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Hey, thanks a million for being with us on this trip. We appreciate you fellas being along, too.

Q. Thanks for inviting us.

The President. Well, that's all right.

Note: The session began at 8:45 a.m. while the President was en route to Ann Arbor, MI.

### Remarks at the University of Michigan Commencement Ceremony in Ann Arbor

May 4, 1991

President Duderstadt, thank you all very much. Thank you for that warm welcome. I want to salute the president, salute Governor and Mrs. John Engler, Representatives of the Congress—Pursell, Upton, and Vander Jagt, and distinguished Regents, and especially I want to pay my respects to our fellow honorary degree recipients. Barbara and I are very grateful for this high honor. Before this, there wasn't one lawyer in the family, and now we have two.

The last time I was in Ann Arbor, we commemorated John Kennedy's unveiling of the Peace Corps. And as your commencement program indicates, Lyndon Johnson introduced the Great Society in a University of Michigan commencement address.

Today, I want to talk to you about this historic moment. Your commencement—your journey into the "real world"—coincides with this nation's commencement into a world freed from cold war conflict and thrust into an era of cooperation and economic competition.

The United States plays a defining role in the world. Our economic strength, our military power, and most of all, our national character brought us to this special moment. When our policies unleashed the economic expansion of the 1980's, we exposed forever the failures of socialism and reaffirmed our status as the world's greatest economic power. When we sent troops to

the Gulf, we showed that we take principles seriously enough to risk dying for them.

But there's another message. There's another message. We also take them seriously enough to help others in need. Today, men and women of Operation Provide Comfort toil on behalf of suffering Kurds. And today, our thoughts and prayers also go to the hundreds of thousands of people victimized by a vicious cyclone in Bangladesh. Our Government has sent aid to that stricken land. Dozens of private agencies have sprung into action as well, sending food, water, supplies, and donations. The humanitarian instinct runs deep in our people, always has. It is an essential element of our American character.

Our successes have banished the Vietnam-era phantoms of doubt and distrust. In my recent travels around the country I have felt an idealism that we Americans supposedly had lost. People have faith in the future. And they ask: What next? And they ask: How can I help?

We have rediscovered the power of the idea that toppled the Berlin Wall and led a world to strike back at Saddam Hussein. Like generations before us, we have begun to define for ourselves the promise of freedom.

I'd like to talk today about the nature of freedom and how its demands will shape our future as a nation.

Let me start with the freedom to create. From its inception, the United States has been a laboratory for creation, invention, and exploration. Here, merit conquers circumstance. Here, people of vision—Abraham Lincoln, Henry Ford, Martin Luther King, Jr.—outgrow rough origins and transform a world. These achievements testify to the greatness of our free enterprise system. In past ages, and in other economic orders, people could acquire wealth only seizing goods from others. Free enterprise liberates us from this Hobbesian quagmire. It lets one person's fortune become everyone's gain.

This system, built upon the foundation of private property, harnesses our powerful instincts for creativity. It gives everyone an interest in shared prosperity, in freedom, and in respect. No system of development ever has nurtured virtue as completely and

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rigorously as ours. We've become the most egalitarian system in history—and one of the most harmonious—because we let people work freely toward their destinies.

When governments try to improve on freedom—say, by picking winners and losers in the economic market—they fail. No conclave of experts, no matter how brilliant, can match the sheer ingenuity of a market that collects and distributes the wisdoms of millions of people, all pursuing their destinies in different ways.

Our administration appreciates the power of free enterprise, and our economic and domestic programs try to apply the genius of the market to the needs of the Nation. For example, we want to eliminate rules and redtape that bind the hands and the minds of entrepreneurs and innovators.

Our America 2000 educational strategy challenges the Nation to reinvent the American school, to compete in the race to unleash our national genius.

We've incorporated market incentives into our legislative proposals, so taxpayers will get a fair return on their dollars. Just look at last year's child-care legislation and the Clean Air Act, or this year's transportation bill.

We've proposed a comprehensive banking reform package that strengthens the financial system upon which economic growth depends. We repeatedly have tried to slash the capital gains, so people with dreams have a chance of achieving them.

And we want to extend this dignity of home ownership to people who live now in government-owned apartments. Home ownership gives people dignity.

And although we have tried to transfer power into the hands of the people, we haven't done enough. In a world transformed by freedom, we must look for other ways to help people build good lives for themselves and their families. The average worker in the United States now spends more than 4 months of each year working just to pay the tax man, and increasing numbers of citizens see that burden as a barrier to achieving their dreams. We've tried to put on a lid on the spending that drives taxes and to concentrate Government efforts on truly national purposes. It's only common sense. And if we want to build faith in Government, we must

demand public services that serve the people. We must insist upon compassion that works.

But the power to create also rests on other freedoms, especially the freedom—and I think about that right now—[*ap- plause*]*]*—to think and speak one's mind. [*Applause*] You see—thank you. The freedom—I had this written into the speech, and I didn't even know if these guys were going to be here.

No, but seriously, the freedom to speak one's mind—that may be the most fundamental and deeply revered of all our liberties. Americans to debate, to say what we think—because, you see, it separates good ideas from bad, it defines and cultivates the diversity upon which our national greatness rests, it tears off the blinders of ignorance and prejudice and lets us move on to greater things.

Ironically, on the 200th anniversary of our Bill of Rights, we find free speech under assault throughout the United States, including on some college campuses. The notion of political correctness has ignited controversy across the land. And although the movement arises from the laudable desire to sweep away the debris of racism and sexism and hatred, it replaces old prejudice with new ones. It declares certain topics off-limits, certain expression off-limits, even certain gestures off-limits.

What began as a crusade for civility has soured into a cause of conflict and even censorship. Disputants treat sheer force—getting their foes punished or expelled, for instance—as a substitute for the power of ideas.

Throughout history, attempts to micro-manage casual conversation have only incited distrust. They have invited people to look for an insult in every word, gesture, action. And in their own Orwellian way, crusades that demand correct behavior crush diversity in the name of diversity.

We all should be alarmed at the rise of intolerance in our land and by the growing tendency to use intimidation rather than reason in settling disputes. Neighbors who disagree no longer settle matters over a cup of coffee. They hire lawyers, and they go to court. And political extremists roam the land, abusing the privilege of free speech,

setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race.

But, you see, such bullying is outrageous. It's not worthy of a great nation grounded in the values of tolerance and respect. So, let us fight back against the boring politics of division and derision. Let's trust our friends and colleagues to respond to reason. As Americans we must use our persuasive powers to conquer bigotry once and for all. And I remind myself a lot of this: We must conquer the temptation to assign bad motives to people who disagree with us.

If we hope to make full use of the optimism I discussed earlier, men and women must feel free to speak their hearts and minds. We must build a society in which people can join in common cause without having to surrender their identities.

You can lead the way. Share your thoughts and your experiences and your hopes and your frustrations. Defend others' rights to speak. And if harmony be our goal, let's pursue harmony, not inquisition.

The virtue of free speech leads naturally to another equally important dimension of freedom, and that is the freedom of spirit. In recent times, often with noble intentions, we as a nation have discouraged good works. Nowadays, many respond to misfortune by asking: "Whom can I sue?" Even worse, many would-be Samaritans wonder: "Will someone sue me?" Talented, concerned men and women avoid such noble professions as medicine for fear that unreasonable and undefined liability claims will force them to spend more time in court than in the office or in the hospital.

And at the same time, government programs have tried to assume roles once reserved for families and schools and churches. This is understandable, but dangerous. When government tries to serve as a parent or a teacher or a moral guide, individuals may be tempted to discard their own sense of responsibility, to argue that only government must help people in need.

If we've learned anything in the past quarter century, it is that we cannot federalize virtue. Indeed, as we pile law upon law, program upon program, rule upon rule, we actually can weaken people's moral sensitivity. The rule of law gives way to the rule of the loophole, the notion that what-

ever is not illegal must be acceptable. In this way, great goals go unmet.

When Lyndon Johnson—President Johnson—spoke here in 1964, he addressed issues that remain with us. He proposed revitalizing cities, rejuvenating schools, trampling down the hoary harvest of racism, and protecting our environment—back in 1964. He applied the wisdom of his time to these challenges. He believed that cadres of experts really could care for the millions. And they would calculate ideal tax rates, ideal rates of expenditures on social programs, ideal distributions of wealth and privilege. And in many ways, theirs was an America by the numbers: If the numbers were right, America was right.

And gradually, we got to the point of equating dollars with commitment. And when programs failed to produce progress, we demanded more money. And in time, this crusade backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty invited dependency.

We should have learned that while the ideals behind the Great Society were noble—and indeed they were—the programs weren't always up to the task. We need to rethink our approach. Let's tell our people: We don't want an America by the numbers. We don't want a land of loopholes. We want a community of commitment and trust.

When I talked of a kinder, gentler nation, I wasn't trying to just create a slogan. I was issuing a challenge. An effective government must know its limitations and respect its people's capabilities. In return, people must assume the final burden of freedom, and that's responsibility.

An introductory course in political philosophy teaches that freedom entails responsibility. Most of our greatest responsibilities confront us not in the government hearing rooms but around dinner tables, on the streets, at the office. If you teach your children and others how to hate, they will learn. And if you encourage them not to trust others, they'll follow your lead. And if you talk about compassion but refuse to help those in need, your children will learn to look the other way.

Once your commencement ends, you'll have to rely on the sternest stuff of all: yourself. And in the end, government will not make you good or evil. The quality of your life—and of our nation's future—depends as much on how you treat your fellow women and men as it does on the way in which we in Washington conduct our affairs of state. After all, the opposite of greed is not taxation. It is service.

My vision for America depends heavily on you. You must protect the freedoms of enterprise, speech, and spirit. You must strengthen the family. You must build a peaceful and prosperous future. We don't need another Great Society with huge and ambitious programs administered by the incumbent few. We need a Good Society built upon the deeds of the many, a society that promotes service, selflessness, action.

The Good Society poses a challenge: It dares you to explore the full promise of citizenship, to join in partnership with family, friends, government to make our world better. The Good Society does not demand agonizing sacrifice. It requires something within everyone's reach: common decency—common decency and commitment. Know your neighbors. Build bonds of trust at home, at work, wherever you go. Don't just talk about principles—live them.

Let me leave you today with an exhortation: Make the most of your abilities. Question authority, but examine yourself. Demand good government, but strive to do what is good. Take risks. Muster the courage to be what I call a Point of Light. Also, define your missions positively. Don't seek out villains. Don't fall prey to obsessions about "freedom from" various ills. Focus on freedom's promise, on your promise.

When John Kennedy talked of sending a man to the Moon, he didn't say, we want to avoid getting stranded on this planet. He said, we'll send a man to the Moon. We must be equally determined to achieve our common goals.

We live in the most exciting period of my lifetime, quite possibly of yours. The old way of doing things have run their course. Find new ones. Dare to serve others, and future generations will never forget the example you set.

This is your day. Barbara and I are very proud to share it with you. Congratulations to each and every one of you. And thank you for the honor.

And God bless the United States of America.

*Note: President Bush spoke at 11:22 a.m. in Michigan Stadium. In his remarks, he referred to James J. Duderstadt, president of the university; Gov. Engler's wife, Michelle; and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Following his remarks, President Bush traveled to Camp David, MD.*

#### **Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Health May 4, 1991**

President Bush is relaxed, comfortable, and having dinner with Mrs. Bush in his room at Bethesda Naval Hospital this evening. He is in good spirits and the doctors' reports are very positive.

President Bush developed atrial fibrillation, which is an irregularity of the heartbeat, while running at Camp David this afternoon about 4:20 p.m. This condition presented itself as unusual fatigue during the run. The President was evaluated by Dr. Michael Nash at Camp David, who detected the irregular heartbeat and found him to be entirely stable with no other symptoms.

The President, accompanied by Mrs. Bush and Dr. Nash, flew by helicopter to Bethesda Naval Hospital, arriving about 5:58 p.m. this evening. At the time of hospital admission, the irregular heartbeat was still present, but the President was completely alert and entirely stable, with no complaints. The President walked into the hospital on his own power.

An electrocardiogram showed no abnormalities except the irregular heart rhythm. An ultrasound examination of the heart showed no structural abnormalities and normal heart function.

The President is undergoing treatment for atrial fibrillation with the drug digoxin. Diagnostic testing and initial treatment took approximately 1 hour. The President

has been consulting with various issues at the hospital and will remain there for the night.

Physicians in attendance include Dr. Lawrence Mohr, colonel of the U.S. Air Force; Dr. Michael Nash, major, U.S. Air Force; Dr. William Williams III, lieutenant colonel, U.S. Air Force; and Dr. Robert Quayle, staff cardiologist at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

Mrs. Bush will remain at the hospital overnight. She spoke with the press about 7:20 p.m. in excellent spirits.

*Note: The Press Secretary spoke to reporters at 8:30 p.m. in the Press Room at the White House. She is Chief of Staff to the President for the week, the President having Graves' disease.*

#### **Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Health May 5, 1991**

The President spent a good night sleeping well. He awoke feeling better, and spoke with the press by phone.

The President is in good health. He has atrial fibrillation. The heart damage and no evidence of a heart attack. The President has no symptoms and feels completely well. This was corroborated by the blood tests which were examined this morning.

The President continues to be treated for the atrial fibrillation. The treatment is supplemented by the diuretic, which is a normal procedure. The President will remain in the hospital today for observation.

The President's Physician, Dr. Michael Nash, is supervising the treatment. He is attending to the President with Dr. Bruce K. Lloyd, captain, U.S. Air Force, cardiology at the naval hospital. Dr. Robert Quayle, cardiology at George Washington University Hospital, is also attending to the President.

Rebekah & Mr. Kim

Wm. Belzberg (& Mrs.)

Travis & Sonya Danya

Cheryl & Jon Peters

Sen. John Seymour

J. Peter & Lynda Guber

& Barbara  
Sam & Frances

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Friends

May 24 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

gressman from western Massachusetts. What big shoes to fill, but he will do it.

Thank you all very much, and may I take this opportunity to make a nonpartisan comment. Bill and I and Paul Cellucci and others rode in from the airport, and I must say I was deeply touched and moved by the warm response and welcome from the people that lined the streets coming in from the airport. I was deeply touched, and it gives me one hell of a sendoff for what's going to be a great Memorial Day weekend. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:22 p.m. in the Harborview Ballroom at the Boston World Trade Center. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Commerce Robert A. Mosbacher. These remarks were not received in time for inclusion in last week's issue.*

**Statement on Signing the Niobrara Scenic River Designation Act of 1991**  
May 24, 1991

Today I have signed into law S. 248, the "Niobrara Scenic River Designation Act of 1991." This action will, among other things, designate three segments of the Niobrara River and one segment of the Missouri River in Nebraska and South Dakota as "instant" components of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System without the benefit of a formal study.

The Niobrara River is an outstanding river resource, and the national significance of the resource is not in question. Approval of this bill will preserve and protect the resources of the Niobrara for future generations and will provide for a worthy addition to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System.

However, I am extremely disappointed that the Congress has acted to designate these segments for Wild and Scenic River status without the benefit of a study under section 5(a) of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. This study is not just a matter of blind process; rather, such a study would have given the Congress all the information needed to determine the most appropriate method of protecting the valuable resources along the Niobrara. Such a study is especially important when the lands along the des-

ignated segments are predominantly privately owned. Where private property interests are at stake, a formal study should be an absolute requirement before Federal action is taken that may infringe such rights.

I believe that to protect the integrity and viability of the National Park System, completion of feasibility studies should be a prerequisite for establishment of any new unit of the National Park System. Any component of the National Wild and Scenic River System that is administered by the National Park Service becomes a unit of the National Park System. I urge the Congress to adhere to the requirement for such studies in the future.

George Bush

The White House,  
May 24, 1991.

*Note: S. 248, approved May 24, was as signed Public Law No. 102-50. This statement was not received in time for inclusion in last week's issue.*

**Remarks at the Yale University Commencement Ceremony in New Haven, Connecticut**  
May 27, 1991

Thank you very, very much. President Schmidt and members of the faculty, and the Yale community, fellows of the Yale Corporation, and especially with congratulations to my fellow honorands, it is an honor to be here today. Mayor Daniels, it's nice to be back in the city. And most importantly, to the graduating students: Congratulate each and every one of you. May I single out Yale's band. They've cleaned up for today and they've never been better under Mr Tom Duffy. Thank you, sir. And thank you for the warm welcome. *Si res prehensio et cano est non oves sic vacio.* That means, you're holding up the sign, you can't throw eggs. [Laughter]

I remember my own commencement. Like so many of my classmates, I'd come to Yale fresh from war, ready to make up "lost time." I remember our impatience and our optimism. And we sensed upcoming adventure. I imagine it's the same today

*thought  
- months in  
- preparation  
- practice in  
- isolation*

For all of you. It's almost as if life is about to begin, that is, if the commencement speech ever ends. [Laughter]

Twenty-nine years ago, President Kennedy stood right here, and my dad was honored with him. And he said, "I have the best of all worlds: a Yale degree and a Harvard education." [Laughter] He had it wrong. I've got the best of all worlds: a Yale education and a Yale degree.

My day was no different. There's an excitement in the air, and Barbara and I spent a good part of our senior year thinking about, literally, becoming farmers. We talked about life on the land and rising early and working hard and raising a crop and a family. And we looked into the finances of running a farm. In the end, we decided against the whole idea. We realized that when it came to pigs and chickens and cattle or corn, we didn't know the first thing about farming.

So, of course, there was only one alternative: I went west and became an oilman.

[Laughter] The days after—the day—the very day after the ceremony like this one, I aded the familiar surroundings of this beautiful old campus for the dust and grit and searing heat of the Lone Star State.

Odessa, Texas, became my world. And yet far beyond 37 Hillhouse Avenue where Barbara and I lived, or the Flatlands of West Texas, change rocked the whole world in ways that would affect us all for more than 40 years. On June 20th, 1948—my graduation day—the United Nations sent out its first peacekeeping force—49 men from the United States and 6 other nations—to bring the promise of peace to the Middle East. And on that day, the Soviet Union tried to clamp down on the free sectors of Berlin—the Berlin Blockade had begun. And on that day, Congress, after an all-night session, passed a bill to help the nations of war-torn Europe. That package would become known, as we all know, as the Marshall Plan.

Today's world—your world—is every bit as astonishing. Back in my day, opportunity knocked. And yours—your pager beeps.

We have seen in 2 short years the end of long era of cold war and conflict. The Iron Curtain collapsed—it's gone, the wall is down. And with it the myth of an ideology called communism. On the barren ground

that once separated East and West, the democratic idea sprouted anew.

As a nation, we can take great pride in this triumph. It vindicates more than 40 years of American vigilance—a lesson learned on the battlefields of Europe and the seas of the South Pacific—that this nation could no longer pursue a policy of "splendid isolation."

The democratic renaissance in Central and Eastern Europe, the blossoming of democracy here in the Americas, the emerging consensus on the African Continent that democracy is the road to development, none of this would have taken place if America had turned inward, away from the challenges of a new world. So today, as we seek to promote freedom and democracy and human rights, as we seek to strengthen stability within the international community, an America confident enough to engage the world remains our best hope for peace, security, and shared prosperity.

Look in every corner of the globe and you will find that the American example has consequences. When we reach out, we offer more than cars or grain or MTV. We exemplify an ideal, an ideal that conquers circumstance and suspicion, that conquers despots and empowers people. Some argue that a nation as moral and just as ours should not taint itself by dealing with nations less moral, less just. But this counsel offers up self-righteousness draped in a false morality. You do not reform a world by ignoring it.

East Asia is a case in point. Today, this dynamic region plays an important role in the world economy. As it has grown more prosperous, it has also grown more free. Driven forward by the engine of economic growth and trade, especially with the U.S., South Korea and Taiwan have shed their once authoritarian rule in favor of democracy and freer trade.

This same approach guides our policy towards the People's Republic of China, home to fully one-fifth of the world's people. China easily can affect the stability of the Asian-Pacific region and, therefore, affect the entire world's peace and prosperity. The Chinese play a central role in working to resolve the conflict in Cambodia and relax tensions on the Korean Peninsula.

*May 27 / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

China has a voice now in the multinational organizations. And its votes in the United Nations Security Council against Iraq's brutal aggression helped us forge the broad coalition that brought us victory in the Gulf. And so, when we find opportunities to cooperate with China, we will explore them. When problems arise with China's behavior, we will take appropriate action.

After the tragedy of Tiananmen, the United States was the first nation to condemn the use of violence against the peacefully demonstrating people of Beijing. We were the first to guarantee the rights of Chinese students studying on campuses across the country, including here at Yale. The United States was the first nation to impose sanctions, and we are now the last, alone among the Western democracies, to keep those original sanctions in place. At every high-level meeting with the Chinese Government, U.S. officials reiterate our position on human rights violations.

Unfair trade is also high on our agenda. Just last month, we cited China under the trade rules of a special 301 for pirating U.S. copyrights and patents. And for the sake of national security, we will ban technologies and equipment to any Chinese company found to violate rules outlawing transfer of missile technologies.

We will continue to advance our interests and ideals: for free and fair trade, for broader democratization, for respect for human rights throughout China. Let me be clear: As a member of the United Nations, China is bound by the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. We will hold China to the obligations that it has freely accepted.

And finally, we continue urging China to exercise restraint in its weapons exports. Our recent experience with Iraq proves how dangerous the deadly trade can be. And very soon, I will announce significant new steps that we can take to control arms exports to the entire Middle East. Every nation must play a part in this effort. That's why we urge the Chinese Government to abide by the letter and spirit of international agreements on missile technology controls, and to do what 141 other nations have already done: sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

And this is one way that the United States can be a catalyst for positive change. This

week, I will employ another by proposing formally that MFN trade status continue for China. This policy has generated considerable controversy. Some critics have said revoke MFN—or endanger it with sweeping conditions—to censure China, cut our ties and isolate it. We are told this is a principled policy, a moral thing to do. This advice is not new. It's not wise. It is not in the best interests of our country, the United States. And in the end, in spite of noble and best intentions, it is not moral.

First, MFN is [not] special. It is not a favor. It is the ordinary basis of trade worldwide. Second, MFN is a means to bring the influence of the outside world to bear on China. Critics who attack MFN today act as if the point is to punish China, as if hurting China's economy will somehow help the cause of privatization and human rights.

The real point is to pursue a policy that has the best chance of changing Chinese behavior. If we withdrew MFN or imposed conditions that would make trade impossible, we would punish South China, in particular, Guangdong Province, the very region where free market reform and the challenge to central authority are the strongest. Right now, there's an estimated two million Chinese who are working and proving that privatization can work—all in South China. Withdraw MFN and their jobs would be in jeopardy. In addition, endangering MFN would deal a body blow to Hong Kong, the bastion of freedom and free trade in the Far East.

But the most compelling reason to renew MFN and remain engaged in China is not economic, it's not strategic, but moral. It is right to export the ideals of freedom and democracy to China. It is right to encourage Chinese students to come to the United States and for talented American students to go to China. It is wrong to isolate China if we hope to influence China.

For two decades after the Communists seized power in 1949, the Western world followed a policy of isolation toward China. This period proved to be among the most brutal episodes in Chinese history, a nightmare of anguish and death and suffering that will scar the soul of China for decades to come.

So, it comes down to the strength of our belief in the power of the democratic idea. If we pursue a policy that cultivates contacts with the Chinese people, promotes commerce to our benefit, we can help create a climate for democratic change.

No nation on Earth has discovered a way to import the world's goods and services while stopping foreign ideas at the border. Just as the democratic idea has transformed nations on every continent, so, too, change will inevitably come to China.

This nation's foreign policy has always been more than simply an expression of American interests; it's an extension of American ideals. This moral dimension of American policy requires us to remain active, engaged in the world. Many times, that means trying to chart a moral course through a world of lesser evils. That's the real world, not black and white. Very few moral absolutes. Enormous potential for error and embarrassment. But all are part of the risks that we willingly take to advance the American ideal.

Many times in the past 40 years, people have encouraged us to adopt a policy of righteous isolationism, but we remained engaged. We cannot advance principles if we curl up into a defensive ball. We cannot transform a world if we hide from its unpleasant realities. We can advance our cherished ideals only by extending our hand, showing our best sides, sticking patiently to our values, even if we risk rejection.

Look at the way American encouragement and the American example—the power of the American example—is paying off in Taiwan and Korea. We will have no leverage. We will not be able to advance our cause or resist repression if we pull back and declare that China is simply too impure a place for us. We want to promote positive change in the world through the force of our example, not simply profess our purity. We want to advance the cause of freedom, not just snub nations that aren't yet wholly free.

Let me close today with some modest pieces of advice. First, understand that you often will confront moral ambiguity. There

will come times when you will have difficulty distinguishing between good guys and bad guys. When these situations arise, identify your principles and stick by them. Stick

by them even when people jeer, when people urge you to find a quick and easy out. If you remain patient and true to yourself, you can't go wrong. Second, remember that the corner of the world that matters most is one right here at home, the one you share with friends and family. And finally, your destiny and the currents of history will most likely intersect more than once. You will have ample opportunity to make your mark. And take care to make it count.

To all the graduates of the class of '91 who now join me as proud alumni of this great university, congratulations, good luck to you, and may God bless the United States of America.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:55 a.m. in the Yale University Quadrangle.*

### The President's News Conference in Kennebunkport, Maine May 28, 1991

#### *President's Health*

*Q.* Mr. President, could we get your reaction—

*Q.* How about the water at the White House? Do you want to talk about that now?

*The President.* The water at the White House?

*Q.* Yes.

*The President.* What about it?

*Q.* They're apparently checking it.

*Q.* It's being checked to see if this is the thyroid problem.

*Q.* They're saying that possibly you and Mrs. Bush and the dog, having gotten these autoimmune problems, that perhaps it's something to do with the water.

*The President.* Maybe the air. I don't know—

*Q.* You didn't know about it?

*The President.* No.

*Q.* Did you know it was being checked?

*The President.* Not checked. I just heard something on the television. I could hardly believe it.

The odds against two people in the family having—the doctor told me, the thyroid

Remarks at the United States Air Force Academy Commencement Ceremony in Colorado Springs, Colorado May 29, 1991

What a day. Please be seated, and thank you for that warm welcome. To my old friend, Senator Goldwater; to Secretary Rice and General McPeak; to General Hamm, who's done such a fantastic job here; ladies and gentlemen; graduates. Our altitude is 7,250 feet above sea level—far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis. And I'm sorry I'm a little late. I flunked my room inspection at Kennebunkport this morning. [Laughter] Barbara gave me 20 demerits. Then it took time to talk the pilot of Air Force One, Colonel Barr, out of doing an Immelmann over this stadium. [Laughter]

It is an honor for me to join you here at "Wild Blue U"—the home of the quick and the brave. There's never been a better day to be part of this magnificent team.

For 40 years, my generation struggled in the confines of a divided world—frozen in the ice of ideological conflict, preoccupied with the possibility of yet another war in Europe. More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and the will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we do—and we will.

Through strength of example and commitment, we lead. You've been taught the price and the importance of leadership. As you leave the Academy, you answer your nation's call to advance the cause of freedom—to lead. There's a new sense of pride and patriotism in our land. And it's good for our nation's soul.

The beltway cynics may call this renewal of patriotism old-fashioned, but Americans rarely mistake cynicism for sophistication. Patriotism binds the real and lasting fabric of our nation. Assertive but not arrogant—self-assured, kind, generous—we remain committed to our fundamental values.

So today I speak to you, and to every member of America's Armed Forces, to say thanks. When others weren't sure we were up to the task—you were. When your country asked you to serve—you did. And when others said, "No, no, we're not ready, we

Kenneth Burman, chief of endocrinology at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center; Lawrence Mohr, White House physician; Colum Gorman, endocrinologist at the Mayo Clinic; Marlin Fitzwater, Press Secretary to the President; Yevgeniy M. Primakov, Soviet Presidential Council member and envoy for President Gorbachev; Mikhail A. Moiseyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Union; Grigory A. Yavlinsky, Director of the Soviet Center for Economic and Political Research; Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada; Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; Ed Hewett, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director of Soviet Affairs; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Carla Hills, U.S. Trade Representative; and Robert A. Mosbacher, Secretary of Commerce.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Health May 28, 1991

Because of the remarkable coincidence of the President and First Lady both having Graves' disease, the President's physician is exploring any possible link to environmental or other causes. While the doctors feel it is highly unlikely that their thyroid condition could be related, or in any way related to the lupus disease suffered by Millie, prudence dictates that all such possibilities be examined.

The Secret Service is taking water samples at Camp David, the Vice President's residence, the White House and Walker's Point to ascertain any possible presence of iodine or lithium, two substances which have been associated with thyroid disease. In addition, Dr. Charles L. Christian, head of medicine at the Hospital for Special Surgery in New York, has been asked to review the medical history of the First Family, including Millie, to ensure that there is no relationship in any way. These tests and reviews will be made over the next few weeks. We do not expect conclusions for some time.

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can't"—you said, "Yes, we are ready, we can." You and your colleagues in all the services prove that Americans consider no risk too great, no burden too onerous to defend our interests and our principles—in short, to do what's just and to do what's right.

Consider our fundamental decency and humanity—our commitment to liberty. Our service men and women in the Gulf, weary from months in the desert, now help suffering Kurds and the people of Bangladesh. When a carrier on the way home after months in the Gulf was diverted to Bangladesh, a crewman was asked, "Aren't you disappointed that you don't get to go home?" He replied, "Not at all. We're saving lives. We're doing what we ought to do."

We do not dictate the courses nations follow, but neither can we overlook the fact that our examples reshape the world. We can't right all wrongs—but neither can any nation lead as we can.

Joined by the world's leading nations, we worked to create a coalition in which countries great and small joined forces to liberate Kuwait. That coalition saw soldiers from dozens of lands fight shoulder-to-shoulder, fly wingtip-to-wingtip in the cause of freedom. And it saw our forces as fully integrated as any in our history, demonstrating the true strength of joint operations.

A year before you came to Colorado Springs, I was privileged to be here. And I told the Class of '86, "There's no doubt the Soviets remain our major adversary. Our two separate systems represent fundamentally different values."

Since then, we've seen remarkable political change. But let's not forget the Soviet Union retains enormous military strength. It will have the largest land force in Europe for the foreseeable future. With perhaps five new strategic missile systems in development, they'll be ready for yet another round of strategic modernization by the mid-1990's.

At the same time, however, Soviet troops have embarked on the long trek home from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland—and, happily, from a reunified Germany. We are hopeful that the Soviet Union itself will continue its move toward freedom.

As superpower polarization and conflict melt, military thinkers must focus on more volatile regimes—regimes packed with modern weapons and seething with ancient ambitions. We are committed to stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But there is danger that despite our efforts, by the end of this century nearly two dozen developing nations could have ballistic missiles. Many already have nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons programs.

Nowhere are the dangers of weapons of proliferation more urgent than in the Middle East. After consulting with governments inside the region and elsewhere about how to slow and then reverse the buildup of unnecessary and destabilizing weapons, I am today proposing a Middle East arms control initiative.

It features supplier guidelines on conventional arms exports; barriers to exports that contribute to weapons of mass destruction; a freeze now, and later a ban on surface-to-surface missiles in the region; and a ban on production of nuclear weapons material. Halting the proliferation of conventional and unconventional weapons in the Middle East—while supporting the legitimate need of every state to defend itself—will require the cooperation of many states, in the region and around the world. It won't be easy—but the path to peace never is.

And as the world changes, our military must evolve and change with it. Last year, I announced a shift in our defense focus: away from old threats and toward the dangers that will face us in the years to come. We need a more agile, flexible military force that we can put where it is needed, when it is needed. I also called for new technology in our defense systems. And I proposed a defense package to the Congress that meets these demands.

In the years ahead, defense spending will drop to below four percent of our gross national product—the lowest level in over 50 years. But we must spend that money in ways that address the threats that we are likely to face in the future. Although we developed this budget before the Gulf war, it anticipates very important lessons of that war—lessons that, frankly, some in the United States Congress now ignore:

Gulf Lesson One is the value of air power. I remember meeting with General McPeak up at Camp David. In his quiet but forceful way, he told me exactly what he felt air power could do. After he left, I turned to my trusted National Security Adviser, who's with me here today, a former political science professor here at the Academy and a pilot, General Scowcroft—and said, "Brent, does this guy really know what he's talking about?" General Scowcroft assured me he did—and General McPeak, like the entire Air Force, was right on target from day one. The Gulf war taught us that we must retain combat superiority in the skies.

Then there's Gulf Lesson Two: The value of Stealth. Surprise is a classic principle of warfare—and, yes, it depends on sound intelligence work. But Stealth adds a new dimension of surprise. Our air strikes were the most effective, yet humane in the history of warfare.

The F-117 proved itself by doing more, doing it better, doing it for less, and targeting soldiers, not civilians. It flew hundreds of sorties into the most heavily defended areas without a scratch.

The F-117 carried a revolution in warfare on its wings. The next step in that revolution is the Stealth bomber, the B-2. Not only for its contribution to nuclear deterrence, but also from the standpoint of conventional cost-effectiveness, the B-2 has no peer. It carries over 10 times the conventional load of an F-117 and can fly 5 times further between refuelings. It gets to the job faster, with more tons of ordnance—without the force buildup and time we needed prior to Desert Storm—and without needing foreign airfields in the immediate proximity of a conflict. And it replaces B-52 aircraft approaching twice the age of you graduates—and I say that respectively. [Laughter]

Yet, last week, the House of Representatives voted to terminate the B-2, redirecting those funds at unnecessary weapons. Anyone who tells you the B-2 is "too expensive" hasn't seen flak up close lately. America needs the B-2 bomber, and I'm going to fight for it every inch of the way.

Gulf Lesson Three: We learned that missile defense works and that it promotes peace and security. In the Gulf, we had the

technologies of defense to pick up where theories of deterrence left off. You see, Saddam Hussein was not deterred, but the Patriot saved lives and helped keep the coalition together.

That's one reason that we've refocused strategic defense toward Global Protection Against Limited Strikes, or "G-PALS," as we call it. It defends us and our allies from accidental launches or from the missile attacks of international renegades. While the Patriot worked well in the Gulf, we must prepare for the missiles more likely to be used by future aggressors. We can't build a defense system that simply responds to the threats of the past.

Yet some in Congress want to gut our ability to develop strategic defenses. Last week the House irresponsibly voted to cut nearly \$2 billion from G-PALS and to kill its most promising technologies. I call on the Senate today to restore our missile defense programs, to safeguard American and allied lives, and to promote security.

Gulf Lesson Four, the most fundamental, is the value of people. People fight and win wars. And this nation never has fielded better fighting men and women than it does today. In 1980, 68 percent of those enlisting in the military had high school diplomas—now it's 95 percent and climbing. The military has become our greatest equal opportunity employer. It offers everyone a chance and it promotes people solely on the basis of merit. The men and women you will soon be leading are the best educated and most motivated anywhere, anytime, ever. You know the standards. You know, I was tempted to ask General Scowcroft how he thought I was performing during the war, but I was afraid he'd say, "Fast, neat, average, friendly, good, good." [Laughter]

Although we will cut troop levels 25 percent by mid-decade, we must ensure that they remain fully prepared to respond quickly and decisively to crises. We must ensure that they are totally integrated, taking full advantage of the kinds of joint operations so powerfully demonstrated in the Gulf. We must ensure that they have weapons that emerge from military necessity—not pork barrel politics. We must ensure that the cuts in the active and reserve components result in the most effective

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tive and efficient forces possible. We must not compromise our readiness just to protect unneeded bases, programs, and forces.

Look, no president—no president could or would deny Congress its right to approve budgets or conduct oversight. But as Commander in Chief, my greatest responsibility is national defense—and I will veto any bill that doesn't support and sustain my defense program.

And so I ask the Congress to help make our forces leaner and more effective. Don't weigh them down with pork. Don't deny our people the tools that they will need to do their jobs in the next century.

You graduates will find that no other combat force you encounter will have your skills, your technology, or support. You'll find that in world leadership we have no challengers, but in our turbulent world, you will find no lack of challenges. And I know you are ready.

So, to all of America's servicemen—all of them, wherever they may be—and all of America's servicewomen, I salute them—I salute you. And to this 1991 graduating class of the United States Air Force Academy, may I say, you have earned your commissions. Well done, and Godspeed. And may God bless you and the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in Falcon Stadium. In his opening remarks, he referred to Secretary of the Air Force Donald B. Rice; Gen. Merrill A. McPeak, Air Force Chief of Staff; and Gen. Charles Hamm, superintendent of the U.S. Air Force Academy.*

**Nomination of Lynn M. Hansen for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as United States Representative to the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Joint Consultative Group**

May 29, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate Lynn Marvin Hansen, of Colorado, for the Rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as the U.S. Representative on the Conventional Armed

Forces in Europe (CFE) Joint Consultative Group and to the Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). He would succeed R. James Woolsey.

Since 1989 Dr. Hansen has served as the John M. Olin Distinguished Professor of National Defense and Security Studies at the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colorado. Prior to this Dr. Hansen served as Assistant Director at the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in Washington, DC, 1986-1989.

Dr. Hansen graduated from Utah State University (B.S., 1960) and the University of Utah (M.A., 1966; Ph.D., 1970). He was born December 27, 1935 in Idaho Falls, Idaho. Dr. Hansen served in the United States Air Force, 1960-1983, retiring as a colonel. Dr. Hansen is married, has seven children, and resides in Monument, CO.

**Memorandum on Disaster Assistance for Bangladesh**

May 29, 1991

Presidential Determination No. 91-35

*Memorandum for the Secretary of State  
The Secretary of Defense*

*Subject: Drawdown of Department of Defense Articles and Services for International Disaster Assistance in Bangladesh*

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 506(a)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2318(a)(2)) (the "Act"), I hereby determine that it is in the national interest of the United States to draw down defense articles from the stocks of the Department of Defense and defense services of the Department of Defense, for the purpose of providing international disaster assistance in Bangladesh.

Therefore, I hereby authorize the furnishing of up to \$20 million of defense articles from the stocks of the Department of Defense and defense services of the Department of Defense, for the purposes and under the authorities of Chapter 9 of Part I of the Act.

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*Kenneth Burman, chief of endocrinology at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center; Lawrence Mohr, White House physician; Colum Gorman, endocrinologist at the Mayo Clinic; Marlin Fitzwater, Press Secretary to the President; Yevgeniy M. Primakov, Soviet Presidential Council member and envoy for President Gorbachev; Mikhail A. Moiseyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Union; Grigory A. Yavlinsky, Director of the Soviet Center for Economic and Political Research; Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada; Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; Ed Hewett, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director of Soviet Affairs; Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Carla Hills, U.S. Trade Representative; and Robert A. Mosbacher, Secretary of Commerce.*

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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Embargoed for Release  
Until 9:00 A.M. EDT  
Saturday, June 22, 1991

RADIO ADDRESS  
BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

The Cabinet Room

June 21, 1991

12:03 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I'd like to talk with you about some things that are very important to me: families and homes, futures and hopes -- the ways in which we Americans can tackle the domestic problems that confront us.

In recent months, we've all felt a bracing surge of American optimism and determination. We look at our schools and say: Let's make them better. We look at our neighborhoods and say: Let's make them even safer. We see opportunities around us and say: Let's go for it.

In many ways, we've regained a sense of ourselves and our values. For the past quarter-century, politicians in Washington have acted as if the federal government could solve every problem from chigger bites to earthquakes. No more. We all realize that government has real limits. You can't replace values with regulations. You can't replace parents with caseworkers. And you can't replace the dedication to service with mandates.

Over the years, a number of well-meaning laws have thrown up barriers to individual action. Gradually, they have begun to transform government from the guardian of individual liberty into a weed that chokes off freedom and strangles initiative.

I'd like to ask your help in pruning this creeping weed so that we can take on problems that concern us all. Our administration's domestic agenda strives to build a more effective, compassionate government, to encourage service to others, and to give Americans the elbow room that they need to do great deeds.

Several months ago, I challenged the Congress to pass two bills in 100 days. One was a comprehensive crime package. It includes measures to help law enforcement officials defend the peace, to let citizens live without fear of neighborhood terror, to compensate victims and to punish victimizers swiftly and firmly.

The American people are tired of watching hoodlums walk, of seeing criminals mock our justice system with endless technicalities. They want to bring order to streets shaken by chaos and crime. Yet, for more than two years, Congress has failed to act on my proposals to fight crime and strengthen the rule of law.

The second 100-days bill is a transportation package that would give states the freedom to build the highways and transit systems they want and not just those Washington dictates. It encourages innovation such as private efforts to improve our transportation system. It tries to put federal dollars where they belong -- on national needs, not pork barrel projects. Some in Congress want to weaken the bill's focus, pretend that our transportation needs and challenges haven't changed. As a result, no bill has yet reached my desk.

MORE

I chose the crime and transportation bills because of their obvious importance to the American public. But our administration's agenda includes much more. We have submitted a civil rights package aimed at attacking discrimination and building a new atmosphere of brotherhood and trust. We've proposed a revolution in education, a dramatic reform of public housing, and a banking package that would restore the health of our financial system. While there's been some movement, Congress still has not passed any of these bills.

We have made progress, however. Our education strategy has caught fire in communities from coast to coast. And to help our families, we've just completed a major reorganization of the Department of Health and Human Services, giving unprecedented attention to children's needs.

Think of this when someone claims that we don't spend enough money to have a vision. Dollars don't make visions; deeds do. When government spends your money, it shouldn't do so for appearances. It should spend your money on programs that work. This philosophy lies at the heart of our domestic agenda. We want to restore proportion to government by letting government do what it does best -- and freeing you to do what you do best. We want to restore faith in government by making real commitments, not impossible promises.

But while we Americans demand more effective government, we also must demand more of ourselves. Entrepreneurs should be free to pursue their visions boldly, knowing that our future depends upon their success. Neighbors should seize the chance to help one another, to settle disputes over a cup of coffee rather than in a courtroom; to commit the little acts of kindness that turn rows of houses into neighborhoods. Let's stop seeking excuses and find opportunities to serve, to help one another, to become sources of wealth and points of light.

John Kennedy was right when he said, "Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country."

While government can't do everything, it ought to do its job. So today, I urge Congress to join us in doing the nation's business. Unshackle our initiatives on crime, transportation, banking, economic growth, education, energy, housing and civil rights. There is no shame in acting and there's plenty of time between now and Congress' August recess to get the job done.

We know we can do great things. Together, let's do them.

Thank you, and may God bless you and our great nation.

END

12:10 P.M. EDT

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The Oval Office

9:01 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Just two hours ago, allied air forces began an attack on military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. These attacks continue as I speak. Ground forces are not engaged.

This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait -- a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations -- was crushed; its people brutalized. Five months ago, Saddam Hussein started this cruel war against Kuwait. Tonight, the battle has been joined.

This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions -- and with the consent of the United States Congress -- follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution -- only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. Others traveled to Baghdad in a variety of efforts to restore peace and justice. Our Secretary of State, James Baker, held an historic meeting in Geneva -- only to be totally rebuffed. This past weekend, in a last ditch effort, the Secretary General of the United Nations went to the Middle East, with peace in his heart -- his second such mission. And he came back from Baghdad with no progress at all in getting Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait.

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area, have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution, have no choice but to drive Saddam from Kuwait by force. We will not fail.

As I report to you, air attacks are underway against military targets in Iraq. We are determined to knock out Saddam Hussein's nuclear bomb potential. We will also destroy his chemical weapons facilities. Much of Saddam's artillery and tanks will be destroyed. Our operations are designed to best protect the lives of all the coalition forces by targeting Saddam's vast military arsenal. Initial reports from General Schwarzkopf are that our operations are proceeding according to plan.

Our objectives are clear. Saddam Hussein's forces will leave Kuwait. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored to its rightful place and Kuwait will once again be free. Iraq will eventually comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. And then, when peace is restored, it is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations, thus, enhancing the Security and stability of the Gulf.

Some may ask, why act now? Why not wait? The answer is clear: The world could wait no longer. Sanctions, though having some effect, showed no signs of accomplishing their objective. Sanctions were tried for well over five months, and we and our allies concluded that sanctions alone would not force Saddam from Kuwait.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein systematically

MORE

raped, pillaged and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities -- and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.

While the world waited, Saddam sought to add to the chemical weapons arsenal he now possesses an infinitely more dangerous weapon of mass destruction -- a nuclear weapon.

And while the world waited, while the world talked peace and withdrawal, Saddam Hussein dug in and moved massive forces into Kuwait.

While the world waited, while Saddam stalled, more damage was being done to the fragile economies of the Third World, the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, to the entire world including to our own economy.

The United States, together with the United Nations, exhausted every means at our disposal to bring this crisis to a peaceful end. However, Saddam clearly felt that by stalling and threatening and defying the United Nations he could weaken the forces arrayed against him.

While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt. While the world prayed for peace, Saddam prepared for war.

I had hoped that when the United States Congress, in historic debate, took its resolute action, Saddam would realize he could not prevail and would move out of Kuwait in accord with the United Nation resolutions. He did not do that. Instead, he remained intransigent, certain that time was on his side.

Saddam was warned over and over again to comply with the will of the United Nations. Leave Kuwait or be driven out. Saddam has arrogantly rejected all warnings. Instead he tried to make this a dispute between Iraq and the United States of America.

Well, he failed. Tonight, 28 nations -- countries from five continents: Europe and Asia, Africa and the Arab League -- have forces in the Gulf area standing shoulder to shoulder against Saddam Hussein. These countries had hoped the use of force could be avoided. Regrettably, we now believe that only force will make him leave.

Prior to ordering our forces into battle, I instructed our military commanders to take every necessary step to prevail as quickly as possible and with the greatest degree of protection possible for American and allied servicemen and women. I've told the American people before that this will not be another Vietnam. And I repeat this here tonight. Our troops will have the best possible support in the entire world, and they will not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back.

I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long, and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum.

This is an historic moment. We have, in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and Cold War. We have before us the opportunity to forge, for ourselves and for future generations, a new world order -- a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.

When we are successful, and we will be, we have a real chance at this new world order -- an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders.

We have no argument with the people of Iraq -- indeed, for the innocents caught in this conflict, I pray for their safety.

Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq -- it is the

MORE

liberation of Kuwait. It is my hope that somehow the Iraqi people can, even now, convince their dictator that he must lay down his arms, leave Kuwait, and let Iraq itself rejoin the family of peace-loving nations.

Thomas Paine wrote many years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls." Those well-known words are so very true today. But even as planes of the multinational forces attack Iraq, I prefer to think of peace, not war. I am convinced not only that we will prevail, but that out of the horror of combat will come the recognition that no nation can stand against a world united. No nation will be permitted to brutally assault its neighbor.

No president can easily commit our sons and daughters to war. They are the nation's finest. Ours is an all volunteer force -- magnificently trained, highly motivated. The troops know why they're there. And listen to what they say, for they've said it better than any president or prime minister ever could.

Listen to "Hollywood" Huddleston, Marine Lance Corporal. He says, "Let's free these people so we can go home and be free again." He's right. The terrible crimes and tortures committed by Saddam's henchmen against the innocent people of Kuwait are an affront to mankind and a challenge to the freedom of all.

Listen to one of our great officers out there, Marine Lieutenant General Walter Boomer. He said, "There are things worth fighting for. A world in which brutality and lawlessness are allowed to go unchecked isn't the kind of world we're going to want to live in."

Listen to Master Sergeant J.P. Kendall of the 82nd Airborne: "We're here for more than just the price of a gallon of gas. What we're doing is going to chart the future of the world for the next hundred years. It's better to deal with this guy now than five years from now."

And finally, we should all sit up and listen to Jackie Jones, an Army Lieutenant, when she says, "If we let him get away with this, who knows what's going to be next?"

I have called upon "Hollywood" and Walter and J.P. and Jackie and all their courageous comrades in arms to do what must be done. Tonight, America and the world are deeply grateful to them and to their families. And let me say to everyone listening or watching tonight: when the troops we've sent in finish their work, I am determined to bring them home as soon as possible.

Tonight, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them, and the coalition forces at our side in the Gulf -- and may He continue to bless our nation, the United States of America.

END

9:15 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary

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STATEMENT BY  
THE PRESS SECRETARY

January 16, 1991

The Briefing Room

7:08 P.M. EST

MR. FITZWATER: I have a statement by the President of the United States.

The liberation of Kuwait has begun. In conjunction with the forces of our coalition partners, the United States has moved under the code name Operation Desert Storm to enforce the mandates of the United Nations Security Council. As of 7:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time, Operation Desert Storm forces were engaging targets in Kuwait and Iraq.

President Bush will address the nation at 9:00 p.m. tonight from the Oval Office.

I'll try to get you more as soon as we can. Thank you very much.

END

7:09 P.M. EST

# OPERATION DESERT SHIELD



U.S. CENTRAL COMMAND  
JOINT INFORMATION BUREAU



NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Jan. 17, 1991

rel. #91-01-17

## GENERAL SCHWARZKOPF ANNOUNCES DESERT STORM

CENTRAL SAUDI ARABIA -- Soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines of United States Central Command. This morning at 0300C we launched Operation Desert Storm, an offensive campaign that will enforce United Nations resolutions that Iraq must cease its rape and pillage of its weaker neighbor and withdraw its forces from Kuwait. The President, the Congress, the American people and indeed the world stand united in their support for your actions.

You are a member of the most powerful force our country, in coalition with our allies, has ever assembled in a single theater to face such an aggressor. You have trained hard for this battle and you are ready. During my visits with you, I have seen in your eyes a fire of determination to get this job done quickly so that we all may return to the shores of our great nation. My confidence in you is total. Our cause is just! Now you must be the thunder and lightning of Desert Storm. May God be with you, your loved ones at home, and our country. -- H. Norman Schwarzkopf, Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

January 10, 1991

TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S  
OPEN LETTER TO COLLEGE STUDENTS

January 9, 1991

If armed men invaded a home in this country, killed those in their way, stole what they wanted and then announced the house was now theirs -- no one would hesitate about what must be done.

And that is why we cannot hesitate about what must be done halfway around the world: in Kuwait.

There is much in the modern world that is subject to doubts or questions -- washed in shades of gray. But not the brutal aggression of Saddam Hussein against a peaceful, sovereign nation and its people. It's black and white. The facts are clear. The choice unambiguous.

Right vs. wrong.

The terror Saddam Hussein has imposed upon Kuwait violates every principle of human decency. Listen to what Amnesty International has documented. "Widespread abuses of human rights have been perpetrated by Iraqi forces ... arbitrary arrest and detention without trial of thousands ... widespread torture ... imposition of the death penalty and the extrajudicial execution of hundreds of unarmed civilians, including children."

Including children. There's no horror that could make this a more obvious conflict of good vs. evil. The man who used chemical warfare on his own people -- once again including children -- now oversees public hangings of dissenters. And daily his troops commit atrocities against Kuwaiti citizens.

This brutality has reverberated throughout the entire world. If we do not follow the dictates of our inner moral compass and stand up for human life, then his lawlessness will threaten the peace and democracy of the emerging New World Order we now see: this long dreamed-of vision we've all worked toward for so long.

A year after the joyous dawn of freedom's light in Eastern Europe, a dark evil has descended in another part of the world. But we have the chance -- and we have the obligation -- to stop ruthless aggression.

I have been in war. I have known the terror of combat. And I tell you this with all my heart: I don't want there to be war ever again. I am determined to do absolutely everything possible in the search for a peaceful resolution to this crisis -- but only if the peace is genuine, if it rests on principle, not appeasement.

But while we search for that answer, in the Gulf young men and women are putting their own lives on hold in order to stand for peace in our world and for the essential value of human life itself. Many are younger than my own children. Your age, most of them. Doing tough duty for something they believe in.

Let me tell you about one of the soldiers over there, S.F.C. Terry Hatfield, a young man from Georgia. He sent me a Christmas card. And this is what he wrote.

"Mr. President, I just wanted you to know my soldiers and I are ready to do whatever mission you decide. Freedom as we know and enjoy has been taken away from another country and must be restored. Although we are separated from family, friends, loved ones, we will do what must be done ... We stand ready and waiting. God Bless you and the U.S.A."

Terry understands the moral obligation that has compelled our extraordinary multi-national coalition to make this stand in the Gulf. To look this international terrorist straight in the eye and say: no concessions. To proclaim for now and for the future: no compromises. To bear witness by our presence to the fact that aggression will not be rewarded.

Terry waits thousands of miles from the White House, yet we share the same thoughts. We desperately want peace. But we know that to reward aggression would be to end the promise of our New World Order. To reward aggression would be to destroy the United Nations' promise as international peacekeeper. To reward aggression would be to condone the acts of those who would desecrate the promise of human life itself.

And we will do none of this. There are times in life when we confront values worth fighting for. This is one such time.

Each day that passes means another day for Iraq's forces to dig deeper into their stolen land. Another day Saddam Hussein can work toward building his nuclear arsenal and perfecting his chemical and biological weapons capability. Another day of atrocities for Amnesty International to document. Another day of international outlaws, instead of international law.

I ask you to think about the economic devastation that Saddam Hussein would continue to wreak on the world's emerging democracies if he were in control of one-fifth of the world's oil reserves. And to reflect on the terrible threat that a Saddam Hussein armed with weapons of mass destruction already poses to human life and to the future of all nations.

Together, as an America united against these horrors, we can, with our coalition partners, assure that this aggression is stopped and the principles on which this nation and the rest of the civilized world are founded are preserved.

And so let us remember and support Terry Hatfield, all our fine servicemen and women, as they stand ready on the frontier of freedom, willing to do their duty and do it well. They deserve our complete and enthusiastic support -- and lasting gratitude.

# # #

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 9, 1990

PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT

The Briefing Room

3:55 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: I have a brief opening statement and then I will take a few questions.

I have spoken with Secretary of State Jim Baker, who reported to me on his nearly seven hours of conversation with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz. Secretary Baker made it clear that he discerned no evidence whatsoever that Iraq was willing to comply with the international community's demand to withdraw from Kuwait and comply with the United Nations resolutions.

Secretary Baker also reported to me that the Iraqi Foreign Minister rejected my letter to Saddam Hussein -- refused to carry this letter and give it to the President of Iraq. The Iraqi Ambassador here in Washington did the same thing. This is but one more example that the Iraqi government is not interested in direct communications designed to settle the Persian Gulf situation.

The record shows that whether the diplomacy is initiated by the United States, the United Nations, the Arab League or the European Community, the results are the same, unfortunately. The conclusion is clear: Saddam Hussein continues to reject a diplomatic solution.

I sent Secretary Jim Baker to Geneva not to negotiate, but to communicate. And I wanted Iraqi leaders to know just how determined we are that the Iraqi forces leave Kuwait without condition or further delay. Secretary Baker made clear that by its full compliance with the 12 relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions, Iraq would gain the opportunity to rejoin the international community. And he also made clear how much Iraq stands to lose if it does not comply.

Let me emphasize that I have not given up on a peaceful outcome -- it's not too late. I've just been on the phone, subsequent to the Baker press conference, with King Fahd, with President Mitterrand -- to whom I've talked twice today -- Prime Minister Mulroney and others are contacting other coalition partners to keep the matter under lively discussion. It isn't too late. But now, as it's been before, the choice of peace or war is really Saddam Hussein's to make.

And now I'd be glad to take a few questions.

Q Mr. President, you said in an interview last month that you believe in your gut that Saddam Hussein would withdraw from Kuwait by January 15th. After the failure of this meeting today, what does your gut tell you about that? And in your gut, do you believe that there's going to be war or peace?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't misrepresent this to the American people. I am discouraged. I watched much of the Aziz press conference, and there was no discussion of withdrawal from Kuwait. The United Nations resolutions are about the aggression against Kuwait. They're about the invasion of Kuwait, about the liquidation of a lot of the people in Kuwait, about the restoration of the legitimate government to Kuwait. And here we were listening to a

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45-minute press conference after the Secretary of State of the United States had six hours worth of meetings over there, and there was not one single sentence that has to relate to their willingness to get out of Kuwait.

And so, Terry, I'd have to say I certainly am not encouraged by that, but I'm not going to give up. And I told this to our coalition partners -- and I'll be talking to more of them when I finish here -- we've got to keep trying. But this was a total stiff arm. This was a total rebuff.

Q Let me follow up on that. Let me follow up. Have you decided in your mind to go to war if he's not out of there by the 15th?

THE PRESIDENT: I have not made up my decision on what and when to do. I am more determined than ever that the United Nations resolutions including 678 is implemented fully.

Yes, Helen?

Q Mr. President, Aziz made a pledge that he would not make the first attack. Would you match that? And also, what's wrong with a Middle East conference if it could avoid a bloody war?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I wouldn't make it. And we oppose linkage. The coalition opposes linkage. And the argument with Saddam Hussein is about Kuwait. It is about the invasion of Kuwait, the liquidation of a member of the United Nations, a member of the Arab League. And it has long been determined by not just the Security Council, but by the entire United Nations that this is about Kuwait. And that is the point that was missing from his explanations here today. And so there will be no linkage on these items. And that's been the firm position of all of the allies, those with forces there, and, indeed, of the United Nations -- the General Assembly.

Q So you feel free to attack?

THE PRESIDENT: -- so when he talked about his allies there, I don't know who stood up at the General Assembly of the United Nations and stood against the resolution that so overwhelmingly passed condemning Iraq. So there will be no linkage. put it that way.

Q Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Brit.

Q Tariq Aziz, on the subject of the letter, suggested that it was rude in its use of language and somehow inappropriate to a diplomatic communication. I wonder, sir, if you are willing to release the letter, now that it has been -- it's run its course, apparently? And if, whether you are or not, would you characterize it for us and tell us what it said?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me first describe why I wanted to send a letter. It has been alleged, fairly or unfairly, that those around Saddam Hussein refuse to bring him bad news or refuse to tell it to him straight. And so I made the determination that I would write a letter that would explain as clearly and forcefully as I could exactly what the situation is that he faces. The letter is not rude. The letter was direct. And the letter did exactly what I think is necessary at this stage.

But to refuse to even pass a letter along seems to me to be just one more manifestation of the stonewalling that has taken place. We gave him 15 dates for the Secretary of State to meet with him. And he's off meeting with Mr. A and Mr. B and Mr. C and has no time for that.

So the letter was proper -- I've been around the diplomatic track for a long time -- the letter was proper, it was

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direct, and it was what I think would have been helpful to him to show him the resolve of the rest of the world -- certainly of the coalition.

In terms of releasing it, Brit, I haven't given much thought to that. It was written as a letter to him. But let me think about it. I might be willing to do it; I might not. I just don't know. If I thought it would help get the message out to him in an indirect way maybe it makes some sense, although we've been saying essentially the same thing over and over again that was in the letter.

Q Well, Mr. President, was the refusal by the Ambassador here to even accept the letter -- was that prior to or simultaneous with the refusal of Tariq Aziz? I mean, is it your impression --

THE PRESIDENT: I think it was after he had made that -- I think it was after the letter had been rejected at the table there in Geneva. Just one more effort to try to get this direct communication to him. I'm not sure on that, but I believe that's correct.

Q Mr. President, there are reports that you are considering a call-up of up to a million reservists to reinforce the forces that are serving in the Persian Gulf. What can you tell us about that?

THE PRESIDENT: I can tell you nobody has ever suggested that to me.

Q Is there any reserve call-up being contemplated at this point?

THE PRESIDENT: I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll ask the Secretary of Defense to respond to that question when I get finished here.

Q Can you tell us what your attitude now is about the use of force resolution that you asked for yesterday with the Congress?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I had a good meeting with certain members of Congress. I've talked to all four leaders this afternoon -- Senator Mitchell, Senator Dole, Speaker Foley, Congressman Michel -- I talked to him in person here. And I'm not sure where it stands. We are -- I am anxious to see and would certainly welcome a resolution that says we are going to implement the United Nations resolutions to a tee.

I don't think it's too late to send a consolidated signal to Saddam Hussein. And I think that would be a consolidated signal. I think it would be helpful still. I've told the congressmen back in December, as I think I told everyone in this room, that I would have welcomed a resolution back then, provided it would send this solid signal. But if it can do it today, I would welcome it.

So I don't know exactly where it stands, but I know that there is a good feeling up there. I think people see that the American people are supportive of the policy of this country. I think they see that we have tried the diplomatic track. I hope they know that I am as committed to peace as anyone. But I hope they also know that I am firmly determined to see that this aggression not stand. And I think they're backing me in that.

So maybe that ingredient, which hasn't always been quite as clear as it is now, will help as this debate, proper debate, goes forward in the Congress.

Q Do you think you need such a resolution? And if you lose it, would you be bound by that?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I need it. I think

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Secretary Cheney expressed it very well the other day. There are different opinions on either side of this question, but Saddam Hussein should be under no question on this -- I feel that I have the authority to fully implement the United Nations resolutions.

Q And the question of being bound -- the second part of that?

THE PRESIDENT: I still feel that I have the constitutional authority -- many attorneys having so advised me.

Q Sir, I want to ask you about Francois Mitterrand. But Wyatt's question opens up a whole area. Let me just ask you, you talk about you don't want this to be another Vietnam.

THE PRESIDENT: It won't be another Vietnam.

Q If the Congress of the United States refuses to give you a resolution that -- refuses to even give you a Gulf of Tonkin-type resolution, how can you go to war?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think they're going to refuse.

Q Okay. Let me ask you about Francois Mitterrand. You say the --

THE PRESIDENT: There have been 200 -- I'll just repeat for the record that there have been a lot of uses of force in our history and very few declarations of war. But I have tried. I have done more consultation with the Congress than any other president. Some of these Democratic members have told me that. And I have tried to reach out to them in various ways, and I will continue to do it, because I want to see a solid front here as we stand up against this aggressor.

Q Let me ask you about that solid front --

THE PRESIDENT: And I think it enhances the peace. I really believe, John, that he is living under a delusion. I think he doesn't think that force will be used against him. I think he's misinterpreted the debate. I also think he's under a delusion about what would happen if a conflagration breaks out. I believe that firmly, and I've had many, many people whom I respect tell me that. So I would hope that what we're talking about here would dissuade him from that.

This is a follow-up.

Q You've said that the coalition is united against any linkage on the Palestinian question. You've talked to Francois Mitterrand twice today. But in public he says he is for this international peace conference, and he seems to have no objection at all if Saddam Hussein wants to use that as a fig leaf to pull out of Kuwait. You do have an objection. Mitterrand also says that apparently the European Community foreign ministers are going to meet with Aziz apparently in Algiers. What if they go in there and say, well, we have no objection to an international peace conference on the Mideast?

THE PRESIDENT: The foreign ministers of the EC have been very solid, and so has President Francois Mitterrand, that there will be no linkage. So you're asking me a hypothetical question that I won't have to answer because he's not going to do that.

Q He said today he disagrees with you on the international peace --

THE PRESIDENT: The French government and the United States government over the years have had some differences on how the best way to bring peace to the Middle East is. We had a very active initiative underway by Jim Baker. But that doesn't have anything to do with the invasion of Kuwait. And Francois Mitterrand knows that

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it doesn't have to do with the invasion of Kuwait and the aggression against Kuwait. And I know he knows this. And he's been very forthright about it.

But, yes, he's very frank in saying countries have a different approach to how you solve another very important problem. And we've never -- I would simply refer you back to what I've said or that subject. I think you were with us over in the joint press conference with President Gorbachev when I addressed myself to this. But I am going to avoid linkage.

I listened to that Aziz meeting, and all he tried to do is obfuscate, to confuse, to make everybody think this had to do with the West Bank, for example. And it doesn't. It has to do with the aggression against Kuwait -- the invasion of Kuwait, the brutalizing of the people in Kuwait. And it has to do with a new world order. And that world order is only going to be enhanced if this newly-activated peacekeeping function of the United Nations proves to be effective. That is the only way the new world order will be enhanced.

Q You say that Saddam Hussein doesn't understand yet. Why not a meeting face to face? Why refuse any meeting face to face?

THE PRESIDENT: Because he's had every opportunity. And he keeps -- we finally said this is the last step. We tried 15 dates in Baghdad. We tried to set up these meetings. And now we tried this one, and there wasn't one single reason to make me think that another meeting between the United States and Saddam Hussein would do -- and the Iraqis would do any good at all. If I felt it would, fine. But it will not.

I talked to the Secretary General of the United Nations today, and there is a chance that he might undertake such a mission. Certainly we'd have no objection. There's one other reason -- and I cite that because this is not Iraq against the United States. It is Iraq against the rest of the world. It is the United Nations that passed 12 resolutions, not the United States. It is the General Assembly of the United Nations -- a 100-plus countries standing solidly against the dictator. And therefore, it doesn't need to be a bilateral negotiation here. We tried that. And we were stiff-armed by an intransigent foreign secretary.

And so the answer is, if diplomacy can be effective now, let's keep it in the context in which these resolutions were passed. And I would hope that maybe it would have an effect, but I'd have to level with the American people, nothing I saw today -- nothing -- leads me to believe that this man is going to be reasonable. So back to Terry's question, I'm less -- I have less of a feeling that he'll come around. But we ought to keep trying. We ought to keep trying right down to the wire.

Q You've repeated the "keep trying." You've cited the Secretary General of the United Nations. Secretary of State Baker cited him three times. What exactly could his mission be if there is no alternative to what Secretary Baker --

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure. Maybe the whole -- what would a mission of Jim Baker have been? It might have been to convince the man that he is up against an immovable force. He's up against something that is not going to yield. He is up against a situation under which there will be no compromise; and there will be none. But because, you see, Ann, I go back to my point, I don't think he has felt this up until now -- on both points. I don't think he's felt that force will be used against him and I think he has felt that if it were, he'd prevail. He's wrong on both counts.

Q Mr. President, there have been reports that Saddam believes that if it comes to war, even if he's driven out of Kuwait militarily, he can survive in power. Is he wrong?

THE PRESIDENT: I think he's wrong on all of his

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assumptions about what would happen if it came to war -- God forbid.

In the middle, and back here. And then we've got three more, and then I've got to go. These -- Ellen.

Q Would he be killed, Mr. President? Would he be killed if it came to war?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not going to answer that. I don't know the answer to that question.

Q Mr. President, you seem to have ruled out further diplomacy as a --

THE PRESIDENT: No, you missed what I said, ma'am -- Ellen, about the Secretary General, possibly. The EC has tried -- I'll get back to you. Let me finish this one train of thought and then I'll come to your question -- the EC has tried, and, indeed, we see Aziz say, no, he wouldn't meet with the foreign ministers. You've seen President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria to try.

I told the congressmen, I want to see us go the last step for peace. I want to use everything at my power to encourage people to try. And, indeed, there have been. Arab League has tried. Over and over again, people have tried. And they run up against the same answer. I remember the speculation that came out here in our papers in this country about a visit by a French delegate that was going over there. The hopes were raised. Nothing happened. So I just had to argue with the premise because there has been a lot of diplomacy and there may be more.

Now, excuse me for interrupting you.

Q Sir, you seem to be very skeptical that further diplomacy would work. And yet you've said here today that you haven't given up on a peaceful solution. I wonder where it is you find this hope for a peaceful solution?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not sure I have great hope for it. But I think when human life is at stake, you go the extra mile for peace. And that's what we have tried to do. And I will continue to think of reasons -- I told President Mitterrand, I said, look, if you think of a new approach, or I do, please, let's one or the other get on the phone and try. But we remain determined that these resolutions are going to be complied with. I am very concerned that sanctions -- I know sanctions alone aren't going to get this job done. And so we're pushing here, and that's what the Baker meeting with Aziz was about. I'm not going to give up, though.

Karen.

Q A lot of people, in looking at the situation, on the outside will say, there must be more than this. There must be some back-channel diplomacy. There must be something going on. You can't be rushing headlong into war this way. Can you tell us that there is nothing, that it is what appear to be getting -- that Saddam isn't going to move and we're going to war?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm not going to use that phrase. I am going to say, if Saddam doesn't move, we are going to fully implement Resolution 678. And it will be fully complied with.

But I wish I could tell you I'm more hopeful. There is no back channel. We've tried it directly. I've had to level, and properly so, with our coalition partners as to what I'm doing, and they've leveled with us -- leveled with the United Nations Security Council members who are not involved in the coalition with force: for example, the Soviets. A lot of avenues have been tried. But I can't tell you that there's any hidden agenda out there, secret negotiations -- there is not. And it wouldn't be right for us to be off telling you one thing openly here and then going around behind the corner with some secret channel. So I would like to say if

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there's any feeling that that's happening, it isn't happening.

Q So the entire hope for peace then rests on Saddam backing off from his --

THE PRESIDENT: And it has since August 2nd -- exactly. Because this aggression is not going to stand. And there's an awful lot at stake in terms of the new world order that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of a lot of human life in Kuwait that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of how the coalition looks at this that it doesn't stand. So it won't.

Q Mr. President, you said that when you first propose high-level talks between Iraq and the United States that it was because you were convinced the message had not gotten through, had not gotten across. Are you now convinced that the message had gotten across?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I did listen carefully to Mr. Aziz who I thought spoke quite well. I didn't agree with what he was trying to do, obviously, to confuse the issue by refusing to discuss the point at hand, which is the invasion of Kuwait, but I thought he did it well. (Laughter.) I thought he kind of sent a signal that they do understand what's up against them, but I still don't believe that they think the world coalition will use force against them. I may be wrong, but that's what I think in here. And I also still believe, as I said earlier, that he somehow has this feeling that he will prevail or that he will prolong. This will not be that. I've heard some wild predictions on this horrible human equation that might be involved if force were used, and I would say I don't agree with some who are arguing the loudest because it's putting the worst case out in terms of loss of human life; I must say that. I don't know. I think Aziz understands it, but I'm not sure that Saddam Hussein does.

Q If I could follow, Mr. President --

THE PRESIDENT: A follow-up question. I'm sorry, I'm going to have one more, and then Charles -- I told him, and then I'm leaving. Thank you very much, though.

Q When you were listening to Foreign Secretary Aziz, did you get any kind of particular feelings of anger or --

THE PRESIDENT: No, I didn't. I thought it was a very rational presentation, but wrong. I must say, I thought his style was good. From talking to Jim Baker, I thought he -- I mean, when I talked to Jim, he said, look, the man presented his case. Clearly, we didn't agree with it. I thought he was quite complimentary of the way the Secretary of State did it. So the atmospherics, I think, were all right, but he doesn't have it. He doesn't understand it. At least from what he said, he doesn't. Because this is not about some other question of linkage. This is about the invasion and the aggression about Kuwait -- the dismantling of Kuwait, the brutality about Kuwait. So I didn't get a sense of security from listening to that. But I will say that I thought that he presented his views in a reasoned -- reasonable way. He had a tough agenda. He had some tough talking points there. He works for a tough man.

Q What exactly are you trying to convey here to Saddam Hussein on what he does have to lose? Is it the decimation of his society? Is it the liquidation of his military? Is it losing his own power? Can you be specific on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't be more specific, but I can be -- that he will get out of Kuwait, and he will get out of Kuwait entirely, and he will get out of Kuwait without concession. That, I think, is the underlying part of the message.

Q Mr. President, as question on Israel. Tariq Aziz was emphatic that if Iraq is attacked, Israel will be attacked. What are your obligations to Israel? Are you prepared to fight a war

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throughout the Middle East?

THE PRESIDENT: That is too hypothetical a question for me to answer. We are prepared to do what we need to do to implicate -- to fully implement 678. And I would think that he'd think long and hard before he started yet another war. There is one war on -- that's his war against Kuwait. That's his aggression against Kuwait. And I don't think he wants to start another one. So I'm not going to buy into that hypothesis that the United States would obviously feel that that was a most provocative act, most provocative.

Q If I may, I don't believe it was a hypothetical question. The question was, what are your obligations to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT: We have friends all over the world. We have friends in this coalition. And I'm determined that the United States will fill our obligations there. Clearly, if a friend in that area was attacked, wantonly attacked for no cause whatsoever, not only the United States, but I think many people around the world would view that as a flagrant provocation. And I'll leave it stand right there.

Thank you all very much. Thank you.

Q Secretary Cheney --

SECRETARY CHENEY: The question as on possible additional reserve call-up authority. Under the authority that we're currently using, I'm authorized by a delegation of the President to use up to -- to call up to 200,000 reservists for up to 180 days. That authority for some of those reservists who have been called begins to expire in February. And so what we currently have in the works is a provision that would use a different provision of the statute to allow us to keep reservists on active service for as long as two years and to call under that provision up to one million additional reservists. We have no intention of calling one million reservists, but that's the provision that's available for me to be able to extend those people in critical skills whose services are now being utilized and whom we would like to keep for the period of times that we don't have to release them immediately back to the reserve status.

Thank you all very much.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

4:25 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed for Release Until  
12:00 Noon EST, Monday, December 24, 1990

CHRISTMAS MESSAGE BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO AMERICAN TROOPS WORLDWIDE

THE PRESIDENT: Merry Christmas and happy holidays to you who are standing watch around the world. Never have I been prouder of our troops. Never have I been prouder to be your Commander-in-Chief. Because in this season of peace it is your commitment and your courage that makes peace possible.

We think of you in the snowy fields and runways of Europe where, thanks to you, millions are celebrating Christmas and Hanukkah openly for the first time in 45 years. We think of you off the coast of the Philippines and Japan and the DMZ in Korea. We think of you in Panama, where lightning success last Christmas ended the reign of a despot and brought peace to a people. We think of you in the air, on the high seas, and at bases and embassies around the world, who kept our country untouched and at peace throughout the long winter darkness of the Cold War.

Back home, some talk of the cost of war. But it is you who understand the price of peace. Each Christmas Day we close our eyes in prayer and think of what Harry Truman called "the humble surroundings of the nativity and how from a straw-littered stable shone a light which for nearly 20 centuries has given men strength, comfort and peace."

It's distant in time, but close within our hearts because on this Christmas Day, hour by hour, hand in hand, Americans will send their prayers eastward across the ocean and halfway across the world not only to the town of Bethlehem, but to the sands and shores where you stand in harm's way.

We're in the Gulf because the world must not reward aggression, because our vital interests are at stake, and because of the brutality and danger of Saddam Hussein. We're there backed by 12 United Nations resolutions and the forces of 25 other countries.

Barbara and I spent Thanksgiving with our men and women over there. And when we got back, I spoke to the American people, told them of your bravery and reminded them why we're there. First I put the immorality of the invasion of Kuwait itself. I said I was deeply concerned about what has happened and is happening there. Concerned about a ruthless despot's attempt to dominate a volatile and critical region. Concerned about his efforts to acquire nuclear arms, and concerned that a promising era is threatened by an international outlaw. And I told the American people something else, that we want peace, not war, and that I will do my level best to bring you home without a single shot fired.

And let me say one other thing. The sacrifices you make will never be forgotten. America is behind you. The world is behind you, and history is behind you. When you come home, and we hope it's soon, you'll be welcomed as what you are -- all-American heroes.

Today at the White House and all across America, candles burn in remembrance of you and all our troops across the country and around the world. There is no way Americans can forget the contribution you are making to world peace and to our country. Whenever we see Old Glory snapping in the breeze, we think of you. Whenever we hear the inspirational words of the Star-Bangled Banner, we think of you. And whenever we enjoy the boundless opportunities

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of a free country, we think of you.

History may make men, but you are making history. I think of Lieutenant Mary Danko, the flight nurse who volunteered for Saudi Arabia. Her husband, a C-130 navigator, was already flying in support of Desert Shield. And when asked if leaving their baby with relatives was a hard thing to do, Mary said, "it's the right thing to do. We're needed." And when asked, now what about the kid? Mary explained, "We're doing it for the kid."

Well, she's right. Mary's right. She knows that when peace and freedom triumph, it's not a triumph for one particular country or one particular people, but a triumph for our children. A triumph for all humankind.

And so it is with the holidays, for tonight the Star of Bethlehem and the candles of the Menorah will cast their light in American outposts around the world with a timeless message of hope and renewal that radiates to people of all faiths. Each of you is precious. Each life is important because it touches so many other lives. And while you may be out of America's sight, rest assured no matter where you serve, you will never be out of America's heart.

Merry Christmas and happy holidays to you all. God keep you and watch over you. And God bless America.

END

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 29, 1991

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
ON THE STATE OF THE UNION

The U.S. Capitol  
Washington, D.C.

9:09 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President, and Mr. Speaker, and members of the United States Congress. I come to this House of the people to speak to you and all Americans, certain that we stand at a defining hour. Halfway around the world, we are engaged in a great struggle in the skies and on the seas and sands. We know why we're there. We are Americans -- part of something larger than ourselves. For two centuries, we've done the hard work of freedom. And tonight, we lead the world in facing down a threat to decency and humanity.

What is at stake is more than one small country; it is a big idea: a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind -- peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle and worthy of our children's future. (Applause.)

The community of nations has resolutely gathered to condemn and repel lawless aggression. Saddam Hussein's unprovoked invasion -- his ruthless, systematic rape of a peaceful neighbor -- violated everything the community of nations holds dear. The world has said this aggression would not stand -- and it will not stand. (Applause.)

Together, we have resisted the trap of appeasement, cynicism, and isolation that gives temptation to tyrants. The world has answered Saddam's invasion with 12 United Nations resolutions, starting with a demand for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal and backed up by forces from 28 countries of six continents. With few exceptions, the world now stands as one.

The end of the Cold War has been a victory for all humanity. A year and a half ago, in Germany, I said that our goal was a Europe whole and free. Tonight, Germany is united. Europe has become whole and free -- and America's leadership was instrumental in making it possible. (Applause.)

Our relationship to the Soviet Union is important, not only to us, but to the world. That relationship has helped to shape these and other historic changes. But like many other nations, we have been deeply concerned by the violence in the Baltics, and we have communicated that concern to the Soviet leadership.

The principle that has guided us is simple: Our objective is to help the Baltic peoples achieve their aspirations, not to punish the Soviet Union. (Applause.) In our recent discussions with the Soviet leadership, we have been given representations which, if fulfilled, would result in the withdrawal of some Soviet forces, a reopening of dialogue with the Republics, and a move away from violence.

We will watch carefully as the situation develops. And we will maintain our contact with the Soviet leadership to encourage

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continued commitment to democratization and reform. (Applause.) If it is possible, I want to continue to build a lasting basis for U.S.-Soviet cooperation, for a more peaceful future for all mankind.

The triumph of democratic ideas in Eastern Europe and Latin America, and the continuing struggle for freedom elsewhere all around the world all confirm the wisdom of our nation's founders.

Tonight, we work to achieve another victory -- a victory over tyranny and savage aggression.

We in this Union enter the last decade of the 20th century thankful for our blessings, steadfast in our purpose, aware of our difficulties, and responsive to our duties at home and around the world.

For two centuries, America has served the world as an inspiring example of freedom and democracy. For generations, America has led the struggle to preserve and extend the blessings of liberty. And today, in a rapidly changing world, American leadership is indispensable. Americans know that leadership brings burdens and sacrifices. But we also know why the hopes of humanity turn to us. We are Americans: we have a unique responsibility to do the hard work of freedom. And when we do, freedom works. (Applause.)

The conviction and courage we see in the Persian Gulf today is simply the American character in action. The indomitable spirit that is contributing to this victory for world peace and justice is the same spirit that gives us the power and the potential to meet our toughest challenges at home.

We are resolute and resourceful. If we can selflessly confront evil for the sake of good in a land so far away, then surely we can make this land all that it should be. If anyone tells you that America's best days are behind her, they're looking the wrong way. (Applause.)

Tonight, I come before this House and the American people with an appeal for renewal. This is not merely a call for new government initiatives; it is a call for new initiative in government, in our communities, and from every American -- to prepare for the next American century.

America has always led by example. So who among us will set this example? Which of our citizens will lead us in this next American century? Everyone who steps forward today -- to get one addict off drugs, to convince one troubled teenager not to give up on life, to comfort one AIDS patient, to help one hungry child.

We have within our reach the promise of a renewed America. We can find meaning and reward by serving some purpose higher than ourselves -- a shining purpose, the illumination of a thousand points of light. And it is expressed by all who know the irresistible force of a child's hand, of a friend who stands by you and stays there -- a volunteer's generous gesture, an idea that is simply right.

The problems before us may be different, but the key to solving them remains the same. It is the individual -- the individual who steps forward. And the state of our Union is the union of each of us, one to the other -- the sum of our friendships, marriages, families, and communities.

We all have something to give. So if you know how to read, find someone who can't. If you've got a hammer, find a nail. If you're not hungry, not lonely, not in trouble, seek out someone who is. Join the community of conscience. Do the hard work of freedom. And that will define the state of our Union. (Applause.)

Since the birth of our nation, "We the people" has been the source of our strength. What government can do alone is limited -- but the potential of the American people knows no limits.

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We are a nation of rock-solid realism and clear-eyed idealism. We are Americans. We are the nation that believes in the future. We are the nation that can shape the future. And we've begun to do just that -- by strengthening the power and choice of individuals and families.

Together, these last two years, we've put dollars for child care directly in the hands of parents instead of bureaucracies. (Applause.) Unshackled the potential of Americans with disabilities. (Applause.) Applied the creativity of the marketplace in the service of the environment, for clean air; and made home ownership possible for more Americans. (Applause.)

The strength of a democracy is not in bureaucracy. It is in the people and their communities. In everything we do, let us unleash the potential of our most precious resource -- our citizens, our citizens themselves. We must return to families, communities, counties, cities, states, and institutions of every kind the power to chart their own destiny, and the freedom and opportunity provided by strong economic growth. And that's what America is all about. (Applause.)

I know tonight in some regions of our country, people are in genuine economic distress. And I hear them.

Earlier this month, Kathy Blackwell, of Massachusetts, wrote me about what can happen when the economy slows down, saying, "My heart is aching, and I think that you should know your people out here are hurting badly."

I understand. And I'm not unrealistic about the future. But there are reasons to be optimistic about our economy.

First, we don't have to fight double-digit inflation. Second, most industries won't have to make big cuts in production because they don't have big inventories piled up. And third, our exports are running solid and strong. In fact, American businesses are exporting at a record rate.

So let's put these times in perspective. Together, since 1981, we've created almost 20 million jobs, cut inflation in half, and cut interest rates in half.

And, yes, the largest peacetime economic expansion in history has been temporarily interrupted. But our economy is still over twice as large as our closest competitor.

We will get this recession behind us and return to growth soon. (Applause.) We will get on our way to a new record of expansion and achieve the competitive strength that will carry us into the next American century.

We should focus our efforts today on encouraging economic growth, investing in the future, and giving power and opportunity to the individual. (Applause.)

We must begin with control of federal spending. (Applause.) That's why I'm submitting a budget that holds the growth in spending to less than the rate of inflation. And that's why, amid all the sound and fury of last year's budget debate, we put into law new, enforceable spending caps -- so that future spending debates will mean a battle of ideas, not a bidding war. (Applause.)

Though controversial, the budget agreement finally put the federal government on a pay-as-you-go plan and cut the growth of debt by nearly \$500 billion. And that frees funds for saving and job-creating investment.

Now, let's do more. My budget again includes tax-free family savings accounts; penalty-free withdrawals from IRAs for first-time home buyers -- (applause) -- and to increase jobs and

growth, a reduced tax for long-term capital gains. (Applause.)

I know there are differences among us -- (laughter) -- about the impact and the effects of a capital gains incentive. So tonight, I'm asking the congressional leaders and the Federal Reserve to cooperate with us in a study, led by Chairman Alan Greenspan, to sort out our technical differences so that we can avoid a return to unproductive partisan bickering. (Applause.)

But just as our efforts will bring economic growth now and in the future, they must also be matched by long-term investments for the next American century.

That requires a forward-looking plan of action -- and that's exactly what we will be sending to the Congress. We've prepared a detailed series of proposals that include:

A budget that promotes investment in America's future -- in children, education, infrastructure, space, and high technology;

legislation to achieve excellence in education -- building on the partnership forged with the 50 governors at the Education Summit, enabling parents to choose their children's schools and helping to make America number one in math and science; -- (applause) --

a blueprint for a new national highway system -- a critical investment in our transportation infrastructure; -- (applause) --

a research and development agenda that includes record levels of federal investment, and a permanent tax credit to strengthen private R&D and to create jobs; -- (applause) --

a comprehensive national energy strategy that calls for energy conservation and efficiency, increased development, and greater use of alternative fuels; -- (applause) --

a banking reform plan to bring America's financial system into the 21st century so that our banks remain safe and secure and can continue to make job-creating loans for our factories, our businesses and home-buyers.

You know, I do think there has been too much pessimism. Sound banks should be making sound loans now -- and interest rates should be lower, now. (Applause.)

In addition to these proposals, we must recognize that our economic strength depends on being competitive in world markets. We must continue to expand American exports. A successful Uruguay Round of world trade negotiations will create more real jobs and more real growth for all nations. You and I know that if the playing field is level, America's workers and farmers can out-work, out-produce anyone, anytime, anywhere. (Applause.)

And with a Mexican Free Trade Agreement and our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, we can help our partners strengthen their economies and move toward a free trade zone throughout this entire hemisphere. (Applause.)

The budget also includes a plan of action right here at home to put more power and opportunity in the hands of the individual. And that means new incentives to create jobs in our inner cities, by encouraging investment through enterprise zones. It also means tenant control and ownership of public housing. Freedom and the power to choose should not be the privilege of wealth. They are the birthright of every American. (Applause.)

Civil rights are also crucial to protecting equal opportunity. (Applause.) Every one of us has a responsibility to speak out against racism, bigotry, and hate. (Applause.) We will continue our vigorous enforcement of existing statutes, and I will

once again press the Congress to strengthen the laws against employment discrimination without resorting to the use of unfair preferences. (Applause.)

We're determined to protect another fundamental civil right -- freedom from crime and the fear that stalks our cities. The Attorney General will soon convene a crime summit of our nation's law enforcement officials. And to help us support them, we need tough crime control legislation, and we need it now. (Applause.)

And as we fight crime, we will fully implement our national strategy for combatting drug abuse. Recent data show that we are making progress, but much remains to be done. We will not rest until the day of the dealer is over, forever. (Applause.)

Good health care is every American's right and every American's responsibility. And so we are proposing an aggressive program of new prevention initiatives -- for infants, for children, for adults, and for the elderly -- to promote a healthier America and to help keep costs from spiralling. (Applause.)

It's time to give people more choice in government, by reviving the ideal of the citizen politician who comes not to stay, but to serve. And one of the reasons that there is so much support across this country for term limitations is that the American people are increasingly concerned about big-money influence in politics. So we must look beyond the next election, to the next generation. And the time has come to put the national interest above the special interest -- and totally eliminate political action committees. (Applause.)

And that would truly put more competition in elections, and more power in the hands of individuals. And where power cannot be put directly in the hands of the individual, it should be moved closer to the people -- away from Washington.

The federal government too often treats government programs as if they are of Washington, by Washington, and for Washington. Once established, federal programs seem to become immortal.

It's time for a more dynamic program life cycle: Some programs should increase. Some should decrease. Some should be terminated. And some should be consolidated and turned over to the states. (Applause.)

My budget includes a list of programs for potential turnover totalling more than \$20 billion. Working with Congress and the governors, I propose we select at least \$15 billion in such programs and turn them over to the states in a single consolidated grant -- fully funded -- for flexible management by the states. (Applause.)

The value -- the value of this turnover approach is straightforward. It allows the federal government to reduce overhead. It allows states to manage more flexibly and more efficiently. It moves power and decision-making closer to the people. And it reinforces a theme of this administration: appreciation and encouragement of the innovative powers of "States as Laboratories."

This nation was founded by leaders who understood that power belongs in the hands of people. And they planned for the future. And so must we -- here and all around the world.

As Americans, we know that there are times when we must step forward and accept our responsibility to lead the world away from the dark chaos of dictators, toward the brighter promise of a better day.

Almost 50 years ago we began a long struggle against aggressive totalitarianism. Now we face another defining hour for

America and the world.

There is no one more devoted, more committed to the hard work of freedom, than every soldier and sailor, every Marine, airman, and Coastguardsman -- every man and woman now serving in the Persian Gulf. (Applause.) Oh, how they deserve -- (applause) -- and what a fitting tribute to them.

You see -- what a wonderful, fitting tribute to them. Each of them has volunteered -- volunteered to provide for this nation's defense -- and now they bravely struggle, to earn for America, for the world, and for future generations, a just and lasting peace.

Our commitment to them must be equal to their commitment to their country. They are truly America's finest. (Applause.)

The war in the Gulf is not a war we wanted. We worked hard to avoid war. For more than five months we, along with the Arab League, the European Community, the United Nations, tried every diplomatic avenue. U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar; Presidents Gorbachev, Mitterrand, Ozal, Mubarak, and Bendjedid; Kings Fahd and Hassan; Prime Ministers Major and Andreotti -- just to name a few -- all worked for a solution. But time and again, Saddam Hussein flatly rejected the path of diplomacy and peace.

The world well knows how this conflict began and when: It began on August 2nd, when Saddam invaded and sacked a small, defenseless neighbor. And I am certain of how it will end. So that peace can prevail, we will prevail. (Applause.) Thank you.

Tonight, I am pleased to report that we are on course. Iraq's capacity to sustain war is being destroyed. Our investment, our training, our planning -- all are paying off. Time will not be Saddam's salvation.

Our purpose in the Persian Gulf remains constant: to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, to restore Kuwait's legitimate government, and to ensure the stability and security of this critical region.

Let me make clear what I mean by the region's stability and security. We do not seek the destruction of Iraq, its culture, or its people. Rather, we seek an Iraq that uses its great resources, not to destroy, not to serve the ambitions of a tyrant, but to build a better life for itself and its neighbors. We seek a Persian Gulf where conflict is no longer the rule, where the strong are neither tempted nor able to intimidate the weak.

Most Americans know instinctively why we are in the Gulf. They know we had to stop Saddam now, not later. They know that this brutal dictator will do anything; will use any weapon; will commit any outrage, no matter how many innocents suffer.

They know we must make sure that control of the world's oil resources does not fall into his hands, only to finance further aggression. They know that we need to build a new, enduring peace -- based not on arms races and confrontation, but on shared principles and the rule of law.

And we all realize that our responsibility to be the catalyst for peace in the region does not end with the successful conclusion of this war.

Democracy brings the undeniable value of thoughtful dissent -- and we've heard some dissenting voices here at home -- some, a handful, reckless -- most responsible. But the fact that all voices have the right to speak out is one of the reasons we've been united in purpose and principle for 200 years. (Applause.)

Our progress in this great struggle is the result of years of vigilance and a steadfast commitment to a strong defense. Now, with remarkable technological advances like the Patriot missile,

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we can defend against ballistic missile attacks aimed at innocent civilians.

Looking forward, I have directed that the SDI program be refocused on providing protection from limited ballistic missile strikes -- whatever their source. (Applause.) Let us pursue an SDI program that can deal with any future threat to the United States, to our forces overseas, and to our friends and allies.

The quality of American technology, thanks to the American worker, has enabled us to successfully deal with difficult military conditions and help minimize precious loss of life. We have given our men and women the very best. And they deserve it. (Applause.)

We all have a special place in our hearts for the families of our men and women serving in the Gulf. They are represented here tonight by Mrs. Norman Schwarzkopf. (Applause.) We are all very grateful to General Schwarzkopf and to all those serving with him. And I might also recognize one who came with Mrs. Schwarzkopf -- Alma Powell, the wife of the distinguished Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. (Applause.) And to the families, let me say our forces in the Gulf will not stay there one day longer than is necessary to complete their mission. (Applause.)

The courage and success of the RAF pilots, of the Kuwaiti, Saudi, French, the Canadians, the Italians, the pilots of Qatar and Bahrain -- all are proof that for the first time since World War II, the international community is united. The leadership of the United Nations, once only a hoped-for ideal, is now confirming its founders' vision. (Applause.)

I am heartened that we are not being asked to bear alone the financial burdens of this struggle. Last year, our friends and allies provided the bulk of the economic costs of Desert Shield. And now, having received commitments of over \$40 billion for the first three months of 1991, I am confident they will do no less as we move through Desert Storm. (Applause.)

But the world has to wonder what the dictator of Iraq is thinking. If he thinks that by targeting innocent civilians in Israel and Saudi Arabia, that he will gain advantage, he is dead wrong. (Applause.) If he thinks that he will advance his cause through tragic and despicable environmental terrorism, he is dead wrong. (Applause.) And if he thinks that by abusing the coalition prisoners of war he will benefit, he is dead wrong. (Applause.)

We will succeed in the Gulf. And when we do, the world community will have sent an enduring warning to any dictator or despot, present or future, who contemplates outlaw aggression.

The world can, therefore, seize this opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a new world order, where brutality will go unrewarded and aggression will meet collective resistance.

Yes, the United States bears a major share of leadership in this effort. Among the nations of the world, only the United States of America has both the moral standing and the means to back it up. We're the only nation on this Earth that could assemble the forces of peace. This is the burden of leadership and the strength that has made America the beacon of freedom in a searching world.

This nation has never found glory in war. Our people have never wanted to abandon the blessings of home and work for distant lands and deadly conflict. If we fight in anger, it is only because we have to fight at all. And all of us yearn for a world where we will never have to fight again.

Each of us will measure within ourselves the value of this great struggle. Any cost in lives -- any cost -- is beyond our power to measure. But the cost of closing our eyes to aggression is beyond mankind's power to imagine.

This we do know: Our cause is just. Our cause is moral. Our cause is right. (Applause.)

Let future generations understand the burden and the blessings of freedom. Let them say we stood where duty required us to stand.

Let them know that, together, we affirmed America and the world as a community of conscience.

The winds of change are with us now. The forces of freedom are together, united. We move toward the next century more confident than ever that we have the will at home and abroad to do what must be done, the hard work of freedom.

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

END

9:57 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary  
(Atlanta, Georgia)

For Immediate Release

June 6, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
IN ADDRESS TO THE 134th ANNUAL SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Georgia World Congress Center  
Atlanta, Georgia

11:44 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very, very much. Thank all of you. And Dr. Chapman, Morris, a fellow Texan, pride of Wichita Falls and the rest of the country. And Dr. Bennett, I salute you, sir. You came down today with one who's serving well our principles overseas, and that is a son of Atlanta, Paul Coverdell, Director of the Peace Corps, who's with us -- one of Georgia's favorite sons. I salute him.

The last time -- and we were talking about this on the long way up the stairs over here; this is a tremendous auditorium -- the last time I attended a Southern Baptist Convention was in 1982. Too long ago. But never so long that I'd lose touch with the rock-solid values of this community -- (applause) -- qualities that make it uniquely American. Strong but compassionate, proud but not boastful, decent and giving -- and as Morris said, believing strongly in family, bearing an enduring belief in freedom, an abiding faith in the love of God and, yes, in the power of prayer. (Applause.)

Everywhere you turn, it seems, American values are ascendant around the world. Look at Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: there, places of worship long stood silent and subdued, forced underground by the iron fist of the state. But now, the churches, the synagogues and the mosques buzz with life: reclaimed by the people, joyfully emerging to proclaim their faith anew. (Applause.)

In Africa and Asia and Latin America, your ministries flourish and spread the word of God around the world.

And even in the heat of the Persian Gulf, nearly 200 Southern Baptist chaplains reported that well over 1,000 conversions among the servicemen and women of Operation Desert Storm had taken place -- (applause) -- and some solemnified with poncho-lined holes in the sand serving as makeshift baptistries.

Southern Baptists have been doing quiet but crucial work -- engaging in countless acts of kindness and compassion, spreading the word of God, demonstrating the profound power of religious freedom.

And you've held to faith where others may have lost it -- gained in numbers where others haven't -- and made a difference where others couldn't. You prove that the flower of faith can bloom anywhere -- that no matter how hard the journey, no matter how or humble a surroundings, God's love provides. (Applause.)

During the Gulf crisis, Barbara and I and much of this nation -- I think, in this instance, most of this nation -- found guidance and comfort in prayer. And throughout the struggle, your prayers sustained us. And so I want to thank you all and ask that you keep -- as Morris generously said -- those in the decision-making process, keep us in your prayers.

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You know, I've confessed this to Dr. Chapman and a few others -- leaders in the Southern Baptist movement -- and for me, prayer has always been important, but quite personal. You know us Episcopalians. (Laughter.) And like a lot of people, I've worried a little bit about shedding tears in public or the emotion of it. But as Barbara and I prayed at Camp David before the air war began, we were thinking about those young men and women overseas. And I had the tears start down the cheeks, and our minister smiled back. And I no longer worried how it looked to others. (Applause.) Here we go. (Applause.)

And I think that, like a lot of others who had positions or responsibility in sending someone else's kid to war, we realize that in prayer what mattered is how it might have seemed to God.

Above all, after all the months of praying and asking for God's guidance -- I thought it important to thank God for sustaining our nation through this crisis. And that led to three National Days of Thanksgiving and Prayer, which I really believed strengthened our wonderful nation. (Applause.)

You know, for too long, too many have worried that we Americans have weakened the two fundamental pillars supporting our society -- our families, and our faith. (Applause.)

But while the cynics may sense some kind of "religious resurgence" over the last two or three years, they've always been a lagging indicator of American life. Most of us have never had to get our faith in God back, because we never lost it. (Applause.)

In a recent survey, 40 percent of Americans named "Faith in God" the most important part of their lives. Only two percent selected, "A job that pays well."

In this Bicentennial year of the Bill of Rights, we would do well to pause and reflect on religion's roots in our society, and our society's roots in religion.

The founding fathers thought long and carefully about the role of religion and government in our society. And it's no accident that among all of the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment -- freedoms of speech, of the press, of assembly, of petition -- the first was the freedom of religion. And that's why the story of a little girl named Monette Rethford, out in Norman, Oklahoma, is now getting national attention.

A fifth-grader in public elementary school, Monette liked to read her Bible under a shade tree during recess. No teachers involved, no disruption of the school activities -- just Monette and then, from time to time, a handful of friends who joined her, voluntarily, to share their faith and discuss how it touched their daily lives.

Yet school officials told Monette that her prayer group was illegal on school property -- an "unlawful assembly." They forgot that the First Amendment was written to protect people against religious intrusions by the state -- not to protect the state from voluntary religious activities by the people. (Applause.)

I would add this: that the day a child's quiet, voluntary group during recess becomes an "unlawful assembly," something's wrong.

In that spirit, once again I call on the United States Congress to pass a Constitutional Amendment permitting voluntary prayer back into our nation's schools. (Applause.) You see, let's put people first -- and allow them the freedom to follow their faith.

Putting people first also means making sure government allows people to make their own decisions -- and that means giving parents and families the right to choose the kind of child care that they want for their kids. Choice in child care. (Applause.)

Just today we are publishing regulations that will provide the first vouchers for child care. And finally, low-income parents will have the chance to choose where their kids get child care -- including religious settings and with religious instruction. (Applause.) Just on my way over here this morning, here in Atlanta, I visited a church-based child care center where children receive first-class care -- regardless of their parents' religion, background -- or income. We fought a long time to preserve choice for parents. And today, it truly becomes a reality -- at least in child care. (Applause.)

We want to extend the concept of choice to include schools. Every family should have the freedom to choose a school for a child. (Applause.) Our efforts for choice in schools seek to put power in parents' hands. We trust them to make the right decisions for their kids. And some argue that choice will make bad schools worse. Our new Secretary of Education doesn't agree with that, and I don't agree with that. I am confident that choice will make even the bad schools better. They'll have to compete. (Applause.)

And something more -- one of our national education goals -- we believe that kids should be safe to walk the streets -- any streets. Schools should also be free from the fear of crime and the despair of drugs. (Applause.) And if you detect a note of frustration in what I'm about to say, you're a good psychiatrist, because it's true.

Back on March 6th, I challenged the Congress of the United States to pass a tough crime bill in 100 days -- to keep our streets safe. And yet, the leadership has failed to make crime a priority issue. We submitted our first crime bill more than two years ago -- and nothing has happened. Surely the United States Congress can pass a crime bill in what's left of that 100 days. (Applause.)

There's another issue before the Congress -- that's the question of human life, the question of abortion -- a difficult and a deeply emotional decision for all Americans. The question -- and we've faced it before -- is whether the American taxpayer should pay for abortions. And honest people of goodwill, I'm sure, differ on this question, but I firmly oppose federal funding of abortions, except where the life of the mother is endangered. (Applause.) Since 1981 the federal government has determined that taxpayer funds should be used for abortion only in this most narrow of circumstances.

And whatever we've learned over the last few decades, it's clear that America is a nation that no longer lacks a moral vocabulary. Ideals like decency and virtue are no longer subject to scorn.

And I'd ask that you hold fast to the Southern Baptist ideal of "a free church in a free state." (Applause.) Hold fast to protect -- and, Morris, once again, in his generous introduction, spoke of this -- to protect all faiths in freedom, and hold fast to protect our most essential unit of life, the family. (Applause.)

As I look at our social agenda, and as Barbara and I talk about it and worry about it in the wonderful setting of the White House, we keep saying, "What can we do?" Privileged as we are to serve this great country, what can we do to strengthen family life in America? It is essential to our well-being.

Let me close with a story -- well, let me just make a couple of other remarks. (Laughter and applause.) Not many. I mentioned family, so let's ask ourselves in child care and education and crime legislation: Are we doing all we can to preserve faith and family? And, if not, we've got to do more. Only when we protect and preserve our most cherished ideals and institutions, does government by the people serve the people.

We are, as ever, "One nation under God." No nation better reconciles diversity of faith with unity of purpose. And as new challenges confront us -- we must draw on that strength -- and work to build a nation united in its commitment to decency and opportunity, to freedom, to family, and to faith. (Applause.)

Now to this story about a Kurdish family -- Mikail and Safiya Dosky -- who escaped from Iraq over a decade ago. During their perilous journey across the Iranian border, they became separated from their two-year-old daughter, Gilawesh. Mikail and his wife made it; the child left behind. Their daughter did not make it out.

After settling in America, Mikail, the father, kept trying to get his daughter out of Iraq, even traveling there himself, but to no avail. And just a few weeks ago, the dad, Mikail, got a phone call from an American helicopter pilot in Turkey -- one of our heroes. This pilot had been flying supplies to save the lives of these Kurdish refugees when he got a note from Gilawesh -- now, this child, now 18 years old -- asking him to call her parents in America. He did -- and Mikail's friends at the First Baptist Church in Alexandria, Virginia, helped him get to Turkey and bring his daughter back. And after thousands of miles, thousands of days, and thousands of dollars, Mikail and Gilawesh arrived in America Tuesday night -- where years of sorrow were washed away with tears of joy. (Applause.)

What a testament to the power of faith and hope and love -- all of which God provides in abundance. In war and peace, as I've mentioned above, faith provides our solace, our shield and our shelter. I understand what Lincoln talked about when he said many times he went to his knees as President of the United States. And as the Psalmist wrote, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble." God's light leads us forward. And today, as always, let us pray for His continued guidance and His grace.

Thank all of you for your commitment, your leadership, your love, and your prayers. And may God continue to bless this land with freedom and peace.

Thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

12:08 P.M. EDT

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has endorsed, properly so, the separation of church and state, but it has also shown how religion and government can coexist; and that, to paraphrase our founding document, "All men are endowed not by government but by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." And these rights include the freedom of expression and to think, dream and worship as we please; equal protection under the law and the right to choose our leaders and our destinies; the inherent dignity of the individual. And we must manifest that dignity by the policies that we pursue.

For example, I believe that we should help parents obtain the best child care for their kids, and so we have sent legislation to Congress to make good that goal. But I want to ensure that parents, not bureaucrats, are the ones who decide how to care for these children. I will not see the option of religious-based child care restricted or eliminated. I will fight that every inch of the way.

And next there is the concern of every child, the quality and the diversity of America's schools. Our pioneering legislation, the Education Excellence Act of 1989, will spur excellence and demand accountability. For our kids' sake, let's help American education make the grade.

We come next to an issue on which many Americans disagree, but for my part let me be very clear: I support the sanctity of life. We need policies that encourage adoption, not abortion. And that comes right from the heart.

Finally, I continue to support a belief held by the overwhelming majority of Americans: the right to voluntary school prayer. And so, I continue to support a constitutional amendment restoring voluntary prayer. You see we need the faith of our Fathers back in our schools.

So, as we struggle to find answers to our pressing social problems, I will endorse policies that reflect the rights of the individual, a concept as old as the scriptures. Rights which form the essence of America and that to other nations have become the message of America, for our freedoms have been carried to every corner of the Earth. One year ago in my inaugural address I said, "the day of the dictator is over." And indeed, the last year has been a victory for

the freedoms with which God has blessed the United States of America. We've seen the rights of men move mountains or, as in East Berlin, even move a wall. And think of Central America, where men and women facing great personal risk work for human rights and against tyranny of any ideology. And let me add, I am especially proud of our troops in Panama. Americans supported Operation Just Cause for a lot of reasons, but because democracy is a noble cause. And to the young soldiers who serve this country, every American thanks you.

Think next of South Africa and the Philippines where the values of church leaders have been a force for democratic change. And, yes, in Eastern Europe too, where for centuries, faith has sustained those striving for freedom amid adversity. You know, 8 years ago, one of the Lord's great ambassadors, the Reverend Billy Graham, went to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and upon returning, spoke of a movement there toward more religious freedom. And perhaps he saw it before many of us, because it takes a man of God to sense the early movement of the hand of God. And yet, who could predict that in 1989 freedom's tide would also be economic, political, and intellectual? Or that the walls of bayonets and barbed wire, the walls of tyranny, would come tumbling down?

Look, first, at East Germany, where in 1982, long before last November's mass demonstration, members of Leipzig St. Nicholas Church—1982—members of that church began a weekly prayer for peace. In the services, students were taught nonviolence, and started the candlelight vigils that one day would rouse a continent. And the police came and threatened them. But the students vowed to stay, and did, becoming a light unto the world. And ultimately, that light spread to Dresden and East Berlin. And as it shone, a Wittenberg pastor said, "I would rather see a thousand drops of candle wax on the marketplace than one drop of blood." And there was no blood. Only the stirring sight last October of 70,000 workers in the streets and squares of Leipzig. And weapons? They carried candles. And their light was likened to a blizzard of fireflies in the night. Ask anyone that evening. They

sought what we Americans enjoy: free markets, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state. And they were propelled by many things; faith not the least of them. And as they and others marched across Eastern Europe, the day of the dictator did end, and the day of democracy began.

Look at Bulgaria, where last month the state press agency conceded. People were wishing Merry Christmas to each other maybe for the first time without fear they would be accused of being religious. And Czechoslovakia. There too, a victory for the rights of man. For years police chased carolers from Prague's Kings Road. And this Christmas, carols warmed the heart of the city and there was wonder in the air. In the Soviet Union last year, Moscow hosted the first nationwide gatherings of Jews since the fall of the Czar. And in Romania, still further victories. Christmas songs on the radio for the first time since 1946. And heroes who showed that you can't lock people behind walls forever, when moral conviction uplifts their hearts.

And let me close, then, with a story of two such heroes, both Romanian. And how their example illumined decency, courage, and love. The first was a Lutheran minister, Laszlo Tokes, who dared to speak of freedom. So last November in Timisoara, masked thugs broke into the small apartment of Tokes and his pregnant wife. And they beat him. And they stabbed him. And the Government allowed them no food, and even parishioners were not permitted to bring bread. And finally, the police arrived to deport the pastor, but the flock protected him, forming a human chain around his apartment. And in time, the chain grew across the land until, as we celebrated Christmas, Romania's quest for freedom summoned lightness against the dark. Today, Laszlo Tokes ministers to ever larger numbers preaching his faith, but now preaching it without any fear at all.

As does another, Gheorghe Calciu, a Romanian Orthodox minister. His story proves you can't kill an idea. Or you can't destroy the human will. Father Calciu has spent 21 of his 64 years in jail—21 of his 64 years—a third of his entire life in prison. And in fact, he found God there while in prison for opposing the Government. Released, he risked

his freedom by preaching a series of Lenten sermons. And for that he was imprisoned again, tortured beyond belief. Yet Father Calciu had faith. He refused to break and was sentenced to death. And as he stood in the corner of the prison yard praying for his wife and son, awaiting death, it was then something remarkable occurred. His two executioners called to him, and surely he thought, this was the end. But instead they said, "Father,"—that was the first time they had called him that—"we have decided not to kill you." And 3 weeks later he asked permission to celebrate the Divine Liturgy, and while making preparations heard these same 2 men approach. And he turned around and was astonished—his would-be executioners were on their knees on the cold concrete of the cell.

Father Calciu is with us today. Father, it is an honor to salute you, and I'm sure you're glad to be here, but I know, too, you hope to return to your native land. And in the season of miracles, who can doubt you will? For today, the times are on the side of peace because the world increasingly is on the side of God.

For my own part, I know this is true. For although I've been President for barely a year, I believe with all my heart that one cannot be America's President without a belief in God, without the strength that your faith gives to you. Another President, Dwight Eisenhower—beloved Ike—once said, "Free government is the political expression of a deeply felt religious faith." Let each of us use his faith to express the noblest values of America so that together we can then serve the inalienable rights of man.

Thank you for your work, for your kindness to Barbara and me, and God bless you. And God bless our beloved land, the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:13 p.m. in the Sheraton Washington Ballroom at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to the following officials of the National Religious Broadcasters: Robert Cook, interim executive director; Brandt Gustavson, newly appointed director; and Pat Robertson, member of the board of directors.*

*Good General  
Religion Speech*

*Jan. 29 / Administration of George Bush, 1990*

I look forward to working with the Congress in the weeks and months ahead to produce a budget that meets the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings target, advances the Nation's essential interests, and keeps the economy on the path of continued growth.

January 29, 1990

George Bush

*Note: The President's message is printed in the report entitled "Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1991."*

**Message to the Congress Reporting  
Budget Deferrals  
January 29, 1990**

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report two new deferrals and four revised deferrals of budget authority now totalling \$8,251,604,695.

The deferrals affect International Security Assistance programs, as well as programs of the Departments of Agriculture, State, and Transportation.

The details of these deferrals are contained in the attached report.

George Bush

The White House,  
January 29, 1990.

**Remarks at the Annual Convention of  
the National Religious Broadcasters  
January 29, 1990**

Thank you all very much. Thank you President Rose. Thank you very much. Thank you for that warm welcome. And President Rose, Director Cook, new Director Gustavson, friend Pat Robertson, Dr. Robertson: my greetings to you all. And I certainly want to salute your leadership, all the leadership of the NRB. And ladies and gentlemen: it's often said of a group or indi-

vidual that he hasn't got a prayer. Well, I'm pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said. [Laughter]

This marks the fourth time that I've had the honor of addressing the annual convention of the National Religious Broadcasters. And once again, it is a delight to be back, and I know I speak for Barbara in that regard as well. In the spirit of the occasion, I want to make two vows. First, I'll be brief. And I know there's a mention in the Bible about the burning bush. [Laughter] But I also know—and I say this not with humility, but with objectivity—compared to most around me here, I'm not that hot a speaker. [Laughter] So, I won't burden you.

But the second promise is for those of you way off in the back of the room: I'll try to speak up. Pat Robertson warned me that the agnostics in this room are very bad. [Laughter]

Let me begin with some good news for modern man. There is no denying that America is a religious nation. And sure, differences exist over sect and theology. I'm reminded of what that French statesman Talleyrand once said of America, "I found there a country with 32 religions and only one sauce." [Laughter] Well, you know these Frenchmen. [Laughter]

And yet you know that what unites us eclipses what divides us. For we believe that political values without moral values, a moral underpinning, cannot sustain a people. And this afternoon I'd like to talk to you about those moral values. I speak of the qualities of tolerance and decency, courage and responsibility and, of course, faith. Values which remind us that while God can live without man, man cannot live without God. And today, amid political and economic upheaval, these values have not changed, nor will they be more crucial than in the 1990's.

I hope you know by now—you know me—I am an optimist, and after all, last year I had the experience that renewed my faith. I was running out of prayers. I had almost given up. Then a miracle occurred: I caught a fish. [Laughter] So, it won't surprise you that I'm convinced we can and will uphold the values that I'm referring to. For as Americans we always have. Consider that for more than two centuries America

COMMENCEMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary

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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE  
UNTIL 2:30 P.M. CDT  
3:30 P.M. EDT  
FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1990

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

Lewis Stadium  
Oklahoma State University  
Stillwater, Oklahoma

May 4, 1990

Post-war America was ready for peace and prosperity. But while the free world was recovering, the nations of Eastern Europe were being "consolidated" behind an Iron Curtain. So began four decades of division in Europe -- and 40 long years of suspicion between superpowers.

Today, you also graduate at the end of an era of conflict -- but a contest of a different kind -- a cold and abstract war of words and walls. Now Europe, and the world, have entered a new era -- the Age of Freedom.

I hope you'll forgive me if I use this great forum, at your great University, to handle a subject of a very serious nature.

I'll be reflecting on the power and potential of democratic change in each of the commencement addresses I make this year. I begin today with America's place in the new Europe.

A few of you may be wondering what a continent 4000 miles away has to do with you. Throughout our history, great upheavals in Europe have forced the American people to respond, to make deep judgments about the part we should play in European affairs. This has been true from the time of the French Revolution and the wars which followed it, to World War I and the flawed peace which ended it, to the Second World War and the creation of the postwar order. I believe that, now, we are poised at another such moment -- a critical time in our strategic relationship with our neighbors across the Atlantic.

Many of the graduates of America's class of 1916 may have wondered why the faraway war making headlines in their newspapers would have anything to do with them. They might have agreed with President Wilson, who that year said "we are not interested" in the causes of the war, in "the obscure foundations from which its stupendous flood has burst forth." But a year later those classmates, and their country, were swept up in the torrent, carrying them to the horror of the trenches in France.

Yet after the war, we again turned away from active involvement in European affairs. Instead, we sponsored a treaty to outlaw war and then, as the outlaws gained strength, the United States passed new neutrality laws. Another generation of Americans sat in the bright sun of commencement ceremonies at colleges across the country, thinking war in Europe would pass them by. But when war came, they paid an awful price for America's isolation.

- more -

When that war ended, those students no longer questioned our role in the future of Europe. They no longer asked what Europe had to do with them, because they knew the answer everything.

About a year ago, in Germany, I defined the kind of Europe our country is committed to: A peaceful, stable Europe -- a Europe whole and free. Today that goal is within our reach.

We are entering a new Age of Freedom in a time of uncertainty, but great hope. Emerging democracies in Eastern Europe are going through social, political, and economic transformations shaking loose stagnant, centralized bureaucracies that have smothered initiative for generations.

In this time of transition, moving away from the postwar era and beyond containment, we cannot know what choices the people of Eastern Europe will make for their future. The process of change in the Soviet Union is also still unfinished. It will be crucial to see, for example, whether Moscow chooses coercion or peaceful dialogue in responding to the aspirations of the Lithuanian people, and nationalities within the Soviet Union. The only noble answer lies in a dialogue that results in unencumbered self-determination for Lithuania.

President Gorbachev has made profound progress in his country. Reforms so fundamental that the clock cannot be turned back. Yet neither can we turn the clock ahead, to know for sure what kind of country the Soviet Union will be in years to come.

For the sake of the future we share with Europe, our policies and presence must be appropriate for this period of transition -- with a constancy and reliability that will reassure our friends, both old and new.

My European colleagues want the United States to be a part of Europe's future. I believe they are right. The United States should remain a European power in the broadest sense -- politically, militarily, and economically. And as part of our global responsibilities the foundation for America's peaceful engagement in Europe has been, and will continue to be, NATO.

Recognizing in peace what we had learned from war, we joined with the free nations of Europe to form an Atlantic Community, an enduring political compact. Our engagement in Europe has meant that the Europeans accept America as part of their continent's future, taking our interests into account across the board. Our commitment is not just in defense; it must be a well-balanced mix of involvement in all dimensions of European affairs.

Because of our political commitment to peace in Europe, there hasn't been a war on that continent in 45 years. This "long peace" should be viewed through the long lens of history: Europe has now experienced the longest uninterrupted period of international peace in the recorded history of that continent. The Alliance is now ready to build on that historic achievement and define its objectives for the next century. So the Alliance must join together to craft a new Western strategy for new and changing times.

Having consulted intensively with Prime Minister Thatcher in Bermuda, President Mitterrand in Florida, Chancellor Kohl at Camp David, and by telephone or cable with NATO Secretary General Woerner and all of my other Allied colleagues, I am calling for an early Summit meeting of all NATO leaders. Margaret Thatcher, one of freedom's greatest champions of the last decade, told me that while NATO has been fantastically successful, we should be ready now to face new challenges. The time is right for the Alliance to act.

The fundamental purpose of this Summit should be to launch a wide-ranging NATO Strategy Review for the transformed Europe of the 1990's. To my NATO colleagues, I suggest that our Summit direct this Review by addressing four critical points:

One, the political role NATO can play in the new Europe.

Two, the conventional forces the Alliance will need in the time ahead, and NATO's goals for conventional arms control.

Three, the role of nuclear weapons based in Europe -- and Western objectives in new nuclear arms control negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Four, strengthening the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- the CSCE -- to reinforce NATO and help protect democratic values, in a Europe whole and free.

The first task the NATO Summit should consider is the future political mission of the Alliance. As military threats fade, the political dimension of NATO's work -- always there but seldom noticed -- becomes more prominent. So at the NATO Summit we should look for ways to help our German friends sustain freedom and achieve unity -- something which we and our Allies have supported for over 40 years. And we should reaffirm the importance of keeping a united Germany a full member of NATO.

The Alliance needs to find ways to work more closely with a vigorous European Community that is rightly asserting its own distinct views. And in Eastern Europe, governments once our adversaries are now our partners in building a new continent. So we must also talk about how to encourage further peaceful democratic change in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

But even as NATO gives more emphasis to its political mission, its guarantee of European security must remain firm. Our enemy today is uncertainty, and instability. So the Alliance will need to maintain a sound, collective military structure with forces in the field, backed by larger forces that can be called upon in a crisis.

Which brings me to the second task for the NATO Summit -- a review of how the Alliance should plan its conventional defenses. While we need to recognize that it will take some time before the Soviet military presence is gone from Eastern Europe -- and before the major reductions contemplated by both sides can be implemented -- we need to develop our strategy for that world now.

Obviously, Soviet actions will be critical. Yet even after all the planned reductions in its forces are complete, even if our current arms control proposals are agreed to and implemented, the Soviet military will still field forces dwarfing those of any other single European State -- armed with thousands of nuclear weapons. Militarily significant U.S. forces must remain on the other side of the Atlantic for as long as our Allies want and need them. These forces demonstrate, as no words can, the enduring political compact that binds America's fate with Europe's democracies.

If the Soviet withdrawal continues and our arms control efforts are successful, we must plan for a different kind of military presence focused less on the danger of an immediate outbreak of war. We must promote long-term stability and prevent crises from escalating by relying on reduced forces that show our capability -- and readiness -- to respond to whatever may arise.

The Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty, we have proposed, would be the most ambitious conventional arms control agreement ever concluded. We must finish the work on this treaty soon, and plan to sign it at a CSCE Summit this fall. But at the NATO Summit we need to look further ahead, preparing for follow-on negotiations after the conclusion of a CFE treaty. The NATO Summit should develop the Alliance's objectives for these talks.

Third, the NATO Summit should also assess the future of U.S. nuclear forces in Europe. As democracy blooms in Eastern Europe, as Soviet troops return home and tanks are dismantled, there is less need for nuclear systems of the shortest range. The NATO Summit should accelerate ongoing work within the Alliance to determine the minimum number and types of weapons that will be needed to deter war -- credibly and effectively.

In light of these new political conditions, and the limited range and flexibility of short-range nuclear missile forces based in Europe, I've reviewed our plan to produce and deploy newer, more modern, short-range nuclear missiles to replace the Lance system now in Europe. We've almost finished the research and development work for these new missiles. But I've decided, after consulting with our Allies, to terminate the Follow-On To Lance program. I have also decided to cancel any further modernization of U.S. nuclear artillery shells deployed in Europe.

There are still short-range U.S. -- and many more Soviet -- nuclear missile systems deployed in Europe. We're prepared to negotiate the reduction of these forces as well, in a new set of arms control talks. At the NATO Summit, I will urge my colleagues to agree on the broad objectives for these future U.S.-Soviet negotiations and begin preparations within the Alliance for these talks. I would also like to suggest that these new U.S.-Soviet arms control talks begin shortly after a CFE treaty on conventional forces has been signed.

In taking these steps, the United States is not going to allow Europe to become "safe for conventional war." There are few lessons so clear in history as this: Only the combination of conventional forces and nuclear forces have ensured peace in Europe.

But every aspect of America's engagement in Europe -- military, political, and economic -- must be complementary. And one place where they all come together is in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- an organization of 35 states of Europe and North America. The CSCE is already a beacon for human rights and individual freedoms. Now, it must take on a broader role.

So the fourth task for a NATO Summit is to reach common Allied objectives for the future of the CSCE. It can help the victorious forces of democracy in Eastern Europe secure their revolutions, and -- as they join the commonwealth of free nations -- be assured a voice in the new Europe.

The CSCE should offer new guidelines for building free societies -- including setting standards for truly free elections, adopting measures to strengthen the rule of law, and pointing the way in the needed but painful transition from centralized, command economies to free markets.

The CSCE can also provide a forum for political dialogue in a more united Europe. I agree with those who have called for regular consultations among senior representatives of the CSCE countries. We should consider whether new CSCE mechanisms can help mediate and settle disputes in Europe. I believe my Allied colleagues and I should agree to take up these new ideas at a CSCE Summit later this year, in conjunction with the signing of a CFE treaty.

In Eastern Europe, in this hemisphere, the triumph of democracy has cast its warm light on the face of the world like a miraculous dawn. But the outcome of this struggle for freedom is not ordained, and it will not be the work of miracles.

All of you who graduate here today are part of a historic decision for America's engagement in the future of Europe. I am convinced that our work to protect freedom, to build free societies, will safeguard our own peace, and prosperity.

The security of Europe and the world has become very complex in this century. But America's commitment to stability and peace is profoundly clear. Its motivation derives from the strength of our forefathers -- from the blood of those who have died for freedom -- and for the sake of all who would live in peace.

Every voice, every heart's commitment to freedom, is important. There's a story, about a man trying to convince his son that in the struggle for freedom, every voice counts.

They stood in a valley, watching the snow fall on a distant mountain. "Tell me the weight of a snowflake," the man said.

"Almost nothing," answered the boy.

As the snow swirled around them, up on the mountain they saw an avalanche whose thunder shook the earth. "Do you know which snowflake caused that?" the old man asked. "I don't," answered the boy.

"Maybe," said the man, "like the last snowflake that moves a mountain in the struggle for freedom, a single voice makes a world of difference."

America's mission in Europe, like millions of individual decisions made for freedom, can make a world of difference. The cry for freedom -- in Eastern Europe, in South Africa, in this hemisphere -- was heard around the world in the Revolution of '89. Today, in this new Age of Freedom, add your voice to the thundering chorus.

# # #

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: CONVOCATION, UNIV. OF VIRGINIA  
THURSDAY, SEPT. 28, 11:30 A.M.

THANK YOU SECRETARY CAVAZOS, PRESIDENT O'NEIL,  
GOVERNORS BALILES AND BRANSTAD.

IT'S A DELIGHT TO BE BACK IN CHARLOTTESVILLE.  
((IMAGINE THIS -- YOU HAVE A PRESIDENT, THE CABINET AND  
AMERICA'S GOVERNORS VISITING YOUR SCHOOL. AND THE BIG  
MAN ON CAMPUS TODAY IS STILL SEAN MOORE.)) ////

AND THEN MY SON MARVIN AND DAUGHTER-IN-LAW  
MARGARET ADVISE ME TO BE HUMBLE WHILE I'M AT U. HALL.  
((YOU SEE, THEY TOLD ME YOU ONLY DO THE WAVE FOR RALPH  
SAMPSON.)) ////

WELL, IT'S EASY TO BE HUMBLE AT A SCHOOL SO RICH  
IN HISTORY AND EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVOR. AND I'VE ALSO  
BEEN DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY THE COMMITMENT, THE CREATIVITY  
AND THE KNOWLEDGE THAT MY FELLOW CHIEF EXECUTIVES FROM  
THE STATES BRING TO EDUCATION REFORM. IN OUR MEETINGS  
YESTERDAY, I LEARNED EXACTLY HOW MUCH YOU CARE ABOUT  
THE CHILDREN OF YOUR STATES, AND THEIR FUTURE. IN  
SHORT, I CAME TO CHARLOTTESVILLE WITH HIGH  
EXPECTATIONS, AND YOU EXCEEDED THEM.

SO THE SPIRIT OF OUR SUMMIT IS NOT: "WHO WILL GET THE CREDIT?" THE SPIRIT OF THIS SUMMIT IS: "HOW CAN WE GET RESULTS." WE ARE HERE TO PUT PROGRESS BEFORE PARTISANSHIP, // THE FUTURE BEFORE THE MOMENT // AND OUR CHILDREN BEFORE OURSELVES. //

I'VE HEARD ELOQUENT ADVICE FROM MANY OF YOU, AND FROM SO MANY OTHERS, IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS. I'VE LISTENED. AND I AM DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE OF ALL THAT I HAVE LEARNED.

BUT I'VE ALSO LEARNED THAT WE SHOULD LISTEN TO OUR CHILDREN. THEY HAVE MUCH TO TELL US. IN MANY WAYS, THEY ARE THE LUCKIEST GENERATION IN HISTORY. JUST LAST MONTH, OUR CHILDREN OBSERVED, IN THE CLARITY OF VOYAGER'S SIGHT, THE HORIZONS OF NEW WORLDS, THE MAJESTY OF SPACE. THINK WHAT THESE IMAGES WOULD HAVE MEANT TO THE EVER-CURIOUS FOUNDER OF THIS UNIVERSITY, WHO COULD ONLY LOOK THROUGH A PRIMITIVE TELESCOPE AT FAINT PATCHES OF LIGHT AND WONDER.

BUT OUR CHILDREN ARE GROWING UP IN AN AGE WHERE WONDER IS COMMONPLACE, AND PEACE AND PROSPERITY ARE OFTEN TAKEN FOR GRANTED. OUR CHILDREN ARE ALSO THE BENEFICIARIES OF A NATION THAT LAVISHES UNSURPASSED RESOURCES ON THEIR SCHOOLING. SO IN MANY WAYS, WE ARE CLOSE TO FULFILLING THE ENLIGHTENMENT DREAM OF UNIVERSAL EDUCATION, A DREAM THAT BECAME A REALITY IN THE SHADOWS OF THE SHENANDOAHS, HERE AT MISTER JEFFERSON'S SCHOOL.//

EVERY STEP WE TAKE AT THIS UNIVERSITY IS TRULY A WALK IN THOMAS JEFFERSON'S FOOTSTEPS. WHEN HE FIRST CHARTED THE GROUND ON WHICH WE GATHER TODAY, THERE WAS JUST A FIELD OF GRASS, AND A HORIZON LIMITED ONLY BY THE BLUE MOUNTAINS BEYOND. BUT JEFFERSON SURVEYED A HORIZON NO ONE ELSE COULD SEE. HE SAW THE GRACEFUL DOME OF THE ROTUNDA, AND THE ELEGANCE OF THE LAWN AND ITS PAVILIONS. HE SAW MEETING ROOMS, LIBRARIES AND LECTURE HALLS TEEMING WITH PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS YET UNBORN.

JEFFERSON SET OUT TO FASHION HIS RARIFIED VISION INTO SOLID REALITY, BRICK BY BRICK, BOOK BY BOOK. AND IT IS HIS UNIVERSITY -- AND HIS DREAM -- THAT INSPIRES US TODAY TO FOLLOW IN HIS FOOTSTEPS.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, OUR FIRST EDUCATION PRESIDENT, WAS A RELENTLESS ADVOCATE FOR UNIVERSAL PUBLIC EDUCATION. "HE HAD A FUNDAMENTAL CONVICTION THAT ON THE 'GOOD SENSE OF' AN EDUCATED CITIZENRY, WE COULD BUILD AND DEFEND A COUNTRY OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE."

I BORROWED THIS ASSESSMENT FROM A FRIEND OF MINE -- ANOTHER RENAISSANCE MAN, A MAN OF OUR TIME -- THE LATE A. BARTLETT GIAMATTI. //

LIKE JEFFERSON, BART'S LIFE WAS A METAPHOR FOR CIVILITY AND PUBLIC SERVICE. AND IT IS THIS COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICE THAT WE MUST CARRY ON. LET US MAKE THIS AN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

WE HAVE ALREADY COME CLOSE TO THIS JEFFERSONIAN IDEAL. OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IS, IN MANY WAYS, UNRIVALED IN ITS SCALE AND DIVERSITY; IN ITS COMMITMENT TO MEETING SPECIAL NEEDS AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES. WE ARE INSPIRED BY OUR BEST TEACHERS, WHO GIVE MORE THAN WE CAN RIGHTLY EXPECT; AND FROM OUR BEST STUDENTS, WHO SURPASS OUR HIGHEST EXPECTATIONS.

YET AFTER TWO CENTURIES OF PROGRESS, WE ARE STAGNANT. WHILE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS READ FOR PLEASURE, MILLIONS OF OTHERS DON'T READ AT ALL. WHILE MILLIONS GO TO COLLEGE, MILLIONS WILL NEVER GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL.

THE NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS ESTIMATES THAT FEWER THAN ONE IN FOUR OF OUR HIGH SCHOOL JUNIORS CAN WRITE AN ADEQUATE, PERSUASIVE LETTER. ONLY HALF CAN MANAGE DECIMALS, FRACTIONS AND PERCENTAGES. BARELY ONE IN THREE CAN LOCATE THE CIVIL WAR IN THE CORRECT HALF-CENTURY. NO MODERN NATION CAN LONG AFFORD TO ALLOW SO MANY OF ITS SONS AND DAUGHTERS TO EMERGE INTO ADULTHOOD IGNORANT AND UNSKILLED. THE STATUS QUO IS A GUARANTEE OF MEDIOCRITY, SOCIAL DECAY AND NATIONAL DECLINE.//

EDUCATION IS OUR MOST ENDURING LEGACY, VITAL TO EVERYTHING WE ARE AND CAN BECOME. AND COME THE NEXT CENTURY -- JUST TEN YEARS AWAY -- WHAT WILL WE BE? WILL WE BE THE CHILDREN OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT, OR ITS ORPHANS?

SIX YEARS AGO, THE COMMISSION ON EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION ISSUED ITS POWERFUL REPORT; AND YET TODAY, OUR NATION IS STILL AT RISK. THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM MOVEMENT HAS DONE WELL IN ARTICULATING ITS CRITICISMS. NOW IT IS TIME TO DEFINE GOALS. THIS IS A TIME FOR ACTION.//

I SENT MY PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL ACTION IN EDUCATION TO CONGRESS LAST SPRING. THE EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE ACT OF 1989 INCLUDES WAYS TO RESHAPE AND EXPAND FEDERAL EFFORTS, TO RECOGNIZE EXCELLENCE, LIFT THE NEEDY, FOSTER FLEXIBILITY AND CHOICE, AND MEASURE AND REWARD PROGRESS. I REMAIN SOLIDLY COMMITTED TO THESE PRINCIPLES, AND I VALUE YOUR ADVICE AND IDEAS AS WE CONTINUE TO REFINE THE FEDERAL ROLE.

SOME OFFER A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT ANSWER -- TO SPEND MORE MONEY. AND AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL, WE HAVE ASKED CONGRESS TO PROVIDE NEARLY A HALF A BILLION DOLLARS IN NEW FUNDING FOR TEN WORTHY PROGRAMS. YOUR STATES MAY ALSO CHOOSE TO SPEND MORE. BUT TO THOSE WHO SAY THAT MONEY ALONE IS THE ANSWER, I SAY THAT THERE IS NO ONE ANSWER. IF ANYTHING, HARD EXPERIENCE TEACHES THAT WE ARE SIMPLY NOT GETTING OUR MONEY'S WORTH IN EDUCATION.// OUR FOCUS MUST NO LONGER BE ON RESOURCES. IT MUST BE ON RESULTS.//

THIS IS ONLY THE THIRD TIME IN OUR 200 YEARS AS A NATION THAT A PRESIDENT HAS CALLED A SUMMIT WITH THE GOVERNORS. I HAVE CALLED YOU TOGETHER BECAUSE YOU BEAR THE CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION. AND I DID NOT ASK YOU TO SUCH AN HISTORIC OCCASION MERELY TO BEMOAN WHAT IS WRONG. WE ARE HERE TO WORK; TO WORK TOGETHER; TO ONCE AGAIN MAKE AN AMERICAN EDUCATION THE BEST IN THE WORLD. //

YOU ALREADY ARE CONSULTING WITH THE STATE  
LEGISLATURES TO BETTER OUR SCHOOLS. OUR TEACHERS  
ALREADY ARE GIVING THEIR HEART AND SOUL TO THEIR JOBS.  
BUT WE HAVE NEVER BEFORE WORKED TOGETHER -- PRESIDENT  
AND PRINCIPAL, GOVERNOR AND TEACHER -- TO ACHIEVE  
RESULTS IN EDUCATION.

A SOCIAL COMPACT BEGINS TODAY IN CHARLOTTESVILLE,  
A COMPACT BETWEEN PARENTS, TEACHERS, PRINCIPALS,  
SUPERINTENDENTS, STATE LEGISLATORS, GOVERNORS AND THE  
ADMINISTRATION. OUR COMPACT IS FOUNDED NOT ON  
PROMISES, BUT ON CHALLENGES -- EACH ONE A RADICAL  
DEPARTURE FROM TRADITION.

I CHALLENGE YOU TO JOIN ME, FOR THE FIRST TIME, TO  
DEFINE NATIONAL GOALS IN EDUCATION. FROM THIS DAY  
FORWARD, LET US BE AN AMERICA OF TOUGHER STANDARDS, //  
AN AMERICA OF HIGHER GOALS // AND A LAND OF BIGGER  
DREAMS.

AND OUR GOALS MUST BE "NATIONAL," NOT "FEDERAL."  
THAT IS WHY I WELCOME THE INITIATIVES OF THE NATIONAL  
GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION, FROM THE TIME FOR RESULTS REPORT  
IN 1986, TO THE GOAL-SETTING PROJECT RECENTLY BEGUN  
UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF IOWA'S TERRY BRANSTAD, SOUTH  
CAROLINA'S CARROLL CAMPBELL AND BILL CLINTON OF  
ARKANSAS. MY ADMINISTRATION WILL WORK WITH YOU TO  
BUILD ON THE NATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM'S FIRST STATE-  
BY-STATE ACHIEVEMENT RESULTS. WE WILL WORK WITH YOU TO  
FORMULATE NATIONAL GOALS. AND THEN WE WILL CHALLENGE  
SUPERINTENDENTS AND PRINCIPALS TO MEET THESE HIGHER  
GOALS.

IN RETURN, I ACCEPT YOUR CHALLENGE, AND WILL WORK  
WITH YOU TO LOOSEN THE GRIP OF FEDERAL  
RESTRICTIONS.//// HOW MANY GREAT IDEAS, HOW MANY GRAND  
AND NOBLE EXPERIMENTS, HAVE BEEN IMPALED ON THE NARROW  
SPIKE OF A FEDERAL DIRECTIVE? UNNECESSARY RESTRICTION  
IS THE ENEMY OF THE BOLD. AND BOLD ACTION IS WHAT WE  
NEED MOST OF ALL. //

I ENVISION TRADITION-SHATTERING REFORM IN FIVE AREAS.

FIRST, I SEE THE DAY WHEN EVERY STUDENT IS LITERATE. BUT LITERACY SHOULD MEAN MORE THAN THE "THREE R'S." WE MUST BE A READING NATION. WE MUST GRAPPLE WITH THE HARD SCIENCES. AND BECAUSE EDUCATION IS AS SPIRITUAL AS IT IS PRACTICAL, OUR CHILDREN MUST KNOW WHY AMERICANS DIED AT BUNKER HILL, AT GETTYSBURG AND AT MONTE CASSINO. THEY MUST DO MORE THAN IDENTIFY NAMES ON A MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTION. THEY MUST UNDERSTAND THE GENEROSITY OF ANDREW CARNEGIE, THE GENIUS OF ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL AND THE HEROISM OF ROSA PARKS. //

SOME YOUNGSTERS WILL NATURALLY TAKE LONGER THAN OTHERS. SOME WILL NEED MORE STUDY, AND EXTRA INSTRUCTION. BUT WE SHOULD NEVER SEND A STUDENT FROM SCHOOL JUST BECAUSE HE OR SHE HAS PASSED AN ARBITRARY BIRTHDAY.//

SECOND, I SEE A DAY WHEN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM WILL BE UNAFRAID OF DIVERSITY. OF COURSE, ALL SCHOOLS IN A STATE WILL SHARE A CORE CURRICULUM AND MINIMUM STANDARDS OF ACHIEVEMENT. BUT THE MEANS BY WHICH THAT CURRICULUM IS TAUGHT, AND THOSE GOALS MET, SHOULD BE AS DIVERSE AND VARIED AS AMERICA. LET THEM BLEND, IN MYRIAD WAYS, THE TRADITIONAL AND THE MODERN, THE HUMAN AND THE TECHNOLOGICAL. LET US GIVE OUR SCHOOLS AND OUR TEACHERS THE FREEDOM TO DO WHAT THEY DO BEST.

CHILDREN ALSO DIFFER -- IN THEIR INTERESTS, LEARNING STYLES AND CAPABILITIES. SO THIRD, I SEE THE DAY WHEN CHOICE AMONG SCHOOLS WILL BE THE NORM RATHER THAN THE EXCEPTION; WHEN PARENTS WILL BE FULL PARTNERS IN THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN.

TOO MANY PARENTS HAVE COME TO SEE EDUCATION AS A SERVICE WE CAN HAND OVER TO THE SCHOOL BOARDS, IN MUCH THE SAME WAY WE EXPECT OUR CITIES TO PROVIDE ELECTRICITY OR WATER. BUT EDUCATION IS NOT A UTILITY, NOT SOMETHING TO BE DELEGATED. EDUCATION IS A WAY OF LIFE, AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM IS AN URGENT RESPONSIBILITY FOR EVERY PARENT, EVERY STUDENT, EVERY COMMUNITY. THOSE WHO DO NOT ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION, HINDER IT. PARENTS, STUDENTS AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATORS MUST BE ACCOUNTABLE TO ONE ANOTHER, AS A COMMUNITY.

BUT TO BE ACCOUNTABLE, WE NEED TO KNOW JUST HOW MUCH PROGRESS WE'RE MAKING. SO FOURTH, I SEE THE DAY WHEN WE USE ACCURATE ASSESSMENTS, CAREFULLY LINKED TO OUR EDUCATIONAL GOALS. WE NEED TO FIRST KNOW WHERE WE ARE; THIS MEANS ACCEPTING THE BAD NEWS ALONG WITH THE GOOD. WE HAVE ALWAYS MEASURED OUR PROGRESS AGAINST OUR PAST PERFORMANCE. WE MUST NOW EVALUATE OURSELVES ON A TOUGHER GRADING CURVE -- ONE THAT INCLUDES THE OTHER MAJOR INDUSTRIAL NATIONS.

ACCOUNTABILITY ALSO MEANS WE MUST ACT ON WHAT WE DISCOVER. WEAK PERFORMANCE IN THE CLASSROOM, OR THE PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE, WILL NO LONGER BE TOLERATED. BUT NEITHER WILL INDIFFERENCE TOWARD GOOD EDUCATORS. SOCIETY HAS NO GREATER BENEFACTORS THAN OUTSTANDING TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS. LET THEM GET WHAT THEY DESERVE -- GENEROUS PRAISE AND SOLID REWARDS.

FIFTH, I SEE AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM THAT NEVER SETTLES FOR THE MINIMUM, IN ACADEMICS OR IN BEHAVIOR. DECADES OF RESEARCH BEAR OUT WHAT THE BEST TEACHERS ALREADY KNOW: WHEN STANDARDS AND EXPECTATIONS ARE HIGH, EVERYONE DOES BETTER. THIS INCLUDES BOTH THE UNUSUALLY GIFTED, AND THOSE WITH SPECIAL NEEDS AND DISABILITIES. BUT IT MUST ALSO INCLUDE THE STUDENT WE TOO OFTEN FORGET, THE AVERAGE STUDENT. FOR I BELIEVE, THAT WITH A LITTLE CARE AND A LITTLE WORK, WE CAN UNLEASH WITHIN EACH OF THESE SO-CALLED ORDINARY CHILDREN AN EXTRAORDINARY POTENTIAL.

THIS SAME POTENTIAL CAN BE FOUND WITHIN EVERY DISADVANTAGED CHILD, THOSE FROM TROUBLED NEIGHBORHOODS: CHILDREN FOR WHOM OUR SCHOOLS MUST BE A BEACON OF EXCELLENCE; A SANCTUARY FROM VIOLENCE; A MODEL OF GOOD CHARACTER, SOUND VALUES AND EXEMPLARY ETHICS. - LET NO CHILD IN AMERICA BE FORGOTTEN OR FORSAKEN.//

SOME OF OUR REFORMS AND EXPERIMENTS ARE SURE TO COME UP SHORT. BUT FOR TOO MANY OF OUR SCHOOLS, EXPERIMENTATION IS PREFERABLE TO THE STATUS QUO, BECAUSE THE STATUS QUO COULD SCARCELY BE WORSE. THE WORTHY AND THE USEFUL WILL WIN OUT ONLY IF WE GIVE OUR SCHOOLS THE FREEDOM THEY NEED.

SUCH FREEDOM WILL NOT LEAD TO A QUICK AND EASY SOLUTION. IT IS THE WORK OF YEARS. AND WE HAVE TAKEN SUCH A LONG-TERM VIEW IN OUR MEETINGS.

WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE NEED FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN TERMS OF OUR NATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS, EVEN OUR NATIONAL FUTURE. BUT I AM SURE YOU AGREE THAT THERE IS MORE TO LEARNING THAN JUST OUR TRADE BALANCE OR THE GRAYING OF OUR WORK FORCE; IT IS BROADER THAN THE IMPORTANT, BUT NARROW, COMPASS OF ECONOMICS AND GOVERNMENT.

A SCHOLAR ONCE WROTE THAT GREAT BOOKS ARE NOT LIFELESS PAPER, BUT MINDS ALIVE ON THE SHELVES. HE OBSERVED THAT JUST AS THE TOUCH OF A BUTTON ON A STEREO WILL FILL A ROOM WITH MUSIC, SO BY TAKING DOWN ONE OF THESE VOLUMES, AND OPENING IT, ONE CAN CALL INTO RANGE THE VOICE OF A MAN FAR DISTANT IN TIME AND SPACE, AND HEAR HIM SPEAK, MIND TO MIND, HEART TO HEART.

AS A NATION, WE CAN AGAIN HEAR THESE VOICES, FEEL THIS ENCHANTMENT -- EVERY TIME A PARENT READS A BEDTIME STORY TO A SLEEPY CHILD; EVERY TIME A YOUNG SCHOLAR TURNS TO THE GREAT BOOKS. THE DAY MUST COME WHEN EVERY YOUNG AMERICAN CAN KNOW THE LIFE OF THE MIND.

THAT IS WHY WE HAVE GATHERED HERE, AT MISTER  
JEFFERSON'S SCHOOL. HE WAS JUST ONE MAN, BUT LOOK AT  
WHAT ONE MAN CAN DO. IMAGINE WHAT WE CAN DO, IF WE --  
MORE THAN FIFTY STRONG -- ARE UNITED BY THIS GREAT  
CAUSE. SO LET US DREAM. LET US TALK. IF NEED BE, LET  
US ARGUE. BUT IN THE END, LET US WALK TOGETHER ON A  
JOURNEY TO ENLIGHTENMENT, IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THOMAS  
JEFFERSON. ////

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HARD WORK AND DEDICATION. GOD  
BLESS YOU ALL, AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Stillwater, Oklahoma)

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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE  
UNTIL 6:50 P.M. CDT  
7:50 P.M. EDT  
FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1990

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT OKLAHOMA FOUNDATION FOR EXCELLENCE DINNER

Tulsa Convention Center  
Tulsa, Oklahoma

May 4, 1990

This evening I'd like to talk about one thing all Americans have in common: Our dedication to America's most enduring legacy. I refer, of course, to the education that is vital to everything we are, and can become.

It has been said, "There are only two bequests we can hope to give our children -- one of these is roots; the other, wings." These words reaffirm that knowledge provides the foundation for every idea that takes flight in the mind of a child.

Yet today the facts are clear, and they don't make for pleasant reading. Erratic standards. An unacceptable drop-out rate. Too little parental involvement. Too little accountability by teachers and students. Too many schools wracked by drug use and too many kids ill-equipped to read or write. Let's be honest: Our educational system isn't making the grade.

Five years ago, a United States Senator acted to convert that grade to "pass" from "fail." Believing, like you, that if excellence breeds achievement, then excellence should be rewarded. So David Boren set out to ensure that future generations will say of us: They taught their children well. His creation was the Oklahoma Foundation for Excellence.

This Foundation wisely believes that America can only be as great as her children are educated, and that while the Federal government must help, education is and should be a local and State responsibility. Parents, teachers, and local administrators -- not distant bureaucrats -- best understand local needs. So this program affirms values as central to Oklahoma as love of freedom and of God.

First of all, the Foundation reflects Oklahoma's belief in high achievement. Someone said, "Anything can have happened in Oklahoma. Practically everything has." Your work has raised private money to give \$1,000 cash scholarships to the State's top 100 high school seniors. I salute these Academic All-Staters who are the true trustees of our posterity.

Next, this Foundation mirrors Oklahoma's dedication to excellence. You understand that those with the responsibility for our children's education literally hold the future in their hands. So you're giving \$5,000 each to three magnificent teachers and a superb public school administrator. I salute the recipients of the 1990 Oklahoma Medals for Excellence in Teaching and Administration. And I also want to mention your \$5,000 award to the public school system that has had the most effective drop-out prevention program. Keeping kids in school is critical -- and you're doing a great job.

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Finally, the Foundation for Excellence reflects the belief that education can be the great uplifter and equalizer. Your idea can enrich education and help education enrich our lives.

Achievement, excellence, and equality -- what a definition of Oklahoma. And what a magnificent difference this movement has made in just five years -- over \$2 million raised. Today, more than one hundred Oklahoma communities have local private foundations -- many inspired by your lead. Think of it: Each of these foundations -- what I call "points of light" -- each does what the Federal government cannot: Serve as a wonderful model for other States and localities to emulate. So tonight I challenge every State in America to do what Oklahoma has already done: Make American education a beacon of excellence. By increasing private support for public education, you have enriched academic opportunities for students across the State. If there's any doubt, you've resolved it: When it comes to Oklahoma education, Washington Doesn't Know Best, Oklahomans Do.

The result is that today Oklahoma ranks first, per capita, in the number of private foundations. Yet you also know that progress made can't be measured by dollars spent alone. So you're showing how parents, teachers, administrators and school boards can work together to help our kids -- like Oklahoma's fabled pioneers -- discover the unlimited frontiers of learning.

We know, of course: It won't be easy. Education will meet roadblocks. But they are obstacles we can overcome. For you're not in this alone. The Federal government has a role. That's why a year ago we sent to the Congress our "Educational Excellence Act" -- legislation which can help America outthink, outwork, and outperform any Nation any day of the week.

For instance, we want to create a \$500 million program by 1994 to reward schools that improve the most. And a Magnet Schools of Excellence program: We believe parents -- not Big Brother -- should decide which public school their kids attend. Our program will reward schools that cut the drop-out rate. Create a National Science Scholars Initiative providing incentive to excel in science, mathematics, and engineering. And recently, I signed into law, legislation to help schools hit hardest by drug use.

These steps will help our children unlock the future. Give them the tools to master the new world of new technologies. And reverse the trend we saw in a recent comparison of 13-year-old students in the United States and five other countries where America placed last in mathematics and near last in science.

Most of all, our Educational Excellence Act can help make American education No. 1 again by achieving the goals we announced in February with Governors like Henry Bellmon. We want U.S. students to be first in math and science by the year 2000. And every American to be skilled and literate. We want every student to start school ready to learn. That means Head Start and programs like it. And each school to have an environment where kids can learn. That means making every school drug-free. Finally, we want to see a graduation rate of at least 90 percent with every student competent in important subjects. Like a future graduate -- Erin Amato, a third-grader from Sugarland, Texas -- who recently wrote me this letter:

"Dear President Bush. I have been doing good in school. I made all 'A' Honor Roll last six weeks and I hope I make it this six weeks also. Do you like rolls? I like rolls but I do not like broccoli." And then Erin concluded by saying, "I do like carrots. I love Texas!"

In coming years, these Academic All-Staters will ask many questions. Questions about their faith and future, why we are here, and what we can become individually and as a Nation. How can education supply some answers? The same way this administrator and these teachers have. By embodying the spirit of Oklahoma's past.

Think of the heroes who settled this State. They didn't believe in government by bureaucrats. They believed in themselves. They built homes out of sod, and schoolhouses from scratch. Salt Fork, Black Bear, Apache. Dirt floors. Log walls. Often, supplies were limited -- but there were always enough hands. Pitching in. Teaching classes. Fighting off everything from claim-jumpers to bears.

These pioneers dreamed dreams as big as Oklahoma -- and made their dreams come true. Like us, they knew where the future lay: In their kids, through education. The Oklahoma Foundation for Excellence can help us achieve our dreams. So that future generations will proclaim, as the musical Oklahoma says: American education, "you're doing fine -- OK."

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 30, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT THE 78TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Constitution Hall  
Washington, D.C.

10:12 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much, John. And what do you think about that Marine Corps Band, led by Colonel Bourgeois? Aren't they first class? (Applause.) Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, very much.

And it's always a pleasure to meet with this high-powered group. I want to pay my respects once again to Dick Leshner, the President of the Chamber; to salute your outgoing Chairman John Clendenin for the leadership that he's shown and the sacrifice that he's given over the past year; and then to salute your incoming Chairman James Baker -- not a Cabinet shake-up. (Laughter.) I'm talking about James K. Baker who will carry the Chamber's fine tradition forward into this new decade.

And finally, let me welcome our special guests -- all these Washington-area schoolchildren, right here in front. (Applause.) I know that you all have been looking forward to today for a long time. And after all, it's not every day that you get out of math and spelling. (Laughter.) And I know it won't be easy to understand all the things we're talking about this morning. But there's one thing that I'm sure you can understand. You're here because you're important, because when you grow up you might just run your own business, like the people here. Or maybe you'll even run for President of the United States. It may be hard to believe, but I was once a second-grader, just like you are now. (Laughter.) So today I want to challenge all of you to keep working hard in school. Do your very best and don't be afraid to reach for your dreams.

And I want to challenge the Chamber of Commerce as well. That's all the rest of you who are past the second grade out there. (Laughter.) All of you know that the governors and I have agreed on a set of national education goals -- goals we must meet by the year 2000 -- the year these second-graders here graduate. And I'm delighted at all the Chamber of Commerce is doing to advance this great cause of excellence in education. But today I challenge you to get involved in every school and community across America. Help us make that classroom a place where miracles happen.

And before I go any further, I want to thank the Chamber for its support on an issue essential to our nation's economic future. Last week, I sent to the Congress a three-point plan for budget reform. One, supporting the Legislative Line-Item Veto Act. (Applause.) Two, proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide a presidential line-item veto. And three, a balanced budget amendment. (Applause.) The Chamber, together with other organizations in the Coalition for Fiscal Responsibility, has been out there on the front lines of the battle for budget reform. And I ask you now to push hard for this three-point plan. The time has come to put our fiscal house in order.

And let me say a few words about my administration's

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trade strategy. First, success in the Uruguay round trade talks is my top trade priority. The GATT needs strengthening. It doesn't cover services, investment or intellectual property rights. Its rules on agricultural trade are far too weak, creating counterproductive pressures to subsidize farm exports. And we've got to strengthen GATT as a matter of principle -- as a sign to the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and in this hemisphere that free trade is the way of the future. (Applause.)

Second, let me just say a word about Japan. All of you know that I did not name Japan a priority country under the Super 301 provisions of the 1988 Trade Act. That does not mean that all of our problems with Japan have disappeared. We know that we could sell more American products if Japan's market were truly open. But we've been working hard on that and I think with impressive results.

Over the past few months, we've made more progress on trade issues with Japan than at any other time I can recall. And part of the reason for this -- for this success, if you will, is that the Prime Minister, Prime Minister Kaifu of Japan, shares our commitment to ensuring that trade strengthens rather than undermines the friendship between our nations. Now, we are going to continue to press for progress. And keep in mind, Section 301 and other trade law authorities remain available to the President. And we will use all the tools at our disposal to open markets and ensure fair treatment for American products, services, American investments and ideas. I'm confident in Carla Hills, our very able and tenacious Trade Representative. I'm confident in her ability and I'm confident we will achieve lasting results.

John Clendenin mentioned in his speech the whirlwind of the changes we've seen this past year. And last year, I spoke to you on May 1 -- May Day -- by tradition one of the great days of celebration in the socialist world. I said then that even the socialist world was coming to see that socialism wasn't just another economic system; it was the death of economics. And that much was clear. What none of us could have seen on the eve of May Day 1989 was how close we had come to the wholesale collapse of communism.

First in Poland, then across Eastern Europe -- one nation after another broke the stranglehold of the state and embraced democracy. And here in our own hemisphere, in Panama and Nicaragua, the day of the dictator gave way to the decade of democracy. (Applause.) These transforming events brought freedom to tens of millions of people. And with that freedom, new challenges digging out from under the wreckage of ruined economies. Reclaiming rights and freedoms long denied. Everywhere from Prague to Panama City, the time has come to make a start in the difficult work of democracy-building.

It's that challenge that I want to talk to you about today, and it's a challenge that can engage every single one of you -- because you and the institutions you represent are proof of the power of the private sector. Democracy prospers when it rests on the firm foundation of the free market.

Think about that. What it means is that one of the chief aims of our public policy must be to involve the private sector, in all its diversity, in the business of building democracy. That's not to say that there's no work for government to do. Government-to-government aid is essential, especially in the first days of democracy when the institutions of free government are most fragile.

That's why we put together aid packages for Poland and Hungary. And that's why I continue to urge Congress to move our Nicaragua and Panama emergency aid legislation to final passage as soon as possible. It is embarrassing. Today, I meet with President Endara of Panama. I've asked the Senate and the House to move on that legislation over a month ago, and they haven't done it. I call on them again today to take action in the Senate so we can help those fledgling democracies in Panama and Nicaragua. (Applause.)

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It is frustrating to see the Congress delaying its work. Here's the facts. On this legislation, I called for aid on March 13th, to be exact, and ask that it be passed by April 5th. In the House, \$800 million -- \$800 million in domestic discretionary spending was added. The Senate added another half a billion dollars and, in committee, tacked on a contentious abortion provision. No wonder the American people get so frustrated with the way the Congress operates. (Applause.) Nicaragua and Panama quite simply need this aid. We've got to deliver and we've got to show that when democracy is at stake, America always extends a helping hand.

But as I've said many times, government aid alone is simply not the answer. It's more than a matter of finding enough funds; it's a matter of principle -- of what we mean when we talk about building democracy. The simple truth is this: Democracy and the freedoms it enshrines can never be a gift of government.

Earlier this year in the State of the Union, I talked about the cornerstones of free society, the building blocks of democracy -- all these elements that make America what it is. Competition, opportunity, stewardship, private investment. Those building blocks are what make America work. More than that, they're what makes democracy work. They're what the newly-emerging democracies of this hemisphere and in Eastern Europe need to grow and prosper.

Think back to what Lech Walesa said last November when he spoke to the AFL-CIO. Picture it. Solidarity labor leader speaking before our great AFL-CIO about the needs of the new Poland. Here is the quote: "Such is the fate of a Polish trade unionist," he said, "that he has to launch a publicity campaign for private entrepreneurship."

Lech Walesa told the Congress that he hadn't come to ask for charity as we know -- that we can't create democracy by writing a check. We build democracy in other nations not by taking responsibility for their needs, but by helping them take responsibility for themselves.

We build democracy whenever we help individuals take their destiny into their own hands. Democracy puts the focus not on government, but on the freedom of the individual; not on the state, but on society, the private sector. Democracy thrives in direct proportion to the flowering of individual freedom and free enterprise. (Applause.)

Our administration is doing all it can to promote private sector development. The Commerce Department, under Bob Mosbacher's able leadership, has opened its Eastern Europe Business Information Center, and with the Chamber has hosted a conference on doing business in Eastern Europe.

Carla Hills, our able Ambassador, and her USTR team have been negotiating with the emerging democracies to open the way for expanded trade. At Labor, we've got a great Secretary of Labor -- Elizabeth Dole. She's directing programs assisting Poland on key issues such as job training and unemployment insurance.

At Agriculture, most of you know Secretary Clayton Yeutter. He's doing a fine job. He's led this effort, our effort, to provide food aid and free market expertise to spearhead agricultural reform.

Today, I want to turn the spotlight on one of the best-kept secrets in town -- an agency called OPIC -- the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. OPIC's programs have been around since the days of the Marshall Plan, providing loans and risk insurance to American companies expanding into markets across the developing world. Here's a fact I know this crowd in particular will appreciate. OPIC is one government agency that actually turns a profit. (Applause.) Today especially OPIC is an important tool in

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our overall approach to help the world's emerging democracies sustain themselves.

But we've got to be realistic. Economic growth won't come overnight. Eastern Europe sustained four decades of economic decay. And here in our own hemisphere, years of dictatorship in Nicaragua drove its economy right into the ground, destroyed the basic commercial infrastructure that makes growth possible. But with the emergence of democracy, these nations are working around the clock to jump-start their stalled economies, to make the fundamental changes needed to create a functioning free market. For democracy's sake, we've got to do all we can to help this transition take place.

Let me tell you what OPIC then is doing to strengthen the free market foundations of democracy in Panama. Just 60 days after Operation Just Cause OPIC led an investment mission of 27 American businesspeople to meet with their counterparts in Panama. The investment agreements that came out of that seven-day mission should lead to the direct investment of more than \$70 million in Panama and 400 new jobs.

Now, here's the story of one company that took part in that OPIC mission -- Servrite International -- a small dairy company based in New Haven, Connecticut. Servrite had plans to invest in Panama, plans that it abandoned because of the old regime. Now, with the return of democracy, Servrite is moving forward, building a modern milk processing plant in the rural province of Chiriqui. The project will create 50 new jobs and provide technical assistance to help 30 Panamanian dairy farmers get their milk to market. For Servrite this is a good business opportunity. But for the Panamanians involved, it's more than just a pay check; it's a chance to build a future.

We're looking then to create the same kind of opportunity for investment in Nicaragua and, of course, beyond our own hemisphere, in Eastern Europe. As we speak OPIC's president, my good friend, Fred Zeder, a successful businessman in his own right, is leading a mission to Hungary and Poland, playing matchmaker to 43 American corporations and a far larger number of Eastern Europe's aspiring entrepreneurs.

Most of you know about the \$150-million deal between G.E. -- General Electric -- and Hungary's largest electric enterprise, Tungsram. What you may not know is OPIC's leading role in making that investment possible. That's just a fraction of the interest generated so far. Already OPIC has received requests representing more than \$2 billion worth of American investment in Hungary and Poland alone. For the potential for growth and the dividend for democracy are both great.

You may have heard about some of Japan's new joint ventures in Eastern Europe. Suzuki's plan to build cars in Hungary, or Daihatsu's deal to do the same in Poland. There's nothing unfair about these ventures, just proof that one of our key competitors is engaged in a hardnosed hunt for good opportunities in a new market. And I've said it before and I'll say it now, American business can out-think, out-work, out-perform any nation in the world. But we can't beat the competition if we don't get in the ball game. (Applause.) And if American business wants to keep ahead of the competition, the time to act is now.

Government must act, too -- to help energize the private sector. And today I'm announcing a new initiative under OPIC's auspices to establish an Eastern European growth fund; a magnet for the kind of investment capital that can create self-sustaining growth and responsible development. This fund will be privately managed, underwritten in part by OPIC, and backed by its political risk insurance within existing budget authorities. And when fully capitalized at \$200 million, this fund will provide a significant source of new capital for promising economic ventures.

I know the Chamber is already involved in expanding free

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market forces. I've heard about your newly-created Eastern European Trade and Technical Assistance Center, and about the new American Chamber of Commerce in Budapest. You are helping millions of people realize their dream of democracy.

It will be a tremendous struggle, measured not in days or months, but years. But what I've seen on my visits to Poland and Hungary, and what I've learned in my conversations with the new leaders of Nicaragua and Panama is, that all the years of despotic rule have not crushed the human spirit. These people are determined, full of hope and dreams. And now they're free. And if our American example teaches anything, it teaches that freedom is the world's most powerful force.

It's been a great privilege to speak to all of you today. Thank you, and may God bless these little kids. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

10:35 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 30, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT NATIONAL LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS' MEMORIAL GROUNDBREAKING

Judiciary Square  
Washington, DC

2:17 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much for that -- Sarah, Jim -- for that very warm welcome, Jim, and the kind words and for the hard work that you and Craig Floyd here and so many others have contributed to making this spectacular day and reality. Craig leaned over to me and said, "This beats May 15th." (Laughter.) And some of you may remember the event that we had, drenched in front of the Capitol up there. And the Lord is looking down on this one with a little more favor, I think.

I want to salute our able Attorney General, Dick Thornburgh, that rode over here with me, doing an outstanding job. And I might say, I'm very pleased to see his predecessor, Ed Meese with us. He stood strong and tall for law enforcement, and I think we still all appreciate that very, very much. (Applause.) I'm delighted to see Chief Fulwood here and of course my friend, Al D'Amato. Senator Pell has been detained, but there are other -- several other members of Congress, and I'd like to ask them to stand. I see Connie and Ben Gilman, but there may be others there, and I want to salute them. Because we're getting -- (Applause.) -- there's Senator Domenici back there, also. (Applause.) And, of course, I'm delighted to see my friend Dewey Stokes and Lee Greenwood with us. And so many other -- Phil Caruso -- so many others that are supporting all of this. It's a pleasure to be here.

All these leaders deserve our thanks. But I really also want to say, "Thank you, America." More than 400,000 individuals have stepped forward to donate the funds for this memorial -- a gift from a caring people and a grateful nation. And the sacrifices that we honor today began on a cold winter's day in January, 1794. Robert Forsythe, a veteran of the Revolutionary War and one of George Washington's new federal marshals enlisted two deputies and went to serve some routine court papers on the Allen brothers of Augusta, Georgia. But then as now, every cop knows there's no such thing as a routine assignment. And when the marshal found the brothers, they fled upstairs and fired a single shot right through the door and Robert Forsythe became the first casualty in an undeclared war that continues to this day.

Routine assignments continue to hold special danger for law enforcement. In 1988, Chicago police officer Irma Ruiz was a mother of four and a beloved mother figure to dozens of elementary students in the hallways she patrolled. But when a drug-crazed gunman attacked the school, Irma died -- protecting nearly 200 children and teachers.

Two cops, two sacrifices, two centuries apart. But both part of one tradition -- the thin blue line that protects our nation from the evil within. The story to be carved on these walls is the story of America -- of a continuing quest to preserve both democracy and decency and to protect a national treasure that we call the American Dream.

You know the numbers -- an estimated 30,000 officers have died defending law and order in America. And added to this are the wounded. A toll of disability and pain that rivals those of America's overseas wars. And each loss represents a hometown hero; a city of flags at half-mast; a somber procession of white gloves and black arm bands; the bagpipe strains of Amazing Grace rising in the wind.

MORE

And with each casualty is told the tale of a family, so often forgotten. The brave spouses and parents and children who pay a terrible price in loneliness and loss. And many of you are here today. And many of you have played a critical role in bringing this memorial to life.

The Law Enforcement Memorial ensures that what is so real to you today will never become a statistic. Each loss has a name. And each name has a story to tell. The polished granite walls of America's Police Memorial will bear witness to the sacrifice of frontier lawmen like Frank Dalton of Fort Smith, Arkansas -- one of more than a hundred deputies gunned down by outlaws in the American West. And prohibition detectives like Harry McGinnis, killed in 1933 in a shoot-out with Bonnie and Clyde. Federal agents like Secret Serviceman Leslie Coffelt -- mortally wounded while preventing two terrorists from assassinating President Harry Truman. And ordinary -- extraordinary policemen like Philadelphia's Albert Valentino, shot down last week -- just last week investigating a burglary.

For all who have lost their lives protecting the public, this memorial will stand as a tribute to their courage and their sacrifice. They will always be remembered here in the Oval Border of the Pathway of remembrance. And they will always be remembered down the street in the Oval Office, where since the day I took office, I've kept the badge of a rookie cop martyred last year in New York.

This memorial is also a tribute to the living -- to the partners and the teammates of the fallen -- to their families and to all of you who are foot soldiers in the battle against lawlessness.

In an age of indifference, you took a stand. You made a choice. You made your lives count for something and your service matters -- not only because it saves lives and families and neighborhoods; it matters because it is the right thing to do.

And on May 13th, many of you -- I said 15th, maybe it was the 13th -- you gathered here in this same square to hold a candlelight vigil for your fellow officers. The night sky was pierced by one of the most appropriate and imaginative memorials ever brought to Washington -- a single crystal blue beam of light -- a laser -- representing the thin blue line.

I'm right -- two days later on the 15th, a dismal, drizzly Washington afternoon, I stood shoulder-to-shoulder with many of you up there on Capitol Hill, armed with new proposals to help protect the pure blue light of law enforcement. And we invited Congress to join us in a new partnership with America's cities and states -- a new national strategy to take back the streets by taking criminals off the streets. (Applause.)

The states need to do their part as well. We need mandatory prison terms for those using firearms for crime and an end to plea bargaining for violent firearms offenders. (Applause.)

And for cop killers, for those who commit the ultimate crime, I feel strongly that they should pay the ultimate price. (Applause.) Congress has had our crime package since May. It is time to act, because these improvements are a vital part of our National Drug Strategy. And because, before any more names are added to that wall, the protection you deserve should be added to the books. And so it is with that hope and with great personal pride in America's police, and in all who have contributed to this historic effort, that I will now join in the ground-breaking for the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial.

Thank you for coming. And thank you all, and God bless you. And especially, God bless those we honor here today. Thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

2:28 P.M. EST

#2567

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

March 2, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO ACADEMY OF TELEVISION ARTS AND SCIENCES

Century Plaza Hotel  
Los Angeles, California

8:28 A.M. PST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Chuck, thank you, sir, for those kind words. And good morning to all of you. I want to thank you for being here at this very early hour. It's great to see such an all-star cast assembled. We Bushes are basically name-droppers. (Laughter.) We like this kind of event. And wait until Barbara hears about it. (Laughter.) I'm glad to see my good friend, Jerry Weintraub; and, Leo, to you, sir, the president of the Academy, thank you very much. In fact, we've got a roomful of presidents: Bob Iger, ABC; Arthur Hiller, DGA; George Kirgo, WGA; Sidney Sheinberg, MCA. George Bush, USA. (Laughter and applause.)

And over my shoulder I feel the presence of Roger Ailes, my good friend and trusted advisor, whose help was so important to me in my quest for the presidency. I'm not sure I hit that line just the way Roger wanted me to do it -- but the eye contact was superb. (Laughter.)

Being President does have its advantages. And this is true -- I have a TV set there in the White House with five screens -- one big one in the middle, four small ones around it, all of them on at once. Now I don't have to miss the nightly news while I watch Wheel of Fortune. (Laughter.) It's a wonderful thing.

There's no escaping the fact that we live in the age of television. You know, in my State of the Union, I announced six national education goals -- targets to be met by the year 2000. And this morning I want to add a seventh goal -- by the year 2000, all Americans must be able to set the clocks on their VCRs. (Laughter and applause.)

I know that your industry faces some real challenges right now -- I had a chance to talk to some of the officials at the head table a little earlier -- cable and satellite deals, the controversy surrounding the financial interest rules, the exploration of new revenue streams, regulatory hurdles -- the list is a long one. But that's not what I came to talk to you about this morning, interested as I am in those problems facing the industry.

I came here this morning to make a serious point about a different kind of opportunity. About the tremendous power of television -- and how it can help us meet some of the most pressing social challenges that we face. And I know this industry is more involved than ever in focusing on some of our nation's most serious problems -- whether it's hunger, or homelessness, or drug abuse.

And there's tremendous potential in that because every one of us in this room knows that television does more than entertain. It informs and it educates.

This morning, I want to focus on public enemy number one -- illegal drugs.

Two weeks ago, I went down to Cartagena to the Andean

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drug summit -- a country on the front line of the drug war. Their courageous President Virgilio Barco and the people of Colombia have made a courageous choice: Colombia versus the cartels. The battle is far from over. But for the first time, the drug runners are on the run.

We're going to keep the pressure on -- work with those Andean allies -- Peru, Bolivia, Colombia -- to cut the supply lines that run from the jungles of South America right into the heart of our cities. And we will. Two nights ago, we just learned that in Orange County, two cars were just pulled over carrying nearly 900 pounds of cocaine. Four million doses; street value -- \$30 million.

The supply side is a massive, serious problem. And I will continue to address myself to that side of the equation. But if we want to win this war, big busts won't be enough. We've got simply to drive down demand -- dry up the market for illegal drugs right here in our own country. We do that by increasing awareness. Education, providing people, especially young people, information that helps them separate fact from fiction when the subject is drugs.

That really is why I was so pleased to accept your invitation, Leo and Chuck, to come over here this morning. To thank you -- the leaders in the television industry -- for enlisting the power of TV as a force for positive change. Each of you is a "point of light," with a unique ability to inform and to change attitudes, and to catalyze public action in our fight against drug abuse.

This morning, I want to thank so many of you for the work you're doing with my friend, Jim Burke, the head of Media Advertising Partnership for a Drug-Free America. We see those hard-hitting antidrug commercials every day -- and really, they are hitting home. We're starting to see a shift in attitudes in the regions where those spots are on the air.

But it's not just the commercials that are getting the antidrug message across -- increasingly, it's also your regular programming, the shows themselves. And that's important.

Most people have no idea how many kids watch those Saturday morning cartoons. This is one group that does. Well, I am astonished at the number: 20 million kids between the ages of five and 11, sitting on the living room floor every Saturday morning, watching cartoons.

Twenty million kids. Impressionable. Just asking to be entertained. And let me tell you something. Those 20 million kids in front of their TVs on any Saturday are the same target audience for every school yard drug pusher five days a week.

Today, drugs are an unfortunate fact of life in every city and town across America. And our kids face pressure from their peers --

DEMONSTRATOR: Talk about AIDS. Why don't you lead the country on AIDS like you do on drugs? You never talk about it.

AUDIENCE: Sit down. Sit down.

DEMONSTRATOR: Why don't you appreciate people who are fighting AIDS. Why aren't you going to address -- the AIDS conference --

THE PRESIDENT: One of the reasons that we've increased federal help to an all-time high on AIDS is to try to help people that are concerned. And we will continue to try to help people that are concerned about that subject. (Applause.)

You know, I think -- I'll ad lib here for a minute, but I think of the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and the dramatic changes towards democracy in this hemisphere, and I have come a long way in my own political maturity. This guy's interdiction doesn't

bother me one little bit. And I'm glad we live in a country where we can all speak up, even if it takes advantage of the hospitality of you all. (Applause.)

But our kids do face peer pressure from their peers, pressure from the pushers out there to snort coke, or smoke pot, or even a killer called crack cocaine. "Just once can't hurt." "Everybody does it." "It's cool." And that's what our kids hear. That's what they're up against. For too many of our kids, regrettably, that is the real world. And we've got to help our children develop the power to say no, power that comes from self-confidence. We've got to arm our kids with the facts: Drugs aren't part of life in the fast lane; drugs are a dead-end.

And that's why I am so delighted that the Academy is taking the lead in producing a show called Cartoon All-Stars To The Rescue. A story about a boy who, with the help of more than a dozen of today's most popular cartoon characters, learns that he can draw the line against drugs, that every kid can be drug-free.

And that's a great message. And I hope that on Saturday, April 21st, the day that that show is first broadcast all across the United States and all over North America, every TV set is on and every kid is watching. And I want to thank all of you associated with the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences for taking part in this collaborative effort. Barbara and I are proud to participate with you. Never before in cartoon history have Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck worked with the teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, the Muppets and the Smerfs -- (laughter) -- and all the other stars of the cartoon world. And my hat's off to Roy Disney and Buzz Potamkin for keeping all those colorful egos in line. (Laughter.)

One thing more while we're talking about cartoons -- every one of us knows those scenes where a character falls off a cliff or gets hit by a truck and then bounces right back up, dusts himself off and moves right on to the next scene. Kids see that stuff -- and they know it isn't real. But how many kids and young adults today have seen the programs or movies that show a character take drugs and, just like the cartoon characters, survive without a scratch? That isn't real, either. And in the real world, whether it's Hollywood or Harlem, or out in the heartland, small-town America, we know what drugs do. And the simple truth is they destroy.

And thank goodness the days when popular culture glorified and glamorized drug use are fading fast. Public opinion is turning around. We used to hear that drugs were fashionable and fun and risk-free. Not anymore. Now we're hearing something different. We're hearing that it's okay -- no, that it's great, really, to be drug-free.

And I think that change is taking place because we all see the damage that drugs can do. We've seen too many sports stars, too many entertainers, too many of the men and women we look up to, too many of our heroes pulled down, destroyed by drugs. Drugs and success simply do not mix.

And I really want to thank every one of you in this room for helping smash that stereotype. Because the truth is, drugs don't care who you are, how famous you are, how much you earn. Drugs are deadly for everybody.

So this morning, I want to make sure that I'm understood by all the writers and producers and actors in this room. I'm not asking you to compromise your art. I'm not asking TV producers or film makers to portray some kind of a fantasy world where drugs don't exist. Sugar-coating isn't going to solve anything. What I'm suggesting is that you have an opportunity to help your country. And I'm with those of you who believe the answer is to treat drugs with the same degree of realism TV brings to so many other subjects. To show what happens in the real world. When someone does drugs, show what happens -- how what starts out as a high turns into the lowest

form of self-abasement, where drugs mean more than family, friends, self-respect. To show in the real world how drugs destroy, how drugs kill every single day.

And that's the real message. It's a message that can save lives. And thanks to you, thanks to you, it's a message that's getting through to the children of the United States of America; to the children of many other countries as well.

Leo and Chuck, thank you for this opportunity to address this exceptionally prestigious and influential group. And I am grateful to all of you. And thank you for all you're doing. And God bless you. And now I'll go over and try to represent you properly as I meet the Prime Minister of Japan. Thank you very, very much.

END

8:43 A.M. PST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(San Francisco, California)

For Immediate Release

February 7, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO COMMONWEALTH CLUB

San Francisco Hilton Hotel  
San Francisco, California

12:35 P.M. PST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Dr. Fink. Modesty may not be his long suit, but I like the introduction. (Laughter.) And very candidly, I like the pride he takes in his institution, and he gave me a good lecture up here as to how I should be supportive of these smaller and independent colleges. And it struck home to me, I'll tell you. (Applause.)

Governor Deukmejian, I'm glad to be with you, sir -- (applause) -- and our Commonwealth Club President, Joseph Perrelli, thank you for your hospitality. And let me just single out our former Secretary of State, George Shultz. I'm honored to see him here and be with him. (Applause.)

I'm going to get in real trouble here, but another San Franciscan who has served his country at a very high level is now giving of his time to work with me on the prestigious Science Advisory Committee -- and I'm talking about your own and my friend, David Packard. I'm delighted he's here. (Applause.)

And just two more. I'm pleased to see the Mayor of San Francisco here -- Mayor Agnos -- delighted to see him. (Applause.) And, of course, another who I read in the paper had re-retired, or was about to re-retire, and I'm talking to the former head of the World Bank, Tom Clausen, an old friend, who I'm delighted to see him here. (Applause.)

So I feel encompassed by friends and delighted to be back for I think it is my sevent -- Joe, seventh? -- seventh appearance before this prestigious group. A few minutes ago, I asked a 49er fan what he thought was the turning point in the Super Bowl. (Laughter.) He said, "The National Anthem." (Laughter and applause.)

Of course, not all the recent memories -- as Art knows -- in the Bay area have been pleasant ones. I'm sure you remember the last time I was here, after this city suffered tragedy. And I'm talking about a clutter of car wrecks that -- and a flattened freeway and a terrible black cloud rising from the Marina district. And I know that some damage remains, and certainly some heartache and some hardship. But today I've sensed and felt something else -- renewal. The people of the Bay area have stood up and dusted themselves off and are rebuilding, because you came together -- (applause) -- and San Francisco will be as beautiful and vital as ever. So I think it's fair to say, from having been here for about 45 minutes, San Francisco is back. And we can understand that. (Laughter.)

But I've come here today to California for another reason, to give you a no-nonsense -- you hard-nosed businessmen and women that you are, a straightforward and hopeful message about the national security of our country. Yesterday at Fort Irwin, I also thanked our men and women in uniform -- not just because they keep America safe and free. But I came to thank them because they help to make possible the wonderful changes that are sweeping the world.

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I wish every man and woman here could have been with me as I talked to the young troops out there in the desert. It's very clear why every one of our Joint Chiefs keep telling me our services all have the finest, most dedicated young men and women to ever serve in the uniform of the United States. (Applause.)

And as the threats to our security change, so, too, must our defense strategy. In 1986, defense expenditures consumed 6.3 percent of our Gross National Product. As you know, I just submitted my 1991 budget to Congress, which holds down defense spending for the fifth year in a row -- down to just above five percent of Gross National Product. I'm submitting this budget at a time when the postwar world that we have known -- the world that began in 1945 -- is changing before our very eyes. So to understand then where we're going, let me first review where we've been and where I think we are today.

The Free World's first generation of postwar leaders had the cautionary example of their predecessors. They remembered that the great war -- the war to end all wars -- was followed by chaos and conflict. They remembered that visionary statesmen, after the First World War, had tried to limit large navies -- even outlawed war itself. But soon these great hopes faded in the face of unchecked aggression. And no pact could prevent World War Two.

So by 1945 our leaders had acquired a realism -- a realism born of bloody experience; a pragmatism born of a sober appraisal of the world as it was. And from Harry Truman to Ronald Reagan, our strength -- our strength -- became the world's shield; our ideals of freedom and democracy, the world's hope. We paid dearly for the defense of liberty -- with our national wealth, and with many of our youngest and bravest.

And so, over the past 40 years, our leaders continued to provide for war even as they sought peace. It was during the Truman administration, in this very city, that men and women of great vision and high ideals came from around the world to create an assembly of nations. And so it was in San Francisco, 45 years ago, that the United Nations was born.

Then, as now, the United States strove to balance its role as peace-keeper with that of peacemaker. We helped create the United Nations and NATO. And we encouraged Soviet change even as we thwarted Soviet expansion.

Those who crafted this new policy had a name for it. They called it containment and predicted that if we blocked the easy path of expansion, the Soviet Union would one day have to confront the contradictions of its inhumane, illogical system. The purpose of containment was not to defeat or humiliate the Soviets. The purpose was to preserve and extend liberty. The hope was someday to see, as George Kennan put it in 1947, "the gradual mellowing of Soviet power." It took nearly a half a century to vindicate this strategy, but we can now see the results: today the Cold War is in retreat.

That is good news, for no sane man or woman is nostalgic for the Cold War. We're inspired by this revolution of 1989 -- heartened, for example, to see a man of letters and conscience in Prague move from prison to the presidential palace. We are heartened to see the Berlin Wall fall, setting off a shockwave that upended a tyrant in Romania.

And we're grateful for something more. Now, because of our strength and that of our allies, now thanks to the march of freedom and democracy in Eastern Europe -- and even in the Soviet Union itself -- now the prospects for an enduring peace are greater than ever before. We can now envision a new destiny for the nations of the continent -- that of a Europe truly whole and free.

We are taking the first steps across a bridge begun by others long ago. And it's a bridge that can lead us from seemingly endless conflict to the promise of a lasting peace. But no matter

how great the promise, we must be certain that the bridge is secure.

As President, every morning, I receive an intelligence briefing. And I receive the best information available to any world leader today. Yet the morning news is often overtaken by the news that very same evening. And the world is moving too fast to forecast with absolute certainty what will happen next. Our challenge is to manage this period of transition from the world of today to the world of tomorrow and safeguard the security of America in the process. When it comes to the security of this country, I would rather be called cautious than I would be called reckless. (Applause.)

Our pursuit of this promising future must start with an understanding of today's realities.

Take, for example, our most recent proposal warmly received by our allies and President Gorbachev. I proposed reducing the troop levels on both sides in Central and Eastern Europe to 195,000 troops. That balance, that balance encourages the less threatening future we envision, and it holds great promise. But right now, right now, the Soviets still have more than 560,000 men under arms in Central Europe.

On the issue of strategic weapons, we've made progress in the START negotiations. And again, I'd like to salute George Schultz for his very important part in this. (Applause.) And we now hope to slash dramatically the number of strategic weapons on both sides. It is these important reductions that Secretary Baker is seeking this very day in Moscow. That's the future we envision, and it, too, holds great promise.

But let us not forget that right now the Soviets still have more than 10,000 strategic weapons. They are modernizing them: they have developed two new mobile ICBMs, and their spending on strategic defense is comparable to their spending on strategic offensive forces.

The President of the United States is the Commander-in-Chief, bound by the Constitution to defend and protect the United States of America. Now, some would have me predicate the defense of our people on promising -- but as yet unfulfilled -- hopes for the future. I will not do that. I am determined to seek with the Soviets the collateral to implement a new peace. In international terms, collateral means soldiers discharged, tanks dismantled, nuclear missiles demolished, and chemical weapons banned from the face of the Earth.

Some see our measured approach as endangering the process of change. I see our approach as essential to change, essential to the security of this nation and as the only way to a lasting peace. We have shown that American resolve can help further Soviet reform. And we've shown that American strength is the catalyst for arms control. And we've shown that the idea called America can inspire change. And now we must not let impatience, born of euphoria, jeopardize all that we hope to achieve in the future. (Applause.)

First, as Americans have always believed, our foremost goal is to prevent another world war. To do so, we will still need to remain fully engaged. European security, stability and freedom -- so tied to our own -- requires an American presence. Western Europeans all want us to stay there -- every single country -- want us to avoid pulling back into an uninvolved isolation. I have the feeling that when the dust settles, the new democracies of Eastern Europe will feel exactly the same way. We must remain in Europe as long as we are needed and wanted. And the prospect of global peace, therefore, depends on an American forward presence.

Second, we will, of course, continue to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war. And that's why I will vigorously pursue the START talks with the Soviet Union. But arms control and strategic modernization are not competing strategies. Rather, they can work together to make the world a safer place.

Just this morning, I went out and visited Lawrence Livermore Labs and met those visionary men and women who strive to make a nuclear strike on our country -- whether from a nuclear superpower, or some renegade nation, or terrorist group -- even more unlikely than it is today. And if the technology I have seen today proves feasible -- and it looks very promising -- no aggressor could be confident of the success of a ballistic missile attack. And that's what deterrence is all about.

And let's be clear: This purely defensive concept doesn't threaten a single person anywhere in the world -- the life of a single person anywhere in the world. God forbid, if it ever had to be used, it would be used against missiles, not against people.

When some complain of the cost of developing such technologies, they should first consider the cost of not doing all we can to deter conflict and protect the cities and the citizens of America. And that's why I will seek to persuade the Soviets, through our defense-in-space talks, that, in fact, greater reliance on strategic defenses will contribute to a safer world. (Applause.)

Now let me now tell you something about the strategy behind our 1991 defense budget:

First, new threats are emerging beyond the traditional East-West antagonism of the last 45 years. These contingencies must loom larger in our defense planning. Remember the threats of Libyan and Iranian terrorism. And remember the liberation of Grenada and Panama. And remember the dedication of our American servicemen on duty in the Persian Gulf two years ago, safeguarding -- not only the flow of oil -- but safeguarding the flow of oil to the industrial democracies -- but an action also welcomed by many small nations over there who were afraid that the Iran-Iraq War would adversely affect their own freedom.

And remember, too, that there are more than 15 countries in the world that will have developed ballistic missiles by the end of the decade -- 15 countries -- many with chemical and biological capabilities. Nuclear weapons capabilities are proliferating -- much to my regret and the regret of everybody here. And inevitably high-tech weapons will fall into the hands of those whose hatred of America and contempt for civilized norms is well-known. We will continue to work hard to prevent this dangerous proliferation. But one thing is certain: We must be ready for its consequences. And we will be ready.

Then there are the narco-gangsters that concern us all, already a threat to our national health and spirit. Now they are taking on the pretensions of a geopolitical force -- whole new force to effect change -- and they must be dealt with as such by our military: in the air, on the land and on the seas.

Clearly, in the future, we will need to be able to thwart aggression, repel a missile, or protect a sealane or stop a drug lord. We will need forces adaptable to conditions everywhere. And we will need agility, readiness, sustainability. We will need speed and stealth. And we will need leadership.

In short, we must continue to deter both a global war and limited conflicts in new conditions. And for this reason, we doubly need to continue the modernization of our forces. I pray that it will not be my sad duty to commit American fighting men again into combat. But if I do, on my watch, the lives of American fighting men will no be short-changed. (Applause.)

As I mentioned, just yesterday I visited the National Training Center at Fort Irwin, near Barstow, where our fighting forces prepare for action. It was at this very base that we trained many of our troops who fought with such distinction in Panama. And they were courageous. But being prepared is also the best way to ensure that wars are prevented. And after seeing our men and women

again and talking with them, they are indeed up to the challenges of the future.

You know, I once read that Khrushchev once spoke to the Commonwealth Club for three hours. (Laughter.) Perhaps he began this speech with these words: "Let me make just a few brief observations before taking your questions." (Laughter.)

So I will get to my final concern: how all this change in our defense budget affects us at home. Many speak of the peace dividend. Few discuss the short-term cost of peace. There will be costs as we cross the bridge to a better future -- for dislocated industries and workers, for communities -- painful personal adjustments to be made.

But America has always been willing to pay the price of peace. I know that some of the bases that have been proposed for cutbacks are in this area, just as many of them are in my home state of Texas, but let me state right here and now: there have been no politics in these proposals. Some talk about bases in Democratic districts here. Well, they're also in the same state as a great Republican Governor over here. I ask Congress to join me in a spirit of fairness. Longstanding critics of defense spending should not turn around and block the closing of a base in their home district. (Applause.) There's something just a little bit ironic about certain members of Congress whose philosophy seems to be make deep cuts, but be sure to cut in somebody else's state or somebody else's district. And we can't have that anymore. This is too important.

I can't accept that. The taxpayers deserves better, and so do those affected by our decisions. So let me assure you: If a base closes, it doesn't close federal concern and commitment.

You know civilians who are laid off will receive top priority for placement in other DOD positions. The Homeowner's Assistance Program will protect military and civilian personnel from falling real estate prices. And the Office of Economic Adjustment will work with communities to develop powerful new economic assets, new ways to use old bases. The Bible speaks of beating swords into plowshares. We're transforming military runways into municipal airports, and military bases into industrial parks and community colleges, and missile hangars into factories.

I know -- I don't know how the pruning hook business is going out there, but we may go back into that too -- cast them into pruning hooks. You know, I know the American people will support these measures for a continued strong defense. My travels around this country tell me that. But to have the means to negotiate reductions and ensure peace, I will need the support, the cooperation and consultation of Congress.

We can now envision a time when the world is more secure than ever; when all the competitive instincts of modern man will be diverted to commerce -- even to football.

You know, I started joking about the 49ers winning the Super Bowl during the National Anthem. But it's not how many passes Joe Montana completed, it's that he knew better than to rest on his laurels at the beginning of the fourth quarter. So, so should we. I will work with Congress to build a bridge to a more secure world. And if we work together, then peace itself will be the greatest dividend of all.

Thank you for inviting me to San Francisco. And God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

12:59 P.M. PST

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Dallas, Texas)

For Immediate Release

November 10, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS

The Chantilly Ballroom  
Loew's Anatole Hotel  
Dallas, Texas

2:10 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Ira. I know I speak for everyone here today when I salute you for serving so ably as the President of the National Association of Realtors. (Applause.) And my best wishes to your successor, Norm Flynn. And let me also recognize -- rerecognize, if you will, the man who is doing such wonderful work, bringing vision to HUD, putting through the tough new reforms that ensures that his agency serves people in need. My outstanding Secretary of HUD, Jack Kemp. I am so proud he's with me here today. (Applause.)

And of course, an old friend and a fine member of Congress who traveled down on Air Force One with Barbara and Jack and me today, Dallas' own Congressman Steve Bartlett. (Applause.)

And of course, I'm delighted that the mother of the Texas Rangers boss is here today -- my wife, Barbara, the Silver Fox. (Applause.)

Before going into my main remarks, let me just say a word about the momentous events in East Germany. I was moved, as you all were, by the pictures of Berliners from East and West, standing atop the Wall with chisels and hammers, celebrating the opening of the most vivid symbol of the Iron Curtain.

And then today, just on the plane coming down, I read a report where 18 new border crossings would be made in the Wall in the near future. And to be honest with you, I doubted that this would happen in the very first year of this administration.

Twenty-eight years after the desperate days of 1961, when tanks faced off at Check Point Charlie and that terrible barrier was built, now the East German government has responded to the wishes of its people. And while no one -- (applause) -- and while no one really accurately predicted the speed of the changes underway in Eastern Europe -- and certainly I didn't -- but last May, right here in Texas, over at Texas A & M, I noted hopeful, indeed, remarkable signs of a Soviet break with the cycles of the past.

And I called upon the Soviet Union to support self-determination for the nations of Eastern and Central Europe. And to tear down the Iron Curtain. And now we're seeing it happen. And when I visited Poland and Hungary in July, I sensed that historically important events there held the seeds for even more dramatic change.

And this played a big part in the decision last July made, really, at the G-7 meeting in Paris. On the way back, I proposed a face-to-face meeting with President Gorbachev before next spring's summit. And the Malta meeting, given recent events, takes on, I think, even more importance than when I conceived the idea

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three and a half months ago.

The changes in recent months make clear that the process of reform initiated by the Eastern Europeans and supported by Mr. Gorbachev and by America and by our allies is real, offers us all much hope, and deserves our continued encouragement. We're living in fascinating times. And we will seize every opportunity to contribute to lasting peace and to extend democracy. And in doing so, I will conduct the foreign policy of this great country with the prudence that these fascinating times -- times of change demand, and with the imagination.

The 1980s has been the decade of American renewal. And I believe that around the world, the 1990s will inevitably be the decade of democracy. (Applause.)

Ira mentioned to me that my speech is a special occasion for this association, and I said I was honored. And then Ira said, well, it's not often that we're addressed by someone who lives in public housing. (Laughter and applause.) And you know something -- Barbara and I get just as emotional about it today as the day first walked in there.

The truth is, I am not a real estate wizard. When I was elected to Congress -- and I get reminded about this by Barbara. When I was elected to Congress in 1966, we needed to make housing arrangements up in Washington. We were in Houston. And at that time, Senator Al Simpson's father, Milward Simpson, was retiring and moving back to Wyoming. So I bought the Simpson house -- sight unseen over the telephone. And when we got to Washington, there were just two problems: we found out right away that the house wasn't quite big enough for our family -- and we found out when we put the place up for sale that it wasn't worth quite as much as we paid for it. (Laughter.) And that's my claim to fame in your business. I'm the only person who ever lost money in Washington real estate in the last 20 years. (Laughter and applause.) Ira, where the hell were you when I needed you? (Laughter.)

But few people have done more for the real estate industry than Barbara and I have. We've moved 28 -- this is true -- we have moved 23 times in our 44 years of marriage. (Laughter and applause.) You ought to be smiling. Now I know what you're thinking -- what a dream client my family would make for any realtor. (Laughter.) In fact, Dick Darman over at OMB is calculating the commissions we've paid over the years -- measured as a percentage of the Gross National Product. (Laughter.)

But I came here today to lay out a comprehensive agenda to help bring basic shelter and affordable housing within reach of millions of Americans. And I call it America's HOPE -- Home Ownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere.

But before I tell you about HOPE, I want to speak for just a minute about the single most important factor in helping millions of Americans realize the American Dream -- the economy. Because the truth is there is no better housing policy than a growing economy. And we've got one -- one that provides jobs and wages and opportunities for advancement -- long-term interest rates that open ownership opportunities to hundreds of thousands of first-time home buyers. Because every drop in interest rates makes it possible for more families to buy that home they want. And I pledge that my administration will vigorously support the mortgage interest and property tax deductions. (Applause.) These deductions encourage home ownership -- and they are vitally important to our overall economic prosperity.

And all signs point to continued strength in the economy. November marks the 84th month of economic expansion -- the longest peacetime expansion on record. And here's one statistic that really hits home. Mortgage rates are down from almost 14 percent back in

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November of '82 to less than 10 percent today. (Applause.) And my goal and Jack's goal -- the goal of our entire administration -- to pursue policies that will bring them down even further. (Applause.)

Of course, part of any responsible economic policy is getting our fiscal house in order. And I want you to know that my administration is hanging tough for a responsible budget -- with real deficit reduction, no smoke and no mirrors. (Applause.)

We don't like sequestration -- no one does. But we'll have to live with it if we have to and if it's the only way to rein in spending and bring that deficit down to the Gramm-Rudman target. I'm ready to sign a budget bill -- whenever Congress is ready to strip off all those costly extras and add-ons hidden away in those omnibus spending bills. (Applause.)

We're getting down to the wire, and I'm optimistic -- optimistic that my administration and the Congress can agree on a responsible budget. Optimistic that we'll see more and more Americans prospering -- providing better lives for their families, and looking to all of you to help them realize their dreams.

And I know we can count on you -- just as we counted on your strong support in helping to pass that 1988 Fair Housing Act. Ira, that is a tribute to your leadership -- to your strong organization and to its dedication to the right of all people to be free from discrimination and prejudice. (Applause.)

But more must be done, and that's where the HOPE initiative comes in. This initiative will address the full range of housing concerns -- from shelter for the homeless to affordable housing for low-income families to initiatives that open access to expanded job opportunities and help millions more Americans own their homes.

Let's start right there -- with what HOPE can do for first-time home buyers. You all know about families working to buy that first home. Well, they deserve our help -- and they're going to get it. I will ask Congress to enact legislation allowing first-time buyers to draw, without penalty, on IRA savings as a down payment for that first home. (Applause.)

Our HOPE initiative also means efforts to improve low-income housing. As you know, my administration rejects these costly new public construction programs that, in the past, have too often produced the housing projects that symbolize the very absence of hope in our inner cities. There's a better way -- housing vouchers that empower low-income families to choose where they want to live. (Applause.)

So our idea is to create incentives for the construction and rehabilitation of the housing low-income families need. That's why I'm calling on Congress to renew the low-income housing tax credit -- but make it part of a package that also includes the cut in the capital gains tax. (Applause.) I don't care what the political opponents say, what the critics say. A cut in capital gains means an increase in jobs, investment and growth. (Applause.) And I'm grateful for the fact that the National Association of Realtors has fought hard to make a capital gains cut a reality. Well, let me tell you something -- that fight is not over. (Applause.)

We've got to go one step further, as a matter of fact. In those pockets of poverty where despair has driven out hope, we've got to eliminate the capital gains tax altogether. And that's a key element in the enterprise zone legislation that I want to see enacted that Jack Kemp has worked so hard to produce. I've called on Congress to create at least 50 enterprise zones over the next four years to help create the jobs and incomes that are the real key to affordable housing. I hope Congress gets the message. It is time -- (applause) -- it is time that we gave the green light to our inner

city entrepreneurs.

And HOPE can help us reverse a trend that's stunting growth and development in low-income areas. Over nine million Americans live in these FHA-insured homes, and every year nearly a half a million first-time home buyers use FHA to help them make their dream affordable.

My administration has announced major reforms to ensure that FHA is true to its primary mission of making housing affordable for low- and moderate-income families. We will change the destructive practices which have kept FHA out of the inner cities and distressed communities that most need its support. (Applause.)

And, frankly, at all levels of government we have got to take a second look at some of the well-intended housing policies that actually decrease our housing supply. I'm talking about the excessive rules, regulations and red tape that add unnecessarily to the cost of housing -- by tens of thousands of dollars -- (applause) -- or that create perverse incentives to allow existing housing to deteriorate. And so I've asked my able Secretary, Jack Kemp, to convene a Blue Ribbon Commission to identify barriers to affordable housing -- and then to make recommendations on how these barriers can be removed. And let me make the first recommendation right here, Mr. Secretary. No city, state or town should receive a single penny of HOPE funding until they have identified barriers to affordable housing in their own backyard -- and take steps to remove them. (Applause.)

Someone once said, "We shape buildings; and thereafter, they shape us." The same is true when it comes to low-income housing policy.

That's the real centerpiece of our HOPE initiative -- to recapture the American dream of home ownership for those who have been left behind -- through resident management and resident ownership. It's already working. Kenilworth-Parkside, back in Washington. Cochran Gardens in St. Louis. In East L.A. public housing through community leaders, like Alicia Rodriguez, and by encouraging nonprofit and resident groups, it's going to work right here in Dallas -- at places like Rhoads Terrace under the take-charge leadership of a courageous mother named Jessie Toles -- and all across the United States.

The results are promising. Because, you see, with tenants in control, we see better maintenance, more rents paid on time, a decrease in people on the welfare rolls. And we see something more -- a sense of pride that is the very core of any thriving community.

I don't know any better way to revive hope in our inner cities than to give tenants themselves a say in running their communities, a stake in the future and the belief that they, too, can own a home. Because the true measure of success isn't how many families we add to housing assistance rolls, it's how many families move up and out and into the ranks of homeowners. (Applause.)

But let's face it. There's more to the HOPE initiative. And now I'm talking about people who stand in the shadows of what is otherwise a very bright economic picture -- who live a nightmare in the midst of the American Dream. We see them every day on the streets of our cities, sleeping on the steam grates, living out of cardboard boxes. Of course, I'm talking about the homeless.

And for most of us, November is the time of year when we start looking forward to the holiday season: Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Years. For the homeless, November is the time of year the temperature starts to drop, and simply making it through the night becomes a life-and-death struggle.

Think about the children. Pretty soon your kids -- our kids -- will be dreaming about Christmas toys -- and new video game, or the bike they'd like. And it's different for kids on the street, though. I read a story not long ago that stuck in my mind about a little boy without a home. And here's what he dreams about at night: "I dreamed my Mom got her housing assistance," he said, "and we got a house with a great big backyard."

But in the morning, for that little boy, the dream is over. He is up at 5:30 a.m., out of a shelter and back onto the streets.

Now, that is a tragedy. Because no child in America should have to grow up on the streets. And every family in America should have a roof over its head. (Applause.)

We've got to do better. And my administration is going to do its part to expand emergency shelters. And yesterday I signed a bill that substantially increases funding under the McKinney Act to reduce homelessness. And we're going to continue to push for full funding of homeless programs under that law. And today I'm also asking Jack Kemp to find new ways to put a portion of our FHA foreclosures into the hands of nonprofit groups -- groups that are doing such wonderful work rehabilitating abandoned homes, fighting poverty in our inner cities.

But the real answer for the homeless -- those with mental problems or dependent on drugs or alcohol -- is shelter plus care -- shelter supplemented by the necessary support services to get these people the help they need to live in dignity. And that means a partnership -- a combined federal, state and local effort -- to supply the funding and other resources that constitute a comprehensive solution for the hard-core homeless. And if we care about them, we've got to take more than a one-dimensional approach to the problem.

The HOPE initiative will include improved coordination of basic needs -- like shelter with other social services -- to help the homeless get the treatment that they need to get control of their lives; to help them find and hold down jobs; to help them regain hope and leave life on the streets -- leave that life behind for good.

Helping the homeless. Helping low-income families find affordable housing, decent housing. Helping more of the 80 million Americans who don't own a home join the ranks of homeowners. These are the aims of the HOPE initiative, and these are aims well within our reach.

And think about that little boy I spoke about a moment ago. Think about his dream -- because it really is the American Dream -- what all of us want for ourselves and our families.

We must unleash the resources of the profit and nonprofit sectors, of churches and synagogues, states and localities in our great national enterprise to assure safe, decent, and affordable housing for all. And only then will we be able to replace hopelessness with hope. And only then will we be able to wage war on poverty and despair. And only then will we be able to complete our vision of a free and prosperous America, full of opportunity for people everywhere.

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

END

2:37 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 2, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT PRESENTATION OF  
MALCOLM BALDRIGE NATIONAL QUALITY AWARDS

Malcolm Baldrige Hall  
Commerce Department  
Washington, D.C.

10:34 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Thank you, Secretary Mosbacher, for the warm welcome. It's great to be back across the street, almost, at this wonderful Department. I first want to salute the Baldrige family. A special hello to Midge. Of course, I'm delighted to see the Secretary of the Treasury here and Ambassador Hills. Able members of my Cabinet sitting next to them. Dr. Bromley, our Science Advisor who has a keen interest in the success of the work of this Department.

I want to salute Deputy Secretary Murrin and Under Secretary Betti. And I think I spotted Strom -- I know I did -- over here. And it's a little hard to see. But Jesse Helms was to be here, Congressman Sherry Boehlert, Don Ritter. George Brown, I do see. Howard Coble, Doug Walgren, Nancy Johnson. And if I missed a few -- Alec McMillan, I think. And I can't see who else we've got over there. But nevertheless, welcome to the members of Congress whose support is absolutely essential for the workings of the Commerce Department.

In just a few moments, it will be my pleasure to present awards named after a great public servant and a close and dear friend -- Malcolm Baldrige. So let me just say a few words about Mac. He had a zest for life -- Nancy, I didn't see you -- had a zest for live, love of family and a love of country that was uncommon. He was an outstanding Secretary of Commerce for six and a half years. And he was also an outstanding friend. Mac's word of honor -- as those of you who worked with him -- was his bond, as good as a \$20 gold piece.

And he never quite fit any mold. In this town, they always try to make you fit into some mold. Baldrige never quite fit the mold. He was the president of a successful company who spent a lot of his time with volunteer firemen when his wife wasn't doing that kind of work. He was the son of the East who rode horses and loved his place in New Mexico. He felt at home with cowboys because he roped with them all of his life. You'd never have known it from his friendly, easy-going manner, but he was also a bit of a perfectionist, in word and deed.

As a leader in business, Mac strived for quality in products; as Commerce Secretary, for quality in public policies. Even the language some of you may well remember, to your horror, the language of his memos was lean and exact. In fact, he had a special computer software program for Commerce Department documents; one that automatically weeded out jargon like "impacted," "viable," "infrastructure." (Laughter.) Sort of Gramm-Rudman cut of the English language, if you will. (Laughter.)

But like all perfectionists, he knew that perfection is not reaching the attainable. Rather, it's a never-ending quest for the unattainable. His life was such a quest, a life whose legacy

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leaves us with a profound insight -- a truly successful man or woman is someone who has, indeed, served others.

Companies, like people, are successful only to the extent to which they provide service. This is true for all business, from the humblest mom-and-pop operation to the largest corporation.

The improvement of quality in products and the improvement of quality in service -- these are national priorities as never before. In recent years, Americans have felt the sting of fierce competition on a global scale. And we've learned to see foreign competition -- not as an excuse to close doors and raise barriers -- but as an incentive to renew our own commitment to excellence.

American managers have reconsidered every time-honored belief, every traditional practice, every customary procedure. And they've embraced what works and rejected the past. They've studied examples of innovation from home and abroad, and adopted only the best. And we now know the result of this historic reassessment: When it comes to meeting the competition, America is back in business.

We're here today to honor two companies that are leading this resurgence -- they're leading the resurgence in American business leadership. Most companies catch hell from the competition. But these two companies are in the lead because no competitor gave them a tougher time than they gave themselves.

Of course, in business, success is its own reward. And yet all American firms benefit by having a standard of excellence to match and perhaps, one day, to surpass. For 1989 there can be no higher standard of quality management than those provided by the winners of the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award -- Milliken & Company and the Xerox Corporation.

Both of these manufacturing firms were well-established leaders in their markets. Yet both were being steadily squeezed out by the intense foreign and domestic competition. In the midst of this crisis, the men and women of these companies found within themselves the will to make a painstaking reassessment and the drive to win back that market share.

Both companies started down this path of reassessment with a simple premise: in business, there is only one definition of quality -- the customer's definition. And then they proceeded from this one premise to restructure their production and marketing plan. Sounds simple. But I know, as a former tiny businessman myself, how difficult it is to restructure a firm from top-to-bottom.

And today's winners know what is possible when a firm restructures itself from the bottom up. They know that a company can no longer afford to regard employees as automatons in a production line. They know that a company must rely on the intelligence, judgment and good character of the people it employs.

And there are as many successful forms of management as there are successful companies. But for these two companies, success came when they developed their human, as well as their technological, potential.

Milliken, for example -- a 125-year-old textile manufacturer in South Carolina. But its management style is sheer 21st century. Milliken scrapped the old management hierarchy in favor of what they call a "flat management structure." Good thing they're not a tire company. (Laughter.) Flat management structure. Milliken even gave a new title to its employees, calling them "associates." And this is no hollow accolade for public relations. Every Milliken employee, I'm told, truly is an associate. In fact, any Milliken worker has the power to halt that production line if he

or she detects a problem in quality or safety.

Our other winner takes a similar approach with its Team Xerox philosophy. Xerox employees are given the authority that they have to have, that they need to make day-to-day decisions. And they are, the company says, expected to take the initiative in finding and fixing problems. And they do. While every manager works, every worker is managing.

One of the best things about this award is that it allows successful companies to share what they have learned to set an example. Perhaps these two companies ought to merge -- and be careful of the antitrust. (Laughter.) Can you imagine it? Your wardrobes wouldn't just be coordinated; it would be collated. (Laughter and applause.)

Many firms will learn a great deal from their example. Others will need to follow their own path. But to those who say that we have lost our edge, that the days are past when "made in America" meant "the best" -- I say, tell that to the people of the Milliken plant in Spartansburg, South Carolina. Tell that to the Xerox teams in upstate, up in Monroe County, New York.

Quality products and service is no accident. It's the result of a certain can-do, no-excuses attitude -- an aggressive impatience with the status quo -- even in the best of times. And it's this attitude, more than anything else, that is responsible for the creation of wealth and jobs that we have seen over the last seven years.

In these years, our total national wealth has grown by almost a third, and more than 20 million new jobs created. And we are still enjoying the rewards of what has proven to be the longest peacetime expansion in American history.

So given the right policies -- and a reduced capital gains tax would be one -- Congress, I hope you're listening -- (applause) -- this expansion will continue. And given the right tools, the American people can reach even greater heights. The potential of this nation is as boundless as the imagination and drive of the American people. All we have to do for our citizens is what these two companies have done for their employees -- give them the freedom to do what they do best. Freedom to imagine, freedom to create, and freedom to excel. Our winners had such freedom and they certainly made the most of it.

I give my heartiest congratulations to Roger Milliken, who is here, and to David Kearns. And I give my heartiest congratulations to your employees, your associates. And thank you all for being here to honor these two successful stories.

Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

10:45 A.M. EST

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

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Embargoed until delivered -- 1:00 PM CDT, July 13, 1990

PREPARED TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING  
Chicago, Illinois

Thank you very much, Jeannie Austin. It's great to be here at the RNC meeting.

Let me begin with a few simple truths. I am proud to be here with you today. I am proud to be a Republican. I am proud to be George Bush's Vice President, and I am proud to be here to tell you that the Republican Party is truly the party of the future.

You know, I will always have a special place in my heart for the RNC. I talked to you the day after George Bush named me to be his Vice President. As a matter of fact, you were the first group I talked to after my graceful and noncontroversial entrance into national politics.

Remember New Orleans? -- August, 1988? I do -- vaguely. We went into New Orleans about 17 points down. Thanks to you and lots of others, George Bush won forty states and the Presidency.

That was 1988. Now let's pledge ourselves to complete the unfinished political business of the past decade: and that's to give President Bush a partner in Congress -- rather than a Congress that refuses to advance the George Bush agenda.

Before I turn to the challenges facing us, let me once again congratulate Jeannie Austin, Mary Matalin, Larry Bathgate and the whole RNC team for your outstanding work and dedication. I also want to pay special tribute to our terrific national chairman, Lee Atwater, who I know has talked to many of you this past week by phone.

When I spoke with Lee, I asked him if he had a message for me to deliver. He said: Win. Let's win big in November, and start the 90's off right. For one thing, let's start the 90's off by once again making Bob Dole Senate majority leader.

We've got the candidates to take back the Senate this year. Senator Don Nickles and the Senate Campaign Committee have done a great job in candidate recruitment. We have six Congressmen, a Lieutenant Governor and several other strong candidates going after incumbent Democrats. Meanwhile, the Democrats have not been able to get any of their House members to challenge our Senate incumbents. The reason our people are taking the risk is that they feel the Republicans can win, and that a majority is within reach. We've got a good shot at picking up Senate seats in Rhode Island, Nebraska, Hawaii, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Alabama, Montana, and several other states.

With victories in six of these states, we would win control of the Senate. But, there is also the chance that we'll pick up 5 seats this fall, which would give us a 50-50 tie.

Let me tell you this: there is nothing that would make me happier than to spend the next 2 years of my life presiding over

the Senate, casting tie-breaking vote after tie-breaking vote to help put George Bush's agenda into action!

Now let's get down to the state of affairs in our nation. As you know, President Bush just completed two successful summits. The NATO Summit saw this President lead 16 European nations in an historic NATO meeting which, for the first time, produced a positive response from the Soviet Union. President Bush again drew on his foreign policy expertise, and achieved a new vision of NATO with the support of our Allies.

In his hometown, Houston, at the Economic Summit, we once again saw our President taking the lead and dealing successfully with important and controversial issues, like trade.

George Bush has established himself as the leader of the free world, and his respect and his prestige continue to grow throughout the world. His success should make us all feel proud.

His success is good for our nation, for our party, and for our party's agenda. For as many of you have heard me say before, as outstanding as our candidates are -- this fall's campaign is about more than individual candidates running against each other. This fall's campaign is truly a test of the national agenda for the 1990's. For there is a clear line that distinguishes Republicans from Democrats; and when voters recognize those differences, we win. So it's our job to make sure the voters know the differences. Let's start with the federal budget and the economy.

I say the budget and the economy, because if we are to reignite our economy, we have to reduce the federal budget deficit. We have got to reduce the deficit to get interest rates down, and we have got to get interest rates down in order to create opportunities, new jobs and a robust economy.

Our record speaks for itself. We Republicans are the party of economic growth. We have proven this with an unprecedented 92 months of peacetime economic expansion and the creation of some 20 million new jobs. That expansion did not happen by accident, or as a result of Democratic policies. It happened because of Reagan-Bush economic policies -- policies of deregulation, fostering entrepreneurship, fiscal responsibility -- and yes, emphatically and above all, low tax rates. Republicans know that low taxes are key to economic growth. We want American workers to be able to keep their hard-earned dollars at home. We are proud that, in the 1980's, under Republican Administrations, tax rates were cut, jobs were created and hope was reborn in America.

These results were produced by Presidential leadership, and once again, this President has taken the lead. The American people have given us a divided government. This means we have to negotiate with a Democratic Congress. To allow the deficit to balloon by waiving Gramm-Rudman would threaten the confidence of those savers and investors on whom economic growth depends. But applying Gramm-Rudman would result in automatic, across-the-board budget cuts of up to \$100 billion. These cuts would hit

programs that are critical to the Republican agenda for the 1990's -- programs like law enforcement and national security.

The President has acted responsibly. He has taken the first step -- in calling the budget summit. He has gone the extra mile -- in announcing his willingness to consider tax revenue increases. Now it is time for some action in return from the Democratic leadership in Congress.

Here is what we expect: we expect any budget agreement to preserve the single most important key to economic growth -- low taxes. The reaction of some Democrats to the President's June 26 announcement was a useful reminder of this fundamental difference between the two parties: the President reluctantly announced that he would consider tax revenue increases to get the negotiations going -- as one of six elements of a budget deal. But many Democrats made it clear that their first and only priority is to raise taxes. Well, raising taxes may be others' agenda, but the George Bush agenda is to reduce the budget deficit.

We don't have a budget deficit because Americans are taxed too little. We have a deficit because the government spends too much. During the 1980's, Congress increased federal spending by 30% in real dollars. As a matter of fact, this year alone the federal government will raise an additional \$70 billion without raising taxes. If Congress has proven anything in the Reagan and Bush years, it is that they will not voluntarily cut government spending. That is why the President has brought Congress to the

table -- to get a budget deal that will force Congress to control spending.

But cutting spending isn't enough. We also need real reform in the budget process, which is why the President insisted that budget reform be on the table, too.

The current situation is disgraceful. Earlier this year, when the President asked Congress to approve \$800 million in emergency supplemental spending to aid the fledgling democracies of Panama and Nicaragua, the Congress waited weeks to act. When they finally did, they added an extra, unrelated, three billion dollars in new spending, much of it for their own pet projects.

Ladies and gentlemen, these unchecked Congressional spending sprees have got to end. Congress isn't concerned about excessive federal spending. They have fought against the reforms that would give the President the power to limit needless government spending. It's time for Congress to give the President tools he needs, like the line-item veto, so he can get the job done.

Finally, the President has said that "growth incentives" must be part of the budget negotiations -- and by that we mean real growth incentives, like the capital gains tax cut.

During the 1988 election, President Bush and I campaigned across the country to reduce the capital gains tax to 15%, because we believe that small businesses and risk-taking entrepreneurs are the motor of economic growth. Meanwhile, Governor Dukakis argued the case for income redistribution. The American people rejected that argument and gave us a resounding

mandate. But, today, nearly two years later, the Democrats' Congressional leadership has denied the voters' mandate. In fact, Congress' failure to pass the President's capital gains proposal last year is partly responsible for the current slowdown in economic growth. The fact is, ladies and gentlemen, contrary to what Democrats may believe, a tax cut -- the capital gains cut -- not a tax increase, is the single most important thing we could do for economic growth.

As I've said, the President is willing to go the extra mile in seeking to forge a budget agreement that would be good for America. He is even willing to consider tax revenue increases. But tax revenue increases will only be one element of a budget deal. Regardless of what some Democrats and pundits may think, these negotiations are not a one way street. We have put revenues on the table. Today, I call on the Congressional Democrats to come forth with their proposed spending cuts. Their silence on this issue -- as usual -- is deafening.

Let me assure you of this: this President will insist on a good deal -- one that is good for our economy and good for our country. He will not accept a bad deal. His position is simple: a good deal -- or no deal at all.

Ladies and gentlemen, time and time again, we have seen the effects of Democratic tax and spend policies in our states. In the past few months, we have seen leading Democrats reassert their old tax and spend policies. In January, New Jersey got a new Democratic governor. He had barely moved into the State

House when he raised taxes. The tax increase wasn't his last resort, it was his first. Across the Hudson, the Governor of New York applauded what the Governor of New Jersey had done. He said it was so good that the Governor of New Jersey should consider running for President.

Meanwhile, the Governor of New York was going for a tax increase himself. Never mind that, since 1983, New York's spending has grown more than twice as fast as the national average. Finally, a little further east lies the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. You all know what's happened there.

Friends, we cannot let the Democrats do to America what they have done to these states. Nor can we let the Democrats do to America in the Nineties what they did to us in the Seventies. Do I need to remind this audience of the Democrats' last performance in the White House -- 20% interest rates, 13% inflation, 7% unemployment? That's their legacy. Ours is: 20 million new jobs, 92 months of economic growth, and tax cuts for the American people.

Now let me turn briefly to some other issues that divide our two parties. Crime: our crime rate is too high. There are more crime victims each year than victims of traffic accidents. But most Democrats still think the death penalty doesn't work, and that the exclusionary rule does. We Republicans believe it's time to put tough laws on the books, more tough judges on the courts, and the rights of law-abiding citizens ahead of the rights of criminals.

The parties are also divided on education. Many Democrats say that all it takes to have better schools is to spend more tax dollars. We say: we all know money is important -- but it cannot make up for low standards; it cannot make up for bureaucratic dead wood; and it cannot make up for a lack of choice and competition. We Republicans stand for basic educational reform because we do not accept a 25% drop out rate for our high school students. We know a child without an education is a child without hope. We must get Congress to pass the President's education reforms, so we can have more accountability, more parental involvement, more choice in our school systems, and the best schools in the world once again.

The parties also differ on national defense. The Democrats want to slash our defense budget by billions. After all, they say, the Cold War is over -- no need to worry about national security any more.

We say -- the reason the Cold War is ending is because Ronald Reagan and George Bush worked to restore our national strength. We say that the "peace dividend" we've earned from our investment in security is peace itself, and we say that the freedom that has come to Eastern Europe and to Latin America is no accident. We invested in national security, and we now have freedom and democracy spreading throughout the world.

But the world remains a dangerous place. Fifteen nations will have ballistic missile capability by the end of the century -- yet the United States remains defenseless. And so, though

great gains have been made, we have got to continue to invest in national security and in new programs like SDI -- because a strong America is a safe America.

Since I've been Vice President, I have travelled to 42 states and 25 countries. I have seen first hand what the Republican dream is all about. It is about freedom, family and faith. These are the principles that bring us together -- and hold us together.

Many Americans take freedom for granted. Well, we shouldn't. I will never forget attending church in Panama City with President Endarra. People with tears in their eyes came up and embraced me. They said, "Thank you for giving us freedom; thank you George Bush." In Managua, Nicaragua, I represented our country when democracy triumphed, and I saw Mrs. Chamorro replace the communist Sandinistas. I saw how precious freedom is.

Here at home, where freedom is well established, our dream of the American family is being challenged as never before. 15 million children in America do not have a father at home. 25% of our children are born out of wedlock. Our families need to be strengthened.

As I travel to schools throughout the country, I am reminded again and again of the importance of a family, the importance of a mother, of a father in caring for a child. Too many of our children are neglected. We cannot and shall not neglect the American family. The family is the nucleus of our society. If we lose our families, we will never recover.

Finally, our faith brings us together -- our faith in God, our faith in our people, our faith in our great President. Faith is believing, and there are certain fundamental principles in which we must believe -- the principles that distinguish right from wrong, freedom from slavery.

My grandfather always told me, and he printed in his newspapers, something that is simple but true. He said, "America is great because America is free." That is what we believe.

Thank you and God bless you.

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