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THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary  
(Houston, Texas)

For Immediate Release

August 20, 1992

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Houston Astrodome  
Houston, Texas

9:20 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Thank you, thank you very much. And I am proud to receive, and I am honored to accept your nomination for President of the United States. (Applause.)

May I thank my dear friend and our great leader, Bob Dole, for that wonderful introduction. (Applause.)

Let me say this: This nomination is not for me alone. It is for the ideas, principles, and values that we stand for.

My job -- my job has been made easier by a leader who's taken a lot of unfair criticism, with grace and humor -- the Vice President of the United States, Dan Quayle. (Applause.) And I am very grateful to him.

I want to talk tonight about the sharp choice that I intend to offer Americans this fall -- a choice between different agendas, different directions, and, yes, a choice about the character of the man you want to lead this nation.

I know that Americans have many questions -- about our economy, about our country's future, even questions about me. And I'll answer them tonight.

First, I feel great. (Applause.) And I am heartened -- I'm heartened by the polls -- the ones that say that I look better in my jogging shorts than the Governor of Arkansas! (Applause.)

Four years ago, I spoke about missions -- for my life and for our country. I spoke of one urgent mission -- defending our security and promoting the American ideal abroad.

Just pause for a moment to reflect on what we've done.

Germany is united -- and a slab of the Berlin Wall sits right outside this Astrodome. (Applause.)

Arabs and Israelis now sit face-to-face and talk peace.

Every hostage held in Lebanon is free. (Applause.)

The conflict in El Salvador is over, and free elections brought democracy to Nicaragua. (Applause.)

Black and white South Africans cheered each other at the Olympics.

The Soviet Union can only be found in history books.

The captive nations of Eastern Europe and the Baltics are captive no more.

And today on the rural streets of Poland, merchants sell cans of air labeled: The last breath of communism. (Applause.)

If I had stood before you four years ago and described this as the world we would help to build, you would have said: "George Bush, you must have been smoking something, and you must have inhaled." (Applause.)

This convention is the first at which an American President can say the Cold War is over, and freedom finished first. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA, USA, USA, USA --

THE PRESIDENT: Some want to rewrite history, want to skip over the struggle, claim the outcome was inevitable. And while the U.S. postwar strategy was largely bipartisan, the fact remains that the liberal, McGovern wing of the other party -- including my opponent -- consistently made the wrong choices. (Applause.)

In the 70s, they wanted a hollow army -- we wanted a strong fighting force.

In the 80s -- and you remember this one -- in the '80s, they wanted a nuclear freeze -- and we insisted on peace through strength. (Applause.)

From Angola to Central America -- they said, "Let's negotiate, deliberate, procrastinate." We said -- just stand up for freedom.

Now the Cold War is over and they claim, "Hey, we were with you all the way!"

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: You know, their behavior -- really, their behavior reminds me of the old con man's advice to the new kid. He said, "Son, if you're being run out of town, just get out in front and make it look like a parade." (Applause.)

Well, make no mistake -- the demise of communism wasn't a sure thing, it took the strong leadership of presidents from both parties, including Republicans like Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan. (Applause.) And without their vision and the support of the American people, the Soviet Union would be a strong superpower today and we'd be facing a nuclear threat tonight.

My opponents say I spend too much time on foreign policy, as if it didn't matter that schoolchildren once hid under their desks in drills to prepare for nuclear war. I saw the chance to rid our children's dreams of the nuclear nightmare, and I did. (Applause.) Over the past four years, more people have breathed the fresh air of freedom than in all of human history. I saw a chance to help, and I did. (Applause.) These were the two defining opportunities -- not of a year, not of a decade, but of an entire span of human history.

I seized those opportunities for our kids and our grandkids, and I make no apologies for that. (Applause.)

Now, the Soviet bear may be gone, but there are still wolves in the woods. We saw that when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. The Mideast might have become a nuclear powder keg -- our energy supplies held hostage. So we did what was right and what was necessary. We destroyed a threat, freed a

people, and locked a tyrant in the prison of his own country.  
(Applause.)

What about the leader of the Arkansas National Guard -- the man who hopes to be Commander-In-Chief? Well, I bit the bullet, and he bit his nails. (Applause.)

Listen to this now. Two days after Congress followed my lead, my opponent said this, and I quote directly: "I guess I would have voted with the majority if it was a close vote. But I agree with the arguments the minority made."

Now, sounds to me like his policy can be summed up by a road sign he's probably seen on his bus tour, "Slippery When Wet." (Applause.)

Look, this is serious business.

Think about the impact of our foreign policy failures the last time the Democrats controlled both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. Gas lines. Grain embargoes. American hostages blindfolded.

There will be more foreign policy challenges like Kuwait in the next four years. Terrorists and aggressors to stand up to; dangerous weapons to be controlled and destroyed. And freedom's fight is not finished. And I look forward to being the first President to visit a free, democratic Cuba.  
(Applause.)

Who will lead the world in the face of these challenges? Not my opponent. In his acceptance speech he devoted just 65 seconds to telling us about the world.

Then he said that America was -- and I quote again -- I want to be fair and factual -- I quote, being "ridiculed" everywhere. Well, tell that to the people around the world, for whom America is still a dream. Tell that to leaders around the world, from whom America commands respect. (Applause.)  
Ridiculed? Tell that to the men and women of Desert Storm.  
(Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA, USA, USA, USA --

THE PRESIDENT: Let me just make an aside comment here, because of what you've been reading in the paper. This is a political year, but there's a lot of danger in the world. You can be sure I will never let politics interfere with a foreign policy decision. Forget the election; I will do right -- what is right for the national security of the United States of America. And that is a pledge from my heart. (Applause.)

Fifty years ago this summer, I was 18 years of age. I see some young people in the audience tonight, and I remember how I felt in those days. (Applause.) I believed deeply in this country, and we were faced with a world war. So I made a decision, to go off and fight a battle much different from political battles.

And I was scared, but I was willing. I was young, but I was ready. I had barely lived when I began to watch men die. I began to see the special place of America in the world. And I began to see, even then, that the world would become a much smaller place, and faraway places could become more and more like America.

And 50 years later, after change of almost biblical proportions, we know that when freedom grows, America grows. Just as a strong America means a safer world, we have learned that a safer world means a stronger America. (Applause.)

This election is about change. But that's not unusual, because the American revolution is never ending. Today, the pace of change is accelerating. We face new opportunities and new challenges. The question is -- who do you trust to make change work for you?

AUDIENCE: George Bush! George Bush! George Bush!

THE PRESIDENT: My opponent says America is a nation in decline. Of our economy he says, we are somewhere on the list beneath Germany, heading south toward Sri Lanka.

Well, don't let anyone tell you that America is second-rate, especially somebody running for president. (Applause.)

Maybe he hasn't heard that we are still the world's largest economy. No other nation sells more outside its borders. The Germans, the British, the Japanese can't touch the productivity of you -- the American worker and the American farmer. (Applause.) My opponent won't mention that. He won't remind you that interest rates are the lowest they've been in 20 years, and millions of Americans have refinanced their homes. (Applause.) And you just won't hear that inflation -- the thief of the middle-class -- has been locked in a maximum security prison.

You don't hear much about this good news because the media also tends to focus only on the bad. When the Berlin Wall fell, I half expected to see a headline: "Wall Falls, Three Border Guards Lose Jobs." (Laughter.) And underneath it probably says: "Clinton Blames Bush." (Laughter.)

You don't hear a lot about progress in America. So let me tell you about some good things we've done together.

Just two weeks ago, all three nations of North America agreed to trade freely from Manitoba to Mexico. This will bring good jobs to Main Street USA. (Applause.)

We passed the Americans With Disabilities Act -- bringing 43 million people into the economic mainstream. I must say, it's about time. (Applause.)

Our children will breathe easier because of our new Clean Air Act.

We are rebuilding our roads, providing jobs for more than half a million Americans.

We passed a child care law, and we took a stand for family values by saying that when it comes to raising children, government doesn't know best, parents know best. (Applause.)

I've fought against prejudice and anti-Semitism all my life. And I am proud that we strengthened our civil rights laws -- and we did it without resorting to quotas. (Applause.)

And one more thing of vital importance to all. Today, cocaine use has fallen by 60 percent among young people. To the teenagers, the parents and the volunteers who are helping us battle the scourge of drugs in America, we say, thank you; thank you from the bottom of our hearts. (Applause.)

Do I want to do more? You bet. Nothing hurts me more than to meet with soldiers home from the Persian Gulf who can't find a job; or workers who have a job, but worry that the next day will bring a pink slip. And what about parents who scrape and struggle to send their kids to college, only to find them back living at home, because they can't get work.

The world is in transition, and we are feeling that transition in our homes. The defining challenge of the '90s is to win the economic competition -- to win the peace.

We must be a military superpower, an economic superpower, and an export superpower. (Applause.)

In this election, you'll hear two versions of how to do this. Theirs is to look inward, and protect what we already have. Ours is to look forward -- to open new markets, prepare our people to compete, to restore our social fabric -- to save and invest -- so we can win. (Applause.)

We believe that now that the world looks more like America, it's time for America to look more like herself. And so we offer a philosophy that puts faith in the individual, not the bureaucracy. A philosophy that empowers people to do their best, so America can be at its best. In a world that is safer and freer, this is how we will build an America that is stronger, safer and more secure.

We start with a simple fact: Government is too big, and spends too much. (Applause.)

I've asked Congress to put a lid on mandatory spending except Social Security. And I've proposed doing away with over 200 programs and 4,000 wasteful projects and to freeze all other spending. (Applause.)

The gridlock Democrat Congress said: "No."

AUDIENCE: Boooo --

THE PRESIDENT: So, beginning tonight, I will enforce the spending freeze on my own. And if Congress sends me a bill spending more than I asked for in my budget, I will veto it fast. (Applause.) Veto it fast -- faster than copies of Millie's book sold.

Now, Congress won't cut spending, but refuses to give the President the power to eliminate pork barrel projects that waste your money. Forty-three governors have that power. So I ask you, the American people: Give me a Congress that will give me the line-item veto. (Applause.)

Let me tell you about a recent battle I fought with the Congress, a battle in which I was aided by Bob Michel and his troops, and Bob Dole and his. This spring, I worked day and night to get two-thirds of the House members to approve a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.

We almost had it, but we lost by just nine votes. Now, listen how. Just before the vote, the liberal leaders of the Congress convinced 12 members who cosponsored the bill, to switch sides and vote no. Keep in mind, they voted against a bill they had already put their names on.

Something fishy is going on. And look at my opponent on this issue. Look at my opponent. He says he's for balanced budgets. But he came out against the amendment. He's like that on a lot of issues, first one side, then the other. He's been spotted in more places than Elvis Presley. (Applause.)

After all these years, Congress has become pretty creative at finding ways to waste your money. So we need to be just as creative at finding ways to stop them. I have a brand new idea. Taxpayers should be given the right to check a box on their tax returns, so that up to 10 percent of their payments can go for one purpose alone: to reduce the national debt. (Applause.)

But we also need to make sure -- we need to make sure that Congress doesn't just turn around and borrow more money to spend more money. So I will require that for every tax dollar set aside to cut the debt, the ceilings on spending will be cut by an equal amount. (Applause.) That way, we will cut both debt and spending, and take a whack out of the budget deficit. (Applause.)

My feelings about big government come from my experience; I spent half my adult life in the private sector. My opponent has a different experience, he's been in government nearly all his life. His passion to expand government knows no bounds.

He's already proposed -- and listen to this carefully -- he has already proposed \$220 billion in new spending, along with the biggest tax increase in history -- \$150 billion dollars -- and that's just to start.

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: He says he wants to tax the rich, but, folks, he defines rich as anyone who has a job. (Laughter.)

You've heard of the separations of powers. Well, my opponent practices a different theory: the power of separations. Government has the power to separate you from your wallet. (Laughter.)

Now let me say this: When it comes to taxes, I've learned the hard way. There's an old saying: "Good judgment comes from experience, and experience comes from bad judgment."

Two years ago, I made a bad call on the Democrats' tax increase. I underestimated Congress's addiction to taxes. With my back against the wall, I agreed to a hard bargain: One tax increase one time in return for the toughest spending limits ever.

Well, it was a mistake to go along with the Democratic tax increase. (Applause.) And I admit it. But here's the question for the American people. Who do you trust in this election? The candidate who raised taxes one time and regrets it, or the other candidate who raised taxes and fees 128 times, and enjoyed it every time? (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Viva Bush! Viva Bush!

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much.

AUDIENCE: Hit 'em again, harder, harder. Hit 'em again, harder, harder --

THE PRESIDENT: When the new Congress convenes next January, I will propose to further reduce taxes across the board -- provided we pay for these cuts with specific spending reductions that I consider appropriate, so that we do not increase the deficit. (Applause.) I will also continue to fight to increase the personal exemption and to create jobs by winning a cut in capital gains taxes. (Applause.)

That will especially help small businesses. You know, they create -- small businesses -- they create two-thirds of the new jobs in America. But my opponent's plan for small business is clear, present -- and dangerous. Beside new income taxes, his plan will lead to a new payroll tax to pay for a government takeover of health care, and another new tax to pay for training. And that is just the beginning.

And if he gets his way, hardware stores across America will have a new sign up: "Closed for despair." And I

guess you'd say his plan really is "Elvis Economics." America will be checking into the "Heartbreak Hotel." (Applause.)

I believe that small business needs relief -- from taxation, regulation, and litigation. (Applause.)

And, thus, I will extend for one year the freeze on paperwork and unnecessary federal regulation that I imposed last winter. (Applause.) There is no reason -- there is no reason that federal regulations should live longer than my friend George Burns. I will issue an order to get rid of any rule whose time has come -- and gone.

I see something happening in our towns and in our neighborhoods. Sharp lawyers are running wild. Doctors are afraid to practice medicine. And some moms and pops won't even coach Little League any more. We must sue each other less -- and care for each other more. (Applause.)

I am fighting to reform our legal system, to put an end to crazy lawsuits. And if that means climbing into the ring with the trial lawyers, well, let me just say, round one starts tonight. (Applause.)

After all, my opponent's campaign is being backed by practically every trial lawyer who ever wore a tasseled loafer. (Applause.) He's not in the ring with them, he's in the tank.

There are other things we need to do to get our economy up to speed -- prepare our kids for the next century. We must have new incentives for research, and new training for workers. Small businesses need capital and credit, and defense workers need new jobs. And I have a plan to provide affordable health care for every American, controlling costs by cutting paperwork and lawsuits, and expanding coverage to the poorest of the poor.

We do not need my opponent's plan for a massive government takeover of health care, which would ration care and deny you the right to choose the doctor. (Applause.) Who wants a health care -- who wants health care with a system with the efficiency of the House Post Office, and the compassion of the KGB?

What about our schools? What about our schools? My opponent and I both want to change the way our kids learn. He wants to change our schools a little bit, and I want to change them a lot.

Take the issue of whether parents should be able to choose the best school for their kids. My opponent says that's okay -- as long as the school is run by government. And I say every parent and child should have a real choice of schools -- public, private or religious. (Applause.)

So we have a clear choice to fix our problems. Do we turn to the tattered blanket of bureaucracy that other nations are tossing away? Or do we give our people the freedom and incentives to build security for themselves?

Here's what I'm fighting for.

- Open markets for American products,
- lower government spending,
- tax relief,
- opportunities for small business,
- legal and health reform,

-- job training,

-- and new schools built on competition, ready for the 21st century. (Applause.)

Why are these proposals not in effect today? Only one reason -- the gridlock Democratic Congress. (Applause.) It's a very good idea -- a very good idea.

Now, I know Americans are tired of the blame game, tired of people in Washington acting like they're candidates for the next episode of American Gladiators. I don't like it, either. Neither should you. But the truth is the truth. Our policies have not failed, they haven't even been tried. (Applause.)

Americans want jobs. And on January 28th, I put before Congress a plan to create jobs. And if it had been passed back then, 500,000 more Americans would be at work right now. But in a nation that demands action -- Congress has become the master of inaction.

It wasn't always this way. I heard President Ford tonight. I served in Congress 22 years ago, under him. And, back then, we cooperated, we didn't get personal, we put the people above everything else. Heck, we didn't even own blow dryers back in those days.

At my first inauguration -- I said that people didn't send us to bicker. I extended my hand -- and I think the American people know this -- I extended my hand to the congressional leaders, to the Democratic leaders -- and they bit it.

The House leadership has not changed in 38 years. It is a body caught in a hopelessly tangled web of PACs, perks, privileges, partnership, and paralysis. (Applause.) Every day, Congress puts politics ahead of principle, and above progress.

Now, let me give you just one example. February 20th, 1991. It was at the height of the Gulf War. On that very same day, I asked American pilots to risk their lives to fly missions over Baghdad. And I also wanted to strengthen our economic security for the future. So that very same day, I introduced a new domestic energy strategy which would cut our dependence on foreign oil by 7 million barrels a day.

How many days did it take to win the Gulf War? Forty-three. How many did it take Congress to pass a national energy strategy? Five hundred and thirty-two -- and still counting. (Applause.) I have ridden stationary bikes that can move faster than the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate, controlled by the Democrat leadership. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Hit 'em again, hit 'em again, harder, harder.

THE PRESIDENT: I'm fixing to. (Applause.) Where does my opponent stand with Congress? Well, up in New York at their convention, they kept the congressional leaders away from the podium -- hid them away. And they didn't want America to hear from the people who really make the decisions. They hid them for a very good reason -- because the American people would recognize a dangerous combination: A rubber check Congress -- and a rubber stamp President. (Applause.)

Governor Clinton and Congress know that you've caught on to their lingo. They know when they say, "spending," you say -- "uh-oh." So now they have a new word, "investment." They want to "invest" \$220 billion more of your money -- but I want you to keep it. (Applause.)

Governor Clinton and Congress want to put through the largest tax increase in history, but I will not let that happen. (Applause.) And Governor Clinton and Congress don't want kids to have the option of praying in school, but I do. (Applause.) Clinton and Congress don't want to close legal loopholes and keep criminals behind bars, but I will. (Applause.) Clinton and Congress will stock the Judiciary with liberal judges who write laws they can't get approved by the voters.

Governor Clinton even says that Mario Cuomo belongs on the Supreme Court. (Laughter.) Wait a minute, though. No, wait. Maybe not a bad idea. If you believe in judicial restraint, you probably ought to be happy. After all, the good Governor of New York can't make up his mind between chocolate and vanilla at Baskin Robbins. (Applause.) He's there, we won't have another court decision for 35 years. And maybe that's all right, too.

Are my opponent and Congress really in cahoots? Look at one important question: Should we limit the terms of Congress?

AUDIENCE: Yes. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Governor Clinton says, no. Congress says, no. I say: Yes. (Applause.)

We tried this -- look, we tried this once before, combining the Democratic governor of a small southern state, with a very liberal vice president, and a Democratic Congress. America does not need "Carter II." (Applause.) We do not want to take America back to those days of malaise. But Americans want to know -- where's proof that we will have better days in Washington?

I'll give you 150 reasons. And that's how many members of Congress are expected to leave Washington this year. Some are tainted by scandal -- the voters have bounced them the way they bounced their own checks. But others are good members. Republican and Democrat. And they agree with me -- the place just doesn't work anymore.

One hundred-fifty new members -- from both parties -- will be coming to Washington this fall. And every one will have a fresh view of America's future.

I pledge today to the American people, immediately after this election, I will meet with every one of these members, before they get attacked by the PACs, overwhelmed by their staffs, and cornered by some camera crew. (Applause.) And I will lay out my case for change. Change that matters, real change that makes a difference. Change that is right for America.

You see, there is a yearning in America, a feeling that maybe it's time to get back to our roots.

Sure we must change, but some values are timeless. I believe in families that stick together, fathers who stick around. And I happen to believe very deeply in the worth of each individual human being, born or unborn. (Applause.) And I believe in teaching our kids the difference between what's wrong and what's right, teaching them respect for hard work and to love their neighbors. And I believe that America will always have a special place in God's heart, as long as he has a special place in ours. (Applause.) And maybe that's why I've always believed that patriotism is not just another point of view.

There are times in every young person's life when God introduces you toyourself. And I remember such a time. It

was back many years ago, when I stood watch at 4 a.m.. up on the bridge of a submarine, the United States Finback -- U.S.S. Finback. And I would stand there and look out on the blackness of the sky, broken only by the sparkling stars above. And I would think about friends I lost, a country I loved, and about a girl named Barbara. (Applause.) And I remember -- I remember those nights as clearly as any in my life.

You know, you can see things from up there that other people don't see. You can see storm clouds rise and then disappear. The first hint of the sun over the horizon, and the first outline of the shore faraway.

Now, I know that Americans are uneasy today. There is anxious talk around our kitchen tables. But from where I stand, I see not America's sunset, but a sunrise.

The world changes for which we've sacrificed for a generation, have finally come to pass, and with them a rare and unprecedented opportunity, to pass the sweet cup of prosperity around our American table.

Are we up to it? I know we are. As I travel our land, I meet veterans who once worked the turrets of a tank, and can now master the keyboards of high-tech economy. I see teachers, blessed with the incredible American capacity for innovation, who are teaching our children a new way to learn, for a new century. I meet parents, some working two jobs with hectic schedules, who still find new ways to teach old values to steady their kids in a turbulent world.

And I take heart from what is happening in America, not from those who profess a new passion for government, but from those with an old and enduring faith in the human potential. Those who understand that the genius of America is our capacity for rebirth and renewal. America is the land where the sun is always peeking over the horizon.

Tonight I appeal to that unyielding, undying, undeniable American spirit. I ask you to consider, now that the entire world is moving our way, why would we want to go back their way? I ask not just for your support for my agenda, but for your commitment to renew and rebuild our nation -- by shaking up the one institution that has withstood change for over four decades. (Applause.) Join me in rolling away the roadblock at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, so that in the next four years, we will match our accomplishments outside, by building a stronger, safer, more secure America inside.

Forty-four years ago -- in another age of uncertainty -- a different president embarked on a similar mission. His name was Harry S. Truman. And as he stood before his party to accept their nomination, Harry Truman knew the freedom I know this evening, the freedom to talk about what's right for America, and let the chips fall where they may.

Harry Truman said this: "This is more than a political call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win this new crusade and keep America safe and secure for its own people.

Well, tonight I say to you -- join me in our new crusade -- to reap the rewards of our global victory -- to win the peace -- so that we may make America safer and stronger -- for all our people.

May God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much. Thank you so much. Thank you all. (Applause.)

END

10:20 P.M. CDT

[159] July 8

Public Papers of the Presidents

Strateg

## 159 Remarks Commending Management and Labor Leaders on the Railroad Settlement. July 8, 1948

I WANT to congratulate you gentlemen on this settlement. It is great for our country. I wanted to see this thing settled as it should be done, by bargaining and not in any other way. You did this on your own hook, and I feel very good about it. I congratulate all of you on it. I am satisfied that you would like to have this publicly known as a settlement on your own hook, and I am going to ask you gentlemen to go out of here and tell

the press exactly what happened and what the agreement is.

Again I want to congratulate you.

NOTE: The dispute was settled when the unions agreed to accept a wage increase of 15½ cents an hour for firemen and engineers and the railroads agreed to revise certain rules to the advantage of the employees. The agreement ended the 61-day period of operation and control of the railroads by the Army under Executive Order 9957 (3 CFR, 1943-1948 Comp., p. 701).

## 160 Address in Philadelphia Upon Accepting the Nomination of the Democratic National Convention. July 15, 1948

I AM SORRY that the microphones are in the way, but I must leave them the way they are because I have got to be able to see what I am doing—as I am always able to see what I am doing.

I can't tell you how very much I appreciate the honor which you have just conferred upon me. I shall continue to try to deserve it.

I accept the nomination.

And I want to thank this convention for its unanimous nomination of my good friend and colleague, Senator Barkley of Kentucky. He is a great man, and a great public servant. Senator Barkley and I will win this election and make these Republicans like it—don't you forget that!

We will do that because they are wrong and we are right, and I will prove it to you in just a few minutes.

This convention met to express the will and reaffirm the beliefs of the Democratic Party. There have been differences of opinion, and that is the democratic way. Those differences have been settled by a majority vote, as they should be.

Now it is time for us to get together and beat the common enemy. And that is up to you.

We have been working together for victory in a great cause. Victory has become a habit of our party. It has been elected four times in succession, and I am convinced it will be elected a fifth time next November.

The reason is that the people know that the Democratic Party is the people's party, and the Republican Party is the party of special interest, and it always has been and always will be.

The record of the Democratic Party is written in the accomplishments of the last 16 years. I don't need to repeat them. They have been very ably placed before this convention by the keynote speaker, the candidate for Vice President, and by the permanent chairman.

Confidence and security have been brought to the people by the Democratic Party. Farm income has increased from less than \$2½ billion in 1932 to more than \$18 billion in 1947. Never in the world were the farmers of any republic or any kingdom or

*Harry S. Truman, 1948*

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any other country as prosperous as the farmers of the United States; and if they don't do their duty by the Democratic Party, they are the most ungrateful people in the world!

Wages and salaries in this country have increased from 29 billion in 1933 to more than \$128 billion in 1947. That's labor, and labor never had but one friend in politics, and that is the Democratic Party and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

And I say to labor what I have said to the farmers: they are the most ungrateful people in the world if they pass the Democratic Party by this year.

The total national income has increased from less than \$40 billion in 1933 to \$203 billion in 1947, the greatest in all the history of the world. These benefits have been spread to all the people, because it is the business of the Democratic Party to see that the people get a fair share of these things.

This last, worst 80th Congress proved just the opposite for the Republicans.

The record on foreign policy of the Democratic Party is that the United States has been turned away permanently from isolationism, and we have converted the greatest and best of the Republicans to our viewpoint on that subject.

The United States has to accept its full responsibility for leadership in international affairs. We have been the backers and the people who organized and started the United Nations, first started under that great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson, as the League of Nations. The League was sabotaged by the Republicans in 1920. And we must see that the United Nations continues a strong and growing body, so we can have everlasting peace in the world.

We removed trade barriers in the world, which is the best asset we can have for peace. Those trade barriers must not be put back into operation again.

We have started the foreign aid program, which means the recovery of Europe and China, and the Far East. We instituted the program for Greece and Turkey, and I will say to you that all these things were done in a cooperative and bipartisan manner. The Foreign Relations Committees of the Senate and House were taken into the full confidence of the President in every one of these moves, and don't let anybody tell you anything else.

As I have said time and time again, foreign policy should be the policy of the whole Nation and not the policy of one party or the other. Partisanship should stop at the water's edge; and I shall continue to preach that through this whole campaign.

I would like to say a word or two now on what I think the Republican philosophy is; and I will speak from actions and from history and from experience.

The situation in 1932 was due to the policies of the Republican Party control of the Government of the United States. The Republican Party, as I said a while ago, favors the privileged few and not the common everyday man. Ever since its inception, that party has been under the control of special privilege; and they have completely proved it in the 80th Congress. They proved it by the things they did *to* the people, and not *for* them. They proved it by the things they failed to do.

Now, let's look at some of them—just a few.

Time and time again I recommended extension of price control before it expired June 30, 1946. I asked for that extension in September 1945, in November 1945, in a Message on the State of the Union in 1946; and that price control legislation did not come to my desk until June 30, 1946, on the day on which it was supposed to expire. And it was such a rotten bill that

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I couldn't sign it. And 30 days after that, they sent me one just as bad. I had to sign it, because they quit and went home.

They said, when OPA died, that prices would adjust themselves for the benefit of the country. They have been adjusting themselves all right! They have gone all the way off the chart in adjusting themselves, at the expense of the consumer and for the benefit of the people that hold the goods.

I called a special session of the Congress in November 1947—November 17, 1947—and I set out a 10-point program for the welfare and benefit of this country, among other things standby controls. I got nothing. Congress has still done nothing.

Way back 4½ years ago, while I was in the Senate, we passed a housing bill in the Senate known as the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. It was a bill to clear the slums in the big cities and to help to erect low-rent housing. That bill, as I said, passed the Senate 4 years ago. It died in the House. That bill was reintroduced in the 80th Congress as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. The name was slightly changed, but it is practically the same bill. And it passed the Senate, but it was allowed to die in the House of Representatives; and they sat on that bill, and finally forced it out of the Banking and Currency Committee, and the Rules Committee took charge, and it still is in the Rules Committee.

But desperate pleas from Philadelphia in that convention that met here 3 weeks ago couldn't get that housing bill passed. They passed a bill they called a housing bill, which isn't worth the paper it's written on.

In the field of labor we needed moderate legislation to promote labor-management harmony, but Congress passed instead that so-called Taft-Hartley Act, which has disrupted labor-management relations and will cause strife and bitterness for years to come

if it is not repealed, as the Democratic platform says it ought to be repealed.

On the Labor Department, the Republican platform of 1944 said, if they were in power, that they would build up a strong Labor Department. They have simply torn it up. Only one bureau is left that is functioning, and they cut the appropriation of that so it can hardly function.

I recommended an increase in the minimum wage. What did I get? Nothing. Absolutely nothing.

I suggested that the schools in this country are crowded, teachers underpaid, and that there is a shortage of teachers. One of our greatest national needs is more and better schools. I urged the Congress to provide \$300 million to aid the States in the present educational crisis. Congress did nothing about it. Time and again I have recommended improvements in the social security law, including extending protection to those not now covered, and increasing the amount of benefits, to reduce the eligibility age of women from 65 to 60 years. Congress studied the matter for 2 years, but couldn't find the time to extend or increase the benefits. But they did find time to take social security benefits away from 750,000 people, and they passed that over my veto.

I have repeatedly asked the Congress to pass a health program. The Nation suffers from lack of medical care. That situation can be remedied any time the Congress wants to act upon it.

Everybody knows that I recommended to the Congress the civil rights program. I did that because I believed it to be my duty under the Constitution. Some of the members of my own party disagree with me violently on this matter. But they stand up and do it openly! People can tell where they stand. But the Republicans all professed to be for these measures. But Con-

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gress failed to act. They had enough men to do it, they could have had cloture, they didn't have to have a filibuster. They had enough people in that Congress that would vote for cloture.

Now everybody likes to have low taxes, but we must reduce the national debt in times of prosperity. And when tax relief can be given, it ought to go to those who need it most, and not those who need it least, as this Republican rich man's tax bill did when they passed it over my veto on the third try.

The first one of these was so rotten that they couldn't even stomach it themselves. They finally did send one that was somewhat improved, but it still helps the rich and sticks a knife into the back of the poor.

Now the Republicans came here a few weeks ago, and they wrote a platform. I hope you have all read that platform. They adopted the platform, and that platform had a lot of promises and statements of what the Republican Party is for, and what they would do if they were in power. They promised to do in that platform a lot of things I have been asking them to do that they have refused to do when they had the power.

The Republican platform cries about cruelly high prices. I have been trying to get them to do something about high prices ever since they met the first time.

Now listen! This is equally as bad, and as cynical. The Republican platform comes out for slum clearance and low-rental housing. I have been trying to get them to pass that housing bill ever since they met the first time, and it is still resting in the Rules Committee, that bill.

The Republican platform favors educational opportunity and promotion of education. I have been trying to get Congress to do something about that ever since they

came there, and that bill is at rest in the House of Representatives.

The Republican platform is for extending and increasing social security benefits. Think of that! Increasing social security benefits! Yet when they had the opportunity, they took 750,000 off the social security rolls!

I wonder if they think they can fool the people of the United States with such poppycock as that!

There is a long list of these promises in that Republican platform. If it weren't so late, I would tell you all about them. I have discussed a number of these failures of the Republican Both Congress. Every one of them is important. Two of them are of major concern to nearly every American family. They failed to do anything about high prices, they failed to do anything about housing.

My duty as President requires that I use every means within my power to get the laws the people need on matters of such importance and urgency.

I am therefore calling this Congress back into session July 26th.

On the 26th day of July, which out in Missouri we call "Turnip Day," I am going to call Congress back and ask them to pass laws to halt rising prices, to meet the housing crisis—which they are saying they are for in their platform.

At the same time I shall ask them to act upon other vitally needed measures such as aid to education, which they say they are for; a national health program; civil rights legislation, which they say they are for; an increase in the minimum wage, which I doubt very much they are for; extension of the social security coverage and increased benefits, which they say they are for; funds for projects needed in our program to provide public power and cheap electricity. By

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indirection, this 80th Congress has tried to sabotage the power policies the United States has pursued for 14 years. That power lobby is as bad as the real estate lobby, which is sitting on the housing bill.

I shall ask for adequate and decent laws for displaced persons in place of this anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic law which this 80th Congress passed.

Now, my friends, if there is any reality behind that Republican platform, we ought to get some action from a short session of the 80th Congress. They can do this job in 15 days, if they want to do it. They will still have time to go out and run for office.

They are going to try to dodge their responsibility. They are going to drag all the red herrings they can across this campaign, but I am here to say that Senator Barkley and I are not going to let them get away with it.

Now, what that worst 80th Congress does in this special session will be the test. The American people will not decide by listening to mere words, or by reading a mere platform. They will decide on the record, the record as it has been written. And in the record is the stark truth, that the battle lines of 1948 are the same as they were in 1932, when the Nation lay prostrate and helpless

as a result of Republican misrule and inaction.

In 1932 we were attacking the citadel of special privilege and greed. We were fighting to drive the money changers from the temple. Today, in 1948, we are now the defenders of the stronghold of democracy and of equal opportunity, the haven of the ordinary people of this land and not of the favored classes or the powerful few. The battle cry is just the same now as it was in 1932, and I paraphrase the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt as he issued the challenge, in accepting nomination in Chicago: "This is more than a political call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win in this new crusade to keep America secure and safe for its own people."

Now my friends, with the help of God and the wholehearted push which you can put behind this campaign, we can save this country from a continuation of the 80th Congress, and from misrule from now on.

I must have your help. You must get in and push, and win this election. The country can't afford another Republican Congress.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 a.m. in Convention Hall in Philadelphia. The address was carried on a nationwide radio broadcast.

### 161 Statement by the President Upon the Death of General Pershing. July 15, 1948

IT BECOMES my sad duty to announce that John J. Pershing, General of the Armies of the United States, a great American, died this morning at Walter Reed General Hospital in Washington.

Embodied in General Pershing's character were all those soldierly qualities that are essential to a great captain: brilliant leadership, steadfast courage, tireless energy, unswerving loyalty, and constant devotion to

duty. He had a genius for organization, as everyone who served under him will bear witness. In World War I, he led the greatest army this country had, up to that time, been called upon to assemble.

The sorrow at his passing will not be confined to his own country. Friend and foe alike have publicly paid tribute to his loyalty to duty, his ability to lead and inspire, his wisdom and courage under extreme

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SECTION: CAPITOL HILL HEARING

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HEADLINE: REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH (R-GA)  
TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES  
HYATT REGENCY CAPITOL HILL

KEYWORD:  
GINGRICH REMARKS

BODY:

REP. GINGRICH: (Applause.) Thank you, Paul. I appreciate the chance to be here, although I have to say after about four hours of sleep, I didn't appreciate it quite as much an hour ago as I meant to. But I regard all of you as very, very important elements in how this country governs itself, and I have some very

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specific suggestions for you, I guess at three levels.

First of all, I want to share just a couple of ideas on leadership. Second, I want to try to recruit you to be revolutionaries. And third, I want to suggest five steps you can take both back home and in helping us that I think will improve your position and ours.

First of all, it just occurred to me looking at your "Leaders to Leaders" slogan, I do a lot of studying on how institutions change, and my PhD is in the history of institutional change, and I thought I'd share very briefly, like for 90 seconds, three sets of principles I've found very, very helpful in the process of leadership and the principles that I try to teach in a variety of places where I work on leadership, including inside the military.

The first one is I use a planning model that's very structured, but very simple. It's a hierarchy of four words, and I recommend it to all of you for whatever you're working on, whether it's the legislature or your own career or trying to solve a problem, because I think the model drives a pattern of thought that's very powerful. And the top word in the hierarchy is vision. And literally, you need to stop and sort out on one page or less, what are you trying to accomplish? What is success? And if you force yourself to think it through and put it in simple enough language that other people can read it, you're a long way towards success. The second level is strategies, which is always plural because there are no visions simple enough to have a single strategy. The third level is projects, which is simply definable, delegateable achievements. And-

*A steal from Perot: What if POTUS, after establishing his business credentials, talked about his "strategies" for America as a businessman might.*

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the bottom level is tactics, what do you do every day?

The reason I suggest this to you is two-fold. First of all, when you attempt to lead large groups of people, any group more than five, in order to get a shared understanding of what you're doing, it is very important to have some kind of model that disciplines you and forces you to know what level you're talking at. Otherwise, it all falls apart. Basically, this model is adapted from the way that the Americans fought World War II as a global war.

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But, if you start with the notion of getting your colleagues together or getting your staff together or getting your constituents together to talk first about the vision of what you're trying to accomplish and make sure you all agree on that; then to brainstorm on the strategies to implement the vision; and then to define projects that are delegateable achievements, so you can then have lots of people working on it. Now, you think about a project as a building block of a strategy, and then that defines what you do every day at a tactical level. And let me give you just one example. This is a country in which routinely the urgent drives out the important. Now, all of you as leaders have that experience every day. You get up, you have these three important things you want to do, and by the time you've gotten to the office, 19 urgent things have shown up, none of which is as important as the three things you'd already thought of, but all of which have to be done.

Well, historically, the way we operate as a people is we jump in the car, start driving, and then pull out a map. And what this is designed to do is to force

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you to first stop, design a map called a vision, and then figure out what your strategies are before you start running around doing urgent things.

Second example, I would suggest to you just three simple principles. I actually thought of this talking to high school students, but I found it really works.

- ① The first is to think big in terms of your career, in terms of where you're going, in terms of your state government. Now, Peter Drucker said that the only characteristic of Nobel Prize-winning scientists that made them different than other scientists was that when they were very young, they decided on very big projects. Didn't work particularly harder than other scientists, didn't necessarily have any greater level of genius, but they had asked large enough questions to genuinely change things.
- ② The second would be plan long. Almost nothing can be done in human institutions that really matters in less than about seven years. Now, if that's true, it means that you need to have plans that are large enough that if you achieve them, they're worth seven years of investment.

Most of the time what we do, and again if you're at all like me, you've had this experience a lot, is we get so drowned in small projects, all of which keep us so busy that at the end of the year, we have an accumulation of tactical achievements which don't amount to any kind of breakthrough. And we're so busy doing the little things that each year we say to ourselves, pretty soon, I'm going to start doing something that really matters. And then, by the time you've risen in leadership to the level you're at, if you're at all like me,

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Imagine that you picked up tomorrow morning's paper back home, in your home town, the children had outscored the Germans and Japanese in math and science. That would be a revolutionary change in the educational achievement of the average American.

Now, I want to suggest to you that all of us are in a position that Roger Milliken (sp) once defined as insanity. He said "Insanity is when you think that by doing more of what you're already doing, you'll get a different result."

→ The fact is our health care system is bankrupt, grotesquely too expensive, has massively too much red tape, is dominated by guilds operating on a medieval power structure, and needs to be thoroughly overhauled. The fact is our school systems are non-competitive and need to be overhauled. The fact is our tax code is anti-work, anti-savings, and anti-job creation, and needs to be overhauled. ← The fact is our structure of centralized bureaucracy, civil service laws, and rigid bureaucratic work rules is simply destructive and has to be overhauled. You just go down the list.

Now, what people say, including most of us in politics, is, "Boy, I really want to change things, and I know it has to be a huge change. Would you consider this?" And the reforms we come up with are by definition not going to get us anywhere. The level of incremental improvement we are going to make with any set of modest reforms is irrelevant. In this case I would say to you, the presidential candidates frankly, the person who comes closest to the right pattern in terms of emotion would be Tsongas and Brown and Buchanan because

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they at least understand we are talking about a big change. I happen to disagree with the details of their changes but they have the right instinct. This is a country that is in desperate trouble. We are in trouble in our government structures, we are in trouble in a welfare state that teaches bad values, we are in trouble in a criminal justice system that is more criminal than justice, *nic line* and we are not going to give our grandchildren a competitive, prosperous, successful America until we literally just replace the welfare state. Now I didn't say be against it. There is a huge difference between the Goldwater-Reagan model of conservatism, which was largely anti-government and I was for it and in the context of the Great Society I thought they were right, but in fact it is an inadequate answer. It doesn't get you to where you need to go. You have to actually have a replacement model.

Let me suggest what the replacement model would look like at a values level. And I'm a conservative. I think this is a conservative framework. But I think most of you, not matter how liberal you are, will find the principals are right, even if you would apply them differently. There are four areas that, I think, you have to think through, and you ought to task your staffs to literally review what you're doing in the context of these four areas.

The first is technology. We're being filmed by C-Span -- I mean, taped by an audiotape. Do you realize that most high school students spend a lot of time in cars? They have audio tapes in cars. I know of very few high school systems that audiotape lectures so students can listen to them. Simply not thought

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of. I know of relatively few schools that put things on MTV. Simply not thought of. We don't think about the multiple use of technology. I'll give you two examples you're all familiar with.

First, every one of you has stood at a counter, given someone your credit card, and had them verify in real time by telephone that you're allowed to spend money. Now you think about it. It was averaging 2.3 seconds with Visa and Mastercard when I visited Bentonville, Arkansas, and looked at the future of Wal Mart. They were in real time connected to every cash register at every store in the country -- could pull up cash register number eight in Corpus Christi store number three, and show me what sale it had just completed, what the products were, and how they had approved it.

I mean, you compare that to the Veterans Administration. You call the Administration. They can't answer the question. You write them a letter. They lose the letter. You go to your local congressman or senator. He or she writes them a letter. They write back that they lost your records in the Great Fire in 1953 in St. Louis. You've now wasted six months of your life. At American Express, Mastercard, and Visa, we expect them, we demand them to be operating on 2.3 seconds. Now, that's an example of the gap.

We have two clocks in our head. We have a clock for the private sector when we voluntarily give up money. It has a second hand. We have a clock for the government sector when we involuntarily give up money. It has 15-minute increments. That is entirely a cultural affectation. There is no reason that

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the government needs to be as incompetent, as bureaucratic, as backward, and as anti-consumer as it is. It's simply the inevitable rigidification of the civil service laws and the procurement laws that are now over a century old in their design.

The second example: all these automatic telecards. Most of you do, anyway -- you walk in, 3:00 in the morning, you need money. Almost nobody ever goes to an automatic teller to give it money. (Laughter.) Put your card in, and notice what they've done, and think about how you apply this to government. They have convinced you to be a voluntary teller. How you ever thought about that? Some banks actually charge you for the privilege. You now do every step of the transaction the teller used to do. You do it for free, you don't expect the bank to pay you. Well, how many places in government are there lines which we could eliminate by automation? How many places could we become 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and simply transfer out to the citizen the opportunity to do what they want to do?

So phase one is have your staff meet with the best technical people in your state, recognizing that technology is always the human-machine interface. That is, I'd rather have an old computer with an operator who knows what they're doing than a new computer with nobody who understands it. It's the telephone, knowing how to dial it. So it's the combination. We ought to ask people -- you ought to consider setting up a technology commission that looks at the whole system and rethinks it at a vision level, and then comes back and redesigns it

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as a user-friendly, modernized, and technologically-oriented system of government.

Second level: basic economic and management principles. Very simple concept. Imagine that Boris Yeltsin called you and asked you for advice on how to make Russia productive. Might I suggest to you, by the way, that the notion that Boris Yeltsin might call you tells you why I'm a revolutionary. You live in a world in which the mayor of St. Petersburg, Russia, is to the right of the mayor of New York City. That's how big the changes have been. And if you think I exaggerate, remember that when Yeltsin came to the United Nations, the only place he went in New York City was he went to dinner at the Federal Reserve Bank to meet with 50 business leaders in order to be able to invite them to build plants and create jobs in Russia. And I'm enough of a utopian that I believe that someday we'll have a mayor of New York who will do the same, and it is possible to get him to go to the Federal Reserve Bank -- (laughter) -- to meet with business leaders to talk about designing --

And let me say to all of you, I mean, it's a funny line, but let me tell you something. America's biggest cities are job-destroying bureaucratic nightmares of systemic corruption. I mean, if you think I exaggerate, go back and read Tom King's thousand-page report on the Jersey City schools. Read Governor Cuomo's report on the construction industry in New York City. Read "City For Sale." Read the introduction by Mario Vargas Llosa of Fernando DeSoto's "The Other Path", the introduction of Vargas Llosa's, the poet-laureate of Peru and ran

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for president down there. The introduction is about a lawyer-dominated, bureaucratic, red-tape driven model. It happens to be Lima, but it is, in fact, every major American city.

We raise the taxes, we raise the red tape, we set up a political structure that's corrupt, and then we say to ourselves, "Gee, why don't we have jobs here?" We then design a criminal justice system which puts violent young thugs back on the street so that it is physically dangerous, and then we say to small businessmen, "Why don't you come into this neighborhood and open up a store?" We then establish a union-dominated, unbelievably bureaucratic, and extraordinarily ineffective public school which fails to educate kids. We sent kids in September into buildings that we know are going to fail them, and we tolerate the failure for nine months, and when they get out in May, we're surprised that, in fact, they have failed, precisely as we knew in September, because we didn't change the teachers, we didn't change the principal, we didn't change the work rules, and we know they had failed the previous year. Now if you take a building that has failed last year, why do you think it will be different next year if you change nothing about it? And then we turn and say, "Gee, why do the big cities fail?"

Finally, we have a welfare system which encourages males to abandon women, which discourages marriage, which discourages work, which ends up teaching children you might as well hang around the house and watch soap operas because nobody near you is getting educated, and which dissociates effort from reward.

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And let me tell you, this is not some right-wing statement. I saw some guy at ABC the other day that said, you know, the Republicans are playing the race card again. They're talking about welfare reform. The Atlanta Constitution asked in 10 states in the South in January, do you believe we should require work from adults who get government money, including women with young children? The hardest way you can ask it. And in those 10 states, Southern blacks by 82 to 11 said yes. Nationally, among all Americans in USA Today in January, the number was 80 to 13.

This country is sick and tired of being told that it is morally superior to give people money for nothing so they can decay in misery. And when you tell middle class women you may have to go back to work six weeks after you deliver the child so you can pay the taxes so this woman over here who has no education herself and is not educating her child can have, in effect, mandated leave on welfare for five years, it doesn't make any sense to any racial group in this country, to any ethnic background, or in any geographic center. I'll bet you there is not a city in this country where you have a majority against workfare. And yet the political elite of this country consistently fails to get that. Now, that's a sign of how bad a revolution we need.

Now, let me carry it a stage further. Just apply the basic economic and management principles that you would tell Yeltsin about. More free enterprise, more private property, more entrepreneurship, less bureaucracy, less red tape. Two examples: First of all, if you get a chance, read the Reader's Digest

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article, how the Union stole the big apple in the January Reader's Digest. There is no culture on the planet rich enough to have, as Reader's Digest reports, a \$57,000-a-year public school janitor whose union contract requires him to mop the school floor three times a year. You can't do it. There's no city in the country rich enough to hire garbage men -- sanitation workers -- on a contract which has some of the crews working four hours and being paid four hours to go to a health spa. And yet, as the New York Times reported three weeks ago, Mayor Dinkins just signed a contract again with the same union under the same work rules. This is madness!

And I'm not just picking on big cities and Mayor Dinkins. The Health Care Financing Administration of the Bush administration -- if I came to you and said do you know why the Russians failed? In the end, they failed because they were a huge, centralized, paper-dominated, red tape-ridden, bureaucratic network.

I'll give you a dumb example. They hired three professors at the University of Moscow to academically study health care. They produced a thoroughly academic model based on resources, not the marketplace, resources as defined by intellectuals. They then divided that model into 7,000 increments, and they then dictated that every doctor in Russia from Minsk to Vladivostok would be paid a set fee based on the 7,000 models generated by an academic. That is, of course, the resource-based, relative value scale of HCFA. It is socialist madness. It is crazy. And you can tell how crazy it is. The only two places in American life where technology gets more expensive are the

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Defense Department and Health care, because in both places government has so screwed up the marketplace that you can't make it work. And HCFA is as thoroughly socialist as anything in New York City or as anything in Moscow. It's just nuts. And therefore, we have to abolish it and replace it. The third level after technology and basic economic and management principles is quality. I wear a quality pin from Millikin Industry. I once spent two-and-a-half days with their senior management watching them work. Quality, in the Edwards Deming model is a cultural transformation. If you don't understand it now, as soon as your legislative session is over, find a company in your state which is systematically applying quality and go study with them. Spend a couple of days in their system. Watch how they do it. It is as different from the traditional mass production as Henry Ford's assembly line was from a cottage industry in 1880. Deming came to understand what he called profound knowledge. He's 92 years old. Let me make this point to all of you -- to everyone who wants to get off on Japan-bashing. Deming was born in Cody, Wyoming. He grew up knowing Buffalo Bill. He studied quality at AT&T under Shoehart (ph) in the 1920s. We had 37,000 engineers in World War II who understood statistical quality control. We gave it up after World War II because we were so dominant we didn't have to worry about it. If we could produce it, somebody'd buy it. In 1950, he was invited by the Japanese to come and visit, and they got 80 percent of the industrial capital of Japan in one room for a seminar, and so he talked to all the leaders in a way that they

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could reinforce each other. And he spent days with them.

Now, quality is not Shintoism, it's not Confucianism, it's not Buddhism, it's not some fancy oriental secret; it is a profound set of basic principles about how you think about life, how you think about your customer, how you think about your job, and how you think about your co-workers. And when you discipline yourself to study -- and I've just had two long sessions with Deming and I'm going to have another one next week. I spent 7-1/2 hours with him the day after Thanksgiving and came to the conclusion that I had to be a revolutionary because you cannot apply quality in the welfare state.

It is antithetical to the work rules, it's antithetical to the procurement system. It is madness to talk about lowest-cost producer. It's the exact opposite of Toyota, which talks about the most effective, most efficient, best producer for cost. A totally different standard. And you go right down the list. And it is genuinely so different from everything we're used to that if you study Deming and apply the American-designed, American-developed model to ourselves, you just transform everything.

We have a hospital in Atlanta which has been studying Deming for three years. They've lowered the cost of cardiac care by 50 percent. Now, you start getting 50 percent drops -- and, by the way, that's the correct dynamic model. You want cost crashes, not cost containment. Cost containment is by definition a losing strategy. You start getting 50 percent drops in the cost of care, it is amazing how much you can save.

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Lastly, we want to apply basic American values. Technology, basic economic and management principles, quality on the Demming model, basic American values. This is the hardest and most sophisticated area, and I understand it least. Let me just give you two quick examples. One: Bureaucratic cultures work for a bureaucratic government. Germans get up in the morning and they say, "Tell me what the rules are." No wonder Max Weber (sp) wrote the basic book on bureaucracy. A bureaucratic government loves people who are acculturated to listening to the rules.

Now, all of you who have traveled Europe will recognize the model. In Germany, the German people have a contract with their politicians. They cannot establish a speed limit because, if they did, the German people would obey it. I want you to think about that cultural contract. If the Bundestag Monday adopted a 90-kilometer or 55-mile an hour speed limit, virtually every German would obey it until the next election. Then they would wipe out the current generation of politicians. They would elect the no-speed-limit party and they would go back to 150 miles an hour. (Laughter.)

Now, I don't want to offend any of you, representing great and important states as you do, but I do want to suggest to you that the American cultural response to the challenge of speed limits has been dramatically different than the German response. That in most of America, including maybe even your state, the American response to the challenge of speed limits is to see it as a benchmark of opportunity. (Laughter.)

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I want to be daring for just one second. How many of you in the last week have gone over the posted number, at least once? Raise your hand. How many of you at least once? (Laughter.) I did this in Charleston, South Carolina without thinking one night at a Republican regional meeting about three weeks ago. Governor Carroll Campbell was sitting at the head table, and like an honest man, he raised his hand. The place roared with approval. Now, I had just given a right-wing conservative assault on crime. I had just suggested that we require prisoners to work eight hours a days, six days a week, pay them minimum wage, and then charge them the cost of incarceration. I also suggested that prisoners study three hours a day, that this becomes part of what going to prison means. The group had applauded cheerfully.

I then said to them, "All of you just said you're a bunch a law breakers. Now, what are you doing, psychologically?" Of course, the same thing just happened here. I mean, everybody who drove a car raised their hand, and we now know who has a chauffeured vehicle, those three people who didn't raise their hand. (Laughter.)

Now, this sounds silly, but let me tell you how profound this is. And this is part of why I became a revolutionary. I had a woman approach me in Henry County, Georgia, a very well-meaning social worker, and she said to me, "Boy, am I angry. People on food stamps sell their food stamps, and that is illegal." And I said to her, "Of course they do. After all, they are Americans." And she just got very angry. And she said, "What do you mean?" I said, "Look. In a

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free society, if your government gives you a negotiable commodity and you come to believe that that commodity is of greater value at 70 percent of face value in cash than it is at 100 percent in stamps, you know in your heart your government wants you to sell it, because no rational, healthy, free society would ask its citizens to act against their own best interest. And you're sophisticated enough as a citizen that if the middle class taxpayers and the news media force the government to hire food stamp police, you'll cooperate. You will not sell the stamps until 5:30, when they've gone home." (Laughter.) Now, let me give you a stage further. Every high school I have talked to -- and you can test this yourselves -- every high school I have talked to for 14 years as a congressman, every class I have asked the question, "How many of you know somebody who cheats?" every hand has gone up, in every high school, every time. Why? Because we have allowed education and learning to be driven out by bureaucracy, petty regulation, and red tape. Across the board. Education is the missionary experience of civilizing the young and acquainting them with the concept of learning. It has nothing to do with red tape. And yet every one of us has participated in well-meaning ways in increasing the amount of paperwork, increasing the bureaucracy.

We did one experiment I recommend to you, called Earning by Learning. Dr. Mel Steely (ph), West Georgia College, can tell you about it. We went out to poor neighborhoods, five public housing projects, second and third graders, children living in poverty, single head of household, no books at home, food stamps,

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designated by their teachers as at risk, likely not to learn how to read. We set up a totally private project. I funded it with money I had earned making speeches. West Georgia College coordinated it. We hired one adult for \$500 to coordinate five counties. We had 49 adult volunteers under President Bush's 1,000 Points of Light concept. We said to the students, "We will pay you \$2 for every book you read." That's very radical. It's child labor and it's piece work. (Laughter.) I did not have a single child, no matter how poor, who failed to understand the theoretical concept. They had to go to the public library which was free, check out books which are free, which is why we have public libraries. Many of them got their card for the first time. Once a week, they'd come in and see an adult volunteer who could not be related to them. They'd give the adult volunteer the books they said they'd read -- these are, after all, second and third graders -- and we found something we did not design but which happened by accident. They had to actually comprehend the book, not just read it, because they had to be able to answer questions. So we were actually asking for a much higher level of sophistication than most first and second grades do. If they could answer the questions they got \$2. If they couldn't answer the questions they didn't get paid. They were sent off to sit in the corner and read.

Kids got so incredibly excited except in Douglas County, Georgia where they said to us -- literally true -- they said to us the first time: You're going to cheat. You will manipulate us, get us to read, and then you won't pay us.

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(Laughter.) Now, I want you to understand, in terms of why I'm a revolutionary, this is a culture so sick that seven and eight-year-old kids in public housing were telling us how little they trusted their government. That particular group, we paid every week in cash. They doubled the number of kids every week. So suddenly, the only kids seven and eight years old with cash were the ones who were reading.

What did we accomplish? Two hundred and eighty-two students read 3,602 books, we paid them \$7,204. Our top student was an eight-year-old girl in Villi Rica, Georgia who read 83 books, we paid her \$166. Her dad took a day off of work to protect her. (Laughter.) Well, I mean, you have to think about this when you start giving that level of cash to an eight-year-old.

We taught three things simultaneously. First, we taught literacy. We had students in seven weeks jump two grades in reading ability. Compare this with any program you funded last year in your state. Why did they jump so fast? Because all of a sudden, this was a big deal. They read in the morning to grandma, they read in the afternoon to mom, they read in the evening to their friends, they practiced, practiced, practiced, practiced because they were getting money. They were being told they were important. It's the Hawthorne effect which ever student of behavioral management understands. If you study people and make them feel important, they will work better automatically, without regard to what you do for them.

Second: We were empowering them. You give a kid \$166 at eight years of age,

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they've got power. These kids consistently bought back-to-school clothing, they bought the first sneakers they ever owned, they were involved in somehow having a little more control over their world.

Third: We taught free enterprise. You don't have to be a pimp or a prostitute or a drug dealer. You can do an honest day's work, get an honest day's pay doing something which is good for you and your society. We did all of that for less than \$8,000.

We spent \$6.1 billion on Title I funding for the disadvantaged. I don't know how much your states spend, but go back and look at it. Do any of you seriously doubt that if we just transferred three billion books worth of reading, \$6 billion in cash, to the poor next year we'd get more learning out of poor Americans than we get today? Now, I'm not suggesting that we do that. But I am suggesting that the core model is correct, that thinking in terms of a total replacement of the current bureaucratic system, thinking in terms of going back to incentives, innovation, dynamic models, encouragement, cash, things that get people to move, things that work in America, no country on the planet is less law abiding and less willing to obey rules than the United States, and for two generations we have tried to manage this society by rules and regulations. It is hopeless. This culture just rejects them.

I'll give you one test. None of you have ever seen a movie in which the hero said yes, we could save the girl, but it would break rule 212(c). In this culture, we expect our heroes to say they may fire me, they may take away my

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pension, they may put me in jail, but by God, we're going to save her life.  
 Now, in that kind of a culture, you'd better have a dynamic, incentive-driven model of management because you're not going to be able to guide them and manage them by red tape and bureaucracy.

Now, let me summarize. You apply technology, basic economic and management principles, quality on the Deming model, basic American values. Our goal is to replace the welfare state. We are genuine revolutionaries because that is the only way we're going to get it done. We meet Jefferson and Lincoln's requirement that every generation of Americans is allowed to have a political revolution.

I give you five challenges. One: go back home and do things. Earning by Learning can be done, for example, by taking the amount of money you'll spend, dividing by two, and that's the number of books you'll pay for. If you had \$100 that's 50 books. How many kids do you want to -- do you have to teach how to read? Figure out your own versions, don't take mine. But do. Don't just be a politician, be a leader.

I have a guy in Phoenix who's now getting \$100,000 raised this year for a Phoenix Earning by Learning program. There's a school in Texas, a public school system, now paying 50 cents a book for every third grader for every book they read. There are nine states trying out Earning by Learning. But take the concept of incentive and apply it wherever you want to in a nonbureaucratic model.

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Second: Think through how you replace the welfare state in your state and introduce the bills to do it.

Third: Be daring as an association. Come back to us with radical decentralization. What is the bill which would allow you to control Medicaid and how much money could you save if we gave you that kind of power? What's the bill that would allow you to control workfare and how could we aggregate 35 job training systems, 96 federal food programs? How could we eliminate 85 percent of our bureaucracy, transfer the responsibility and the cash to you, and have you run it?

Your national association ought to come to us and say here's the model legislation. We'd like you to pass "X".

Fourth: Find breakthroughs and success stories and send them to me. And if you see people doing the right thing, empower them. Reward them. The simple act of creating an award, the Baldrige Award at the Department of Commerce, has begun to change all of American industry for almost no money. You ought to have, for example, an award in your state for the institutions, hospitals, doctors, et cetera, which do the most to improve the quality of care and lower the cost of care simultaneously, and recognize it. Suddenly, people show up. There are 200,000 businesses this year that wrote in for an application for the Baldrige Award, and in order to apply you have to study quality. So for almost no money, the federal government is beginning to transform the leadership of American industry.

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Lastly, preach the concept that it is possible to change everything, that it is possible to replace the welfare state, that we can have a peaceful political revolution. Ronald Reagan said in his first inaugural, "We have every right to dream heroic dreams, after all, we are Americans."

And I came here today with a heroic dream: A neighborhood that's safe, with every child having had prenatal care; a system that encourages males to stay with the children that they create; a system that encourages every person to stay in school and actually learn; a system in which learning is the measure of education, not money, not bureaucracy, not red tape; a system where you can walk around your neighborhood and you're safe because truly violent barbarians are locked up forever and required to work to pay for themselves; a system in which the taxes and the regulations and the government attitudes encourage the creation of jobs, so that when you get finished going to that school in that safe neighborhood where you've been focused on wellness and you're healthy, you're actually in a position to go out knowing something and have a job close enough to home you can actually visit your parents on Sunday.

I believe all of that is possible. I don't believe it's possible with the Republican plan. I don't believe it's possible with the Democratic plan. But I believe as Americans we could in fact be fellow revolutionaries and, together, we could in fact replace the welfare state. And I believe the fate of the human race depends on us. If we collapse, if we produce a generation that is drug-ridden, AIDS-infected, illiterate, and inefficient, we will not lead the

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planet. If we do not lead the planet, no one will replace us and the Irans and the Iraqs and the Libyas will truly create a horrifying 21st century. So I think we bear the moral burden, not just for ourselves, not just for our taxpayers, not even just for our children, we bear the moral burden of the hopes and dreams of every child in every country on this planet that some day they can grow up in peace, in safety, and in prosperity. And I came today to ask you and to beg of you to look seriously at being a revolutionary, whatever your party, whatever your background, and together to replace the welfare state. Thank you, and God bless you. (Applause.)

I'm told we have a couple of minutes for questions. I don't want to impose on you, but I'll be glad to answer any questions you might have, or counter-attacks if I've offended somebody. Anyone want to pursue anything in particular before I get out of your hair?

Yes, sir?

Q In the prison pay system that you propose, how can the prisoner who refuse to work participate in that system?

REP. GINGRICH: Let me say two things. First of all, I think you'd end up doing an awful lot of government work with prisoners working. That is that government would become the largest single contractor, although they'd always have it on a competitive basis so the prison actually had to be productive and didn't just become a sinecure of corruption.

Second, I think you'd just have a different scale. I mean, you say to people,

August 3, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR RAY PRICE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: THEMES

- 1) THE THINGS THAT MUST GUIDE CHANGE....ARE THE THINGS THAT MUST NEVER CHANGE.

People are seeking something old even as they are grasping for something new. Change is here: exciting, painful, frightening, and confusing. Values increasingly seen as the key to stability. Concern over values under siege. Politically: when we place values center stage...we put character in the spotlight.

- 2) THE FLIP SIDE OF CHANGE IS TRUST. THE PEOPLE MUST TRUST THEIR LEADER, YES. BUT A LEADER MUST TRUST THE PEOPLE.

First part: a leader you trust, the man who manages change with all its accompanying uncertainty (this segues out of theme one). Second part: the leader trusts you. Philosophical framework for empowerment agenda (trust parents, not government, to choose kids schools....trust you to better with your paycheck than government will do with your taxes, etc.)

- 3) GOVERNMENT CAN MAKE GOOD LAWS....BUT IT CAN'T MAKE MEN GOOD.

This segues out of "leader trusts you." The greatest perversion of democracy in our time is the misconception of the role of government. As with theme two, this theme delineates our differences with the opposition. Also underpins "spiritual revival" and "Points of Light."

- 4) NOT EVERYONE WILL AGREE WITH OUR AGENDA....FRANKLY, I'D HAVE TO WONDER IF SOME PEOPLE DID.

Puts a circle of meaning around bad polls and publicity while showcasing GB as a man of integrity, a man who will do the right thing. Let others listen to the pundits and the polls....GB will listen to his heart. The special interests, the cultural elite, the Congress...they have tried to define who we are, but we are defined by who they are.

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Grossman

There are times in every young man's life, when God introduces you to yourself. I remember such a time. I had the four a.m. watch duty on the USS Finback -- just sitting alone in the watch tower...thinking. I thought about the friends I lost, about the girl I missed, and the country I loved. I thought about war...I prayed for peace. I remember those nights as the most important of my life.

You know, you see things from a watch tower that others don't see. You see the enemy ships on a distant horizon....you know when the storm will break if the crew can hold....and when all others feel lost....you can see the shore.

Our ship of state is pulling through a storm. The world has been remapped. The global economy is undergoing the greatest transformation in our lifetimes. And America is being rocked by the changes. Some folks have panicked: Change course! Go back! Jump ship! America: don't be fooled by the songs of sirens. The Democrats never quite got their "sea legs" -- I believe they still think that's another name for imitation crab. I have weathered storms before, America. I can see the horizon. I can see the shore.

TEXAS/VALUES:

MC GROARTY

AUG. 5, 1992

....For Barbara and me, this night has special meaning. This is our last time around the track. It's good to come home to Texas -- come home, to where it all began.

Now I know, some people say I was born to privilege. I've never understood that. I never said I was born a Texan. //

I remember travelling to towns like Wink and Kermit and Crane. Towns where parents worried and watched when a kid crossed the street ... towns that sent their kids halfway around the world to fight in [Korea] and Da Nang and Desert Storm. //

Barbara and I settled in to the rythms of West Texas. Friday night football ... Saturday picnics ... and the Sunday sermon. We raised a family ... built a business ... made friends. We shared the small triumphs -- we shared the grief that never goes away. Lived life -- as the author says -- its own self. //

We worked hard -- Texans always work hard. We always managed -- as Texans always do -- to find a minute or two under a shade tree. Not to rest, just to plan.

And when the work was done, we sat around the table late at night ... and we talked. We talked about report cards and schoolyard fights. About small things ... about big dreams. //

The lessons I learned here ... are the ones I live by now.

No, I wasn't born here in Texas. But in Texas ... I came of age.

92 AUG 5 5:54 PM

DEFENSE/FOREIGN POLICY:

DRAFT LANGUAGE ON S.D.I.

MC GROARTY

AUG. 5, 1992

....Let the other side put their faith in a 20-year old treaty that technology has passed by -- with a country that no longer exists.

Let the other side explain to the American people why shooting a bullet with a bullet is provocative / why defense is dangerous -- why we're safer when we're utterly defenseless against a renegade ruler armed with a single ballistic missile.

Let the other side explain why they've cast vote after vote to deny this Nation the technology -- defensive technology -- that will give us security against nuclear attack.

When they say: "we're better off defenseless," I say: Remember the lessons of Desert Storm. When the Scuds came raining down, thank God our troops didn't have to rely on some abstract theory of deterrence. Thank God we had the technology to shoot those Scuds out of the sky.

Tonight, I make this pledge: If we wish to make good on all we've done these first four years to reduce the threat of nuclear war -- we must use the next four years to build a defense against the weapons that remain. For the sake of ourselves and our children, we will deploy S.D.I. //

# # #

92 AUG 5 5 43

✓

GOVERNMENT

--THE GREATEST PERVERSION OF DEMOCRACY IN OUR TIME HAS BEEN THE MISCONCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT.

--government must return to its limits: do things right and do the right things.

--government can make good laws....but it can't make men good.

--government must act to help families -- not replace them.

--when it comes to government, the other side says: "Pump Up the Volume."

--We want a weightwatcher government. They want to watch and wait.

--You don't fix a broken car by giving it more gas. You don't fix a broken program by fueling it with more money.

--Programs building castles in the sand.

✓  
EDUC

--When it comes to challenging the education establishment, the Democrats have become the party of the shameless teacher's pets -  
- repeating everything they're told by the teachers' unions.  
It's time to stop polishing bad apples.

--Your kid gets sent home from school for breaking the rules.  
When a drug dealer confronted him, he was caught praying for his life.

--"**Developed economies demand developing minds.**"

--when kids have to punch a picture of a hamburger to order lunch because they can't read

--I don't want an America where our kids have to say their prayers in their head and the pledge under their breath.

✓ foreign

And while I want to see the world as proud of America, but more than that, I want America to be proud of ourselves.

We are a nation of optimism and hope -- a nation not of doubters, but of dreamers -- not of pessimists, but of pioneers.

A special place where miracles don't just happen, they happen every day. *not of talkers, but doers*

I know this race is long, and we are <sup>the industry</sup> far behind. And yet I also believe -- deep in my heart that we will win. We will win

because our ideas are stronger, <sup>Because</sup> we are committed to the American idea, and we understand the American way. <sup>Because</sup>

*Our?* My mission is not complete, although we have changed the world, there is work to do here at home. I want to roll up my sleeves, and get to work. <sup>the way of courage & confidence, effort & reward, kindness & love.</sup>

In closing, <sup>let me put my credo simply - from the heart:</sup> I can only say -- I love my family. I love my country. I love my God.

God bless you, and god bless the United States of America.

# # #

In politics, ~~economics~~ & life, America doesn't promise the medal - it promises the race. And we do not shy from that race.

There are times in every young man's life, when God introduces you to yourself. I remember such a time. I had the four a.m. watch duty on the USS Finback -- just sitting alone in the watch tower...thinking. I thought about the friends I lost, about the girl I missed, and the country I loved. I thought about war...I prayed for peace. I remember those nights as the most important of my life.

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Our ship of state is pulling through a storm. The world has been remapped. The global economy is undergoing the greatest transformation in our lifetimes. And America is being rocked by the changes. Some folks have panicked: Change course! Go back! Jump ship! America: don't be fooled by the songs of sirens. The Democrats never quite got their "sea legs" -- I believe they still think that's another name for imitation crab. I have weathered storms before, America. I can see the horizon. I can see the shore.

--the Democratic Party is still in the dark....but that's no surprise...that's where the negatives are developed.

--Years of losing have put the Democrats in a touchy position. When it comes to the country, they say: "If you don't look bad, we don't look good." (twist on Sassoon ad)

--Some say their party has cracked-up. If elected, you'll find out that they're all they're cracked-up to be.

--Friends don't let friends vote drunk

FOR THE FIRST LADY'S SPEECH?

--"And yes....I have been very proud.....to Stand By My Man."

--"Okay...so maybe I'm not perfect. Maybe I baked too many cookies and held too many teas." ((I admit it. It was a mistake. Just read my hips.))

--"Finally I've got the body...to match the brains."

#### CONGRESS

--I've spent four years trying to get the tiger by the tail. Elect a Democrat President and he'll simply unlock the cage.

--At home George Bush has faced down an equally intransigent enemy....they're holding Americans hostage...they've got their own bunker....it's time to send more patriots to the Democratic Congress. \\

#### VETOES

--When Congress wanted to spend way past it's curfew...I have had to say no. When Congress said, "Buy me a big, new program"....I have had to say no. When Congress says it's hungry for more taxes....I have had to say no. So when Congress says "You're no fun," I say "You're not kidding. Thirty-One lashes with a veto pen. (or: Silly Congress...Tricks are for kids)."

--Now the Democrats say they want a new babysitter...say the last one was too strict. They say the new one will let them do whatever they want. You know something, America -- they're right.

#### QUOTES

"A penny saved is a Congressional oversight."

--Hal Lee Luyah

"[Democrats] can't get elected unless things get worse -- and things won't get worse unless they get elected."

--Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Time, Jun 17, 1985

#### GOVERNMENT

August 17, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE PROVOST

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: MORE SPEECH RESEARCH

FOREIGN CHANGES

BERLIN WALL

--If I had told you we'd tear down the Berlin Wall...you would've given me a bid on the Brooklyn Bridge.

--Four years ago the Berlin Wall split a nation...and divided a world. We've seen that wall come tumbling down. Today we market chunks of it as paperweights. (or) Right outside this hall, we've got a slab of that wall (true)....a souvenir of freedom.

COLD WAR

--If I had told you at the last convention that in four years would bring the birth of sixteen new democracies -- who would have believed me.

--If I had told you that we would eliminate 7,000 of our most dangerous nuclear weapons -- and then convince the Soviets to do the same -- could America have imagined it.

--and if I had thrown in for good measure, a promise that, if any Middle Eastern madman should threaten to rain on this parade of peace, that well, we'd just rally the entire world in swift and massive retaliation to steal his thunder and silence his fury...

SOVIET UNION

--their new definition of "Siberia" is being at the back of the line to get into McDonald's ((gives a whole new meaning to breadlines))

--from perestroika to Pizza Hut

--Dallas is one of the most watched TV shows on Russian TV

--The former Soviets are finally realizing the old bolshevik slogan: "Peace, Land, Bread." Only they're doing it at McDonalds. We've even thrown in the meat.

--they've traded the hammer and the sickle for the \_\_\_\_ and the \_\_\_\_ ("from Harleys and skateboards" both are popular there )

--videos popular in Moscow: Star Wars, The Howling, The Empire Strikes Back, Rambo

--When Soviet were asked in a recent poll what lifestlye appealed to them most, 65% of them said "American."

SPEAKING STYLE

--Bush's speaking style: it went out of fashion a long time ago.

--"Now I'm not much for words, and maybe that's a fault. But I believe in the old fashioned definition of eloquence: 'truth spoken simply.'"

PERSONAL.4

--After college, my professors encouraged me to go after a Rhodes scholarship -- spend a year in England....But I had places to go and things to see. After school...I lit out for Texas. (*Unlike someone we know.*)

--salesman: "traveling through towns called Muleshoe, Wink, and Notrees."

--kicking back with a Lonestar in Nell's diner, talking football..

--In '68 the civil rights open housing bill came before the House. Mail from his district was overwhelmingly against the bill. While others might have listened to the polls -- Bush listened to his heart. He voted for the bill. The response from back home was ugly -- even threatening. Bush returned to Texas to give a speech. The air was thick with catcalls and hissing. Bush confronted the crowd, told them about how at that very hour there were black soldiers fighting for the American way of life over in Vietnam. As Bush spoke, the crowd quieted down. In the end, they gave him a standing ovation. Bush says now: "More than twenty years later I can truthfully say that nothing I've experienced in public life, before or since, has measured up to the feeling I had when I went home that night."

--from What I Saw at the Revolution:

Noonan asked Bush when he first became aware of the realities of life (what the hell does that mean) and GB told her about getting to know the barrios and border towns of Texas when he was a young man. He was walking through a barrio when he saw a little boy wearing ragged clothes, an old undershirt and no shoes. With him was his mother, they were holding hands -- Bush saw the poverty, but was struck by something else. He said: "This little boy had nothing in terms of physical things -- but here he is with his mother...and there's love. And it was a feeling of how much we have in common. He was like my kids." (this was when Bush was running for Congress)

Bush also talked about going to Africa and holding children who were the victims of famine: "The one I feel in my heart was when I held a seven-year-old kid in my arms in Somalia. Seven years....seventeen pounds. It haunted me. I know what drives me -- everyone matters."

--from Representing America, a book with chapters by former U.S. representatives to the U.N. Here's what GB has to say, I don't know if it helps us in the "I learned from...." series:

"To be really effective in terms of securing votes, you have to get out and work at it. I liked that part of the job; I liked the politics of the UN."

"I believe strongly in personal relationships in bilateral diplomacy. I think the United States should not be above going to the smaller embassies, meeting with the ambassadors from smaller countries, working with the regional groups...it is important that the human side of the United States is seen through the eyes of diplomats from other countries."

"The UN's greatest strength lies in the economic and social objectives, and its greatest weakness lies in its inability to bring instant peace to troubled situations -- particularly when larger powers are involved."

### TEXAS

#### Country songs:

- "Houston, I'm Coming to See You"
- "Houston means I'm One Day Closer to You."
- "Texas on a Saturday Night" (Willie Nelson)
- "Texas When I Die" (Tanya Tucker)

--I'm going to give it to you straight. I'm a Texan. And there's no such thing as the Texas Side-Step.

#### Here's a little scenery from the Midland-Odessa area:

- Towns like: Wink...Sundown...Blackwater
- Rivers like: Wild Horse Draw...Cottonwood Creek...Mustang Draw

August 17, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE PROVOST

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: LANGUAGE

Steve, I don't have any idea what's going on out there. But I thought you might be able to use some extra soundbites in your arsenal. Much of this you've seen before, but I just wanted you to have it at hand if you need it. A couple of thoughts...during the Brinkley interview, I was struck by the way the President said "I want the American people to know my heartbeat." Maybe something along the lines of "Here's my heartbeat..." It's simple and personal. The President is also fond of the phrase "Life Its Ownself." You could couch it "...as the author says.." perhaps in any discussion of his life story. Don't forget: "I finish what I start."

CONVENTION

--Tonight is a special night....For Republicans, it is the end of the beginning. For Democrats, it is the beginning of the end.

--Remember the Democratic National Convention? Where was the Democratic leadership of the House? Where was the Democratic leadership of the Senate? They locked them away behind closed doors.....Gives a whole new meaning to the term: "closet liberal."

--It's going to be tough to outflank the opposition. Elvis was already here in '74. (true fact, he performed then at the Astrodome).

OPPO

--Clinton was born with a silver soundbite in his mouth

--They've run a campaign of safe bets and sound bites.

--During a political season in Great Britain, Margaret Thatcher once remarked: "We were told that our campaign wasn't sufficiently slick. We regard that as a compliment."

--I've got to hand it to my opponents....they're two very promising young men. \\ I'm sure they'll keep on promising.

--He says he'd make a model president. I don't know. He might make a good model, though.

--would you buy a used car from this man?

### SPIN NEGATIVE SPIN

--when we call a spade a spade...the Clinton camp demands a retraction.

### CHANGE CANDIDATES

\*\*\*The other side talks of change. They just don't get it. The fact is, we are the change. The Democratic Platform speaks of the "Revolution of '92" -- a revolution in which the Democrats are leading the charge. Kind of reminds me of the old con man's advice to the new kid on the block: "Son," he said, "When you're bein' run outta town, just get in front and make it look like a parade."

--New Covenant/Born-Again Democratic Party: During this campaign, the Democrats have promised that their born-again. But they're really like the guy who goes to church on Sunday to repent what he did on Saturday...and will probably do on Monday.

--Different views on a kinder gentler America: Their America will be kinder to enemies abroad....gentler to criminals at home. Kinder to bureaucracy....gentler to the special interests.

### JOKES

--Maybe he's just having a bad hair day.

--Barbara keeps a copy of Clinton's economic plan on her bedside table. She says she loves a good mystery.

--Some of you may have heard that the Baby Boom Boys took a cross-country tour. Well, they ran into a little problem. An officer pulled them over and wrote them a ticket. Turns out they were trying to smuggle a little liberalism accross the Mason-Dixon line.

--From copy-cat covenants...to counterfeit cookies -- there's just no end to what some people will try to pull. I think there should be a roadside warning on the Democratic campaign trail. It should read: "Slippery When Wet."

### PHILOSOPHICAL DIFFERENCES

--he has offered XX in new spending....but America is not for sale.

--I believe in equal rights...not special priveleges.

--Now I may be showing my age -- but even I remember a time when the White House was occupied territory -- occupied by the Democrats. It was a time when foreign policy was conducted through capitulation. The flag was a quaint relic. Patriotism

was passe. And freedom was just another word for nothing left to lose. When the Democrats ran the county, America was...a joke.

At home, their slogan was: "Government Knows Best." They told us that government knows best how to spend our money. That government knows best how to make our choices. That government knows best where our kids should go to school. Government always knew best. But all that time -- the American people....knew better.

((John Major on Labor Government: "It was a world in which we were told that government knows best. They knew best how to spend our money -- how to make our choices. They knew best who should own homes and run businesses...Through all that time...the people of Britain knew better.))

OPPO.2

SLICK WILLIE

--I've got to hand it to my candidate -- he's an extremely agile politician. He's got his finger to the wind with his nose to the grindstone while he straddles the fence with both ears to the ground.

--Marching to the tune of different drummers.

--The new Elvis may be rocking you tonight. But America, he'll roll you in the morning.

--Now they say you can't fool all of the people all of the time. You got to hand it to those Democrats. Every four years....if first you don't succeed: try...try...try...try...try again.

--Some say Bill Clinton doesn't have a record to stand on. Maybe that's why he keeps jumping all over mine.

--When it comes to spending, the Democrats say we're stingy. I'll tell you something....it sure is easy to be generous with other people's money.

--The only place where they don't show the prices on the menu is in the Democratic platform.

--our opponents are very thoughtful. They know there are two sides to every argument. And they have adopted both.

--George McGovern on the trojan-horse ticket: "I have a hunch that they're more liberal underneath, and prove it when they're elected."

--"I can remember way back when a liberal was one who was generous with his own money." (Will Rogers) [[That's before they discovered how much more fun it was to be generous with other people's money.]]

--THE GREATEST PERVERSION OF DEMOCRACY IN OUR TIME HAS BEEN THE MISCONCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT.

--government must return to its limits: do things right and do the right things.

--government can make good laws....but it can't make men good.

--You don't fix a broken car by giving it more gas. You don't fix a broken program by feuling it with more money.

--"Insanity is when you think that by doing more of what you're already doing, you'll get a different result." -- Roger Milliken

--Programs building castles in the sand.

--Government that guards Americans from themselves...but who shall guard the guards?

#### WELFARE

##### Robs dignity, destroys hope

--The greatest act of charity is to help people off of it.

--these ideas won't work unless Americans do too.

--the poor don't want greater dependence...they want a new declaration of independence.

--if you tell people long enough that they're victims...sooner or later they'll start acting like ones.

--the choice is clear: we can either cut the system some more slack...or put the bounce back into the safety net

--our welfare system is neither well...nor fair.

##### Deadbeat Dads

--You can run....but you cannot hide.

--I see a future where families stick together....and fathers stick around.

##### Welfare and families

--a system that penalizes famlies for working...for saving...for staying together.

--a welfare check isn't a father

--marriage matters

--let other people talk about "new covenants." Let us help these families keep some of the old ones.

##### Opposition

--we will not discover new solutions until we find the courage to let go of the old ones  
--poverty pimps  
--Long ago the liberals declared war on poverty...their battle is over....and poverty won.

### Quotes

\*\*\*"Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed." --Abraham Lincoln (nexus with NP "pragmatism about human nature...idealism about human potential.")

--"Far and away the best prize that life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing." --Teddy Roosevelt

--Kimi Gray, home ownership activist, on why she wants to own her own home: "I want to help on my taxes. I want to leave something to my children. I want to own some brick. That's the American Dream, isn't it." (quoted in the New York Times, July 13, 1990)

--Danish proverb: "Trust everybody -- but [trust] yourself most of all." ----> the greatest tragedy is not that the system lacks faith in Americans. It's that it makes Americans lose faith in themselves.\*\*\*

### MORALANG

--there's a hole in the heart of the American dream

--my opponent reminds me of the cynic who knows the price of everything but the value of nothing.

--a rope of sand

--written on the wind

--every life is a portrait of the person who lives it. These people have signed their with charity and good will.

### QUOTES:

--"What lies behind us and what lies before us are tiny matters compared to what lies within us." (Emerson).

--"We make a living by what we get, but we make a life by what we give." (Churchill)

### FAMLANG

#### ABORTION

--My opponent is fond of saying: "We can't afford to waste a single American." Well, Governor, last year we wasted about 1.7 million Americans -- 1.7 million Americans deprived of their most basic right...their right to life.

--what about those heartbeats, America?

QUOTES:

--Tolstoy: "All happy families are alike, but an unhappy family is unhappy in its own way."

--Mormon quote about how "No success can overcome failure in the home."

--Santayana: "Family is one of nature's masterpieces."

--Father Hershburgh: "The most important thing a father can do for his children is to love their mother."

--MLK: "I don't know what the future holds, but I know who holds the future."

FOREIGN POLICY

DEFENSE

--beware of sheep in wolves' clothing.

--for the Democrats: "freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose."

--our national symbol's the American Eagle....not the clay pigeon.

MIDDLE EAST

--"where peace still roams as the region's prodigal son"

--"turn the cycle of demanding an eye for an eye into one of offering a hand for a hand."

GULF WAR

--When the Bagdad Butcher invaded Kuwait....I bit the bullet, while some folks in Congress bit their nails. And Saddam Hussein...well, he bit the dust.

PHILOSOPHICAL

--when we do the hard work of freedom...freedom works.

--patriotism is not...just another point of view.

NEW WORLD ORDER

--We have won the war. Now we must wage the peace.

--"We won the Cold War despite people the Democrats....but we won it for them too."

--Desert One vs. Desert Storm

POP CULTURE/HUMOR

--New Kids on the Block

--Clinton-Gore on the campaign trail: Leggo my Ego

--the Dukes of Hazard

--Clinton's got a new slogan: "Don't Hate Me Because I'm Beautiful"

--Clinton-Gore: "The Young and the Restless"

--the Breck Boys

--Ivana Trump: "Good hair is the best revenge."

--Me Too slogans and You Too taxes

--America: if you liked Carter...you'll love Clinton.

--If we talk about Clinton's Little Rock record: "Do we really want to get a piece of the Rock."

--Clinton's Economic Plan: "Final Exit" (after the suicide book)

--"Tastes Great...Less Filling" (beer commercial)

--My plan's bullish on America...their plan's just plain bull.

--remote control economy

--velcro values

--the Care Bear candidates

--Actually, Mr. Clinton has acquired quite a bit of foreign policy experience in his travels....Mr. Eggroll...The International House of Pancakes.

--Clinton-Gore: Leadership for the Seventies

--macrame morals

--Sen. Nickles: "Clinton/Gore: they've got what it takes....to take what you've got."

--Cliff's Notes Covenants

--Their motto: reach out and tax somebody

--Southern Comfort

August 4, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR RAY PRICE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON CLINTON

SLICK WILLIE

--Clinton was born with a silver soundbite in his mouth

--They've run a campaign of safe bets and sound bites.

--During a political season in Great Britain, Margaret Thatcher once remarked: "We were told that our campaign wasn't sufficiently slick. We regard that as a compliment."

--I've got to hand it to my opponents....they're two very promising young men. \\ I'm sure they'll keep on promising till November.

--He says he'd make a model president. I don't know. He might make a good model, though.

--would you buy a used car from this man?

SPIN NEGATIVE SPIN

--when we call a spade a spade...the Clinton camp demands a retraction.

CHANGE CANDIDATES

--The other side talks of change. They just don't get it. The fact is, we are the change. The Democratic Platform speaks of the "Revolution of '92" -- a revolution in which the Democrats are leading the charge. Kind of reminds me of the old con man's advice to the new kid on the block: "Son," he said, "When you're bein' run outta town, just get in front and make it look like a parade."

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--Different views on a kinder gentler America: Their America will be kinder to enemies abroad....gentler to criminals at home. Kinder to bureaucracy....gentler to the special interests.

--I want to throw out the garbage....they want to change the air freshener.

## BABY BOOM BOYS

--Bill Clinton: leadership for the 1970's.

--And when his country called on him to serve....Hell no, he wouldn't go.

## JOKES

--Maybe he's just having a bad hair day.

--Barbara keeps a copy of Clinton's economic plan on her bedside table. She says she loves a good mystery.

--Some of you may have heard that the Baby Boom Boys took a cross-country tour. Well, they ran into a little problem. An officer pulled them over and wrote them a ticket. Turns out they were trying to smuggle a little liberalism across the Mason-Dixon line.

--From copy-cat covenants...to counterfeit cookies -- there's just no end to what some people will try to pull. I think there should be a roadside warning on the Democratic campaign trail. It should read: "Slippery When Wet."

## PHILOSOPHICAL DIFFERENCES

--he has offered XX in new spending....but America is not for sale.

--I believe in equal rights...not special privileges.

--When it comes to taxes, Bill Clinton will put you out of pocket. When it comes to his economic policy, Bill Clinton will put you out of your job. When it comes to leadership, America, Bill Clinton will put you out of your misery.

--We have enough Liberal Bills coming out of Washington DC. We don't need one more. ((or: Think of it this way -- If you put one Liberal Bill in Washington....you'll get one-hundred out.))

--Clinton's economic plan: Paying Your Bill.

--Now I may be showing my age -- but even I remember a time when the White House was occupied territory -- occupied by the Democrats. It was a time when foreign policy was conducted through capitulation. The flag was a quaint relic. Patriotism was passe. And freedom was just another word for nothing left to lose. When the Democrats ran the county, America was...a joke.

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((John Major on Labor Government: "It was a world in which we were told that government knows best. They knew best how to spend our money -- how to make our choices. They knew best who should own homes and run businesses...Through all that time...the people of Britain knew better.))

--They say you can tell a man's character by the kind of company he keeps. Well I think you can say the same about Bill Clinton. He's the posterchild of the pundits...the babydoll of big labor...the sweetheart of the NEA...the darling of the law lobby.

#### THEIR LEAD

--Don't despair, America. We're going to win. Don't start crying before you're hurt.

## OPPO

### SLICK WILLIE

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#### THEIR LEAD

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PERSONAL.4

--After college, my professors encouraged me to go after a Rhodes scholarship -- spend a year in England....But I had places to go and things to see. After school...I lit out for Texas.

--salesman: "traveling through towns called Muleshoe, Wink, and Notrees."

--kicking back with a Lonestar in Nell's diner, talking football..

--In '68 the civil rights open housing bill came before the House. Mail from his district was overwhelmingly against the bill. While others might have listened to the polls -- Bush listened to his heart. He voted for the bill. The response from back home was ugly -- even threatening. Bush returned to Texas to give a speech. The air was thick with catcalls and hissing. Bush confronted the crowd, told them about how at that very hour there were black soldiers fighting for the American way of life over in Vietnam. As Bush spoke, the crowd quieted down. In the end, they gave him a standing ovation. Bush says now: "More than twenty years later I can truthfully say that nothing I've experienced in public life, before or since, has measured up to the feeling I had when I went home that night."

--from What I Saw at the Revolution:

Noonan asked Bush when he first became aware of the realities of life (what the hell does that mean) and GB told her about getting to know the barrios and border towns of Texas when he was a young man. He was walking through a barrio when he saw a little boy wearing ragged clothes, an old undershirt and no shoes. With him was his mother, they were holding hands -- Bush saw the poverty, but was struck by something else. He said: "This little boy had nothing in terms of physical things -- but here he is with his mother...and there's love. And it was a feeling of how much we have in common. He was like my kids." (this was when Bush was running for Congress)

Bush also talked about going to Africa and holding children who were the victims of famine: "The one I feel in my heart was when I held a seven-year-old kid in my arms in Somalia. Seven years....seventeen pounds. It haunted me. I know what drives me -- everyone matters."

--from Representing America, a book with chapters by former U.S. representatives to the U.N. Here's what GB has to say, I don't know if it helps us in the "I learned from...." series:

"To be really effective in terms of securing votes, you have to get out and work at it. I liked that part of the job; I liked the politics of the UN."

"I believe strongly in personal relationships in bilateral diplomacy. I think the United States should not be above going to the smaller embassies, meeting with the ambassadors from smaller countries, working with the regional groups...it is important that the human side of the United States is seen through the eyes of diplomats from other countries."

"The UN's greatest strength lies in the economic and social objectives, and its greatest weakness lies in its inability to bring instant peace to troubled situations -- particularly when larger powers are involved."

### TEXAS

Country songs:

- "Houston, I'm Coming to See You"
- "Houston means I'm One Day Closer to You."
- "Texas on a Saturday Night" (Willie Nelson)
- "Texas When I Die" (Tanya Tucker)

--I'm going to give it to you straight. I'm a Texan. And there's no such thing as the Texas Side-Step.

Here's a little scenery from the Midland-Odessa area:

- Towns like: Wink...Sundown...Blackwater
- Rivers like: Wild Horse Draw...Cottonwood Creek...Mustang Draw

## PERSONAL.2

VIC GOLD: DON'T WANT TO GO INTO LOSS OF ROBIN...CONJURES UP GORE'S MAUDLIN AND EMBARRASSING SELF-DISPLAY. DON'T TALK ABOUT BARBARA'S MOM'S FUNERAL, THAT'S DUMB. HE TALKED ABOUT WHETHER IT WAS AS A SALESMAN, OR AS A POLITICIAN, OR AS AN AMBASSADOR, GEORGE BUSH OPERATED ON THE LEVEL OF PEOPLE -- NOT IDEOLOGY OR GRAND ABSTRACTIONS. WHERE OTHERS SAW "THE MASSES" GB SAW INDIVIDUALS. \*\*ALSO: AUGUST 14, 1945, WORLD WAR ENDED. THE FEELING OF THE COUNTRY AT THE TIME, HIGH-SPIRITED, OPTIMISTIC, LOOKING FORWARD. THERE WAS THIS GREAT VISION OF THE FUTURE, AND IT WAS AN AMERICAN FUTURE. VIC SAID THAT A REFLECTION BACK ON THAT TIME COULD A) HELP SHAPE A POSITIVE ANALOGY FOR OUR TIMES, AND B) REMIND VOTERS THAT WHEN HIS COUNTRY CALLED ON HIM TO SERVE, BUSH STOOD WHERE DUTY REQUIRED HIM TO STAND.

### LOOKING FORWARD:

VIC SAID THERE WAS POTENTIAL IN THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE. IT'S ABOUT HIS TIME ON THE SUB THAT RESCUED HIM. I THINK IT'S PRETTY POWERFUL. IT'S ALSO FLEXIBLE, I.E. CLEARLY IT WAS A FORMATIVE TIME, HE HAD LOST TWO FRIENDS, HE WAS AT THE START OF HIS LIFE...BUT IT'S ALSO A SEGUE INTO A BLANK PAGE: YOU CAN DEFINE WHAT WAS "AWAKENED":

"THEN THERE WERE THE BETTER MOMENTS SPENT STANDING WATCH ON THE TOWER DURING THE MIDNIGHT TO FOUR A.M. SHIFT, WHEN THE FINBACK RAN ON THE SURFACE TO RECHARGE ITS BATTERIES. THE SUB MOVED LIKE A PORPOISE, WATER LAPPING OVER ITS BOW, THE SEA CHANGING COLORS, FIRST JET BLACK, THEN SPARKLING WHITE. IT REMINDED ME OF HOME AND OUR FAMILY VACATIONS IN MAINE. THE NIGHTS WERE CLEAR AND THE STARS SO BRIGHT YOU FELT YOU COULD TOUCH THEM. IT WAS HYPNOTIC. THERE WAS PEACE, CALM, BEAUTY -- GOD'S THERAPY.

I STILL DON'T UNDERSTAND THE 'LOGIC' OF WAR -- WHY SOME SURVIVE AND OTHERS ARE LOST IN THEIR PRIME. BUT THAT MONTH ON THE FINBACK GAVE ME TIME TO REFLECT, TO GO DEEP INSIDE MYSELF AND SEARCH FOR ANSWERS. AS YOU GROW OLDER AND TRY TO RETRACE THE STEPS THAT MADE YOU THE PERSON YOU ARE, THE SIGNPOSTS TO LOOK FOR ARE THOSE SPECIAL TIMES OF INSIGHT, EVEN AWAKENING. I REMEMBER MY DAYS AND NIGHTS ABOARD THE U.S.S. FINBACK AS ONE OF THOSE TIMES -- MAYBE THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THEM ALL."

--IN WAR I LEARNED ABOUT SACRIFICE. I REMEMBER ONE CLEAR DAY, OUT IN THE PACIFIC. I TOOK MY AVENGER ON A MISSION TO CHICHI JIMA. TWO OF MY BUDDIES, JACK DELANEY AND TED WHITE, THEY WERE ON THE PLANE WITH ME. I HAD KNOWN TED SINCE I WAS A KID...WE USED TO PLAY FIGHTER GAMES IN THE BACKYARD...NOW IT WAS FOR REAL. AS WE APPROACHED TARGET, WE CAUGHT FLAK. THERE WAS FIRE LICKING AT THE WINDOWS, WE UNLOADED OUR BOMBS JUST IN TIME. I ORDERED BAIL OUT. AND I JUMPED. BUT I NEVER SAW MY PALS AGAIN. ONE WENT DOWN WITH THE AVENGER. THE OTHER ONE'S CHUTE DIDN'T WORK.

--INTERESTING, BUT NEITHER HERE NOR THERE:

"OUR SQUADRON WAS COMING IN AFTER A STRIKE, THE AVENGERS FIRST, THEN THE FIGHTER PLANES. I'D ALREADY LANDED AND WAS STANDING ON THE DECK, WATCHING AS THE PILOT JAMMED HIS THROTTLES FORWARD TRYING TO GET AIRBORNE AGAIN, BUT LOST AIR SPEED. HIS PLANE SPUN IN, ENDING UP BY A GUN MOUNT. THE GUN CREW WAS WIPED OUT. JUST A FEW YARDS AWAY WAS A CREWMAN'S LEG, SEVERED AND QUIVERING. THE SHOE WAS STILL ON. MORE THAN FORTY YEARS LATER I CAN STILL SEE IT." P.34

--FROM MIDWAY...TO MIDLAND...

August 8, 1992

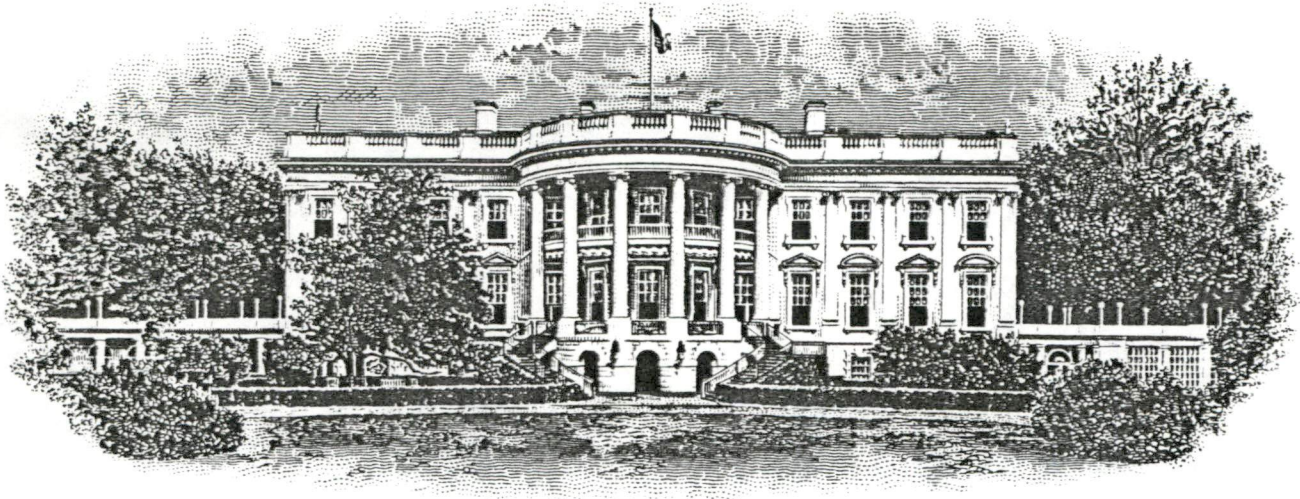
MEMORANDUM FOR RAY PRICE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: TRUMAN'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

In November of '91, Clinton said that his party's main issue of 1992 should be, "Will we call an end to this Reagan revolution experiment?" The error this question betrays is reflected in Reagan's line: "They just don't get it....this is the change." The "Truman Strategy" bandied about over at the campaign is really a highbrow way of saying: our voters are still there, we must remind them why they voted for us, and become more like ourselves.

The mistake the Republicans made in the 40's was thinking that the '46 midterms gave them a mandate to try and bury the New Deal. Truman knew that the New Deal coalition was still there; it just needed to be mobilized, which he did in the campaign. If we believe that the country is still essentially anti-tax, anti-big government, and socially conservative, it behooves us to go back to these principles in '92.

Attached is Truman's convention speech for your perusal.



# OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

## FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Number of Pages (Including Cover) 3  
To RAY PRICE  
Fax Number 212/947-7118  
Date 8/8  
From JENNIFER  
Office Number 202/456-7752

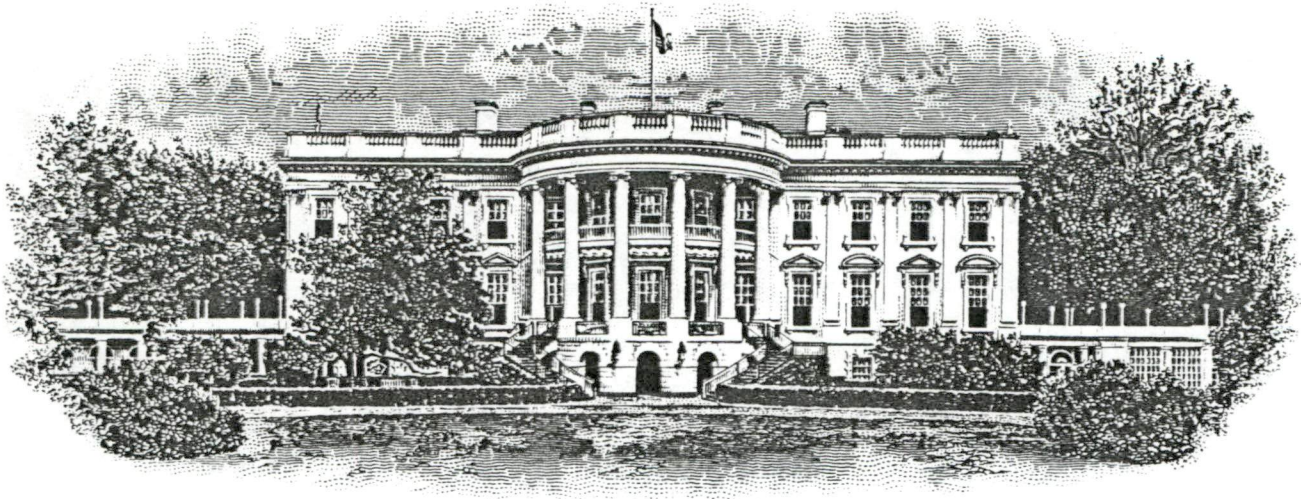
\*\*\*\*\*

COMMENTS

\*\*\*\*\*

None of this is earth-shattering. All  
continue to dig. clim going to call Vic  
Gold tomorrow.

-JAG



## OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

### FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Number of Pages (Including Cover) 5  
To RAY PRICE  
Fax Number 212/947-7118  
Date AUG. 5  
From JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
Office Number 202/456-7752

\*\*\*\*\*

COMMENTS

\*\*\*\*\*

First 2 pages: a couple of language fragments  
for your amusement. Second two: language  
on Texas/Values (cl really like this) + SDI.  
cl's from Dan McGroarty, our senior writer.  
cl if you have a chance, let me know  
where you are and what you need. cl  
hope all is going well.

-JAG

Thank you.....the other side wants us to fight fair....so tonight I promise to keep my eloquence in check. Four years ago America...I came to you and told you that I was a quiet man...a quiet man who heard the quiet voices others didn't hear.

All my life I have tried to listen a little harder...to look a little farther. Where others saw danger to a young kid...I saw the duty of a grown man. Where others saw the girl next door...I saw Barbara Bush. Where others saw sagebrush...I saw Texas gold. Where others saw a cold war...I saw a coming peace. Where others saw problems...I saw promise. I tried to listen a little harder...to look a little farther....I saw the things others don't see.

Some have gotten so caught up in the moment....that they've forgotten the hour. So caught up in changing course that they've forgotten where they want to go. The world has been remapped...the global market has been transformed...and our economy is undergoing the greatest transition in its history. Some feel the pains and want to stop the growing. Some feel the waves, and want to jump the ship. But I can see the horizon, America....I can see the shore.

Our future hangs between the heartbeats of time. We can't go back, America....we can't cross a burnt bridge. America has changed the world....and some now fear how the world will change America. Some say we should take our ball and go home. I say we should step up to the plate. Don't forget we invented the game.

I have faith in America...because I have faith in Americans.  
We won't just pull through...we will roar back: bigger, bolder,  
better than we ever were.

random:

I remember my favorite scene from my favorite movie, "It's a  
Wonderful Life." George and Mary got a call from New York, and  
they had to share a phone. The guy in New York wanted them to  
invest in a new deal. He said it was "the chance of a lifetime."  
Mary looked at George and repeated: "it's the chance of a  
lifetime." They took their chance...George and Mary knew the  
real chances...the real choices...they saw the things that others  
don't.

## GOVERNMENT

--THE GREATEST PERVERSION OF DEMOCRACY IN OUR TIME HAS BEEN THE MISCONCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT.

--government must return to its limits: do things right and do the right things.

--government can make good laws....but it can't make men good.

--government must act to help families -- not replace them.

--We want a weightwatcher government. They want to watch and wait.

--You don't fix a broken car by giving it more gas. You don't fix a broken program by feuling it with more money.

--Programs building castles in the sand.

## EDUC

--When it comes to challenging the education establishment, the Democrats have become the party of the shameless teacher's pets -  
- repeating everything they're told by the teachers' unions.  
It's time to stop polishing bad apples.

--Your kid gets sent home from school for breaking the rules.  
When a drug dealer confronted him, he was caught praying for his life.

--"Developed economies demand developing minds."

--when kids have to punch a picture of a hamburger to order lunch because they can't read

--I don't want an America where our kids have to say their prayers in their head and the pledge under their breath.

## FOREIGN POLICY

### DEFENSE

--beware of sheep in wolves' clothing.

--for the Democrats: "freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose."

--double dutch defense policy

--our national symbol's the American Eagle....not the clay pigeon.

### COLD WAR

--when my predecessor, Ronald Reagan, called the Soviet Union the "evil empire," we were roundly ridiculed by our critics. When the empire fell last year, one Russian citizen put it this way: "It was evil. Thank God we have finally been delivered from it."

--never again will a child have to go to bed wondering if he'll ever wake up. The doomsday clocks, the bomb shelters, the duck and cover drills....those days are over.

### MIDDLE EAST

--"where peace still roams as the region's prodigal son"

--"turn the cycle of demanding an eye for an eye into one of offering a hand for a hand."

### GULF WAR

--When the Bagdad Butcher invaded Kuwait....I bit the bullet, while some folks in Congress bit their nails.

### PHILOSOPHICAL

--when we do the hard work of freedom...freedom works.

### NEW WORLD ORDER

--We have won the war. Now we must wage the peace.

August 18, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE PROVOST

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: MORE LANGUAGE

DEM'S CONVENTION

--you put your left foot in, you put your left foot out, you put your left foot in -- then you stick it in your mouth. (Hokie Pokie)

CHARACTER

--character is what you are when no one is looking...it's what you say when you think no one is listening.

--you've got to give the other side credit. They say: if you've got it....flaunt it. Well -- they've got the second part down pat.

--I'll tell you a little something I learned from my old navy days: the guy who blows his horn the loudest is usually in a fog.

IF YOU LIKED CARTER...YOU'LL LOVE CLINTON

(On why we're revisiting the Carter era) "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." -- Santayana

--My opponent says this election is about change...but how will he change America, when he can't even change his own party.

--after the last liberal has left the world stage...the Democratic Party will be there to turn out the light.

--Double-digit inflation: if you told your girl she looked like a million bucks -- she thought you were selling her short.

BERLIN WALL

--as reported in yesterday's Washington Post, there is a section of the Berlin Wall on display at the arena on the Astrodome grounds...I'm having someone check on how far it is from podium and if it sports any relevant graffiti.

RNCNOT

--Drop-by, offstage announce, Rich Bond introduces, 200 people, all RNC members, some White House Staff and spouses, 10 min remarks. They've been there. You've got people from every state.

✓ --I don't know if many of you know this, but one of Rich's favorite movies is called "The Repo Man." One of the characters in the movie has a line that goes: "Repo men are very intense." I can see why Rich likes that movie. Well starting today...the repo men and women of the RNC have but one mission: It's time to Repo the Big 'Mo.

✓ --this has been an historic convention...for the Republicans, it is the end of the beginning. \\ For the Democrats....it is the beginning of the end.

✓ --For months now...and every time we tried to set the record straight...every time we called a spade a spade...

--Elvis was at the astrodome in 1974 ((I thought I did a fair job last night. But you know, it's still going to be tough to outflank the competition. I mean, Elvis was already here in '74.))

--beware of sheep in wolves' clothing.

--they talk about "tax fairness" -- but we've heard that old line before. Don't let that tax fool you, America...and don't let that fool tax you.

--We had a quiet night...Barbara brought along Clinton's economic plan for a little bedside reading. She say's she loves a good mystery.

--I want them to know what my heartbeat is.

--We have won the war. Now we must wage the peace.

--And if the Democrats are finished borrowing it...I'd like my language back: We have changed the world and now we can change America.

--the things that must guide change are the things that must never change.

--I believe that the greatest perversion of democracy in our time has been the misconception of the role of government.

Government must return to it's limits...to do what's right, and do the right things.

--government can make good laws...but it can't make men good.

--I believe that the transmission of values depends on parents....they think it depends...on your perspective.

--I believe that patriotism is not just another point of view.

--Remember the Democratic Convention -- where was the Democratic leadership of the House? Where was the Democratic leadership of

the Senate? They had them hiding behind closed doors. Gives a whole new meaning to the term "closet liberal."

--the other side talks of change...the fact is, they just don't get it. We are the change. Their platform heralds the "Revolution of '92" -- a revolution they are leading. Kind of reminds me of the old con man's advice to the new con man in town: "Son," he said, "When you're bein' run outta town, just get in front and make it look like a parade."

--It's been a great convention....one of the things I love about being back in Texas is the music. The great thing about Texas is it's cultural diversity. Why, right here in Houston, you can listen to both kinds of music: country....and western. // ✓

--We shared the small triumphs -- we shared the pain that never goes away. Lived life -- as the author says -- its own self.

--it's never the wrong time to do the right thing.

\*\*\*\*I don't want to win this thing out of personal ambition...I want to win it for the country. I like fishing, I've got my family and my health...wouldn't I prefer tossing horseshoes. Let me tell you why I'm going after it.

--a call beyond political ambition

August 18, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE PROVOST

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: ACCEPTANCE SPEECH LANGUAGE

EMPOWERMENT

--We have learned that the only Great Society is a good society.

--(on helping the poor): The Democrats want to slip more money under the door. We want to hand them the keys.

--We put a roof over their heads, but we forgot to build a door.

--The poor aren't asking for a free ride....they just want us to clear the roadblocks.

FAILED POLICIES OF THE PAST

--to rephrase a famous old saying: those who cannot remember the missteps of the past....are condemned to step in it again.

--they're just spitting into the wind.

CONGRESS

--they want to rearrange the deck chairs...I want to clear the decks.

--when I set course....they dropped anchor.

BUSH

--(UN, China): I always knew that America was important to the world....I found out how important the world was to America.

CLINTON

--Clinton's like the politician who says: "The question is \_\_\_\_\_. Some are for \_\_\_\_\_. And some are against \_\_\_\_\_. And after serious consideration and thought, I agree with them." (maybe balanced budget?)

--Let me tell you the story about the farmer and his pig. This pig was so slick that it kept slipping out of it's pen. One day the farmer went looking for it, and followed its tracks all over creation. When he came back, his wife asked if he knew where the pig was. The farmer said: "Yes ma'm I found him....he's on both sides of the fence."

MORALANG (values language)

--THE THINGS THAT MUST GUIDE CHANGE ARE THE THINGS THAT MUST NEVER CHANGE.

--government can make good laws...but it can't make men good.

--it's never the wrong time to do the right thing.

--let me talk a little about covenants....no, not the new kind. Let me talk about some old ones. [Run through moral mandates....moral foundation for our agenda].

--there's a hole in the heart of the American dream

--my opponent reminds me of the cynic who knows the price of everything but the value of nothing.

--a rope of sand

--written on the wind

--America has been a question in search of an answer. But in many ways...we've carried the answer inside of us all the while.

--every life is a portrait of the person who lives it. These people have signed their with charity and good will.

QUOTES:

--"What lies behind us and what lies before us are tiny matters compared to what lies within us." (Emerson).

--"We make a living by what we get, but we make a life by what we give." (Churchill)

--America is great because America is good. If America ever ceases to be good, she will cease to be great (DeTocqueville).

FAMILY LANGUAGE

--marriage matters

(KIDS ON G.B.)

--out of the mouths of Babes: nine-year old Vance says "He is a good leader to have around in case some crazy guy attacks you." Eight year old Cassandra says: "George Bush is okay....for a boy." And Marina, all of twelve years old, says "I'm waiting to see what he does in the next seven years...then I'll make my decision." Well, Marina, I don't know what I'll be doing in the next seven years -- but I know what I'll be doing in the next four. \\\

*We cannot say that have a special place*

#### GOVT AND FAMILY:

--the last thing we need is the government as a babysitter  
--the hand that rocks the cradle

#### ABORTION

--My opponent is fond of saying: "We can't afford to waste a single American." Well, Governor, last year we wasted about 1.7 million Americans -- 1.7 million Americans deprived of their most basic right...their right to life.  
--what about those heartbeats, America?

#### WE'VE WON OUR BATTLES BUT HAVE YET TO WIN THE WAR:

--applies to childcare choice and school choice (childcare stage one -- school choice is stage two)

#### QUOTES:

--Tolstoy: "All happy families are alike, but an unhappy family is unhappy in its own way."

--Mormon quote about how "No success can overcome failure in the home."

--Santayana: "Family is one of nature's masterpieces."

--Father Hershburgh: "The most important thing a father can do for his children is to love their mother."

--MLK: "I don't know what the future holds, but I know who holds the future."

#### RACE RELATIONS

--for better or for worse...in sickness and in health...America is one family...One Nation Under God.

--"an America by the numbers only adds up short"

--"some bureaucrat's paint-by-number dream"

--"when you're in the trenches, you don't care what color your cover is. When you're on a mission, you don't ask your wingman how he prays."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

To: Ray Price  
From: Steve Provost  
Re: Acceptance Speech

Last week I promised you one folksy anecdote the President might use in dealing with the infamous tax issue in his acceptance speech. The anecdote is from an old episode of Andy Mayberry. Deputy Barney Fife asks Sheriff Andy why he has such good judgement. "Well," says Andy, "good judgement comes from experience." Barney then asks: "where does experience come from?" Andy replies, "bad judgement."

Well, I made on bad judgement in my first term, but like Sheriff Andy, I learned from the experience. (blah, blah, blah, blah)

Also, consider calling the other ticket -- "the Kareoke Kids" -- after the lip syncing craze that is currently sweeping middle-America. Finally, reporters continue to grab onto the -- "change is all you have left in your pocket" line.

Hope you are being left alone and that the sweet God of inspiration is being kind to you.

# SCULLY

- o I'm not much for words, and maybe that's a fault....
- o At times the Democratic convention seemed like an oratory contest, each speaker in his turn trying to get the crowd even more teary eyed. Well, that may make for good late-night television, but this election isn't a contest of words. It's a contest of principles, a clash of ideas, a test of character...
- o I go by the old definition of eloquence: "The truth spoken simply."
- o Words -- not even 58-minutes' worth -- won't put the unemployed back to work; won't...; won't...
- o Good populist quote: Someone once said that the average American is always slightly better than average...
- o ...And before this election is over, the American people will see my opponent for what he is: A big-talking, big-spending, big-taxing born-again family man. Slick, but no substance; all polish and no shoe.

## FOREIGN POLICY

o Suppose a candidate from either party had come before you in 1988 and vowed: "I promise before my term is out to help bring an end to the Cold War. Within the next four years, I promise the Berlin Wall will have fallen -- and with it the Warsaw Pact forces that have menaced Europe for three generations will have retreated and disappeared. The Soviet Union will crumble into dust, and in its place 16 [?] new democracies will struggle into life -- all in four years. I promise to eliminate 7,000 of our own most destructive nuclear missiles, and to persuade the new Russian republic to do the same....Oh yes, and if any middle-east dictator should rise up to threaten the world's newly won peace, I promise to rally all the western democracies in swift and massive retaliation, and drive the dictator back...

Well, of course, if anyone promised such things, he'd have been laughed out of the convention center. No one thought it possible -- I sure didn't. And yet all of it, and more, has come to pass.....

o Sometimes, looking back on the past four years, it seems as if we've all been party to a miracle. And maybe we have....No single politician can claim credit for it. It was not the work of presidents and prime ministers. Like most of history's real triumphs, it was the work of ordinary people

## THE ECONOMY

o In sum, our opponent's economic plan will cost 200 billion dollars in tax money over four years, billions more in new government regulation, as many as two million jobs, and our competitive edge in vital new technologies. I guess this is what he means by "Putting People First."

o Of all the thousands of federal programs in the budget, there's just one that Governor Clinton is on record as opposing - a \$10 million-a-year subsidy for honey producers. So, in answer to charges that he has no plan to reduce the deficit, this is the best our opponent can promise: a war on all those bees living the sweet life off the federal dole.

## FOREIGN POLICY

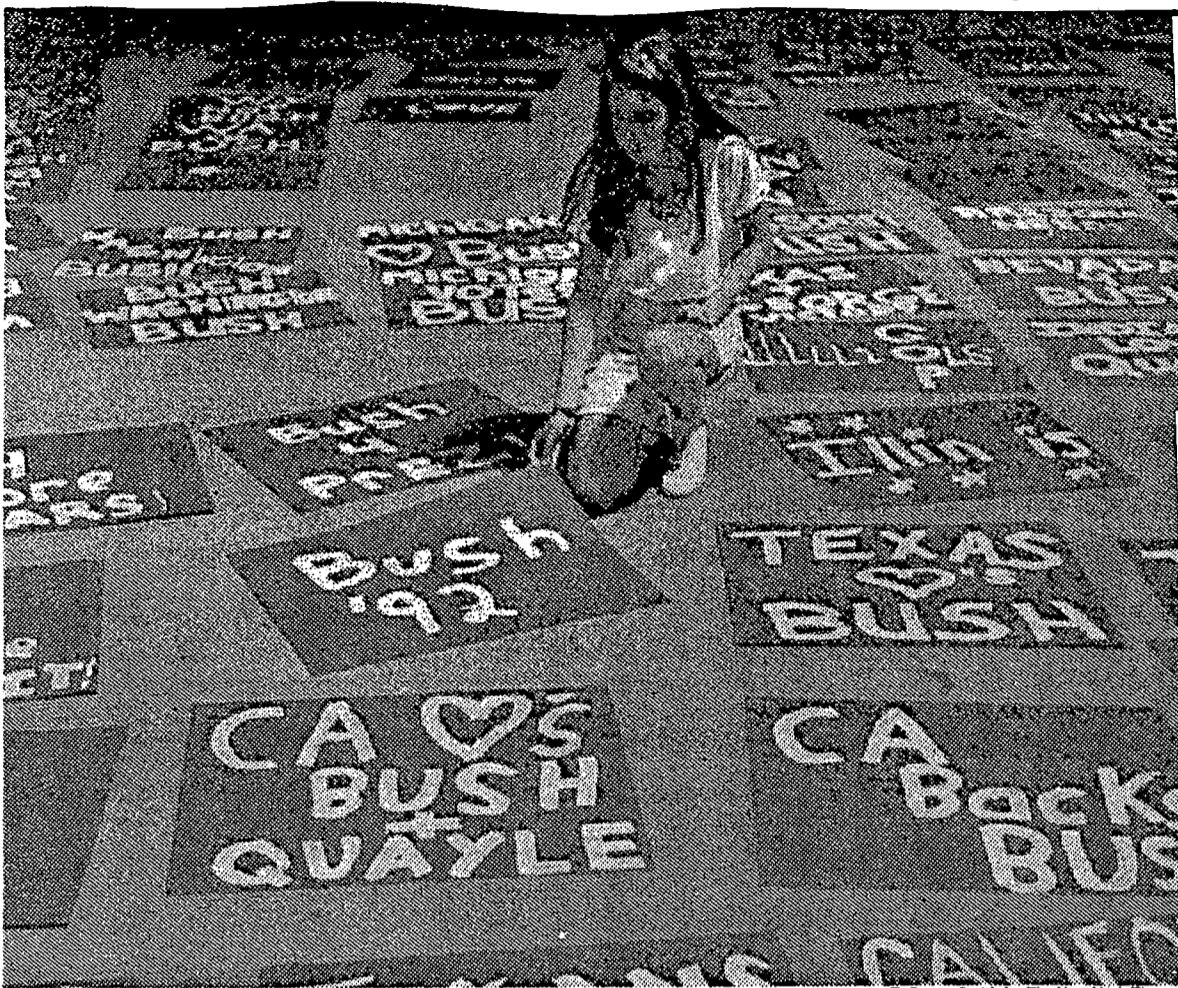
o Four years ago, Manuel Noriega was living the high-life off drugs that were killing Americans. Now he shares a modest home with fellow low-lives in a maximum security prison in Florida [?]. And Panamanians are living in a democracy for the first time in....

## PERSONAL

o I believe that public and private life are joined in a theme called character.

o "We make a living by what we get, but we make a life by what we give."

o ...I'm reminded of the old  
con man's advice to the new  
kid: "Son, when you're being  
run outta town, just get  
out in front & make it look  
like a parade."



F. Carter Smith for The New York Times

These Democrats want it so bad, they are lusting so bad, their bodies are twitching with wanting the White House."

Republicans close to Mr. Bush, who had begun to despair and panic, were thrilled and relieved in recent weeks to see him turn up the volume.

Representative Jerry Lewis of California, a longtime Bush supporter, recalled a recent meeting with Republican House members at the Capitol where the President waved his arm and pounded the podium so hard that one of his Presidential seal cuff links flew off and his loose cuff flapped around his wrist.

An elated Mr. Lewis picked it up off the floor after the meeting and plans to frame the fragment as a memento of the moment in 1992 when he saw the President engage in the battle.

Mr. Bush largely views his political plight as the fault of others: a public that does not appreciate his accomplishments in foreign affairs, a group of advisers who have given him bad advice, a press corps that favors Bill Clinton and a political landscape that is churning like the wild earth.

"He has a strong feeling that if any body goes from third place to a 30-point lead in one week, as Clinton did, there are anomalies built in there that we don't understand," said Marlin Fitzwater. "It's not real. He doesn't think 40 percent of the population changes its mind in four days."

His closest advisers paint a picture of a President who regrets that, again and again, he went against his own instincts and gave in to the advice of strategists: agreeing to raise taxes as part of the 1990 budget deal; agreeing to do nothing to revive the economy after his advisers told him last year that it would be a shallow recession

succumbing to his political team's panic after the upset of Dick Thornbury, the Republican candidate who lost Harris Wofford in the Pennsylvania Senate race in 1991, and allowing himself to be talked into recasting his trip to Japan in January into a domestic mission in search of "jobs, jobs, job

Part of the problem, the advisers say, is that Mr. Bush is bored by domestic affairs, and had always intended to maintain the status quo on the domestic side, doing only enough to develop a re-election agenda.

"He is less sure of himself on this so complicated as the budget agreement," said one member of Mr. Bush's inner circle.

But while all of Mr. Bush's boosters talk about how he has been ill served with bad advice, their explanations of the question: Why does he keep peering around him long after he has been helped by their advice, and why can't he simply follow his own best judgment, as he did during the Persian Gulf war? Bush is the President, after all.

His advisers say that the problem is that Mr. Bush hates dismissing people and hangs on too long, hoping

things will shake out. Long after of his advisers urged him to replace obstreperous chief of staff, Jonathan Sununu, Mr. Bush kept the man because he had been instrumental in helping him win the New Hampshire primary.

Once Samuel K. Skinner was in as chief of staff, Mr. Bush rejected early bad reviews on Mr. Skinner's performance because he could not believe he would have to get out of the White House so soon. Just so, he has refused to give in to conservative demands to remove Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady and his budget czar Charles G. Darman — even though his advisers say he feels that he is following their counsel on taxes and the economy.

"He gets weighted down by personal problems," Mr. Scowcroft says. "There's nothing he hates, it's what he's doing, recently. It just tears him apart to have people he likes to argue with each other, and to have staff members feel he has to change."

"Roosevelt said that a President to be something of a butcher," Mr. Scowcroft said. "That is not a role that

### Political Memo

## Weary and Feeling the Presidency's Weight

By MAUREEN DOWD  
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 15 — His aides see sometimes around his eyes, an expression of weariness that was not there before.

The Peter Pan President who seemed to grow younger and bouncier during his first years of his Administration has faced health problems and staff problems and political problems, and he has finally felt the weight of the office he once wore so lightly.

### Gleaming, for a Moment

When George Bush put his old Texas pal, James A. Baker 3d, in charge of the future this week, he recovered some of his gleam — at least momentarily. The President laughingly defended himself to his spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, for wearing white socks to a press conference with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel. He returned to his favorite rituals, poking fun at his straight man, Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, and trading spicy jokes with Mr. Baker.

"Obviously, a burden was lifted," Mr. Scowcroft said. "He seemed more lighthearted."

### Back Where He Started

And yet, when Mr. Bush came into the White House senior staff meeting on Thursday morning to make the announcement that Mr. Baker would again be his political alter ego, he looked more somber than excited.

The 68-year-old politician who rates handlers had stumbled so badly that he had to give himself up to handlers for another major resynthesizing job. He has to put up again with headlines that proclaim "Baker to the rescue." George Bush is, in many ways, right back where he was four years ago.

He must give the speech of his life

must defend his choice of Dan Quayle as Vice President. He must try to win over suspicious conservatives with the help of a prime-time blessing by Ronald Reagan. He had to plead with Mr. Baker, again, to rescue his chaotic campaign. And he has to begin explaining all over again who he is, what he stands for, and where he wants to take the country.

Now comes the test: Is the problem that the President has not been getting out an effective message, as Bush loyalists claim? Or is the problem the reality of Mr. Bush's record, as Clinton strategists argue?

The President's new masterminds will try to make the public forget the large chunks of the Bush Presidency that were static, muddled and inconsistent. Instead, they will once again portray Mr. Bush as a man with iron principles, staunch ideology and a coherent framework for governing the country.

Everyone knows it will not be easy. "George is kind of like Houdini at

the point," said the President's brother, Jonathan Bush, an investment banker who has come to the convention as a delegate from New York. "They've shackled him. They've locked the trunk. They've wrapped eight chains around the trunk and you think they have him in there for good. But he'll get out."

Despite Mr. Bush's odd passivity so far this year, his friends cling to their faith that Mr. Bush is at his most dangerous at just such moments, when he is trapped and starts fighting with the ferocity of the timid schoolboy cornered by the class bully.

"George Bush has an internal gyroscope system that has never failed him, at every point when he was underestimated by somebody," said Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, a Bush confidant. "I would hate to be in the fourth quarter of any contest, in the last hours of the day, if he were behind with a chance to prevail because he

from down deep in his gut and his eyes sparkle and he gets that smile on his face and here he comes."

After eight years sutured to President Reagan, Mr. Bush wanted to be himself, indulging his butterfly attention span and his patchwork political philosophy. The result was an "in-box" Presidency, taking problems as they came in, offering a series of results rather than a consistent program with a clear philosophy.

### 'It's Crazy Out There'

Those close to George Bush say that he has felt frustrated, angry and confused at the criticism he has received from all sides in the last few months. If many Americans are befuddled by the President's passivity on the domestic front, Mr. Bush is befuddled by what he sees as the fickleness of the public and the press, and the "screwy climate" in the country.

Jonathan Bush came to the airport to meet his brother when he came to New York recently for a campaign appearance and the President fretted, "It's crazy out there."

Upset by defections in his own party, the former Navy pilot urges audiences to be loyal by using the analogy of his wing man in World War II. Speaking to a group of House Republicans and a group of businessmen in recent private meetings, he said he was tired of Republicans "peeling off," and that this was a time to "stick," not "cut and run."

"When I was down in the water, the wing man was there to protect me, not to do something else," he chastised the Republican lawmakers.

The last year has represented a rejection that is very painful for a man who never took criticism easily and who, despite all his protestations that he pays no attention to polls, loved his high poll numbers.

Six months ago, he began telling friends that the race would be ugly and painful, and that he was not looking forward to it.

"He knew what was coming; he said, 'I'll be ready,'" Senator Simpson recalled. "I said, 'You're going to have to

#### Battling With His Health

On top of everything else, those close to the President believe that he has had mood changes as his doctor, Burton Lee, has tried to adjust the dosage on his medication for a thyroid problem.

In the last year, since doctors discovered the thyroid problem, he has complained from time to time that he is tired, which he never did before. And friends and aides have noticed that on occasion he does not have as much energy and that his eyes lose their shine.

Although there has been much speculation that the President was sick or sulking, given his sluggish reaction to months of Democratic and Republican broadsides, those who know him well are not surprised that he only recently seemed to come alive in the race. Mr. Bush firmly believes that no one tunes in to a campaign until the fall.

The late John G. Tower, the Texas lawmaker who watched Mr. Bush from the beginning of his political career, used to explain his friend this way: "George Bush is only good if he can go into the fourth quarter with two minutes left and kick the winning field goal or catch the final pass."

#### Repairing a 'Hideous Mosaic'

Senior Bush advisers say that they need to completely reconstruct the President's image and the Reagan coalition during next week's convention and the fall campaign so that it is no longer, as one Bush associate calls it, "a hideous mosaic that leaves all constituencies dissatisfied."

"We literally have to do in three and half months what the White House

should have done in three and a half years," said one top adviser.

The President's son and political adviser, George W. Bush, said that he and his father believe that Mr. Clinton has too little stature and too much baggage to prevail in the end. "Clinton came out of the gate at 100 miles an hour but he's got a long way to go and he's out of breath," said the Texas businessman, who has backed his father's stubborn insistence on waiting until the convention to begin fighting back or explaining his agenda for the country.

Echoing his parents' view, the younger Bush complains that Mr. Clinton is being "coddled" by reporters.

Senator Simpson agreed, saying that baby boomer reporters are giving the baby boomer ticket a free ride. "Bill

### Fighting health problems, staff problems and political problems.

Clinton and Al Gore speak in a kind of code that appeals to people their age, stuff about Elvis and the kind of music they play," he said. "The code is designed to throw off some of the old goats."

And Marlin Fitzwater, the President's press secretary, sat at his desk

one day last week comparing news magazine coverage of Mr. Bush and the Democrats and complaining: "The incredible thing is after four years the media is not willing to give the President credit for anything. It's just like it was four years ago."

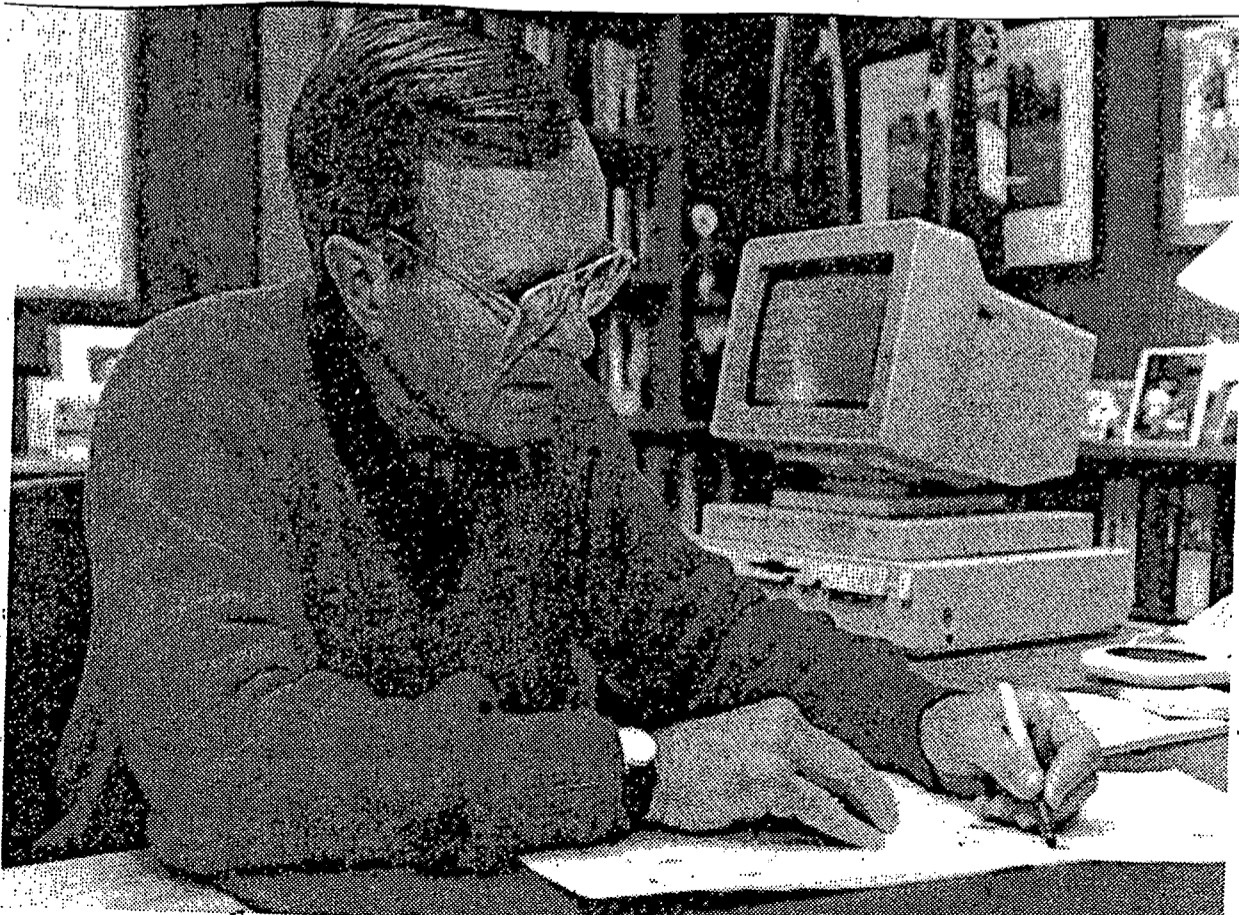
But Mr. Bush is not panicking about his re-election, those close to him agree. Even through a dark period of calls for abdication from some in his own party, a demoralized staff and chilling poll numbers, the President has remained confident that Americans are "fair," as he puts it, and that they will eventually come back around to his view: That he has been a good President who deserves a second term.

"He has taken all this with relative equanimity in this sense: When the polls were up at 65 and 70 percent he told everybody else and kept telling himself that it isn't going to last," Mr. Scowcroft said. "When it didn't, I think he was not so crestfallen as he might otherwise have been. But the long honeymoon he got also gave him the feeling that fundamentally the American people responded to him and liked him, therefore his troubles were recoverable."

#### Political Memo

## Weary and Feeling the Presidency's Weight,

## Bush Submits to New Handlers



President Bush working on his acceptance speech Friday at Camp David, Md.

Associated Press

E X E C U T I V E   O F F I C E   O F   T H E   P R E S I D E

20-Aug-1992 10:18am

TO:           Jennifer A. Grossman

FROM:          Edward J. Walters  
              Office of Communications

SUBJECT:      How's this?

This election is about change -- which suits me fine. Change is what Ronald Reagan and I have been fighting for as President. And not just change for its own sake, but change for the better.

In 1980, inflation was over twenty percent and growing; today it's just over three percent and falling. That is change, and we must never go back.

When you first elected Ronald Reagan and me, America was lagging behind in a nuclear arms race and bullied by terrorists. Today, there is no question that we are the strongest nation on Earth. We are safe again, and that peace is priceless. That is change, and we must never go back.

Ronald Reagan and I have fought to make government smaller and put it back in the hands of the people. We have stopped the Congress from taking more of your government from you. That is change, and America will never go back.

But our change is not complete, and we must ensure that change is guided by the principles that never change -- the fixed stars that I once called a thousand points of light.

Contrary to what all the news media has been reporting, the final outcome of a Presidential election is not decided at the convention. The way I see it, and the way the country sees it, over the next three months, America will be interviewing me for the job of President of the United States.

Each and every one of you has interviewed for a job, or interviewed someone for a job. You know that in an interview, you talk about your past work experience and how it improved the company. You also emphasize how you think your experience could make the place where you're interviewing more productive and efficient.

Everyone knows: The last thing you'd want to do in an interview is say, "Your company's best days are over... furthermore, your company is the laughing stock of the industry... and your employees -- why, they can't do anything on their own initiative... they need constant supervision!

Well, my friends, that's what my opponent has been doing in his job interview with the people of America. Bill Clinton says we are the laughing stock of the world. He says our country's best days are behind us. He calls for the largest tax increase in history and the smallest spending cut in history. He wants the government to tell you when you can see a doctor and who that doctor will be. He wants the government to tell you that you will send your children wherever the government tells you for day care. He wants the government to run your lives. He wants you to think you can't do anything without the government.

I've got news for you, Mr. Clinton. There is no finer bunch than the American people. We are the world's most productive work force, we have the largest most robust economy, and we have the freedom and spirit that countries around the world are learning and sharing. If you think for one moment that the American people are going to let you do to America what you've done for Arkansas, guess again.

[[Go on to say why GB is the best candidate for the job...]]

TEXAS/VALUES:

MC GROARTY

AUG. 5, 1992

....For Barbara and me, this night has special meaning. This is our last time around the track. It's good to come home to Texas -- come home, to where it all began.

Now I know, some people say I was born to privilege. I've never understood that. I never said I was born a Texan. //

I remember travelling to towns like Wink and Kermit and Crane. Towns where parents worried and watched when a kid crossed the street ... towns that sent their kids halfway around the world to fight in [Korea] and Da Nang and Desert Storm. //

Barbara and I settled in to the rythms of West Texas. Friday night football ... Saturday picnics ... and the Sunday sermon. We raised a family ... built a business ... made friends. We shared the small triumphs -- we shared the grief -- that never goes away. Lived life -- as the author says -- its own self. //

We worked hard -- Texans always work hard. We always managed -- as Texans always do -- to find a minute or two under a shade tree. Not to rest, just to plan.

And when the work was done, we sat around the table late at night ... and we talked. We talked about report cards and schoolyard fights. About small things ... about big dreams. //

The lessons I learned here ... are the ones I live by now.

No, I wasn't born here in Texas. But in Texas ... I came of age.

22 AUG 5 5 43 PM '92

DEFENSE/FOREIGN POLICY:

DRAFT LANGUAGE ON S.D.I.

MC GROARTY

AUG. 5, 1992

....Let the other side put their faith in a 20-year old treaty that technology has passed by -- with a country that no longer exists.

Let the other side explain to the American people why shooting a bullet with a bullet is provocative / why defense is dangerous -- why we're safer when we're utterly defenseless against a renegade ruler armed with a single ballistic missile.

Let the other side explain why they've cast vote after vote to deny this Nation the technology -- defensive technology -- that will give us security against nuclear attack.

When they say: "we're better off defenseless," I say: Remember the lessons of Desert Storm. When the Scuds came raining down, thank God our troops didn't have to rely on some abstract theory of deterrence. Thank God we had the technology to shoot those Scuds out of the sky.

Tonight, I make this pledge: If we wish to make good on all we've done these first four years to reduce the threat of nuclear war -- we must use the next four years to build a defense against the weapons that remain. For the sake of ourselves and our children, we will deploy S.D.I. //

# # #

07:54 5 AUG 26

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE PROVOST  
RAYMOND PRICE  
JENNIFER GROSSMAN

FROM: ED WALTERS

SUBJECT: NOMINATION SPEECH

I have attached my musings about the nomination speech and some language I like. Good luck with your work, and I hope the President knocks this speech out of the park.

In 1980, this great nation could not have been more miserable. Inflation was high, confidence was low. Americans were being held abroad in Iran. The same tired government programs had failed, and American bureaucracy was at an all-time high. Even Jimmy Carter realized the nation was in a malaise. Americans wanted a change.

When Ronald Reagan and I came into office, Americans faced a suffocating fear of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union. We had limped through four years of a pacifist commander in chief who was not up to the task of challenging communism -- even a small nation in the Middle East was kicking us around.

*click*  
The Berlin Wall stood as a physical monument to the tension between two ideologies, and the dark clouds of communism hung over the world like Damocles' sword. In Afghanistan, in Nicaragua, in Angola, in Asia, capitalism and democracy were on the way out; freedom was at its lowest ebb.

Americans were unsure about the future; the people mandated change. Democrats and Republicans alike elected Ronald Reagan, and they elected me to make that change. What a difference 12 years can make. Ronald Reagan began the revolution that I continue today -- we changed the world. Instead of cowering when challenged by dictators, we faced them down, and we won. Hostages came home worldwide as we showed that there was a new sheriff in the town.

*In the  
struggle,  
he fell.*  
We stood toe-to-toe with imperial communism in the once Soviet Union. Eyeball to eyeball for nine years, the other guy blinked. In 1991, he fell. The arms race cost us, and we had to go into substantial debt to win, but the investment is worth the dividend, and the peace is priceless -- the world is safer now than it has ever been since World War II.

While we have won almost every battle of the revolution, the victory is soured because partisanship has blocked the triumph at home. The people spoke in a broad mandate for change right here in America, and they are understandably frustrated, because they did not get it. But they will. Because I finish what I start. I began this revolution 12 years ago, and I will finish it if you give me four more years.

*✓ →*  
Since 1980, I have stood for this change, and you know which party stood in the way. I fought for low taxes, low interest rates, decreases in wasteful federal spending, curbs on pork, smaller bureaucracy, less regulation, and a balanced budget amendment. That's what the Revolution was about. I put these programs and others before Congress, but they didn't even have the courage to bring most of them to a vote.

*next time →*  
Democrats in Congress blocked the kind of bold initiatives I have asked for: they didn't fund my Education reform package, preferring full stop to Head Start; they blocked my growth agenda, preferring gridlock to growth; they lit up my urban aid package for riot-torn Los Angeles and other cities like a Christmas tree,

decorating it with pork instead of progress.

Congress has been a dragging anchor on this ship of state for 34 years. But this year, we're throwing out the deadwood in Congress. It's time to hoist anchor. In this race, you either lead, follow, or get out of the way. Congress, tonight I ask you to step aside.

Americans have told me that they want the same kind of force and determination on the domestic front that I mobilized as commander-in-chief in kicking Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. They voted for that kind of action in 1980, in 1984, and in 1988.

Tonight, they will get it.

Because tonight I proclaim the beginning of a new domestic order, the final stage of the Reagan Revolution. Beginning tomorrow, I will prudently use the powers of the Presidency, in accordance with the Constitution, to renew America.

Every day, for the next two weeks, I will issue an executive order to bring about the change -- if Congress wants to stay behind, we will let them, because we don't need them. When Americans need help, far be it from the President to let Congress stand in the way. . .

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	RE: Executive orders. (1 pp.)	n.d.	<del>P-5</del>	

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File, Backup  
**Subseries:**  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** [Republican National Convention] Acceptance Speech 8/20/92 [1]

**Open on Expiration of PRA  
(Document Follows)**  
By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

<b>Date Closed:</b> 12/2/2004 <b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> <b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2004-2265-S <b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 07578
<b>MR Case #:</b> <b>MR Disposition:</b> <b>Disposition Date:</b>	<b>Appeal Case #:</b> <b>Appeal Disposition:</b> <b>Disposition Date:</b>

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

This executive order idea has been floating in White House circles for a while, and was most recently suggested by Rich Bond at breakfast a week ago. I'm sure OMB could find 14 great programs they've been wanting to do, but have never been able to assert the power -- for them, it would be like the 14 days of Christmas.

Further, this is truly revolutionary -- it's never been done. It appeals to conservatives (provided we don't do anything Constitutionally suspect), and it will top the news every day. It also lends itself to some great signing events across the country.

This would set the stage for the rest of the campaign, it will excite the American people, interest the press, and piss off Bill Clinton. Here's a few ideas of what I have in mind (although OMB I'm sure can be infinitely more creative):

- Day 1: Indexing capital gains tax
  - Day 2: Mobilize U.S. military forces to help rebuild L.A.
  - Day 3: Target money and assets from drug lords to fighting crime
  - Day 4: More budget recisions (i.e. prickly pear research, cow flatulation grants, etc.)
  - Day 5: End federal prison furloughs
  - Day 6: Kill some needless health care regulation
  - Day 7: Open enterprize zones
- etc.

. . .

(Perhaps if we're feeling particularly gutsy, on Day 14, we could assert that the President under the Constitution has the line-item veto, and start to use it.)

FROM A BOOK CALLED REPRESENTING AMERICA.  
DIFFERENT CHAPTERS FROM DIFFERENT US UN  
AMBASSADORS

**GEORGE BUSH** Permanent Representative and Chief of the U.S.  
Mission to the United Nations, 1971-72.

*During my early days in politics, I was highly critical of the UN. I felt it was falling short of its promise from the late '40s. I saw it become increasingly unable to be useful in its peacekeeping roles. After I served there, my view changed. I felt that the UN was particularly helpful in the economic and social areas [ECOSOC]. I favored certain of the multilateral efforts in the health field, food field, population field, etc. Sometimes it is much better to use multilateral diplomacy and I saw that clearly after being at the UN.*

A former oil-industry executive and Texas Republican congressman, George Herbert Walker Bush was named U.S. representative to the United Nations by President Nixon in 1971. Bush cofounded and developed the Zapata Offshore Company (1956-64), and later advanced to chairman (1964-66). Convinced that businessmen "ought to take an interest in politics," Bush was active in Republican politics in the Houston area. From 1967 to 1970 he served in the U.S. House of Representatives. After losing a Senate race in 1970, Bush was appointed to the UN post. His informal, energetic style, amiable personality, and access to President Nixon won him the respect of fellow delegates. In 1971 Bush advocated the Nixon administration's two-China policy—a compromise under which the United States would support the admission of Communist China while calling for the continued membership of Taiwan. Although Bush tried to win sufficient support for the compromise, the assembly voted to expel Taiwan.

In 1972 he left the United Nations to become chairman of the Republican National Committee; in 1974 President Ford named him head of the U.S. Liaison Office in China. Two years later, he became director of the Central Intelligence Agency, where he instituted structural and procedural reforms. Considered a potential running mate for Nixon and later for Ford, Bush decided to wage his own presidential campaign for 1980. He then became Ronald Reagan's vice-presidential nominee on the Republicans' successful ticket against Carter and Mondale. **AND THEN...**

I felt [after serving there] that the UN was an extremely useful place at which to conduct bilateral diplomacy. It's a fantastic place for meeting future world leaders—getting to know them on a friendship basis. As vice president, I continually run into people from all over the world with whom I served at the United Nations.

It also found the UN to be frustrating in some ways—the attacks on the United States, and so on. The UN passed a lot of irrelevant

mission was one of the great  
forget my French colleague,  
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ot of ordinary people. It was  
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You can say  
that again!

resolutions, and I think that diminished its effectiveness. There's an awful lot of rhetorical overkill at the UN. In the General Assembly, the debates were often not real debates, [with] no real give and take, as in giving a speech and [having] someone exercising a right to reply, for example. But it still was a worthwhile forum in which to vent one's frustrations or one's desires or one's goals.

In securing support of U.S. policies, our home mission worked the diplomatic circuit very, very hard. We had excellent political officers, we contacted everyone—no mission was too small. I, as ambassador, would not hesitate to go to a small African country's representative. The UN job is much more than making speeches and posturing. To be really effective in terms of securing votes, you have to get out and work at it. I liked that part of the job; I liked the politics of the UN.

In terms of cooperation or disagreement with the Western allies, generally speaking, we had very close relations and stayed together on most of the important questions. There were of course exceptions. As for the Soviet Union, we had many differences, and they're on the record. I got along with Ambassador Malik of the Soviet Union and made it a point to work with him. But our differences were pronounced on most political issues.

As to the Group of 77, I became frustrated at group positions that I knew individual members did not support. But again, we had to work on various questions to get the support of different members in the group.

As to the tenor of the times, the biggest questions in the political field were the India/Pakistan War, the Taiwan question—entry of China into the United Nations—and certain events in the Middle East. The principal challenge did relate to the Chinese-representation question. Ours was not a two-China proposal in the technicalities of the proposal. There was a dual-representation proposal which was termed "two Chinas" by some. There is a distinction, given the fact that both Taiwan and Peking consider that there is one China. Given the new U.S. opening to China at the time of the UN debate, it was extraordinarily difficult to keep out votes—votes that had been committed to the dual-representation position. The issue was extraordinarily emotional, but when it was over, the United States properly shifted gears and, in the UN context, dealt with the realities at hand.

In terms of tilting toward Pakistan, the U.S. position is on the record there at the UN. We used our best efforts to try to help stop

the war between India and  
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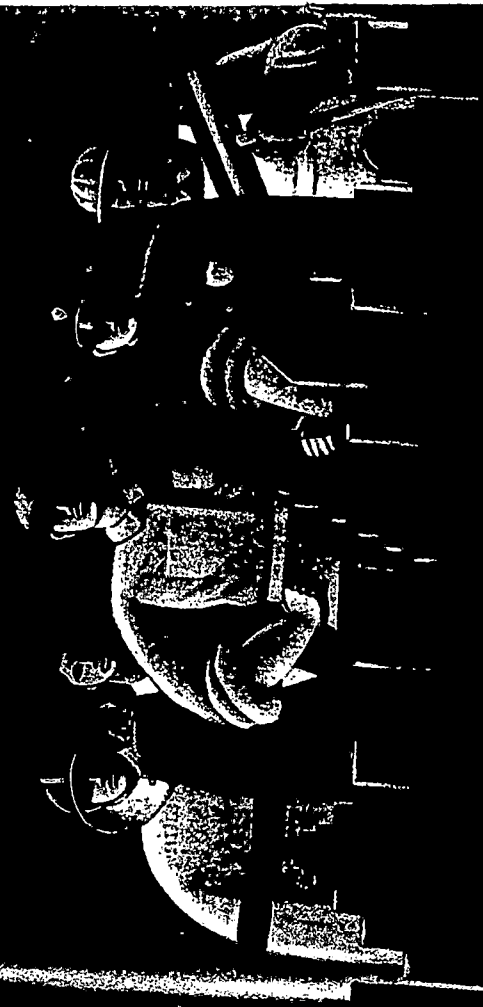
the war between India and Pakistan. But most of the bilateral diplo-  
macy on that one was conducted by Dr. Kissinger in Washington.

I believe strongly in personal relationships in bilateral diplomacy  
or multilateral diplomacy. I think the United States should not be  
above going to the smaller embassies, meeting with the ambassadors  
from smaller countries, working with the regional groups, etc. Some  
countries' representatives at the UN have considerable flexibility in  
their positions, and if you have a personal relationship, you find you  
can get the benefit of the doubt on certain issues. It's not always true,  
of course, and it's certainly not true with the big powers. But it does  
work, and in addition, it is important that the human side of the  
United States is seen through the eyes of diplomats from other coun-  
tries. I am not naive enough, however, to believe that people would  
change their fundamental convictions based on personal relationships.

For the permanent rep, access to the White House is important.  
It's the perception more than the reality, in my view. The relation-  
ship between the U.S. perm rep and the secretary general of the UN  
is an important component. I had many meetings with Secretary  
General U Thant and Secretary General Waldheim. These relation-  
ships do matter a great deal. Word spreads through the UN if there is  
friction or if there is indeed compatibility. The relations with the  
secretary of state are of course important. The UN ambassador gets  
his instructions through the secretary of state, or as the president  
shall decree. And thus both the access to the White House and rela-  
tions with the secretary of state are important. It's not always easy—  
sometimes conflicting signals come forth, and it is then that the perm  
rep to the UN does a balancing act.

[ The UN's greatest strength lies in the economic and social objec-  
tives, and its greatest weakness lies in its inability to bring instant  
peace to troubled situations—particularly when the larger powers  
are involved. ]

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**Public-employee unions have  
brought a great American city to its knees.  
Could it happen where you live?**

## **How Unions Stole the Big Apple**

BY RACHEL FLICK

**W**HEN PRINCIPAL Perry Sandler of New York City's Intermediate School 145 learned that custodian Al DeCiantis would be assigned to his school, he called DeCiantis's former school. The other principal could not have been happier that the man was leaving. DeCiantis, Sandler would find out, "goes by the contract"—the four words that strike dread in the heart of every New

York public-school principal. The custodians' work rules—thanks to Local 891 of the International Union of Operating Engineers—require DeCiantis to sweep only every other day and to mop only three times a year. Cafeteria floors must be mopped just once a week, even though the cafeteria at I.S. 145 handles five lunch shifts a day and serves as a classroom after that. In those classes, says Sandler, "the kids

ILLUSTRATION: FERRY WIDEBERER

pretty much learn around filth." In the rest of the school, squads of students and teachers pick up trash the custodian won't.

For work like this, New York's school custodians average \$57,000 per year. With part-time contracts at other public schools, some boost their salaries as high as \$80,000 and pad them with taxpayer-subsidized equipment—from weed-cutters to Jeeps—that after five years is theirs to keep.

Custodians are not the only New York City employees whose union-negotiated contracts beggar and infuriate taxpayers. By 1990, there were 353,000 people, from police officers to teachers, on the city payroll. Their collectively bargained labor contracts cost the city \$13.3 billion a year. That's bigger than the budgets of 47 states.

By May 1990, a \$3.5-billion budget deficit threatened the city with bankruptcy. Yet even in this emergency, public-employee unions resisted efficiencies, refusing—in the words of Teamster leader Barry Feinstein—"to be cowed by the fiscal crisis." The bottom line as one city manager sees it: "The unions have a stranglehold on New York."

How have public-employee unions brought one of America's great cities to its knees?

1. *Contracts that guarantee bloat.* According to the independent Citizens Budget Commission, in 1989 New York was forced to employ nearly 40 percent more workers

per capita than other large cities to do the same work.

Ten years ago, for example, three men rode on New York City's garbage trucks. Two could do the job, and eliminating the third would save \$30 million a year. But the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association was opposed. To bring the union around, New York made a deal that plagues it to this day.

The city promised to kick back 25 percent of the savings from two-man trucks to the remaining workers. Today, those bonuses cost taxpayers \$16.5 million per year. And New York promised that it would not reduce the number of garbage trucks it sent out each day unless the union agreed.

In 1986, New York added recycling trucks to its sanitation force. Because the union would not agree to the number of regular trucks being cut back, many sanitation routes became substantially lighter and briefer. Today many \$40,000-a-year sanitation workers finish their work in as little as four hours and spend the rest of their salaried day lifting weights and relaxing.

2. *Maximum time off.* The average New York City employee works considerably less time than his private-sector counterpart. An entry-level worker gets three weeks of paid vacation his first year on the job. That's on top of 12 days' sick leave and 12 holidays. Most private-sector workers get only seven to nine holidays. After 15 years, city

employees get a total of 51 days off. Yet giving every employee just one day off costs taxpayers \$4.2 million.

New York City teachers have even more generous schedules. And because the school day is short, an estimated 40 percent have second jobs.

Alexander Levy began teaching English in New York City's public schools in 1963. His salary when he retired this year was \$52,750. For this he worked 180 days a year, six hours and 20 minutes per day, including lunch and preparatory periods. This schedule left him time for second jobs in the afternoons and summers.

In 1978 Levy took a year's sabbatical to work on his doctorate. In 1983 he took a second sabbatical to travel the country developing a private student-counseling business that he ran while still teaching. Through both sabbaticals, the city continued to pay Levy 60 to 70 percent of his salary.

Levy took a retirement incentive that gave him pension credit for three more years of work than he had put in. As a retiree, he is thus entitled to \$40,800 a year. For life. He is 55.

3. *Resisting discipline.* In 1989, the United Parcel Service complained to New York City's Department of Investigation (DOI) that its trucks were getting billed for parking tickets they never received. In an undercover investigation, the DOI observed traffic-en-

forcement agents writing phantom tickets while they loitered in restaurants or browsed through luxury stores.

How could city employees have ignored their duties so brazenly? For one thing, those in charge of watching the traffic agents are members of the same union. Not surprisingly, investigators found that the traffic agents' supervisors made "infrequent and ineffectual field visits." What's more, even to reprimand a worker, an agency must serve him with written charges. The employee is entitled to a hearing, to representation by his union or a lawyer and to call witnesses in his behalf.

4. *Protecting their turf.* Unionized city employees don't just object to private competition—they fight it. Last June the Astoria Pool, a public swimming pool in the borough of Queens, was getting a badly needed coat of paint from the mayor's City Volunteer Corps. The CVC organizes teenagers, many of them school dropouts, to work on city projects for carfare, lunch money and work experience.

But before the CVC could finish the pool, Al Carrozza, president of Local 1969 of the Civil Service Painters' Union, appeared on the scene and told the youths that the work they were doing was dangerous and illegal. The volunteers "stopped right away," says John Ciaffone, assistant commissioner of the Parks Department. The job

then had to be finished by unionized employees.

Unions do not shy from strong-arm tactics. Last August, the New York City Transit Authority was ordered to pay \$1 million in damages because its unionized members had harassed a private van service that competed with public transportation. The service's "crime": vans that offered bathrooms, TVs and phones, carrying 800 commuters a day for a lower fare than city buses.

**5. Illegal strikes.** Walkouts by public employees are unlawful, but they happen and are so disruptive that the mere threat of one can frighten city officials into costly concessions.

On August 13, 1990, members of the Corrections Officers Benevolent Association went on strike and blockaded the bridge leading to the city's nine-jail complex on Rikers Island. The union blockade snarled traffic for miles and trapped health and corrections officers on duty inside the jails. On its second day, inmates and guards clashed, and blood was shed.

Mayor Dinkins was furious at what "sure in blazes" looked like a violation of the law against strikes. Nevertheless, he swiftly compromised with the union, and the walkout and blockade ended. Police were never called, and the no-strike law was never invoked.

Other unions observed this outcome with interest. Just under two months later, on October 1, the

teachers' contract was due to expire. The mayor, already fearing a recession, had pledged no wage increases above 1.5 percent. But United Federation of Teachers president Sandra Feldman threatened to strike. Again Dinkins yielded, granting the 85,000 UFT employees a 5.5-percent pay hike. Soon Dinkins found it impossible to deny to other unions what he had given the teachers. Last January Dinkins granted the Teamsters and District Council 37 a wage and benefit hike of five percent over 15 months.

Those agreements were reached with unions that helped elect and can certainly help defeat the mayor. "Mr. Mayor, Labor Put You In" a union protester's sign warned Dinkins outside City Hall last June. "Labor Can Put You Out."

When the city and its unions strike such deals, the taxpayer is forced to pick up the bill. Last year, New Yorkers experienced the highest single-year tax hike in city history. Even New York Governor Mario Cuomo, a longtime union friend, is growing impatient. Writing in the *New York Times*, Cuomo protested that wage hikes planned for public employees would come out of the hides of "poor and working-class people."

Union leaders say they want to pay for wage hikes by raising taxes on "the rich." But the wealthiest seven percent already pay 50 percent of the city's personal income taxes. In July, *New York Times*

columnist A. M. Rosenthal warned that if extorted further, the affluent would flee New York, taking their taxable dollars with them. "Expecting them to go on paying ever more to live in a smelly, dangerous city that gives them ever less is not boosterism," he wrote. "It's arrogance."

New York taxpayers may finally have reached their limit. "Put succinctly," says Allen J. Proctor, executive director of the State Financial Control Board, "New York's economy cannot generate enough tax revenues to pay for its current mix of city services."

TWENTY-SIX STATES, the District of Columbia and thousands of localities have passed collective-bargaining laws enabling their employees to organize. As labor's influence in the private sector has eroded, it has thrown its money and manpower into recruiting public employees. By 1990, 36.5 percent of public-sector workers carried union cards, compared with just 12 percent in the private sector. Since 1983, membership in public-employee unions has climbed more than 13 percent, to nearly 6.5 million.

Many American cities, New York among them, have learned the basic difference between unionizing a public versus a private work force. If a private-sector manager negotiates too generous a contract with his employees, a more efficient competitor will put him out of business. The government has no

competitors, and public-employee unions know that—and business and individual taxpayers are stuck with the tab.

No American city is as tightly controlled by its unionized work force as New York. But as employee unions gain strength in other cities, their members' political clout will grow with them, putting those cities at risk of the tragic financial decisions New York has made. That's why many forward-looking localities are moving to transfer a broad range of public services to private contractors.

A survey of 82 cities in 34 states found that each city had privatized something. Ninety-seven percent were happy they had done so; 100 percent had saved money—an average of about 25 percent; and 45 percent said the work done by contractors was better.

Phoenix privatized trash collection as early as 1978. Its own Sanitation Department bid for the work alongside the independents. At first, the department lost the right to collect trash in fully half the city. But by 1987 it had beaten the contractors at the efficiency game. By then, the city had saved \$16.2 million.

In 1989 Chicago privatized the towing of abandoned cars. As a result, says Mayor Richard M. Daley, "a service that cost Chicago millions has netted more than \$1.2 million over the last year." In 1990 Daley privatized parking-ticket collections and gained taxpayers

READER'S DIGEST

\$12 million. Chicago has also successfully privatized some drug-abuse treatment and janitorial services.

Last July Mayor Dinkins suggested for the first time that some privatization might make sense for New York City. The American

Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees promptly attacked the idea, but the battle has been joined. If real reform emerges from the fray, the city's economic crisis may have provided a valuable lesson to all America.

Reprints of this article are available. See page 196.



**Kinship**

ONE AUTUMN I walked with Alex Haley, the author of *Roots*, across a narrow mountain hollow outside of Knoxville, Tenn. Five or six thousand people had gathered at the Museum of Appalachia to hear bluegrass music and shop at booths displaying country crafts. Every four or five steps across the meadow, someone would come up to greet him, touch him, ask to have a picture taken with him. The people were predominantly white, rural folk, yet they seemed to see in Haley not celebrity, but kinship; someone rooted in the same river bottoms and rocky ridges as they. He is family.

Haley clearly likes people. In his soft, lilting voice he asks a little girl what she wants to be when she grows up. He gets two college students to tell him about their studies. An ancient man with a battered violin puts his arm around Alex and they talk about fiddle music. It takes us 30 minutes to walk 50 yards from his car to the barn-sided bandstand, from which a rush of music—guitars, gut buckets, and mountain dulcimers—spills like bright water out of a rock.

Haley literally collects a crowd. Those he spontaneously takes a liking to he invites to dinner at his farm that night. His relaxed and flexible house-

keeper finds a way to stretch the creamed corn and ham and biscuits for the 30 people who have gathered outside on the lawn where dinner is served. I sit with a young black family from Nashville. The woman is a news anchor on a TV station there; her husband, a telephone-company executive. While their six-year-old son says grace, they bow their heads—and so do I. There is a young writer whom Alex has invited to meet an editor from New York. There are people from a Washington public-relations firm and some local folks, including a hill-country actor, whom Alex met just that afternoon at the fair, who is regionally famous for playing an affable, tipsy moonshiner. All these strangers eat together under a low, misty moon on one long, wooden table.

After dinner we walk to a gravel pit near the lake, where one of the farmhands has started a bonfire of railroad ties. Before long someone asks where Alex is. His secretary mentions that he left a little while ago to go to his office in town to write.

Now that he has brought us together, he allows the night, the chill air and crackling fire to make us family.

—Gary Allen Sledge

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Perhaps it's a weakness, but I think that Saturday Night Live is one of the best barometers of pop culture:

NOT!

da Bears. da Bulls. Ditka.

Dana Carvey as George Bush (Not gonna do it. Wouldn't be prudent.)

Commercials:

Like Mike, try to be like Mike. (Gatorade)  
Who is the world's greatest athlete? Dan. Dave.  
Larry Johnson's Gran-mama

What's in:

Frozen yogurt (fro-yo)  
Retro anything (from classic rock to classic bubble gum)  
Diners  
the Dream Team  
nines (.9 caliber pistols - new weapon of choice on the street)

People:

Claudia Schiffer  
Clint Eastwood  
Annette Benning and Mr. Benning  
Demi Moore (again)  
Madonna  
Arnold Schwarzenegger (still)  
Kris-Kross  
I hate to say it, but Arsenio, Dennis Miller, and Jay Leno  
Mike Meyers and Dana Carvey  
Jim Courier  
Jimmy Connors and John McEnroe (again)  
Andre Agassi  
Summer Sanders  
Dan O'Brien and Dave Johnson

*No way way*

*"Sometimes I dream that his  
me ..."*

*I try to be like*

*Mike*

*... like Mike ...*

*I wanna*

*be like*

*Mike.*

# Three Choices for President Bush

## Define the Second Administration

By ROBERT L. BARTLEY

With the Republican convention two weeks away, President Bush is no doubt working on his acceptance speech. "Four more years" is probably not the theme. He seems to be toying with "trust," reminiscent of, "This election is not about ideology. It's about competence." Our contributing editor Mark Helprin suggests a stylish diversion into French, *apres moi, le deluge*.

"Does Bush really want to win?" my 15-year-old daughter asked at the dinner table the other night, a question based on an understanding not of politics but of body language. The Bush passiveness in the inter-convention period repeats the Dukakis mistake of four years ago. Bill Clinton defined himself with a Middle American bus tour, then bid to define his opponent on a visit to the New Orleans Superdome. The news stories on the Republican side have been "dump Quayle?" followed inevitably by "dump Bush?" The president, in short, is on the floor. To recover, he has to use his convention, and his power as president, to define himself, to show that he stands for something.

\* \* \*

I hear you, his acceptance speech ought to declare. You are tired of business as usual in Washington, and frankly, so am I. While the American people have been working harder than ever, and American businesses have been taking a lot of painful steps to get more efficient, our government just lumbers along. It never admits a mistake, never corrects a wrong direction, never ends a failing program. It only gets bigger and bigger, demanding more and more of your hard-earned money while many of our public services deteriorate.

I hear you, too, when you say I have been part of the problem. I understand that I have been too willing to compromise, that the American people are demanding bolder leadership. I only ask that the people understand that the task they assigned me four years ago is a frustrating one. The president carries a heavy load of responsibility but has only limited authority. Since the voters gave me a Congress run by my opponents, I assumed that they expected compromise, wanted me to compromise.

Now we are all tired of deadlock and drift in Washington. I hope that the voters will not only re-elect me, but this time give me a Congress that agrees with the direction in which I have been trying to take the

nation. But with political action committees contributing almost solely to incumbents, bloated franking privileges and gerrymandering across the nation, perhaps the voters will not be able to change the Congress. In that case, I vow tonight, my policy will be not to compromise with the Congress but to confront it.

As a token of my seriousness, I announce tonight that I am vetoing the legislative appropriation. If the congressional leaders want money to spend on their own perks, they will have to negotiate with me about the kind of powers and

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*The president, in short, is on the floor. To recover, he has to use his convention, and his power as president, to define himself, to show that he stands for something.*

---

cooperation I need to accomplish what the people are asking me to do. If we are to build a government that works, we need to bring to a head and settle many issues of authority and responsibility.

In making this promise tonight, I know that I have not been able to fulfill all of the promises I've made in the past. I'm sure I share this regret with many other people faced with heavy and conflicting responsibilities. The worst choice I had to face was between permitting a tax increase or closing down the government on the eve of war. But in pledging bolder leadership and a clear sense of direction over the next four years, I do not ask you merely to take my word. Tonight I am going to show you what my second term will be like.

I want to start by thanking all of the appointees who have served me so loyally in my first term. I appreciate their efforts and do not wish to fault any of them; whatever mistakes we have made should be my own responsibility. I look forward to continuing associations with all of them, and to using their talents in new capacities. But since the voters have made it so clear they want leadership for change, I am going to offer a new team.

I am going to draft Vice President Quayle's chief of staff, for example, as my own chief of staff. William Kristol will be my bridge to a new generation of Republican political thinkers. He's won widespread admiration from his colleagues and even from the same press corps that has been heaping scorn on his boss.

Obviously the most difficult assignment of the next term will be to get our economy moving forward vigorously. So as Treasury secretary I'm naming the most ener-

getic member of my administration, Secretary Jack Kemp. And I'm asking Rep. Vin Weber to head the Office of Management and Budget. These appointments not only make the direction of our economic policies unmistakably clear, but signal everyone in Washington that resistance in Congress will be met with a fight.

The economy is also threatened by overregulation. My record testifies that I support the goals of the Clean Air Act and the Americans With Disabilities Act, but to protect the economy these measures must be administered with the greatest possible attention to weighing costs and benefits. To administer the ADA I will ask Ricky Silberman, a longtime member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, to assume its chairmanship. And I am asking James C. Miller III, the former head of OMB and the Federal Trade Commission, to be administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

As the country gets a chance to know these people as Washington knows them, I am confident that they will provide a clear guide to the direction of a second Bush administration. I have in mind many similar names, of tough-minded and clear-minded members of a new Republican generation. I will be seeking to advance a new generation, not reward an old one.

I must add a word about Vice President Quayle, who of course remains on the ticket. It is clear to me that the attempts to remove him from the ticket were really not motivated by the shortcomings he shares with all of us. The motives of the attacks, rather, lie in his virtues and accomplishments. His critics object to his work at the Competitiveness Council, his willingness to raise the issue of family values, his proposals to curb tort law parasites. I would like his critics to know that if he had removed himself from the ticket, it was my intention to allow him to proceed with this agenda as attorney general.

\* \* \*

If this does not sound much like the George Bush we've known the past four years, that is precisely the point. The voters were willing to chase the Perot mirage. Now they are dazzled by the thin veneer Bill Clinton has masterfully applied to the party of George Mitchell, Tom Foley, Jim Wright, Michael Dukakis, Jimmy Carter and George McGovern. Clearly voters are looking for *something* different.

The irony is that George Bush still commands the best resources to give them the kind of change that, at least to judge by the past three presidential outings, they're looking for. If there is anything stopping him from making the speech sketched above, it must be purely internal. The question, apparent even to 15-year-olds, is whether he really wants to win.

*Mr. Bartley is editor of the Journal.*



George Bush

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2 Section 4

Sunday, August 2, 1992



DOUG GAMBLE

8/16/92

424 - 36th Place  
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TO: BOB TEETER

COPY: RAY PRICE  
STEVE PROVOST

MORE ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

I DON'T WANT TO BE RUDE AND TALK WHILE OTHERS ARE TALKING. DID THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FINISH HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH YET?

I WANT YOU TO KNOW OUR ~~SENSE~~<sup>SENSE</sup> OF HUMOR IS STILL VERY MUCH INTACT AROUND THE WHITE HOUSE. EVERY DAY, BARBARA TAKES MILLIE & RANGER OUT FOR A WALK, AND TO DO THOSE THINGS THAT DOGS NEED TO DO EACH MORNING. AS SHE WAS HEADING OUT THE DOOR THE OTHER DAY, I ASKED IF SHE KNEW WHAT TIME IT WAS. SHE LOOKED DOWN AT MILLIE & RANGER AND SAID, "IT'S TIME FOR THEM TO GO."

(Take that, Al Gore!)

MORE...

TO: BOB TEETER - RAY PRICE - STEVE PROVOST (CONT'D)

I LIKE WHAT I'VE SEEN HERE THIS WEEK. WITH ALL RESPECT TO BILLY RAY CYRUS, THERE ARE NO "ACHY BREAKY HEARTS" IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

(Biggest country & western hit of the year.)

I WANT TO THANK THE HOUSTON ASTROS FOR LETTING US USE THEIR HOME. BECAUSE WE'RE MEETING HERE, WE'VE CAUSED THE ASTROS TO TAKE A LONG ROAD TRIP IN AUGUST, AND BECAUSE OF THE PATH WE'RE EMBARKING ON HERE, WE'LL CAUSE A CERTAIN GOVERNOR TO HIT THE ROAD BACK TO ARKANSAS IN NOVEMBER.

PEOPLE HAVE KEPT ASKING ME, "WHEN ARE YOU GOING TO START CAMPAIGNING?" WELL, I'VE SAID THAT I'VE WANTED TO CAMPAIGN IN THE WORST WAY, AND SO FAR I HAVE. BUT ALL THAT CHANGES TONIGHT.

AFTER THE NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY, MY DEMOCRATIC OPPONENT STYLED HIMSELF AS "THE COMEBACK KID." WHEN ONE OF MY GRANDCHILDREN HEARD ABOUT THIS HE CAME IN TO SEE ME AND SAID, "DON'T WORRY -- AFTER YOU WIN THE ELECTION YOU'LL BE KNOWN AS "THE COMEBACK GRANDPA."

YES, MY OPPONENT CALLS HIMSELF "THE COMEBACK KID," AND IF YOU LOOK AT HIS ECONOMIC POLICY YOU'LL SEE THAT'S TRUE. IT CRIES OUT LOUD AND CLEAR, "COME BACK INFLATION, COME BACK HIGH INTEREST RATES, COME BACK INCREASED SPENDING, COME BACK HIGHER TAXES, COME BACK RECESSION, COME BACK BIG GOVERNMENT, COME BACK CARTER ERA." IT'S JUST TOO BAD THE DEMOCRATS CAN'T COME BACK TO THEIR SENSES.

MORE...

- 3 -

DOUG GAMBLE

TO: BOB TEETER - RAY PRICE - STEVE PROVOST

MY OPPONENT SAYS HE'S GOING TO INCREASE SPENDING BY 200-BILLION DOLLARS, PAY FOR IT WITH TAX INCREASES OF 150-BILLION -- BUT ONLY ON UPPER INCOME EARNERS AND CORPORATIONS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CUTTING TAXES FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS AND SIMULTANEOUSLY REDUCING THE DEFICIT. WELL THIS IS WHAT I CALL "BROCCOLI ECONOMICS." HE MAKES IT SOUND GOOD, BUT I FIND IT AWFULLY HARD TO SWALLOW.

NOW LOOK, I DON'T MIND THAT OUR OPPONENTS ARE SO CONFIDENT OF VICTORY THEY'RE ALREADY PLANNING THEIR CABINET, BUT IT'S A LITTLE DISCONCERTING WHEN I LOOK UP FROM MY DESK IN THE OVAL OFFICE TO FIND THEM MEASURING THE DRAPES. THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE WANTS TO MAKE SURE THE FABRIC IS ENVIRONMENTALLY SAFE, AND THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE HAS A 27-POINT PROGRAM TO MAKE SURE THEY HANG STRAIGHTER.

THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE GAVE A LENGTHY FOREIGN POLICY SPEECH RECENTLY IN WHICH HE REGALED HIS AUDIENCE WITH THOUSANDS OF WORDS. I DON'T KNOW WHY HE TOOK SO LONG, WHEN HIS FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY EXPERIENCE CAN BE SUMMED UP IN THREE WORDS: ARKANSAS NATIONAL GUARD. AND BY THE WAY, HE DEPLOYED IT, HE ~~WAS NOT IN IT~~ DIDN'T SERVE IN IT.

MY OPPONENT HAS TRIED TO BE ALL THINGS TO ALL VOTERS. HIS PHILOSOPHY SEEMS TO BE, "I HAVE PRINCIPLES -- AND IF YOU DON'T LIKE THOSE, I HAVE OTHERS."

~~HE~~ IT'S FINE TO PLAY THE SAXOPHONE, BUT DON'T PLAY WITH THE HOPES AND DREAMS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.