by day, and those who would stop us had better step aside. Because I look at hard times and I make this vow: This will not stand. (Applause.)

And so we move on together -- a rising nation, the once and future miracle that is still, this night, the hope of the world.

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless our beloved country. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END 9:59 P.M. EST

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THE BERLIN WALL

Kennedy vs. Khrushchev. And in the middle, in the very heart of Europe, Berlin, a gateway to freedom for thousands of East Germans. When on an August night in 1961 a barbed wire wall was erected cutting the city in half, the world moved toward war.

Norman Gelb explores the whole story of the Berlin Wall, from its genesis in the Allied Armies' race for Berlin through the completion of the ninety-nine-mile wall that has been a geopolitical fact for twenty-five years. Relying on sources ranging from public figures like Dean Rusk, McGeorge Bundy, and then-mayor of Berlin Willy Brandt to the diaries and reminiscences of Berliners, he renders not only the operatic public drama—the soldiers, the diplomacy, the decision-making process in Washington, the psychologies of Kennedy and Khrushchev, the tanks snout-to-snout in the streets—but also the anonymous story of blockade runners and citizens caught in the storm of world events. Beginning with the occupation, he brings the drama to life—the airlift, the flood of refugees that forced the Soviet hand, the threats of war that fol-

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"The West will stand there like dumb sheep," said Nikita Khrushchev. And so it did.

The Soviet premier was crowing about the Berlin Wall, which began as a string of barbed wire that suddenly appeared in the heart of the former German capital early one Sunday in August 1961. Before long, it grew into sixty-two miles of eleven-foot-high concrete—a bleak physical symbol not just of one divided city but of the huge gulf separating the Communist East from the capitalist West.

Wall—The Inside Story of Divided Berlin is Peter Wyden's dramatic and intensely human account of how the Wall came to be and what it has meant, not just to Berliners or Germans, but to people everywhere. Illustrated with more than a hundred photographs and based on the accounts of eyewitnesses never before interviewed, intelligence agents never before identified, and government policymakers never before willing to talk, it tells for the first time the inside story of what is by far the starkest and most enduring product of the Cold War: how the Wall was built, why the CIA was caught napping, what was—and still is—at stake for Washington and Moscow, how close the Berlin crisis brought the world to nuclear war, and why the Wall can't come down yet.

From the very start, when U.S. tanks faced down Soviet armor at Checkpoint Charlie, the Wall has been a volatile flashpoint of U.S.-Soviet tensions. Indeed, as Wyden shows, it pushed the world to the brink of Armageddon as John Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev found themselves trapped in an escalating cycle of threat and counterthreat in the months following the Wall's appearance. Catastrophe was finally averted, of course, though not before superpower diplomacy and strategic planning had been changed forever.

But *Wall* is far more than just a tale of superpower geopolitics. It is at bottom a gripping human drama—a moving and often bitter story of mothers whose children were kidnapped by the Communist state and forcibly put up for adoption, of husbands compelled to divorce their wives against the will of both parties, of shadowy lawyers who made fortunes ransoming tens of thousands of "political prisoners"

PETER WYDEN

WALL

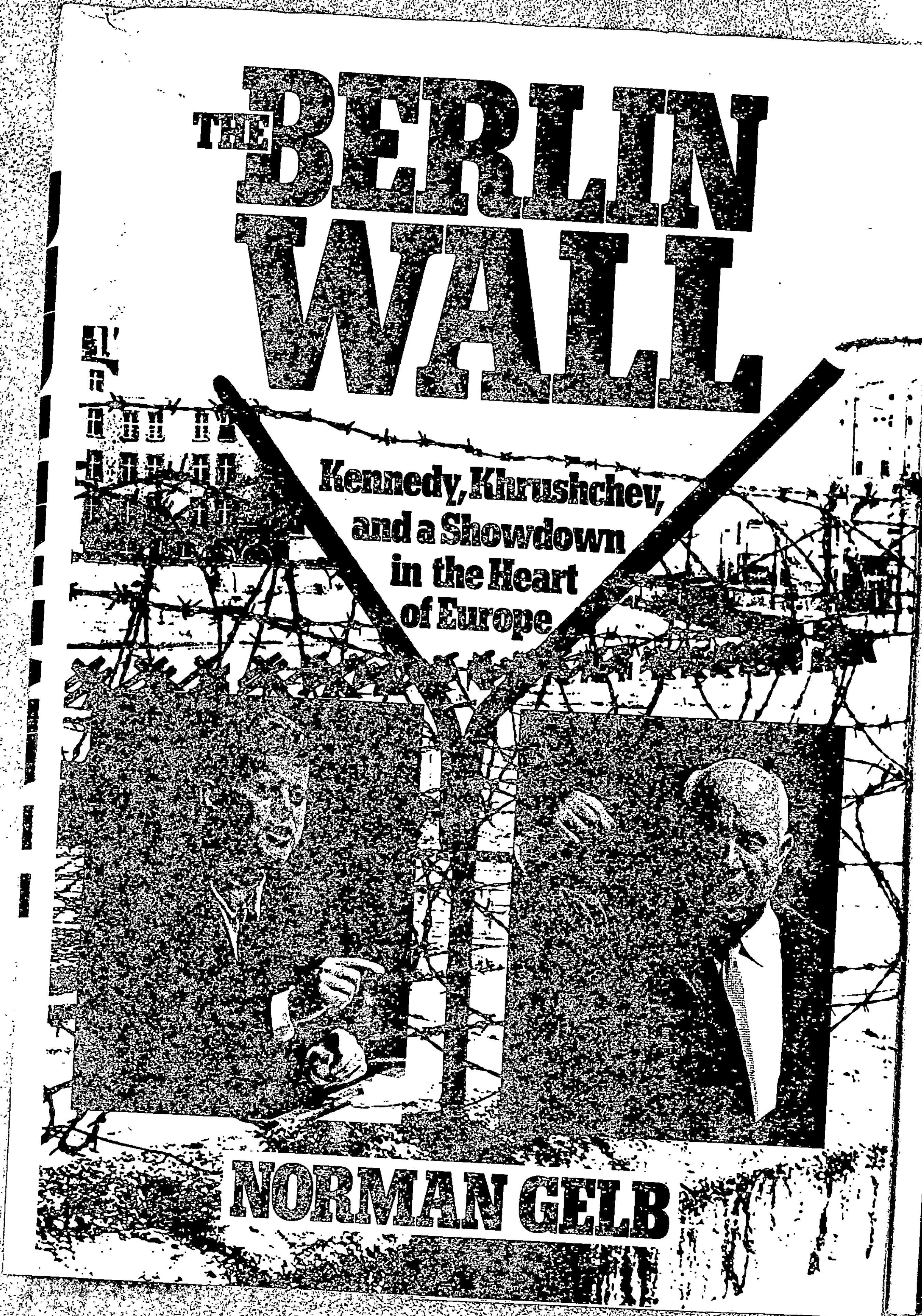
WALL

THE INSIDE STORY OF DIVIDED BERLIN

PETER WYDEN

Author of DAY ONE and BAY OF PIGS

SIMON AND SCHUSTER


THE BERLIN WALL
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