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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Davis, Mark, Files
Subseries: Subject File, 1989-1991

OA/ID Number: 13868
Folder ID Number: 13868-005

Folder Title:
American Society of Newspaper Editors, 4/12/89 [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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FINAL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF
NEWSPAPER EDITORS
WASHINGTON MARRIOTT
GRAND BALLROOM
WED., APRIL 12, 1989
1:20 P.M.

THANK YOU JOHN ((SEIGENTHALER)).

- 2 -

((PERHAPS YOU'VE HEARD WHAT HAPPENED TO THE FORMER
PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY WHO DIED AND WENT TO
HEAVEN. NO SOONER DID HE GET THERE, THAN HE SAW A
DISTINGUISHED-LOOKING MAN WITH INK-STAINED FINGERS, A
GREASE PENCIL BEHIND ONE EAR, AND A GREEN VISOR OVER
HIS HEAD, STRUTTING AROUND, GIVING ORDERS. "WHO IS
THAT?" THE PRESS SECRETARY GRUMBLED. ((→))

"SOME IMPORTANT EDITOR?" "NO," REPLIED AN ANGEL.

"THAT'S GOD. HE ONLY THINKS HE'S AN EDITOR . . ."

I'VE BEEN GETTING SUCH A RIBBING ABOUT MY HIGHLY
STYLIZED PROSE, THAT I THOUGHT IT ONLY APPROPRIATE FOR
ME TO SHARE A FEW RECENT HEADLINES WITH YOU, SUCH AS
"DENTIST RECEIVES PLAQUE" . . . "ACTOR SENT TO JAIL FOR
NOT FINISHING SENTENCE" . . . AND MY FAVORITE,

"REST OF THE YEAR MAY NOT FOLLOW JANUARY." I AM
TEMPTED TO GLOAT, AS ADLAI STEVENSON DID WHEN HE SAID
THAT AN EDITOR IS A "PERSON WHO SEPARATES THE WHEAT
FROM THE CHAFF, AND PRINTS THE CHAFF . . ."

HOWEVER, I AM PROBABLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PROVIDING MY
FAIR SHARE OF CHAFF.

I AM, AFTER ALL, THE ONE WHO, DURING THE CAMPAIGN, PROMISED "A KITCHEN IN EVERY POT" . . . AND I ALSO DECLARED THAT "AMERICA'S FREEDOM IS THE EXAMPLE BY WHICH THE WORLD EXPIRES . . .")

WELL, LET NO ONE MISS THIS MESSAGE. AS EDITORS, YOU UPHOLD A CERTAIN ETHICAL STANDARD IN YOUR NEWSROOMS.

YOU MUST DO SO, BECAUSE A NEWSPAPER IS ONLY AS GOOD AS ITS WORD. THIS IS NO LESS TRUE OF GOVERNMENT. HIGH ETHICAL STANDARDS ARE CENTRAL TO THIS ADMINISTRATION, AND WE WILL ENFORCE THEM -- STRICTLY, COMPREHENSIVELY, FAIRLY, AND TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE LAW . . .

WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO REFORM A PUBLIC CODE OF CONDUCT THAT IS IN DISARRAY.

IT IS NOT LOGICAL OR FAIR. IT IS BOTH TOO HARSH AND TOO LENIENT. IT ELEVATES DETAIL OVER SUBSTANCE; PRECEPT OVER PRINCIPLE.

SUCH A SYSTEM ULTIMATELY BREEDS CYNICISM AND CONTEMPT FOR THE LAW. TO TRULY REFORM IT, WE MUST REMEMBER THAT STANDARDS OF TRUST AND HONESTY ARE NOT DICTATED FROM REGULATIONS WRITTEN IN WASHINGTON. ETHICS IN PUBLIC SERVICE DERIVE FROM THE NATURAL INTEGRITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.



THEY ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE EVERYDAY CONDUCT OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN; IN THE POSTMAN WHO CHECKS ON THE ELDERLY RESIDENT AT HOME; IN THE CASHIER WHO RUNS AFTER THE CUSTOMER SHE OVERCHARGED. THE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO MEET THEIR OBLIGATIONS HONESTLY, AND TEACH THEIR CHILDREN TO DO THE SAME, SEE NOTHING EXTRAORDINARY ABOUT ASKING THE SAME OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TROUBLED WHEN THEY HEAR OF OFFICIALS IN EVERY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT AT WHATEVER LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT WHO SHOW A BRAZEN CONTEMPT FOR THE LETTER OR SPIRIT OF THE LAW. AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY CERTAIN BEHAVIOR IS CONSIDERED CRIMINAL WHEN COMMITTED BY AN EXECUTIVE BRANCH OFFICIAL; AND PERFECTLY LEGAL WHEN COMMITTED BY A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

IS NOT A CRIME A CRIME? SHOULD THERE NOT BE AN UNDERLYING STANDARD OF INTEGRITY FOR ALL?

AS PRESIDENT-ELECT, I HEARD ABOUT FROM TALENTED MEN AND WOMEN WHO, THOUGH PERFECTLY HONEST, DECLINED GOVERNMENT SERVICE OUT OF FEAR. FEAR OF THE SHEER COMPLEXITY OF FEDERAL ETHICS LAWS. FEAR THAT A SIMPLE, HONEST MISTAKE COULD LEAD TO A PUBLIC NIGHTMARE.

THESE CONCERNS LED ME TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER CREATING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON FEDERAL ETHICS LAW REFORM. I ASKED ITS MEMBERS TO RECOMMEND STEPS TO FOSTER FULL CONFIDENCE IN THE INTEGRITY OF ALL FEDERAL PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES.

ON MARCH 9, THIS COMMISSION FILED ITS REPORT AND ITS RECOMMENDATIONS.

IN FACT, LEGISLATION IS BEING SENT TODAY TO THE CONGRESS. AND JUST THIS MORNING, I ISSUED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ANNOUNCING ETHICAL PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONDUCT OF EXECUTIVE-BRANCH EMPLOYEES.

BOTH ACTIONS SEEK A COMMON END: TO RAISE ETHICAL STANDARDS, TO AVOID CONFLICTS OF INTEREST, AND TO ENSURE THAT THE LAW IS RESPECTED IN FACT AND APPEARANCE.

THERE ARE THOSE, OF COURSE, WHO SAY THAT PUBLIC ETHICS AND VALUES CANNOT BE LEGISLATED. BUT THEY CAN BE ENCOURAGED, RESPECTED, AND ADHERED TO IN GOVERNMENT . . . PUBLIC SERVANTS MUST REFLECT THE BEST VALUES OF AMERICA. AND LET ME ADD THAT MOST PUBLIC SERVANTS DO.

JEFFERSON SAID, "THE WHOLE ART OF GOVERNMENT CONSISTS IN BEING HONEST." YET, TOO OFTEN, SIMPLE HONESTY IS NOT ENOUGH.

GOVERNMENT RULES HAVE WORKED AT CROSS-PURPOSES. OUR REGULATIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLICATED AND UNEQUALLY APPLIED. OUR LAWS HAVE BEEN CONTRADICTORY AND UNCLEAR. WE'VE SPENT MORE TIME TRYING TO UNDERSTAND FEDERAL ETHICS LAWS THAN WE HAVE TRYING TO LIVE BY THEM.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM SEEKS TO REMEDY THESE DEFECTS.
HOW? BY SETTING FOUR OBJECTIVES:

FIRST, TO ESTABLISH CLEAR ETHICAL PRINCIPLES; SECOND, TO ENSURE UNIFORM STANDARDS AMONG ALL THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT; THIRD, TO INSIST THAT THESE STANDARDS BE FAIR AND REASONABLE; AND, FOURTH, TO ENSURE THAT THESE STANDARDS ATTRACT, NOT DRIVE OUT, TALENTED MEN AND WOMEN TO GOVERNMENT.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM FIRST INSISTS THAT ETHICAL STANDARDS MUST BE EXACTING ENOUGH TO ENSURE THAT OFFICIALS ACT WITH UTMOST INTEGRITY, FOR THE PUBLIC'S CONFIDENCE IS NOT OURS TO INHERIT. WE MUST EARN THAT CONFIDENCE. IT MUST BE CONSTANTLY RENEWED. WITH THIS IN MIND, I HAVE PLACED A BAN ON OUTSIDE INCOME FOR NON-CAREER PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, INCLUDING ALL EMPLOYEES IN THE IMMEDIATE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE.

I AM PROPOSING EXPANDED FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE FOR ALL THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. AND I HAVE INSTRUCTED MY STAFF TO PERFORM A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF FEDERAL CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS. REGARDING THE LAST, I HAVE ALREADY REACHED ONE DETERMINATION. CONGRESS SHOULD EXTEND, FOR ALL MEMBERS, THE PROHIBITION AGAINST THE CONVERSION OF POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS FOR PERSONAL OR OFFICE USE. POLITICAL DONATIONS SHOULD NOT BECOME A SORT OF INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNT FOR CONGRESSMEN.

I CALL ON CONGRESS TO CLOSE THIS LOOPHOLE, AND TO CLOSE IT THIS YEAR.

MODERN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT WORKS BEST WHEN ORGANIZED BY STRONG POLITICAL PARTIES. YET WE'VE ALLOWED OUR PARTIES TO BECOME WEAKENED AND OVERSHADOWED BY SPECIAL INTERESTS. WE CAN BEST RESTORE THE ROLE OF THE PARTIES BY LIMITING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES. PACS WEAKEN THE PARTIES, RESTRAIN COMPETITION AND DEADEN THE POLITICAL DEBATE.


I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ELIMINATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES, BY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES, AND I'LL BE CONSULTING WITH CONGRESS ABOUT THAT. I ALSO OPPOSE FEDERAL FUNDING OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS.

MY LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL ALSO STRENGTHENS THE RULES AGAINST ABUSING THE REVOLVING DOOR FOR PRIVATE GAIN AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PUBLIC TRUST.

THESE RULES MUST NOT MAKE GOVERNMENT SERVICE A BAR TO PRODUCTIVE WORK IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, BUT THEY MUST PROHIBIT THE APPEARANCE OF PROFITING FROM GOVERNMENT SERVICE -- AND THIS MUST INCLUDE THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

I AM PROPOSING A 25 PERCENT PAY RAISE FOR FEDERAL JUDGES, WHILE RESTRICTING THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF HONORARIA. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT HONORARIA FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SHOULD BE BANNED.

I BELIEVE CONGRESS SHOULD HAVE A PAY INCREASE. I WILL NOT MAKE A FORMAL PROPOSAL ON CONGRESS UNTIL AFTER I CONSULT WITH THE LEADERS OF CONGRESS ON THE ISSUE OF CONGRESSIONAL PAY. [THERE IS NO POINT PUTTING CONGRESS THROUGH ANOTHER TRAUMATIC BASHING LIKE THE ONE JUST COMPLETED.] AND I WILL INCLUDE IN THAT DISCUSSION THE QUESTION OF A PAY INCREASE FOR CERTAIN EXECUTIVE BRANCH POSITIONS, INCLUDING SPECIALIZED JOBS LIKE THOSE AT THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES FOR HEALTH.



I WILL STRONGLY SUPPORT PAY INCREASES FOR THESE JOBS, WHICH ARE SO IMPORTANT TO THIS COUNTRY.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM'S SECOND GOAL RECOGNIZES THAT ETHICAL CONSISTENCY DEMANDS EQUITABLE STANDARDS ACROSS ALL THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION, EVERY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT IS EQUAL, AND NONE WARRANTS PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT.

THE SAME STANDARD THAT APPLIES TO A STAFF PERSON AT HUD SHOULD ALSO APPLY TO HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF ON THE HILL. A PRACTICE IS EITHER ETHICAL OR IT IS NOT. IF WASHINGTON IS TO BE A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD, THEN EVERY PLAYER SHOULD BE TREATED THE SAME.

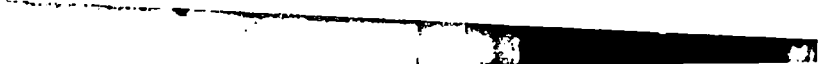
THEREFORE, I AM PROPOSING THAT WE MUST EXTEND THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL STATUTE TO COVER THE CONGRESS.

I AM ALSO PROPOSING THAT THE FEDERAL STATUTE THAT PROHIBITS EMPLOYEES FROM TAKING ACTIONS THAT ENHANCE THEIR OWN FINANCIAL INTEREST BE EXTENDED TO COVER LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCH EMPLOYEES. THERE SHOULD ALSO BE AN INDEPENDENT ETHICS OFFICE FOR THE CONGRESS, TO BE HEADED BY A CLEARLY NONPARTISAN OFFICIAL, CONFIRMED BY BOTH HOUSES.

I ASK THAT THE EXISTING ONE-YEAR POST-EMPLOYMENT "COOLING-OFF" PERIOD FOR SENIOR EXECUTIVE-BRANCH EMPLOYEES ALSO APPLY TO THE LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES.

THEN, THERE'S THE THIRD OBJECTIVE OF MY ETHICS PROGRAM. IT INSISTS THAT STANDARDS BE REASONABLE AND REFLECT GOOD OLD-FASHIONED COMMON SENSE.

SOME FINANCIAL INTERESTS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE TOO MINOR TO CREATE ANY MEANINGFUL CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST.



SO, I WANT THE OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT ETHICS TO HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO ISSUE REGULATIONS AUTHORIZING WAIVERS FROM THE CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST STATUTE. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, WE'RE URGING TOUGHER PENALTIES WHEN INTENTIONAL VIOLATIONS OF CRIMINAL CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST LAWS OCCUR.

WE'RE ASKING OFFICIALS FROM ALL THREE BRANCHES TO SIMPLIFY THE FORMS THAT MUST BE COMPLETED BY PROSPECTIVE APPOINTEES. I'M ALSO REQUIRING MANDATORY ANNUAL BRIEFINGS ON ETHICS FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES.

MY PROGRAM'S FOURTH OBJECTIVE IS TO ATTRACT AND KEEP THE BEST PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT, BY KEEPING FEDERAL ETHICS LAWS FAIR AND BALANCED.

AN ETHICS LAW IS NOT A WEAPON, A BLUNT INSTRUMENT WITH WHICH TO POUND A PUBLIC SERVANT. IT IS NOT A GAG WITH WHICH TO SILENCE THE OUTSPOKEN. IT IS A TOOL TO ENSURE A GOVERNMENT AS HONEST AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE MUST NOT ALLOW OVERLY RESTRICTIVE REQUIREMENTS TO BE ABUSED, OR TO KEEP TALENTED PEOPLE FROM ENTERING PUBLIC SERVICE. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE CAREFULLY CRAFTED NEW POST-EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS. AND THAT IS WHY WE WANT TO ALLOW PERSONS WHO ARE REQUIRED TO DIVEST ASSETS TO DEFER THEIR TAX LIABILITY.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM SHOWS EXACTLY WHERE WE ARE GOING, AND WHY. WE SEEK TO ATTRACT, AND KEEP, THE BEST AND BRIGHTEST IN GOVERNMENT.

AND BY HELPING OTHERS, BY BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA, --
HONORABLY, ETHICALLY -- WE SEEK TO SHOW HOW PUBLIC
SERVICE IS NOT THE SUM OF OUR PERKS OR POSSESSIONS, BUT
A MEASURE OF HOW WE CONDUCT OURSELVES AND WHAT WE
ACHIEVE.

COME TO THINK OF IT, THIS IS A CODE FOR ALL
OCCUPATIONS, FROM HIGH SCHOOL TO THE HIGHEST CALLINGS
IN JOURNALISM AND GOVERNMENT.

PERHAPS THE GREATEST REWARD OF ALL IS THE CHANCE TO
CONTRIBUTE TO AMERICA'S GREATNESS.

THANK YOU, AND NOW I WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO TAKE
YOUR QUESTIONS.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 28, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK DAVIS
Speechwriter

SUBJECT: Speech before the American Association of Junior and
Community Colleges, March 30.

This draft begins by thanking them for recognizing the First Lady's efforts in fighting illiteracy. It frames the standards of American education today as a threat to our competitive position. And it concludes by identifying business/community college partnerships as part of the solution.

*** Despite the title of their organization, these institutions no longer wish to be called "junior colleges."

Davis/Blessey
March 28, 1989
6 p.m.
Draft 3
Title: Junior

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMER. ASSOC. OF COMMUNITY & JR. COLLEGES
WASHINGTON HILTON
MARCH 30, 1989/ 1:40 p.m.

Thank you. Dale (Parnell), Jim (Brady), Governors Martin
and Campbell.

((Bar, I am delighted that this distinguished group has
recognized your efforts to promote literacy . . . And to think,
all this time I thought she was cheating at Scrabble . . .))

((As you know, Barbara has taken the lead in promoting
literacy for eight years now, traveling to schools across
America. One day she came back from Boston and told me that she
saw a gentleman sitting in the corner of a school room,
surrounded by children who were enraptured by his story-telling
and good-natured kidding. Every now and then, this man would ask
a child to spell a word by tracing the letters in the palm of his
hand, and he would tell them whether they got it right or not.
Barbara thought this was strange, and wondered if this was some
new kind of teaching technique. "No," the superintendent told
her, "he has to teach this way. You see, he's blind."))

Think of it. This man was retired. He could have found a thousand excuses to retreat into his own world of darkness. And yet he ventured out into the light, to teach children to read books that he would never again see. It is moments like these that make Bar's effort against illiteracy so rewarding.))

You have bestowed on her an honor that will be treasured by Barbara and the whole Bush family for years to come. Still, Bar and I can't get over the feeling that we should be giving you an award. After all, you provide adult basic education on a scale that is nothing short of heroic.

Benjamin Franklin was once asked what was the most pitiful thing that could befall a human being. After a moment's reflection, he replied: "A lonesome man on a rainy day who does not know how to read." The costs of illiteracy can be calculated in labor lost, and education dollars wasted. But we cannot calculate the loss of human happiness caused by illiteracy -- all the men and women across this country who will never hear the narrative voice of Dickens, Twain, or for that matter Larry McMurtry; who will never know that a book can be a true friend in the still hours of the night.

Barbara and I are deeply moved by the plight of those who lack the skills most of us take for granted. Rest assured, we will continue to work with you to promote literacy skills . . .

This nation grew into greatness because early Americans met the challenge of building an educational system second to none. With the dawn of a new century only eleven years away, we are faced with a new challenge -- to revitalize and restore that system our forebears bequeathed to us; to ensure that an American education is once again the best in the world. In this crusade, we can look to leadership from an American innovation in education -- our nation's community colleges, more than a thousand strong.

You best represent the American philosophy of education, for all, for life. Americans believe that education is not a phase to be successfully completed. We believe that education is a lifelong endeavor. What scholars call the "life of the mind" is as essential to the complete man or woman as water and air.

In fact, whole communities are enriched and enlightened by the cultural resources you provide, from vast libraries, to night schools, to stages for local theatrical productions. This attitude toward education -- as something more than a requirement of an industrial society, as an embellishment of life -- is uniquely American.

Community colleges provide ten million Americans with educational choice. A wide range of students benefit from your institutions: from those in high school who are looking for advanced courses; to low-income students who need a stepping stone to a four-year program; to those who seek a 2-year degree; to mature students who are returning to school to round out their education. This is what we need more of up and down the line -- choice.

Secondary and even elementary schools can learn a lot from the way in which you tap local talent, drawing on the knowledge of experts from the private sector. When I lived in Odessa, Texas, I wanted to share my knowledge as a teacher in the local public school system. But I didn't have a teaching certificate, and I was rejected. That seemed wrong to me then, and it seems wrong to me now. We should open our classroom to every qualified person with the talent, the knowledge and the desire to teach -- ((just as the Boston school did for that blind gentleman.)) With this in mind, I have proposed extending this same practice, often called Alternative Teacher Certification, right down to the first grade.

Accountability is the key to your success. State and private universities, which accept your students, count on you to instill a precise curriculum. The businesses of your city count

on you to match skills to the demands of the job market. And most of all, students count on you to provide a ladder of opportunity.

Opportunity is our most basic shared principle. Everyone should have a high school education; especially those with high school degrees. We share the conviction that there is no such thing as an expendable student. We will never accept the notion that vast numbers of illiterate and undereducated Americans can be offset by a well-educated elite. That's not the American way.

For years, rescuing underachieving students has been a quest of the heart. Today, it is also a test of national will, a test critical to the very future of America. This may sound like an overstatement. America, after all, is still a world leader when it comes to producing Nobel Prize winners in physics, economics and literature. But what is the advantage for a nation with Nobel Prize-winning novelists, if their books are largely unread in their own country? What is the advantage for a nation that can invent the computer chip, if it doesn't have a skilled work force that can use computers?

I am committed to increased investment in basic research. But America can continue to lead the world in theoretical science, and still lose the race in the application of knowledge. H.G. Wells wrote that "human history becomes more and more a race

between education and catastrophe." Catastrophe may not be around the corner, but what had a ring of truth in the 1920s, sounds ominously true in the 1980s, with our highly competitive international market. Let me share a few stark facts with you.

In Japan, levels of functional literacy and student achievement are extremely high, while the Japanese drop-out rate remains very low. In America, however, functional literacy is around 80 percent. The national drop-out rate is 28 percent. And of those Americans who do graduate from high school and don't graduate from college, as many as 27 percent cannot read or write at the intermediate level. As many Americans become less educated, the standards of the work place are becoming ever more rigorous.

In the past, business could simply ignore the unlettered few. But the balmy days of the baby boom are passing us by. Between now and the year 2000, we will face a "baby bust," or a shrinkage of the labor pool. According to Business Week, we will have to train or retrain as many as 50 million workers in the next dozen years alone. Think of it -- 50 million!

There is more opportunity today than ever before -- but only for those who are prepared to take advantage of it. For those workers who lack skills and basic education today, a comfortable middle-class existence will be harder and harder to come by.

When some high school graduates can't find jobs in a market begging for workers, then we've got a serious social imbalance, an education gap. Let's bridge that gap. Let's bridge it as fast as possible.

Community colleges provide such a bridge to higher education, a ready resource for vocational training and adult remedial education. You provide access for older citizens, women, minorities, and the handicapped -- precisely the very people who are being summoned to alleviate the coming labor shortage. Your programs spell opportunity for the most disadvantaged members of the work force. But they also spell opportunity for business. The disadvantaged and business are coming together in hundreds of programs from Colorado, to Kansas, to Kentucky, called employer-college partnerships. This friendly merger of business and academia is a sweeping force for social improvement.

Let me conclude by paraphrasing a few words of advice, offered at the turn-of-the century, but so appropriate for our modern quest for excellence in education:

"Make no little plans: they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably in themselves will not be realized. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble (idea)

once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing."

These are the words of Daniel Burnham, who was the architect of such a big plan -- Washington's Union Station, which stands out as a visual delight in a city already crowded with great monuments and statuary. Burnham's legacy is a truly living monument, with its vaulted ceilings and gilded geometry above bustling crowds of shoppers and commuters. But it would be nothing but a wreck, an eyesore, if it had not been lovingly restored. As important as it is to reclaim our civic capital of burnished brass and polished marble, how much more important it is to reclaim our human capital.

Think, then, of our educational system in this way, as a vast and beautiful inheritance, which must be lovingly restored; not once, but every generation. In this effort, make no little plans. Think big. Aim high in hope and work. Continue to work together, as a community, to help your students, to lift their vision and lengthen their horizon.

For this, and all you do, you are earning the gratitude of a nation. Thank you, and God Bless America.

#

REMARKS: AMER. ASSOC. OF COMMUNITY & JR. COLLEGES

WASHINGTON HILTON

MARCH 30, 1989/ 1:45 P.M.

**THANK YOU. DALE (PARNELL), JIM (BRADY), GOVERNORS
MARTIN AND CAMPBELL, JESS PARRISH. JIM TATUM, GOOD TO
SEE YOU AGAIN.**

- 2 -

**((BAR, I AM DELIGHTED THAT THIS DISTINGUISHED GROUP
HAS RECOGNIZED YOUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE LITERACY . . .
AND TO THINK, ALL THIS TIME I THOUGHT SHE WAS CHEATING
AT SCRABBLE . . .))**

**((AS YOU KNOW, BARBARA HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN
PROMOTING LITERACY FOR MORE THAN EIGHT YEARS NOW,
TRAVELING TO SCHOOLS ACROSS AMERICA.**

ONE DAY SHE CAME BACK FROM BOSTON AND TOLD ME THAT SHE SAW A GENTLEMAN SITTING IN THE CORNER OF A SCHOOL ROOM, SURROUNDED BY CHILDREN WHO WERE ENRAPPED BY HIS STORY-TELLING AND GOOD-NATURED KIDDING. EVERY NOW AND THEN, THIS MAN WOULD ASK A CHILD TO SPELL A WORD BY TRACING THE LETTERS IN THE PALM OF HIS HAND, AND HE WOULD TELL THEM WHETHER THEY GOT IT RIGHT OR NOT.

BARBARA THOUGHT THIS WAS STRANGE, AND WONDERED IF THIS WAS SOME NEW KIND OF TEACHING TECHNIQUE. "NO," THE SUPERINTENDENT TOLD HER, "HE HAS TO TEACH THIS WAY. YOU SEE, HE'S BLIND."

THINK OF IT. THIS MAN WAS RETIRED. HE COULD HAVE FOUND A THOUSAND EXCUSES TO RETREAT INTO HIS OWN WORLD OF DARKNESS.

AND YET HE VENTURED OUT INTO THE LIGHT, TO TEACH CHILDREN TO READ BOOKS THAT HE WOULD NEVER AGAIN SEE. IT IS MOMENTS LIKE THESE THAT MAKE BARBARA'S EFFORT ON BEHALF OF LITERACY SO REWARDING.))

WE ARE DEEPLY MOVED BY THE PLIGHT OF THOSE WHO LACK THE SKILLS MOST OF US TAKE FOR GRANTED.

REST ASSURED, WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH YOU TO PROMOTE LITERACY SKILLS . . .

YOU HAVE BESTOWED ON HER AN HONOR THAT WILL BE TREASURED BY ALL IN OUR FAMILY FOR YEARS TO COME. STILL, BARBARA AND I CAN'T GET OVER THE FEELING THAT WE SHOULD BE GIVING YOU AN AWARD.

AFTER ALL, YOU PROVIDE ADULT BASIC EDUCATION ON A SCALE THAT IS NOTHING SHORT OF HEROIC.

THIS NATION GREW INTO GREATNESS BECAUSE EARLY AMERICANS MET THE CHALLENGE OF BUILDING AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM SECOND TO NONE.

WITH THE DAWN OF A NEW CENTURY ONLY ELEVEN YEARS AWAY, WE ARE FACED WITH A NEW CHALLENGE -- TO REVITALIZE AND RESTORE THAT SYSTEM OUR FOREBEARS BEQUEATHED TO US; TO ENSURE THAT AN AMERICAN EDUCATION IS ONCE AGAIN THE BEST IN THE WORLD.

IN THIS CRUSADE, WE CAN LOOK TO LEADERSHIP FROM AN AMERICAN INNOVATION IN EDUCATION -- OUR NATION'S COMMUNITY COLLEGES, MORE THAN A THOUSAND STRONG.

WHOLE COMMUNITIES ARE ENRICHED AND ENLIGHTENED BY THE CULTURAL RESOURCES YOU PROVIDE, FROM VAST LIBRARIES, TO NIGHT SCHOOLS, TO STAGES FOR LOCAL THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS.

THIS ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION -- AS SOMETHING MORE THAN A REQUIREMENT OF AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, AS AN EMBELLISHMENT OF LIFE -- IS UNIQUELY AMERICAN.

I BELIEVE SECONDARY AND EVEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS CAN LEARN A LOT FROM YOUR SUCCESS, STARTING WITH YOUR POLICY OF FLEXIBILITY.

BY THIS I MEAN THE WAY IN WHICH YOU TAP LOCAL TALENT AND DRAW ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF EXPERTS FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR. WHEN A PH.D. ON SABBATICAL CANNOT VOLUNTEER AS A TEACHER IN MANY SCHOOL DISTRICTS, SOMETHING IS VERY WRONG.

THAT IS WHY I HAVE PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE TEACHER CERTIFICATION, TO OPEN CLASSROOMS TO EVERY QUALIFIED PERSON WITH THE TALENT, THE KNOWLEDGE AND THE DESIRE TO TEACH.

WE MUST ALL PITCH IN TO RESTORE OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. BUSINESS MUST GET INVOLVED AND WORK WITH OUR SCHOOLS, TO ENSURE AMERICAN COMPETITIVENESS.

- 13 -

STUDENTS MUST UNDERSTAND THE VALUE OF A SOLID EDUCATION AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN TODAY'S JOB MARKET. AND EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS MUST FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE SET BY COMMUNITY COLLEGES, WHICH ARE DIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE TO THE NEEDS OF STUDENTS, COMMUNITIES AND BUSINESSES. THIS PRINCIPLE OF ACCOUNTABILITY SHOULD BE UNIVERSALLY APPLIED TO ALL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

- 14 -

YOU ALSO SERVE A PARTICULAR NEED WITH THE DISADVANTAGED AND THE DISABLED -- PROVIDING OPPORTUNITY AND CHOICE FOR OLDER CITIZENS, WOMEN, MINORITIES, AND THE HANDICAPPED.

BUT EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION IS OUR MOST BASIC SHARED PRINCIPLE. WE SHARE THE BELIEF THAT THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS AN IDIOT.

WE WILL NEVER ACCEPT THE NOTION THAT VAST NUMBERS OF ILLITERATE AND UNDEREDUCATED AMERICANS CAN BE OFFSET BY A WELL-EDUCATED ELITE. THAT'S NOT THE AMERICAN WAY.

FOR YEARS, RESCUING UNDERACHIEVING STUDENTS HAS BEEN A QUEST OF THE HEART. TODAY, IT IS ALSO A TEST OF NATIONAL WILL, A TEST CRITICAL TO THE VERY FUTURE OF AMERICA. THIS MAY SOUND LIKE AN OVERSTATEMENT.

AMERICA, AFTER ALL, IS STILL A WORLD LEADER WHEN IT COMES TO PRODUCING NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS IN PHYSICS, ECONOMICS AND LITERATURE. BUT WHAT IS THE ADVANTAGE FOR A NATION WITH NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING NOVELISTS, IF THEIR BOOKS CANNOT BE READ BY 27 MILLION FUNCTIONALLY ILLITERATES IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY?

I AM COMMITTED TO INCREASED INVESTMENT IN BASIC RESEARCH. BUT AMERICA CAN CONTINUE TO LEAD THE WORLD IN THEORETICAL SCIENCE, AND STILL LOSE THE RACE IN THE APPLICATION OF KNOWLEDGE. H.G. WELLS WROTE THAT "HUMAN HISTORY BECOMES MORE AND MORE A RACE BETWEEN EDUCATION AND CATASTROPHE."

CATASTROPHE MAY NOT BE AROUND THE CORNER, BUT WHAT HAD A RING OF TRUTH IN THE 1920s, SOUNDS OMINOUSLY TRUE IN THE 1980s, WITH OUR HIGHLY COMPETITIVE INTERNATIONAL MARKET. LET ME SHARE A FEW STARK FACTS WITH YOU.

IN JAPAN, LEVELS OF FUNCTIONAL LITERACY AND STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT ARE EXTREMELY HIGH, WHILE THE JAPANESE DROP-OUT RATE REMAINS VERY LOW.

IN AMERICA, HOWEVER, FUNCTIONAL LITERACY IS MUCH LOWER. ABOUT ONE IN FIVE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS DROP OUT. AND OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO DO GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL, ALMOST ONE IN FIVE CANNOT READ OR WRITE AT THE INTERMEDIATE LEVEL.

WHILE MANY AMERICANS BECOME LESS EDUCATED, THE STANDARDS OF THE WORK PLACE ARE BECOMING EVER MORE RIGOROUS. AND THE BALMY DAYS OF THE BABY BOOM ARE PASSING US BY.

- 21 -

BETWEEN NOW AND THE YEAR 2000, WE WILL FACE A "BABY BUST," A SHRINKAGE OF THE LABOR POOL. ACCORDING TO BUSINESS WEEK, WE WILL HAVE TO TRAIN OR RETRAIN AS MANY AS 50 MILLION WORKERS IN THE NEXT DOZEN YEARS ALONE. THINK OF IT -- 50 MILLION!

- 22 -

THERE IS MORE OPPORTUNITY TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE -- BUT ONLY FOR THOSE WHO ARE PREPARED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT. FOR THOSE WORKERS WHO LACK SKILLS AND BASIC EDUCATION TODAY, A COMFORTABLE MIDDLE-CLASS EXISTENCE WILL BE HARDER AND HARDER TO COME BY.

- 23 -

WHEN SOME HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES CAN'T FIND JOBS IN A MARKET BEGGING FOR WORKERS, THEN WE'VE GOT A SERIOUS SOCIAL IMBALANCE, AN EDUCATION GAP. LET'S BRIDGE THAT GAP. LET'S BRIDGE IT AS FAST AS POSSIBLE.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES PROVIDE SUCH A BRIDGE TO HIGHER EDUCATION, A READY RESOURCE FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND ADULT REMEDIAL EDUCATION.

- 24 -

YOU PROVIDE ACCESS FOR PRECISELY THE VERY PEOPLE WHO ARE BEING SUMMONED TO ALLEVIATE THE COMING LABOR SHORTAGE. YOUR PROGRAMS SPELL OPPORTUNITY FOR THE MOST DISADVANTAGED MEMBERS OF THE WORK FORCE. BUT THEY ALSO SPELL OPPORTUNITY FOR BUSINESS.

- 25 -

THE DISADVANTAGED AND BUSINESS ARE COMING TOGETHER IN HUNDREDS OF PROGRAMS FROM COLORADO, TO KANSAS, TO KENTUCKY, CALLED EMPLOYER-COLLEGE PARTNERSHIPS. THIS FRIENDLY MERGER OF BUSINESS AND ACADEMIA IS A SWEEPING FORCE FOR SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT. EVERYONE MUST WORK TOGETHER IF AMERICA IS TO REMAIN PROSPEROUS AND COMPETITIVE IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

- 26 -

LET ME CONCLUDE BY PARAPHRASING A FEW WORDS OF ADVICE, OFFERED AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, BUT SO APPROPRIATE FOR OUR MODERN QUEST FOR EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION:

"MAKE NO LITTLE PLANS: THEY HAVE NO MAGIC TO STIR MEN'S BLOOD AND PROBABLY IN THEMSELVES WILL NOT BE REALIZED.

MAKE BIG PLANS; AIM HIGH IN HOPE AND WORK, REMEMBERING THAT A NOBLE (IDEA) ONCE RECORDED WILL NEVER DIE, BUT LONG AFTER WE ARE GONE WILL BE A LIVING THING."

THESE ARE THE WORDS OF DANIEL BURNHAM, WHO WAS THE ARCHITECT OF SUCH A BIG PLAN -- WASHINGTON'S UNION STATION, WHICH STANDS OUT AS A VISUAL DELIGHT IN A CITY ALREADY CROWDED WITH GREAT MONUMENTS AND STATUARY.

BURNHAM'S LEGACY IS A TRULY LIVING MONUMENT, WITH ITS VAULTED CEILINGS AND GILDED GEOMETRY ABOVE BUSTLING CROWDS OF SHOPPERS AND COMMUTERS. BUT IT WOULD BE NOTHING BUT A WRECK, AN EYESORE, IF IT HAD NOT BEEN LOVINGLY RESTORED.

**AS IMPORTANT AS IT IS TO RECLAIM OUR CIVIC CAPITAL OF
BURNISHED BRASS AND POLISHED MARBLE, HOW MUCH MORE
IMPORTANT IT IS TO RECLAIM OUR HUMAN CAPITAL.**

**THINK, THEN, OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THIS WAY,
AS A VAST AND BEAUTIFUL INHERITANCE, WHICH MUST BE
LOVINGLY RESTORED; NOT ONCE, BUT EVERY GENERATION. IN
THIS EFFORT, MAKE NO LITTLE PLANS.**

**THINK BIG. AIM HIGH IN HOPE AND WORK. CONTINUE TO
WORK TOGETHER, AS A COMMUNITY, TO HELP YOUR STUDENTS,
TO LIFT THEIR VISION AND LENGTHEN THEIR HORIZON.**

**FOR THIS, AND ALL YOU DO, YOU ARE EARNING THE
GRATITUDE OF A NATION. THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU, AND
GOD BLESS AMERICA.**

#

**AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY AND JUNIOR COLLEGES
SPEECH INSERT**

BEFORE I BEGIN, I KNOW THAT YOU, LIKE MOST AMERICANS, ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE MASSIVE OIL SPILL OFF THE COAST OF ALASKA. THERE IS NO DOUBT THIS IS A MAJOR TRAGEDY, BOTH FOR THE ENVIRONMENT AND FOR THE PEOPLE OF ALASKA.

- 2 -

**
names
reversed
to
1 Skinner
2 Reilly*

THIS MORNING I MET WITH EPA ADMINISTRATOR WILLIAM REILLY, TRANSPORTATION SECRETARY SAMUEL SKINNER, AND COAST GUARD COMMANDANT ADMIRAL PAUL YOST. THEY HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM SURVEYING THE DAMAGE AND ASSESSING THE PROGRESS OF CLEAN-UP EFFORTS. WE ARE DOING ALL WE CAN AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL TO SPEED UP THIS UNDERTAKING. I HAVE DIRECTED THAT DOT, EPA, AND THE COAST GUARD CONTINUE TO GIVE THIS MATTER TOP PRIORITY.

- 3 -

I HAVE ALSO DIRECTED BILL REILLY TO REPORT BACK TO ME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE REGARDING THE SEVERITY OF DAMAGE TO THE ENVIRONMENT, PARTICULARLY TO MARINE LIFE AND THE ALASKAN COASTLINE. THE CLEAN-UP FROM THIS DISASTER WILL NOT BE EASY. BUT, AS WITH OTHER SERIOUS DISASTERS, WE MUST AND WILL WORK TOGETHER AT ALL LEVELS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, TO REMEDY THE DAMAGE THAT HAS BEEN DONE.

#

FINAL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF
NEWSPAPER EDITORS
WASHINGTON MARRIOTT
GRAND BALLROOM
WED., APRIL 12, 1989
1:20 P.M.

THANK YOU JOHN ((SEIGENTHALER)).

- 2 -

((PERHAPS YOU'VE HEARD WHAT HAPPENED TO THE FORMER
PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY WHO DIED AND WENT TO
HEAVEN. NO SOONER DID HE GET THERE, THAN HE SAW A
DISTINGUISHED-LOOKING MAN WITH INK-STAINED FINGERS, A
GREASE PENCIL BEHIND ONE EAR, AND A GREEN VISOR OVER
HIS HEAD, STRUTTING AROUND, GIVING ORDERS. "WHO IS
THAT?" THE PRESS SECRETARY GRUMBLED. ((→))

- 3 -

"SOME IMPORTANT EDITOR?" "NO," REPLIED AN ANGEL.

"THAT'S GOD. HE ONLY THINKS HE'S AN EDITOR . . ."

I'VE BEEN GETTING SUCH A RIBBING ABOUT MY HIGHLY
STYLIZED PROSE, THAT I THOUGHT IT ONLY APPROPRIATE FOR
ME TO SHARE A FEW RECENT HEADLINES WITH YOU, SUCH AS
"DENTIST RECEIVES PLAQUE" . . . "ACTOR SENT TO JAIL FOR
NOT FINISHING SENTENCE" . . . AND MY FAVORITE,

- 4 -

"REST OF THE YEAR MAY NOT FOLLOW JANUARY." I AM
TEMPTED TO GLOAT, AS ADLAI STEVENSON DID WHEN HE SAID
THAT AN EDITOR IS A "PERSON WHO SEPARATES THE WHEAT
FROM THE CHAFF, AND PRINTS THE CHAFF . . ."

HOWEVER, I AM PROBABLY RESPONSIBLE FOR PROVIDING MY
FAIR SHARE OF CHAFF.

I AM, AFTER ALL, THE ONE WHO, DURING THE CAMPAIGN, PROMISED "A KITCHEN IN EVERY POT" . . . AND I ALSO DECLARED THAT "AMERICA'S FREEDOM IS THE EXAMPLE BY WHICH THE WORLD EXPIRES . . .")


WELL, LET NO ONE MISS THIS MESSAGE. AS EDITORS, YOU UPHOLD A CERTAIN ETHICAL STANDARD IN YOUR NEWSROOMS.

YOU MUST DO SO, BECAUSE A NEWSPAPER IS ONLY AS GOOD AS ITS WORD. THIS IS NO LESS TRUE OF GOVERNMENT. HIGH ETHICAL STANDARDS ARE CENTRAL TO THIS ADMINISTRATION, AND WE WILL ENFORCE THEM -- STRICTLY, COMPREHENSIVELY, FAIRLY, AND TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE LAW . . .

WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO REFORM A PUBLIC CODE OF CONDUCT THAT IS IN DISARRAY.

IT IS NOT LOGICAL OR FAIR. IT IS BOTH TOO HARSH AND TOO LENIENT. IT ELEVATES DETAIL OVER SUBSTANCE; PRECEPT OVER PRINCIPLE.

SUCH A SYSTEM ULTIMATELY BREEDS CYNICISM AND CONTEMPT FOR THE LAW. TO TRULY REFORM IT, WE MUST REMEMBER THAT STANDARDS OF TRUST AND HONESTY ARE NOT DICTATED FROM REGULATIONS WRITTEN IN WASHINGTON. ETHICS IN PUBLIC SERVICE DERIVE FROM THE NATURAL INTEGRITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.



THEY ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE EVERYDAY CONDUCT OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN; IN THE POSTMAN WHO CHECKS ON THE ELDERLY RESIDENT AT HOME; IN THE CASHIER WHO RUNS AFTER THE CUSTOMER SHE OVERCHARGED. THE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO MEET THEIR OBLIGATIONS HONESTLY, AND TEACH THEIR CHILDREN TO DO THE SAME, SEE NOTHING EXTRAORDINARY ABOUT ASKING THE SAME OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TROUBLED WHEN THEY HEAR OF OFFICIALS IN EVERY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT AT WHATEVER LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT WHO SHOW A BRAZEN CONTEMPT FOR THE LETTER OR SPIRIT OF THE LAW. AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHY CERTAIN BEHAVIOR IS CONSIDERED CRIMINAL WHEN COMMITTED BY AN EXECUTIVE BRANCH OFFICIAL; AND PERFECTLY LEGAL WHEN COMMITTED BY A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

IS NOT A CRIME A CRIME? SHOULD THERE NOT BE AN UNDERLYING STANDARD OF INTEGRITY FOR ALL?

AS PRESIDENT-ELECT, I HEARD ABOUT FROM TALENTED MEN AND WOMEN WHO, THOUGH PERFECTLY HONEST, DECLINED GOVERNMENT SERVICE OUT OF FEAR. FEAR OF THE SHEER COMPLEXITY OF FEDERAL ETHICS LAWS. FEAR THAT A SIMPLE, HONEST MISTAKE COULD LEAD TO A PUBLIC NIGHTMARE.

THESE CONCERNS LED ME TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER CREATING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON FEDERAL ETHICS LAW REFORM. I ASKED ITS MEMBERS TO RECOMMEND STEPS TO FOSTER FULL CONFIDENCE IN THE INTEGRITY OF ALL FEDERAL PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES.

ON MARCH 9, THIS COMMISSION FILED ITS REPORT AND ITS RECOMMENDATIONS.

IN FACT, LEGISLATION IS BEING SENT TODAY TO THE CONGRESS. AND JUST THIS MORNING, I ISSUED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ANNOUNCING ETHICAL PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONDUCT OF EXECUTIVE-BRANCH EMPLOYEES.

BOTH ACTIONS SEEK A COMMON END: TO RAISE ETHICAL STANDARDS, TO AVOID CONFLICTS OF INTEREST, AND TO ENSURE THAT THE LAW IS RESPECTED IN FACT AND APPEARANCE.

THERE ARE THOSE, OF COURSE, WHO SAY THAT PUBLIC ETHICS AND VALUES CANNOT BE LEGISLATED. BUT THEY CAN BE ENCOURAGED, RESPECTED, AND ADHERED TO IN GOVERNMENT . . . PUBLIC SERVANTS MUST REFLECT THE BEST VALUES OF AMERICA. AND LET ME ADD THAT MOST PUBLIC SERVANTS DO.

JEFFERSON SAID, "THE WHOLE ART OF GOVERNMENT CONSISTS IN BEING HONEST." YET, TOO OFTEN, SIMPLE HONESTY IS NOT ENOUGH.

GOVERNMENT RULES HAVE WORKED AT CROSS-PURPOSES. OUR REGULATIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLICATED AND UNEQUALLY APPLIED. OUR LAWS HAVE BEEN CONTRADICTORY AND UNCLEAR. WE'VE SPENT MORE TIME TRYING TO UNDERSTAND FEDERAL ETHICS LAWS THAN WE HAVE TRYING TO LIVE BY THEM.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM SEEKS TO REMEDY THESE DEFECTS. HOW? BY SETTING FOUR OBJECTIVES:

FIRST, TO ESTABLISH CLEAR ETHICAL PRINCIPLES; SECOND, TO ENSURE UNIFORM STANDARDS AMONG ALL THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT; THIRD, TO INSIST THAT THESE STANDARDS BE FAIR AND REASONABLE; AND, FOURTH, TO ENSURE THAT THESE STANDARDS ATTRACT, NOT DRIVE OUT, TALENTED MEN AND WOMEN TO GOVERNMENT.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM FIRST INSISTS THAT ETHICAL STANDARDS MUST BE EXACTING ENOUGH TO ENSURE THAT OFFICIALS ACT WITH UTMOST INTEGRITY, FOR THE PUBLIC'S CONFIDENCE IS NOT OURS TO INHERIT. WE MUST EARN THAT CONFIDENCE. IT MUST BE CONSTANTLY RENEWED. WITH THIS IN MIND, I HAVE PLACED A BAN ON OUTSIDE INCOME FOR NON-CAREER PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, INCLUDING ALL EMPLOYEES IN THE IMMEDIATE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE.

I AM PROPOSING EXPANDED FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE FOR ALL THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. AND I HAVE INSTRUCTED MY STAFF TO PERFORM A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF FEDERAL CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS. REGARDING THE LAST, I HAVE ALREADY REACHED ONE DETERMINATION. CONGRESS SHOULD EXTEND, FOR ALL MEMBERS, THE PROHIBITION AGAINST THE CONVERSION OF POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS FOR PERSONAL OR OFFICE USE. POLITICAL DONATIONS SHOULD NOT BECOME A SORT OF INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNT FOR CONGRESSMEN.

I CALL ON CONGRESS TO CLOSE THIS LOOPHOLE, AND TO CLOSE IT THIS YEAR.

MODERN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT WORKS BEST WHEN ORGANIZED BY STRONG POLITICAL PARTIES. YET WE'VE ALLOWED OUR PARTIES TO BECOME WEAKENED AND OVERSHADOWED BY SPECIAL INTERESTS. WE CAN BEST RESTORE THE ROLE OF THE PARTIES BY LIMITING POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES. PACS WEAKEN THE PARTIES, RESTRAIN COMPETITION AND DEADEN THE POLITICAL DEBATE.


I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ELIMINATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES, BY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES, AND I'LL BE CONSULTING WITH CONGRESS ABOUT THAT. I ALSO OPPOSE FEDERAL FUNDING OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS

MY LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL ALSO STRENGTHENS THE RULES AGAINST ABUSING THE REVOLVING DOOR FOR PRIVATE GAIN AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PUBLIC TRUST.

THESE RULES MUST NOT MAKE GOVERNMENT SERVICE A BAR TO PRODUCTIVE WORK IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, BUT THEY MUST PROHIBIT THE APPEARANCE OF PROFITING FROM GOVERNMENT SERVICE -- AND THIS MUST INCLUDE THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

I AM PROPOSING A 25 PERCENT PAY RAISE FOR FEDERAL JUDGES, WHILE RESTRICTING THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF HONORARIA. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT HONORARIA FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SHOULD BE BANNED.

I BELIEVE CONGRESS SHOULD HAVE A PAY INCREASE. I WILL NOT MAKE A FORMAL PROPOSAL ON CONGRESS UNTIL AFTER I CONSULT WITH THE LEADERS OF CONGRESS ON THE ISSUE OF CONGRESSIONAL PAY. [THERE IS NO POINT PUTTING CONGRESS THROUGH ANOTHER TRAUMATIC BASHING LIKE THE ONE JUST COMPLETED.] AND I WILL INCLUDE IN THAT DISCUSSION THE QUESTION OF A PAY INCREASE FOR CERTAIN EXECUTIVE BRANCH POSITIONS, INCLUDING SPECIALIZED JOBS LIKE THOSE AT THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES FOR HEALTH.



I WILL STRONGLY SUPPORT PAY INCREASES FOR THESE JOBS, WHICH ARE SO IMPORTANT TO THIS COUNTRY.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM'S SECOND GOAL RECOGNIZES THAT ETHICAL CONSISTENCY DEMANDS EQUITABLE STANDARDS ACROSS ALL THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION, EVERY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT IS EQUAL, AND NONE WARRANTS PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT.

THE SAME STANDARD THAT APPLIES TO A STAFF PERSON AT HUD SHOULD ALSO APPLY TO HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF ON THE HILL. A PRACTICE IS EITHER ETHICAL OR IT IS NOT. IF WASHINGTON IS TO BE A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD, THEN EVERY PLAYER SHOULD BE TREATED THE SAME.

THEREFORE, I AM PROPOSING THAT WE MUST EXTEND THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL STATUTE TO COVER THE CONGRESS.

I AM ALSO PROPOSING THAT THE FEDERAL STATUTE THAT PROHIBITS EMPLOYEES FROM TAKING ACTIONS THAT ENHANCE THEIR OWN FINANCIAL INTEREST BE EXTENDED TO COVER LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCH EMPLOYEES. THERE SHOULD ALSO BE AN INDEPENDENT ETHICS OFFICE FOR THE CONGRESS, TO BE HEADED BY A CLEARLY NONPARTISAN OFFICIAL, CONFIRMED BY BOTH HOUSES.

I ASK THAT THE EXISTING ONE-YEAR POST-EMPLOYMENT "COOLING-OFF" PERIOD FOR SENIOR EXECUTIVE-BRANCH EMPLOYEES ALSO APPLY TO THE LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES.

THEN, THERE'S THE THIRD OBJECTIVE OF MY ETHICS PROGRAM. IT INSISTS THAT STANDARDS BE REASONABLE AND REFLECT GOOD OLD-FASHIONED COMMON SENSE.

SOME FINANCIAL INTERESTS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE TOO MINOR TO CREATE ANY MEANINGFUL CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST.

SO, I WANT THE OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT ETHICS TO HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO ISSUE REGULATIONS AUTHORIZING WAIVERS FROM THE CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST STATUTE. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, WE'RE URGING TOUGHER PENALTIES WHEN INTENTIONAL VIOLATIONS OF CRIMINAL CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST LAWS OCCUR.

WE'RE ASKING OFFICIALS FROM ALL THREE BRANCHES TO SIMPLIFY THE FORMS THAT MUST BE COMPLETED BY PROSPECTIVE APPOINTEES. I'M ALSO REQUIRING MANDATORY ANNUAL BRIEFINGS ON ETHICS FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTEES.

MY PROGRAM'S FOURTH OBJECTIVE IS TO ATTRACT AND KEEP THE BEST PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT, BY KEEPING FEDERAL ETHICS LAWS FAIR AND BALANCED.

AN ETHICS LAW IS NOT A WEAPON, A BLUNT INSTRUMENT WITH WHICH TO POUND A PUBLIC SERVANT. IT IS NOT A GAG WITH WHICH TO SILENCE THE OUTSPOKEN. IT IS A TOOL TO ENSURE A GOVERNMENT AS HONEST AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE MUST NOT ALLOW OVERLY RESTRICTIVE REQUIREMENTS TO BE ABUSED, OR TO KEEP TALENTED PEOPLE FROM ENTERING PUBLIC SERVICE. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE CAREFULLY CRAFTED NEW POST-EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS. AND THAT IS WHY WE WANT TO ALLOW PERSONS WHO ARE REQUIRED TO DIVEST ASSETS TO DEFER THEIR TAX LIABILITY.

MY ETHICS PROGRAM SHOWS EXACTLY WHERE WE ARE GOING, AND WHY. WE SEEK TO ATTRACT, AND KEEP, THE BEST AND BRIGHTEST IN GOVERNMENT.

AND BY HELPING OTHERS, BY BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA, --
HONORABLY, ETHICALLY -- WE SEEK TO SHOW HOW PUBLIC
SERVICE IS NOT THE SUM OF OUR PERKS OR POSSESSIONS, BUT
A MEASURE OF HOW WE CONDUCT OURSELVES AND WHAT WE
ACHIEVE.

COME TO THINK OF IT, THIS IS A CODE FOR ALL
OCCUPATIONS, FROM HIGH SCHOOL TO THE HIGHEST CALLINGS
IN JOURNALISM AND GOVERNMENT.

PERHAPS THE GREATEST REWARD OF ALL IS THE CHANCE TO
CONTRIBUTE TO AMERICA'S GREATNESS.

THANK YOU, AND NOW I WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO TAKE
YOUR QUESTIONS.

#

Ten weeks ago, I issued an Executive Order creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. And I asked its members to recommend steps to foster full confidence in the integrity of all federal public officials and employees.

On March 9, this Commission filed its report and its recommendations. ~~And~~ today, I am announcing a new Executive Order and legislation to enforce government ethics in fact, not merely in theory. At this moment, legislation is being sent to the Congress. And this morning, I issued an Executive Order concerning standards of conduct for executive-branch employees.

Both actions seek a common end: To raise ethical standards, to avoid conflicts of interest, and to ensure that the law is respected in fact and appearance.

There are those, of course, who rightly say that public ethics and values cannot be legislated. But they can be encouraged, respected, and adhered to in government . . . Public servants must reflect the best values of America. And let me add that most public servants ~~do~~ are decent and caring men and women.

Jefferson said, "The whole art of government consists in JUST BEING HONEST ~~is not enough~~ being honest." Yet, too often, government rules have worked at cross-purposes, Our regulations have been unfair and

(Davis/Smith)
4/10/89
9:10p.m.
Draft: Eleven
Title: asne3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
WASHINGTON MARRIOTT GRAND BALLROOM
WED., APRIL 12, 1989/1:20 pm.

Thank you John ((Seigenthaler)).

((Perhaps you've heard what happened to the former presidential press secretary who died and went to heaven. No sooner did he get there, than he saw a distinguished-looking man with ink-stained fingers, a grease pencil behind one ear, and a green visor over his head, strutting around, giving orders. "Who is that?" the press secretary grumbled. "Some important editor?" "No," replied an angel. "That's God. He only thinks he's an editor . . ."

I've been getting such a ribbing about my highly stylized prose, that I thought it only appropriate for me share a few recent headlines with you, such as "Dentist Receives Plaque" . . . "Actor Sent to Jail for not Finishing Sentence" . . . and my favorite, "Rest of the Year May Not Follow January." I am tempted to gloat, as Adlai Stevenson did when he said that an editor is a "person who separates the wheat from the chaff, and prints the chaff . . ."

However, I am probably responsible for providing my fair share of chaff. I am, after all, the one who, during the campaign, promised "a kitchen in every pot" . . . And I also declared that "America's freedom is the example by which the world expires . . .")

Well, let no one miss this message. As editors, you uphold a certain ethical standard in your newsrooms. You must do so, because a newspaper is only as good as its word. This is no less true of government. High ethical standards are central to this Administration, and we will enforce them -- strictly, comprehensively, fairly, and to the letter and spirit of the law . . .

We must work together to reform a public code of conduct that is in disarray. It is not logical or fair. It is both too harsh and too lenient. It elevates detail over substance; precept over principle.

Such a system ultimately breeds cynicism and contempt for the law. To truly reform it, we must remember that standards of trust and honesty are not dictated from regulations written in Washington. Ethics in public service derive from the natural integrity of the American people. They are to be found in the everyday conduct of working men and women; in the postman who checks on the elderly resident at home; in the cashier who runs

after the customer she overcharged. The millions of Americans who meet their obligations honestly, and teach their children to do the same, see nothing extraordinary about asking the same of their government.

The American people are troubled when they hear of officials in every branch of government at whatever level of government who show a brazen contempt for the letter or spirit of the law. And the American people do not understand why certain behavior is considered criminal when committed by an executive branch official; and perfectly legal when committed by a Member of Congress. Is not a crime a crime? Should there not be an underlying standard of integrity for all?

As President-Elect, I heard about from talented men and women who, though perfectly honest, declined government service out of fear. Fear of the sheer complexity of federal ethics laws. Fear that a simple, honest mistake could lead to a public nightmare.

These concerns led me to issue an Executive Order creating the President's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. I asked its members to recommend steps to foster full confidence in the integrity of all federal public officials and employees.

On March 9, this Commission filed its report and its recommendations. In fact, legislation is being sent today to the Congress. And just this morning, I issued an Executive Order announcing ethical principles for the conduct of executive-branch employees.

Both actions seek a common end: To raise ethical standards, to avoid conflicts of interest, and to ensure that the law is respected in fact and appearance.

There are those, of course, who say that public ethics and values cannot be legislated. But they can be encouraged, respected, and adhered to in government . . . Public servants must reflect the best values of America. And let me add that most public servants do.

Jefferson said, "The whole art of government consists in being honest." Yet, too often, simple honesty is not enough. Government rules have worked at cross-purposes. Our regulations have been complicated and unequally applied. Our laws have been contradictory and unclear. We've spent more time trying to understand federal ethics laws than we have trying to live by them.

My ethics program seeks to remedy these defects. How? By setting four objectives: First, to establish clear ethical

principles; second, to ensure uniform standards among all three branches of government; third, to insist that these standards be fair and reasonable; and, fourth, to ensure that these standards attract, not drive out, talented men and women to government.

My ethics program first insists that ethical standards must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with utmost integrity, for the public's confidence is not ours to inherit. We must earn that confidence. It must be constantly renewed. With this in mind, I have placed a ban on outside income for non-career Presidential appointees in the executive branch, including all employees in the immediate White House office. I am proposing expanded financial disclosure for all three branches of government. And I have instructed my staff to perform a comprehensive review of federal campaign finance laws.

Regarding the last, I have already reached one determination. Congress should extend, for all members, the prohibition against the conversion of political contributions for personal or office use. Political donations should not become a sort of Individual Retirement Account for Congressmen. I call on Congress to close this loophole, and to close it this year.

Modern democratic government works best when organized by strong political parties. Yet we've allowed our parties to become weakened and overshadowed by special interests. We can

best restore the role of the parties by limiting political action committees. PACs weaken the parties, restrain competition and deaden the political debate. I believe we should eliminate direct contributions to candidates, without resorting to federal funding -- that is, taxpayer funding -- of congressional elections.

My legislative proposal also strengthens the rules against abusing the revolving door for private gain at the expense of the public trust. These rules must not make government service a bar to productive work in the private sector, but they must prohibit the appearance of profiting from government service -- and this must include the legislative branch.

I am proposing a 25 percent pay raise for federal judges, while restricting their acceptance of honoraria. I also believe that honoraria for Members of Congress should be banned. I believe Congress should have a pay increase. I will not make a formal proposal on Congress until after I consult with the leaders of Congress on the issue of congressional pay. [There is no point putting Congress through another traumatic bashing like the one just completed.] And I will include in that discussion the question of a pay increase for certain executive branch positions, including specialized jobs like those at the National Institutes for Health. I will strongly support pay increases for these jobs, which are so important to this country.

My ethics program's second goal recognizes that ethical consistency demands equitable standards across all three branches of government. Under our Constitution, every branch of government is equal, and none warrants preferential treatment. The same standard that applies to a staff person at HUD should also apply to housing subcommittee staff on the Hill. A practice is either ethical or it is not. If Washington is to be a level playing field, then every player should be treated the same.

Therefore, I am proposing that we must extend the Independent Counsel statute to cover the Congress. I am also proposing that the federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions that enhance their own financial interest be extended to cover legislative and judicial branch employees. There should also be an independent ethics office for the Congress, to be headed by a clearly nonpartisan official, confirmed by both houses. I ask that the existing one-year post-employment "cooling-off" period for senior executive-branch employees also apply to the legislative and judicial branches.

Then, there's the third objective of my ethics program. It insists that standards be reasonable and reflect good old-fashioned common sense.

Some financial interests, for example, are too minor to create any meaningful conflict-of-interest. So, I want the Office of Government Ethics to have the authority to issue regulations authorizing waivers from the conflict-of-interest statute. But at the same time, we're urging tougher penalties when intentional violations of criminal conflict-of-interest laws occur.

We're asking officials from all three branches to simplify the forms that must be completed by prospective appointees. I'm also requiring mandatory annual briefings on ethics for Presidential appointees.

My program's fourth objective is to attract and keep the best people in government, by keeping federal ethics laws fair and balanced.

An ethics law is not a weapon, a blunt instrument with which to pound a public servant. It is not a gag with which to silence the outspoken. It is a tool to ensure a government as honest as the American people.

We must not allow overly restrictive requirements to be abused, or to keep talented people from entering public service. That is why we have carefully crafted new post-employment

restrictions. And that is why we want to allow persons who are required to divest assets to defer their tax liability.

My ethics program shows exactly where we are going, and why. We seek to attract, and keep, the best and brightest in government. And by helping others, by building a better America, -- honorably, ethically -- we seek to show how public service is not the sum of our perks or possessions, but a measure of how we conduct ourselves and what we achieve.

Come to think of it, this is a code for all occupations, from high school to the highest callings in journalism and government. Perhaps the greatest reward of all is the chance to contribute to America's greatness.

Thank you, and now I would be delighted to take your questions.

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complicated. Our laws have been contradictory and unclear. We've spent more time trying to understand Federal ethics laws than we have trying to live by them.

My ethics program seeks to remedy these defects. How? By achieving four objectives: First, to set high ethical standards; second, to ensure uniform standards among all three branches of government; third, to insist that these standards are fair and reasonable; and, fourth, to bring in, not drive out, talented men and women to government.

First, my ethics program insists that ethical standards must be exacting enough to ensure that officials act with utmost integrity, for the public's confidence is not ours to inherit. We must earn that confidence. It must be constantly renewed. With this in mind, I have placed a ban on outside income for Executive Branch employees. I am proposing expanded financial disclosure for all three branches of government. And I have instructed my staff to perform a comprehensive review of federal campaign finance laws.

LAST ~~THE~~ I have already reached one determination concerning this branch of federal law. In fact, it is not a measure that required a great deal of study to arrive at a conclusion. We must no longer allow Members of Congress, who were elected before 1980, to convert political contributions for personal or office

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use. Political donations should never be treated as an Individual Retirement Account for Members of Congress. Never. I call on Congress to close this loophole, and close it this year.

I am also proposing a 25 percent pay raise for federal judges, while restricting their acceptance of honoraria. In addition, I hope to work with Congress to award long-overdue raises for senior federal executives, especially those in specialized positions -- like the National Institute of Health. I will also consult with Congress on a possible congressional pay raise, and the question of honoraria.

My ethics program's second goal insists that standards be equitable across all three branches of government. Remember: If every branch of government is equal, none warrants preferential treatment. If Washington is a level playing field, then every ~~team member~~ ^{player} should be treated the same.

Therefore, assuming the continued existence of the Independent Counsel, I request that we extend that statute to cover the Congress. I want to create an independent ethics office for the Congress, to be headed by an independent official, confirmed by both houses. I ask that the existing one-year post-employment "cooling-off" period for senior executive-branch employees also apply to ~~other~~ ^{other} the two branches.

And I want to extend to legislative- and judicial-branch employees and judges the Federal statute that prohibits employees from taking actions which enhance their own financial interests.

Then, there's the third objective of my ethics program. It insists that standards be reasonable and reflect good old-fashioned common sense.

Some financial interests, for example, are too minor to create any meaningful conflict-of-interest. So, I want the Office of Government Ethics to have the authority to issue regulations authorizing waivers from the conflict-of-interest statute. But at the same time, we're urging tougher penalties when intentional violations of criminal conflict-of-interest laws occur.

We're asking officials from all three branches to simplify the forms that must be completed by prospective appointees. And my Executive Order sets forth tighter ethical standards for executive-branch employees. To make this clear, I'm requiring mandatory annual briefings on ethics for Presidential appointees.

My program's fourth objective is to attract and keep the best people in government, by keeping federal ethics laws fair and balanced.

An ethics law is not a weapon, a blunt instrument with which to pound a public servant. It is not a gag with which to silence the outspoken. It is not an instrument of torture with which to torment the unpopular. It is a tool for government ~~as good, as~~ ^{as} honest ~~and as wise as the nation it serves.~~ ^{the American people.}

America must not allow overly restrictive requirements to be abused, or to keep talented people from entering public service. That is why we have carefully crafted new post-employment restrictions. And that is why we want to allow persons who are required to divest assets to defer their tax liability.

My ethics program shows exactly where we are going, and why. We seek to attract, and keep, the best and brightest in government. And by helping others -- honorably, ethically -- we seek to show how public service is not the sum of our perks or possessions, but a measure of how we conduct ourselves and what we achieve.

Mark Twain was once asked the secret of his success. "Always do right," he replied. "This will gratify some people and astonish the rest."

My friends, my ethics program strives to do right. And it reflects these words of Henry Clay, who said, "Government is a

trust, and the officers of the government are trustees; and both the trust and trustees are created for the benefit of the people."

~~Yes, government is a trust, and we are its trustees.~~ These standards of trust and honesty do not emanate from Washington. They are to be found in the everyday conduct of working men and women; in the postman who checks on the elderly resident at home; in the cashier who runs after the customer she overcharged.

OK Ethics in public service derives from the natural integrity of the American people. ~~And the ethos of public service derives from a broader spirit of volunteerism.~~ That is why I have declared this to be National Volunteer Week. This is more than another honorific for the calendar. I am using the office of the Presidency actively, to promote and to inspire a national outpouring of community service.

I will challenge employers to establish literacy programs and day-care centers. I will challenge local civic groups to "adopt" a local school, hospital or nursing home. I will challenge more churches and synagogues to organize food drives for the homeless. To every American, I will ask for more than a donation of dollars. I will ask for the precious donation of time and effort, for a giving of the heart.

And to young Americans, I will deliver a special message:
Don't just measure success by the acronyms of material wealth --
V.C.R.s, C.D.s and BMWs. From now on, the good life in America
must include service to others . . .

Come to think of it, this is a code for all to live by, from
high school to the highest calling in journalism and government.
As a society fragmented into sectors, and atomized into
individuals, we can do little. As a ^(national) community aware of a common
fate, bound by a collective purpose, we can achieve anything.

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

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1968

VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH: A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE MEETS ASNE

Friday morning, April 15

Walter Mears, Associated Press, *presiding*: When Vice President George Bush won the New Hampshire primary two months ago, he said that reports of his death in Iowa had been greatly exaggerated. That seemed only fair because it was certain that we would also exaggerate reports of his revival in New Hampshire. We would have, too, except that it proved impossible. It could not have been exaggerated.

In one remarkable month, the vice president went from a faltering start to a lock on the Republican presidential nomination. He has done all of this without benefit of voodoo and without changing his style. To quote him, "It is important for the vice president not to upstage his boss, and you do not know how hard it has been for me to keep my charisma in check for the past seven years."

We hope that you will let it out of check today for us. The vice president of the United States.

Remarks by Vice President George Bush

Thank you. I am delighted to be here. It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to speak to this distinguished audience, the editors of America's finest newspapers, and also those that carry *Doonesbury*. Please do not interpret this as a vicious assault on the press, but dealing with some of your employees during this campaign and in the last few years, I have felt like the javelin competitor who won the toss and elected to receive.

Let me do some prognosticating. The economy is thriving and it will continue to thrive. If I am correct in that first prognostication, then there will be no more important issue in the fall election than experience in foreign policy. That is what I want to talk about today before responding to your questions.

The foremost responsibility of any president must be the national security of the United States of America. To that I would also add the encouragement of peace and freedom around the world. Beyond that, the growing importance of international trade means that foreign policy and economic policy are becoming more and more intertwined.

I have tried to stay out of the nominating process on the Democratic side, feeling it would be gratuitous and presumptuous to get into that process too much. But as I look at it en masse, it worries me. The foreign policy of the modern Democratic Party is embodied by the voices we hear on the other side. It is dangerous, naive and contains an awful lot of wishful thinking. I have dealt with our allies and our adversaries off and on for most of the last 17 years, at the United Nations, in China, as head of the intelligence community, and as vice president, and I have learned a lot along the way.

As we look into the 1990s, and just 12 years short of the 21st century, I believe that our foreign policy should be guided by a few central principles. Number one, we must operate from a position of strength. We achieved this historic INF agreement by rebuilding our defenses, by responding to the Soviet missile buildup on INF weapons in Europe, and by remaining resolute at the bargaining table for verifiable and asymmetrical arms reductions.

I remember taking the case for deploying Pershing II missiles to Europe in 1983 in the face of violent protest by the so-called Peace Movement. The European leaders and ultimately the public recognized the moral strength of our position, which, as you remember, was based on the zero option, the elimination of these weapons altogether. I will never forget sitting with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the garage of a place where we had just made an appearance. We were delayed and delayed, so I said, "What is going on?" And he said, "Well, there is a major demonstration." And sure enough, we tried to reroute the motorcade, with German security doing a good job, but one young man broke through the police lines. I will never forget his face, vividly filled with hate, or his leather jacket, filled with rocks. Some demonstrators were throwing rocks through the bus that was following with our staff, scaring the dickens out of everybody. This young man slammed his rock-filled jacket against the car that the chancellor and I were in.

Remember, we had a thousand Soviet warheads deployed then and zero U.S. If we had listened to those at home and abroad who said the answer was the nuclear freeze, how in the world would we ever have gotten to where we are now? It was only our determination to counteract that Soviet monopoly that brought progress in Geneva. And even today, as you listen on the other side of the aisle, in the campaign, you hear many recommendations for unilateral cuts in the muscle of our defense effort — in MX, Midget Men, carrier battle groups — with no concessions on the part of the Soviet Union. And judging from that campaign rhetoric, the Democrats have not learned anything out of the experience of the last seven years.

Principle number two is that the United States must remain engaged around the world. If we are to support those who strive for freedom and democracy, and I believe we must, we cannot do it with words alone. The Soviets have agreed to withdraw from Afghanistan and end that cruel and barbaric invasion because of our willingness to stay engaged and to supply arms to the Afghan rebels. As a result, the world will be able to celebrate a triumph for freedom. This lesson also applies to Nicaragua. Unfortunately, the opposition disagrees; they have not learned.

Principle number three is that the United States cannot withdraw from the world economic arena anymore than we can withdraw from the world political arena. We must be a force for open markets at home and abroad and not cower behind protectionist barriers that proclaim our inability to compete. I have traveled a lot around this country in the last couple of years and I am concerned about protectionist pressures. I understand them in some places, but I am very much concerned about them.

When the president was over here on Wednesday, he talked broadly about foreign policy, and I do not want to go over that same ground. But let me just tick off some areas that are of great concern to me and that are going to be demanding our attention in the 1990s. If these areas are neglected, they could become sources of increasing tension and trouble for the United States. If they are handled with sensitivity and with skill, they could equally become the locus of the next American triumph.

First is Mexico. One cannot live in Texas as long as I have and not have a special feeling for our proud and fiercely independent neighbor to the south. The rapid growth of the Hispanic population and culture in the whole Southwest, which has even touched my own family, and I do feel doubly blessed, has greatly enriched the melting pot called America. We have had a long, close, even fraternal relationship with Canada to the north, capped by a free trade agreement that will rank as a very significant achievement for our administration. I would like to see that same kind of relationship with Mexico — a relationship of economic competition, strategic cooperation, mutual trust, a recognition of our differences, of course, and yet moving toward common goals, greater prosperity and individual freedom.

Last year I went down to Loreto in the Baja and met in a quiet way with President de la Madrid. There were no note-takers; we were out on a boat for about four hours. It is interesting that we have so much in common with Mexico and yet all we read about are the areas of confrontation.

I hope to visit soon with the victor of the Mexican presidential election being held in June. In fact, our staff has met twice with representatives of Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the leading candidate, to talk about the future. I am impressed with his economic agenda, with its themes of the modernization of Mexico. If he follows through on that, we will be able to do what I am suggesting here — not take for granted our own front yard, but work more closely with Mexico. I would like to work toward the creation of a free trade zone, embracing Mexico, Canada, and the United States. This North American compact would take years to achieve, but I believe it would benefit everybody, Canadians, Mexicans, and North Americans, by spurring economic growth throughout the continent.

We share a lot of bilateral interests with Mexico, including interdiction in narcotics, management of Mexico's debt, immigration, energy, the environment and trade, but there is none more important than our own national security. With our long and porous southern border, we must do whatever we can to bolster the strength of democracy and free enterprise in Mexico.

In spite of the points of conflagration, democracy is on a roll in this hemisphere. Since we came into office, the following countries have changed from military to democratic rule, some trying to perfect their democracy, some trying to hold onto it: Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, Honduras, Granada, El Salvador, Brazil, Uruguay, and Guatemala. Ninety percent of the population of Latin America now lives under democracy. This pattern of political evolution suggests that once the current leadership of Chile and Paraguay pass from the scene it may be possible for these countries also to move closer to democracy.

We must stand up to protect these sometimes fragile democracies. We must stand up when Sandinista leaders vow a revolution without borders and when they build up an army of unprecedented size, or when Cuba attempts to subvert the tiny nation of Granada. And yet as we approach these problems we must also be sensitive to the scars of the past. Currently, we are in an effort to protect civilian rule in Panama against Gen. Manuel Noriega, an indicted drug trafficker. So far, he has stood up to the considerable economic pressure we have applied, and I can tell you one reason why. Several reliable sources indicate that he is receiving millions of dollars in support from Libya. We support democracy in Panama as we do throughout Latin America, and I am convinced if we handle it correctly, Noriega will go, democracy will prevail and we can achieve that without exacerbating tensions of the past.



Vice President George Bush: "I would like to work toward the creation of a free trade zone, embracing Mexico, Canada and the United States."

Let me turn now to Asia, where we continue to enjoy the benefits of postwar reconstruction in Japan, our defense of South Korea, and the renewal of our ties to China, a country that Barbara and I lived in and whose leaders I know. I cannot think of a relationship out in the Pacific that is more important than our relations with China in the future. The United States enjoys its best relations with both China and Japan in a long, long time, since the days of Sun Yat Sen and the Portsmouth Treaty in 1910. And our quiet diplomacy in South Korea seems to have nudged that country much closer to full-fledged democracy. In the light of our enormous trade imbalance there is growing tension within our own country about the free ride Japan is getting on defense. Listen for the words in the campaign of "burden-sharing." You are going to hear a lot about it.

I want to see this prosperous country, Japan, do all that it possibly can within its constitutional constraints to help defend itself and to help defend the rest of the world. I do not believe, however, that Japan should be pushed to go beyond its current rate of expansion for its own national defense. Japan's neighbors, more than 40 years after World War II, still remain sensitive to the issues of Japanese imperialism and Japanese disarmament. It is there. We have to be sensitive to that. Instead, I would ask the Japanese and the Koreans to help us support freedom, democracy and development in other ways.

A good place to look for that and to try to help as we move into the 1990s is the Philippines. The most important bases in the Pacific are located there, Clark and Subic. And negotiations have just begun about the future of those bases. President Corazon Aquino and her government face an extremely difficult economic situation and a dangerous insurgency. There is a need

for increased foreign aid. Such assistance from Korea and Japan could help bolster our position, a position that helps guarantee not only the freedom of the Philippines, but the freedom of the Asian countries and other friends in the Pacific as well.

I do not know if my friend Lee Kuan Yew talked about the Philippines and his perspective on it, but he is most eloquent on that subject and we should listen to him, in terms of the United States' continuing interest in that part of the world. It is the kind of burden-sharing that I believe in, with South Korea and Japan helping; not just tit for tat balancing of costs, but a mutual, cooperative effort based on discussion and shared responsibility.

We also have to redouble our efforts to convince our friends around the world that American bases are there to protect the vital interests of the free world. It angers me when elements in some friendly countries mindlessly attack our bases as in some way threatening the sovereignty of those countries. And frankly, I am convinced that all that does is play into the hands of isolationists at home. "They don't like us, we ought to get out." You are going to hear more of that as we go along and as the question of the Philippine bases gets more in the forefront. You have heard it before in relation to Spain.

Turning now to the subcontinent, the Soviets have promised to get out of Afghanistan. So far, it is only a promise. Proof is in the pullout. Keep your eyes open, wide open, in dealing with this new regime. We hope that they go through with what it now looks like they will do.

Our next challenge will be to work with the countries of the region and others to ensure that the Soviet withdrawal is followed by reconstruction and development so that the region finally does have a chance at peace and freedom. The key is to do all we can to improve relations between two friends of ours who are not friends of each other, India and Pakistan. It is an effort we have been involved in for the past seven years. Problems flare up once in awhile, but that relationship is of enormous concern as I look to the problems that will engage us in the 1990s. The stability of the subcontinent is threatened by nuclear competition between these two nations. India has exploded a device; Pakistan is not far behind. I believe it is in the interest of neither country to move further in this direction.

On a 1985 trip to China, I raised this question with Deng Xiaoping, who fully endorsed our efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The cycle of nuclear proliferation must end. The Indians originally developed their nuclear capacity in response to the Chinese nuclear capacity, and now the Pakistanis say they must match the Indians. Because regional tensions underlie each country's desire for weapons, if I am president, what I will do is all I can to move Islamabad and New Delhi toward a bilateral agreement that would verifiably constrain any further development of nuclear weapons there.

A fundamental hallmark of our foreign policy for the future must be to contain the spread of nuclear weapons. It appears quite clear that such weapons are more apt to be used in a regional conflict or even in a terrorist attack than in some stand-off between the superpowers. As president, I would push for more progress in this area, more support for the International Atomic Energy Agency, with a more visible presidential interest in containing this threat in every way possible. I believe in the IAEA and I applaud its efforts, but we must press now for more on-site inspections and more agreements to control proliferation. Here at home, we must insist that

our safeguards against the transfer of nuclear technology are enforced rigorously and reviewed regularly.

Lastly, South Africa. Our goal there is clear: the complete end to apartheid. To achieve that goal we simply have to stay engaged. We have tried economic sanctions. We have tried disinvestment. So far, they have not worked. I do not support breaking diplomatic relations. I do not support a retreat from the Sullivan principles through complete American disinvestment. Disinvestment has hurt black workers, the very people that we in our moral indignation are trying to help. Increased economic development would require more trained workers from among the black population, and it is only these workers, many working for American firms, who have begun to enjoy a tiny amount of the freedom that they deserve.

I have worked actively to cause South Africa to free Nelson Mandela with no conditions, although I would like to encourage Nelson Mandela to do that which he has been unwilling to do: Renounce violence and walk in the path of Martin Luther King and Gandhi. I encourage an immediate dialogue between the government of South Africa and Mandela, Bishop Tutu and other black leaders. There is no easy answer to the problem of South Africa, but I would work vigorously to end apartheid there. I would also work to see that our own strategic interests are not diminished by the emergence of a pro-Soviet, radical regime. Peaceful change based on racial equity and democracy must be the goal.

So by keeping our country strong and engaged in the world, even in areas that get much less attention than the ones you have been hearing about here, we can do more than be just an example. More than just an inspiration, we can be a force for change, a force for freedom, in Latin America, Asia, Africa and throughout the world.

These are some of the areas that you can expect to find on the front burner in the future. I hope I have had the experience. I know I have the commitment about our innate decency, honor, generosity and strength to be able to lead toward ensuring peace in these areas. Thank you all very much. I would be glad to take some questions.

Questions from the floor

Mears: The usual rules apply and, once again, I want to ask the first question.

In 1980, the embassy hostages in Tehran were a major issue throughout the campaign. In 1988, there are hostages in Beirut, one of whom is Terry Anderson of the Associated Press, and they are very seldom mentioned in the campaign. What is the Reagan administration doing at this point, and what would a Bush administration do to end that situation?

Bush: Let me comment on the difference. In one case, we actually had acquiescence by a government in holding the U.S. embassy hostage. That is quite different from clandestine terror, where one cannot even find where these people are. We are pursuing every lead, we are going down every rabbit trail, running into dead ends. I can tell you that our sources are far less in the Middle East than they would have been if we had not decimated the intelligence community awhile back. We have lost sources in the Middle East. People do not want to be sources if their names are going to be printed in the newspaper. So, therefore, we are in a much more difficult position.

Also, radicalization, with this whole Hezbollah and Jihad thing, has gotten more force. That makes it extremely difficult to locate a man like

Terry Anderson or to try to effect, by force or any other way, a change, except by a way that we should find unacceptable, and that is to acquiesce in the demand to free the Diawat prisoners. We should just keep on trying; run down every lead we can and set an example when we can make an example of grabbing a terrorist. A couple of those things have happened. Although the terrorist Hamadi was not extradited to here, he was to Germany, and that helped a little bit. Punishing Khadaffy when he had his fingerprints on international terror, on international state-sponsored terror in that discotheque bombing, has helped. But beyond that, there is no easy answer for it.

We have a good anti-terrorist policy, and the incidents involving Americans are down, although even as I speak, we are concerned about the USO incident and what is happening in the hijacking. We can just keep on trying. But I would make the distinction between the holding of a U.S. embassy with acquiescence of a government and selective, sporadic cowardly terrorist acts.

Jim Hampton, Miami Herald: Throughout your campaign, sir, you have claimed to have taken a substantial leadership role in the administration's war on drugs. That role, of course, includes being the vice president of the South Florida Task Force on drugs throughout its history of some six years. In 1986, the U.S. ambassador in Panama urged the State Department to repudiate Gen. Noriega because of his drug trafficking activities. And yet a month or so ago, when Gen. Noriega was indicted, first in Miami and then in Tampa, if my memory serves, you said that you were unaware until approximately the time of that indictment of Gen. Noriega's activity. So mine, sir, is a circular question. If you truly were that active in the fight on drugs, how come you did not know about Noriega? And if you did not know about Noriega, were you that active in the fight on drugs?

Bush: Yes, I have stopped beating my wife.

In the first place, we have known about the involvement of Panama, or involvement of some of its institutions, in money-laundering. Indeed, I made a representation to the president of Panama some time ago, before 1986, about that. It is this administration that has brought Noriega to justice, if you will, or at least taken a first step on that by his indictment. I did not know about Noriega's personal involvement until this legal proceeding came to fruition. And I would like to point out that many in Miami feel that the South Florida task force has had a beneficial effect. We are still a long way from perfection, but I would ask you to take an honest look at what would have happened if we had never created the South Florida Task Force bringing together various elements of the federal bureaucracy, changing the posse comitatus laws so we could use military assets as we have in trying to interdict. And so we are in a campaign where you hear a lot of demagogic statements that nothing has been done. A lot has been done. A lot of people have given their lives in your city trying to interdict and to go after the drug pushers and the kingpins, and so I am proud of our involvement there. But I think there is much, much more that needs to be done. I might add, I do not think we are going to solve this problem simply through interdiction. But in terms of Noriega, those are the facts.

Lou Ureneck, Portland (Maine) Press Herald: The Reagan administration, rightly or wrongly, does not have a strong reputation for protection of the environment. If you are elected president, what initiatives and programs would you undertake to protect the environment?

Bush: We can do better on the environment; I do not know that it is a matter of being able to afford to spend jillions. I am all for clean, cold



Vice President George Bush: "We can do better on the environment; I do not now that it is a matter of being able to afford to spend jillions."

technology, a two-and-a-half-billion dollar program that is just getting started that will do a lot. I am proud of the fact that we are involved in a treaty on the ozone layer and I salute the commercial people who are going to do away with the agents that deplete the ozone. I am a supporter of the president's task force on the great outdoors, which includes beltways between the cities and doing better in the parks. We in this administration have a better record in cleaning up parks and preserving that part of our environment, but your premise is right. We are not getting the proper credit.

I am not suggesting that all has been done that should be. The problem of acid rain is real and we are on the right track when we repeal the fuel and use act and use gas instead of coal. That is a good step for the environment. But we must do more. I kind of like the Teddy Roosevelt approach: Next to the national security, it is the kind of earth that you leave the generations to come. And some of what we need is exhortation on business and others to go the extra mile. A lot of it is clean-up. But again, we are living within the confines of the number one fiscal problem: How do you get the federal deficit down? How do you keep the economy going so that local governments and others can clean up their local problems? So we are a little bit on the horns of a dilemma in terms of an open checkbook to do all the things I would like to see done on the environment.

Edward Seaton, Manhattan (Kan.) Mercury: At our luncheon yesterday, President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica told us that he intended to propose to you later yesterday that a meeting of the five central American foreign ministers and Secretary of State George Shultz take place before the summit. I also note that assistant secretary Eliot Abrams has been meeting with his counterpart from the Soviet Union in Rome. I wonder first, will you press for such a meeting of Central American foreign ministers with Secretary Shultz? And what do you think is possible at the summit with regard to Central America?

Bush: I am not sure whether I think the meeting is important. Arias did mention it. I would like to talk to some real experts about what would come out of a meeting that would include the Nicaraguan foreign minister. If you could get a unified statement, I think it might be a very useful thing. If all you did is rehash divisions, what kind of message would that send to

the Soviets? The Soviets addressed themselves somewhat to that problem when they were here, with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze telling us that all they were doing is furnishing what they call police arms. They have moved away from that a little bit now, I am afraid. So I do not know whether that is necessary to be a catalyst for progress to be made between the United States and the Soviets at the summit. I can guarantee you that subject will be discussed by Gorbachev and the president. What was the other part of that question?

Seaton: What is possible at the summit in terms of Central America?

Bush: Well, maybe progress in terms of self-containment of Soviet support for revolution in the hemisphere. As you know, a lot of that goes through Castro, through Cuba, but we could make some more progress there. The subject was broached at the first summit and maybe with recent developments in Central America there might be some more hope. I am a little worried about the tenuous nature of what has transpired there, but at least it is a step toward negotiations and discussion.

I want to reserve judgment on the question of the meeting of five foreign ministers. Arias brought it up and as I said, it is an interesting idea, but let us talk about it, because if it is just simply a rehash of divisions, I do not think it sends the kind of signal we want to the Soviets.

Stanford Erickson, Journal of Commerce, New York: It is fairly well documented that the excesses of supply-side economics have created the twin towers of deficit, the federal deficit and the trade deficit. Under your presidency, would you be a supply-sider? Would you tend to make some changes in your economic policy? And in corollary, with the trade deficit now resurging, do you think the dollar should decline vis-a-vis the yen?

Bush: First of all, I do not accept the premise that the trade deficit has suddenly turned around and started to go the wrong way because of one month. That was disappointing. I was wrong. I thought it was going to continue the improvement we have seen. Note, however, that the export figures were up pretty substantially. That is important. Let us hope that this is not some new trend. I do not believe it is a new trend. I believe the dollar-yen relationship is going to guarantee an amelioration of the trade deficit without a lot of protectionist legislation. I also believe that protectionist legislation would shrink markets and make it worse. What was the other part?

Erickson: Do you think the dollar should decline vis-a-vis the yen?

Bush: I do not believe that we ought to set the dollar, nor will I, as a public official, speculate as to what level it should be. I will again confess where I have been wrong. One of the most prominent industrialists in this country came to see me when the yen was at 240. And he said, if it gets below 200 to the dollar, that will take care of — I think he said 60 percent, but let me just say 40 percent because I cannot remember — of our trade problem. It never stopped at 200. It went plummeting on. Or, the yen went on strengthening itself and the dollar became less and less. What happened, as you and others know, is that the Japanese absorbed profit, they absorbed cash flow, and they kept trying to hold market share. They cannot do it forever.

So I do not know whether the ratio should be 126 to the dollar or what, and it is not the role of us in government to set a specific figure. But in this range you are going to see an amelioration of the trade deficit.

John Lavine, Chippewa Falls (Wis.) Herald Telegram: One high priority of this organization is to get more minorities into our newsrooms. In the campaign you have said on numerous occasions that if elected you would

be the education president. And because higher education represents almost the sole source of the next generation of minority employees, can you tell us some of the details of the programs you would put in place and how much new spending you would put toward that end?

Bush: I cannot tell you the total amount of spending. I have proposed a college savings bond. Incidentally, it is also getting wide sponsorship from both sides of the aisle in the Senate. It gives a tax credit on the interest. As on an IRA account, one does not pay tax on the interest. That gets families to save money to be able to educate their kids. I support continuation of the Pell grants, full funding for student loans and work study programs. We had to make some tough cuts there, and we made some revisions in the means testing. And frankly, properly so. A rich guy should not necessarily have the federal government pay his way through college.

I would retain all of those, with strong support and encouragement of private sector approaches such as you mentioned, on minority education. We can do much better. We have had the highest level of funding ever for the Negro college fund, for example, but it is small compared to the overall problem. I do not know what the total levels are. A lot of what I am talking about does not engage the federal government in spending more money. A lot of it is in exhortation on things like values, and stuff that Secretary of Education Bill Bennett has been talking about in terms of accountability, discipline, and in terms of the basics. A lot of it is public/private. I was at a public school in Harlem two days ago to see a very impressive program called "cities in school." Working hand in hand with city officials, the private sector and committed teachers and principals in this school are doing a great job of keeping mostly minority kids — I would say 75 percent black and 25 percent Hispanic — in this particular school and really working. That does not cost the federal government anything.

But the president can do more, it seems to me, to encourage that kind of participation. I had a visit from some presidents of colleges. We can do more in research and development, which particularly affects our colleges. Some of that is the continuation of the tax credit, a lot of that is the simplification of regulations affecting the way research is conducted. We have made it inefficient by imposing a lot of regulations on these people.

So I have not come up yet with what the budget is going to be in each of these departments, but those are some of the things that would be very helpful. A lot of it is emphasis, asking, "What are your priorities?" Education has to be the answer to poverty, competitiveness, all these things.

Jerry Ceppos, San Jose (Calif.) Mercury News: I believe that you refer to Prime Minister Lee of Singapore as a friend. As you know, he spoke to us yesterday.

Bush: Yes, I hear he got a little flak over here.

Ceppos: Well, it was a fairly remarkable address. He spoke about the evils for his country and for much of the rest of Asia of a free press, and there were also references to his remarkable string of election victories and so forth. And by the end, some of us at least were wondering whether in a few years he will be our next Ferdinand Marcos or Anastasio Somoza or Shah of Iran. Are we still picking our friends the wrong way, or do you think that is not the case with him?

Bush: If you are suggesting that the prime minister of Singapore is another Marcos or Shah of Iran, you are wrong. Those who have dealt with him have a very different assessment.

We are not picking our friends wrong at all. Sometimes you go with who happens to be in power, whether it is in China or the Soviet Union or

in some small Asian country. We have some differences with the prime minister; we have many things in common. He has a tremendous grasp of the world as it really is. He put the importance of a democratic Philippines into perspective for those in the administration. That was very, very helpful. He has the respect of myself and every interlocutor with the prime minister that I know. Now does that mean we think everything is fine in the way that country is run? No. We have differences.

David McCumber, Santa Barbara (Calif.) News-Press: Dan Rather will not be the last person to ask you about your role in the Iran-contra affair during this campaign.

Bush: Listen, I would like to make a confession before I get my first Iran-contra question. Somebody asked, do I feel something kind of personal about Dan Rather? This is probably a good forum to lay it all out. I feel no tension at all. He did his thing and I did mine. And I do not know what the jury is going to say, what the American people felt about that. But just to put you at ease on it, any time Dan wants to ask a question, hopefully without a preamble of prejudicial billboards being flashed on the screen, I will be delighted to talk to him. But go ahead.

McCumber: What affect do you think the so-called sleaze factor and Attorney General Ed Meese's problems will have on your campaign? And can you give us a little preview of how you intend to handle it?

Bush: I think the Democrats are going to be like a bunch of fish jumping out at a dry fly, going wild on it. They are going to be talking about the executive branch, not the legislative branch that they control. They are not going to be talking about the fact that special investigators are assigned only to the executive branch and not to the legislative branch. They do not want to talk about local government, where many of the departures from the highest ethical standards come under the label of Democrat.

They are going after me, and I have already heard it, on this "sleaze factor," and I am going to be saying a couple of things. I have been in public life for 20 years and probably made some mistakes. None of them has to do with conflict of interest or integrity in the way I have conducted myself. I battled for full disclosure way back in the 1960s, and I do not just lay it out there in terms of, "I have more than \$3,000 and less than \$5 million," as some do on these forms they all fill out. I provide much more detail and have been out in front on that.

I get criticized — where is Garry Trudeau? — because I happen to think public service is honorable. My dad served in it before me. One might disagree with him on an issue, but he always had a sense of honor. I want the highest possible standards. I want people to come to serve, not to profit.

I am not going to go into passing judgment on somebody who is under investigation. I learned something from Ray Donovan. And I think people in this room learned something. Criticized, abused, "convicted," he gets through the trial and he says, what office do I go to to get my good name back? It made a profound impression on me. The guy was innocent. I do not want to jump into the middle of something.

The Democrats will be after me on this; they have so little else to talk about. They are going to be out there trying to impugn my integrity in some way or suggest something is wrong if they can pinpoint a case where somebody has been found guilty. But I do not think it should be a partisan thing. I will be going after them the same way. Let the system work on this thing; here is what I stand for. Here are the kinds of people, here are the standards I will have to bring people into government, and hopefully with the record to back it up. But I know they are going to go after me.



Vice President George Bush: "I want people to come to serve, not to profit."

Mears: We have time for one more.

George Neavoll, Wichita (Kan.) Eagle-Beacon: Will you give us any insight into your current thinking as to whom your vice presidential choice might be?

Bush: This will not count as a question because I am not going to answer it. I do not want to go into speculation on it. It is too early. We have the benefit of seeing what the Democrats do. Criterion: Which man or woman is best able to take over if something happens to the president?

Without sounding too self-serving, I would like the person to feel reasonably compatible with what I was doing if I were elected president so we would not have the vice president calling little clandestine meetings with, well, leave out the AP, saying, "The president is screwing it up by the numbers over there." One does not need that. The president does not need that. And if he does, if he gets that, if that is the president's reward for choosing wrong, the vice president is going to sit in splendid isolation either in the Senate or in the Executive Office Building without being prepared to be president if something happens. Why? Because the president will not want him around. So there must be a certain compatibility. Geography is still important, but less important than it was in the days of less rapid communication.

But please do not press me to answer the question any further. And for those who work for national magazines, please let me say, with all respect to whoever wrote the story, I have not met with my aides and advisers about this question, and I am not going to. I have asked them not to speculate about it, and yet I know that with this thing taking a good bounce to me in the primaries that it is understandable speculation. But I really do not want to go any further.

David B. Offer, Newport (R.I.) Daily News: Yesterday, the U.S. frigate Samuel Roberts struck a mine in the Persian Gulf. Ten American sailors were injured. How long do you think we will continue our policy of escorting ships in the Gulf, and do you think that policy justifies the risk to the American sailors?

Bush: Yes, I do, and the policy should continue because it is correct. We have been in the Persian Gulf for 40 years, we have a commitment to

keeping the Strait of Hormuz open, and innocent passage is something fundamental.

We have a disproportionate responsibility because of our status, although we are not there alone. In the primaries I heard, "Hey, what are we doing all this heavy lifting for?" We forget that the French were in there; the British were in there, with a greater percentage of their fleet than us; the Dutch are there; and the Belgians are there. The Germans cannot be there, but the Italians have a role. So we are doing the right thing. I was hopeful after the first United Nations resolution that Iran would be more reasonable. I would like to see a second UN resolution.