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Pre 2:30 Session

ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1989

MR. SPEAKER, MR. PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS
OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE, HONORED GUESTS, FELLOW
CITIZENS:

LESS THAN THREE WEEKS AGO, I JOINED YOU ON THE
WEST FRONT OF THIS VERY BUILDING AND -- LOOKING OVER
THE MONUMENTS TO OUR PROUD PAST -- OFFERED YOU MY HAND
IN FILLING THE NEXT PAGE OF AMERICAN HISTORY WITH A
STORY OF EXTENDED PROSPERITY AND CONTINUED PEACE.
TONIGHT, I AM BACK, TO OFFER YOU MY PLANS AS WELL. THE
HAND REMAINS EXTENDED, THE SLEEVES ARE ROLLED UP,
AMERICA IS WAITING, AND NOW WE MUST PRODUCE.

TOGETHER, WE CAN BUILD A BETTER AMERICA.

IT IS COMFORTING TO RETURN TO THIS HISTORIC
CHAMBER. HERE, TWENTY-TWO YEARS AGO, I FIRST RAISED MY
HAND TO BE SWORN INTO PUBLIC LIFE. SO TONIGHT, I FEEL
AS IF I AM RETURNING HOME TO FRIENDS. AND I INTEND, IN
THE MONTHS AND YEARS TO COME, TO GIVE YOU THAT TO WHICH
FRIENDS ARE ENTITLED: FRANKNESS, RESPECT, AND MY BEST
JUDGEMENT ABOUT WAYS TO IMPROVE AMERICA'S FUTURE.

IN RETURN, I ASK FOR AN HONEST COMMITMENT TO OUR COMMON MISSION OF PROGRESS. IF WE SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES ON THE ROAD BEFORE US, THERE WILL BE PRAISE ENOUGH FOR ALL.

THE PEOPLE DIDN'T SEND US HERE TO BICKER. THE ELECTION IS OVER. IT'S TIME TO PRODUCE. IT'S TIME TO GOVERN.

I KNOW THAT MANY GREAT STATESMEN HAVE PRECEDED ME TO THIS PODIUM. CHURCHILL. ROOSEVELT. KENNEDY. AND YES, RONALD REAGAN.

MANY OF THEM CAME TO THIS CHAMBER IN TIMES OF GREAT CRISIS. WAR. DEPRESSION. LOSS OF NATIONAL SPIRIT.

EIGHT YEARS AGO, I SAT IN THAT CHAIR AS PRESIDENT REAGAN SPOKE OF DESPAIR ACROSS THE LAND, OF PUNISHING INFLATION AND INTEREST RATES AT DEVASTATINGLY HIGH LEVELS, PEOPLE OUT OF WORK, AMERICAN CONFIDENCE ON THE WANE.

OUR CHALLENGE IS DIFFERENT.

WE ARE FORTUNATE -- A MUCH CHANGED LANDSCAPE LIES BEFORE US TONIGHT.

SO I DON'T PROPOSE TO REVERSE DIRECTION. WE ARE HEADED THE RIGHT WAY.

BUT WE CANNOT REST. WE ARE A PEOPLE WHOSE ENERGY AND DRIVE HAS FUELED OUR RISE TO GREATNESS. WE ARE A FORWARD-LOOKING NATION -- GENEROUS, YES, BUT AMBITIOUS AS WELL -- NOT FOR OURSELVES, BUT FOR THE WORLD.

COMPLACENCY IS NOT IN OUR CHARACTER -- NOT BEFORE, NOT NOW, NOT EVER.

SO TONIGHT, I PROPOSE THAT WE TAKE A STRONG AMERICA -- AND MAKE IT EVEN BETTER.

WE MUST ADDRESS SOME VERY REAL PROBLEMS. WE MUST ESTABLISH SOME VERY CLEAR PRIORITIES. AND WE MUST MAKE A VERY SUBSTANTIAL CUT IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT.

SOME PEOPLE FIND THAT AGENDA IMPOSSIBLE. BUT I DON'T SHRINK FROM IT.

I AM PRESENTING TO YOU TONIGHT A REALISTIC PLAN FOR TACKLING THE AGENDA IN FRONT OF US. IT HAS FOUR BROAD FEATURES: ATTENTION TO URGENT PRIORITIES, INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE, AN ATTACK ON THE DEFICIT, AND NO NEW TAXES.

I HAVE MADE MY POSITION CLEAR TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- WE DON'T NEED TO RAISE TAXES; AND THE PEOPLE DON'T WANT US TO.

THIS BUDGET REPRESENTS MY BEST JUDGEMENT OF HOW WE CAN ADDRESS OUR PRIORITIES, CONSISTENT WITH THE PEOPLE'S VIEW. THERE ARE MANY AREAS IN WHICH WE WOULD ALL LIKE TO SPEND MORE THAN I PROPOSE, BUT WE CANNOT UNTIL WE GET OUR FISCAL HOUSE IN ORDER.

NEXT YEAR, THANKS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH, WITHOUT ANY CHANGE IN THE LAW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE IN OVER \$82 BILLION DOLLARS MORE THAN IT DOES THIS YEAR. OUR JOB IS TO ALLOCATE THOSE NEW RESOURCES WISELY.

WE CAN AFFORD TO INCREASE SPENDING BY ABOUT 3 PERCENT NEXT YEAR -- CLOSE TO THE LEVEL OF INFLATION, BUT ENOUGH TO INVEST IN KEY PRIORITIES WITHOUT RAISING TAXES -- AND STILL CUT THE DEFICIT BY ALMOST 40 PERCENT IN ONE YEAR.

THAT WILL ALLOW US TO EXCEED THE TARGETS SET FORTH IN THE GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS LAW.

BUT TO DO THAT, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT GROWTH ABOVE INFLATION IN FEDERAL PROGRAMS IS NOT PREORDAINED, THAT NOT ALL SPENDING INITIATIVES WERE DESIGNED TO BE IMMORTAL.

I MAKE THIS PLEDGE TONIGHT: MY TEAM AND I ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH THE CONGRESS, TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE LEADERSHIP IN GOOD FAITH, TO WORK DAY AND NIGHT -- IF THAT'S WHAT IT TAKES -- TO MEET THE BUDGET TARGETS -- AND TO PRODUCE A BUDGET ON TIME.

WE CANNOT SETTLE FOR BUSINESS AS USUAL.

GOVERNMENT BY CONTINUING RESOLUTION -- OR GOVERNMENT BY CRISIS -- WON'T DO.

I ASK THE CONGRESS TONIGHT TO APPROVE SEVERAL MEASURES WHICH WILL MAKE BUDGETING MORE SENSIBLE. WE COULD SAVE TIME AND IMPROVE EFFICIENCY BY ENACTING TWO-YEAR BUDGETS.

43 GOVERNORS HAVE THE LINE ITEM VETO. PRESIDENTS SHOULD HAVE IT, TOO.

AT THE VERY LEAST, WHEN A PRESIDENT PROPOSES TO RESCIND OF FEDERAL SPENDING, THE CONGRESS SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO VOTE ON THE PROPOSAL -- INSTEAD OF KILLING IT BY INACTION.

AND IT'S ABOUT TIME FOR CONGRESS TO HONOR THE PUBLIC'S WISHES BY PASSING A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO REQUIRE A BALANCED BUDGET.

SEVERAL PRINCIPLES DESCRIBE THE KIND OF AMERICA I HOPE TO BUILD WITH YOUR HELP IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

WE WILL NOT HAVE THE LUXURY OF TAKING THE EASY, SPENDTHRIFT APPROACH TO SOLVING PROBLEMS -- BECAUSE HIGHER SPENDING AND HIGHER TAXES PUT ECONOMIC GROWTH AT RISK.

ECONOMIC GROWTH PROVIDES JOBS AND HOPE. ECONOMIC GROWTH ENABLES US TO PAY FOR SOCIAL PROGRAMS. ECONOMIC GROWTH ENHANCES THE SECURITY OF THE NATION. AND LOW TAX RATES CREATE ECONOMIC GROWTH.

I BELIEVE IN GIVING AMERICANS GREATER FREEDOM AND GREATER CHOICE -- AND I WILL WORK FOR CHOICE FOR AMERICAN FAMILIES, WHETHER IN THE HOUSING IN WHICH THEY LIVE, THE SCHOOLS TO WHICH THEY SEND THEIR CHILDREN, OR THE CHILD CARE THEY SELECT FOR THEIR YOUNG.

I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO THOSE IN NEED, BUT THAT GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE THE PROVIDER OF FIRST RESORT FOR THINGS THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR CAN PRODUCE BETTER.

I BELIEVE IN A SOCIETY THAT IS FREE FROM DISCRIMINATION AND BIGOTRY OF ANY KIND. I WILL WORK TO KNOCK DOWN THE BARRIERS LEFT BY PAST DISCRIMINATION, TO BUILD A MORE TOLERANT SOCIETY THAT WILL STOP SUCH BARRIERS FROM EVER BEING BUILT AGAIN.

I BELIEVE THAT FAMILY AND FAITH REPRESENT THE MORAL COMPASS OF THE NATION -- AND I WILL WORK TO MAKE THEM STRONG, FOR AS BEN FRANKLIN SAID: "IF A SPARROW CANNOT FALL TO THE GROUND WITHOUT HIS NOTICE, [CAN] A GREAT [NATION] RISE WITHOUT HIS AID?"

AND I BELIEVE IN GIVING PEOPLE THE POWER TO MAKE THEIR OWN LIVES BETTER THROUGH GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY. TOGETHER, LET'S PUT POWER IN THE HANDS OF PEOPLE.

THREE WEEKS AGO, WE CELEBRATED THE BICENTENNIAL INAUGURAL, THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST PRESIDENCY.

AND IF YOU LOOK BACK, ONE THING IS SO STRIKING ABOUT THE WAY THE FOUNDING FATHERS LOOKED AT AMERICA. THEY DIDN'T TALK ABOUT THEMSELVES. THEY TALKED ABOUT POSTERITY. THEY TALKED ABOUT THE FUTURE.

WE, TOO, MUST THINK IN TERMS BIGGER THAN OURSELVES.

WE MUST THINK RIGHT NOW ABOUT AMERICA'S FUTURE.

LEADERSHIP IN TECHNOLOGY IS ONE OF THE KEYS TO THAT FUTURE. WE MUST INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY. SO TONIGHT:

- I PROPOSE A \$260 MILLION INCREASE IN BASIC RESEARCH FOR THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION, SO WE CAN KEEP ON TRACK TO DOUBLE ITS BUDGET BY 1993;

- I PROPOSE TO MAKE PERMANENT THE TAX CREDIT FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT;

- I HAVE ASKED VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE TO CHAIR A NEW TASK FORCE ON COMPETITIVENESS;

- I REQUEST FUNDING FOR A STRONG SPACE PROGRAM -- AN INCREASE OF ALMOST \$2.4 BILLION OVER THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR. WE MUST HAVE A MANNED SPACE STATION, AN AGGRESSIVE SCHEDULE OF SHUTTLE LAUNCHES, AND MORE COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN SPACE. THE SPACE PROGRAM SHOULD ALWAYS GO "FULL THROTTLE UP" -- THAT'S NOT JUST OUR AMBITION, IT'S OUR DESTINY.

- I PROPOSE THAT WE CUT THE MAXIMUM TAX RATE ON CAPITAL GAINS TO INCREASE LONG TERM INVESTMENT IN NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND NEW JOBS.

WE WON'T BE COMPETITIVE IF WE LEAVE WHOLE SECTORS OF AMERICA BEHIND. THIS IS THE YEAR WE SHOULD FINALLY ENACT URBAN ENTERPRISE ZONES, AND BRING HOPE TO OUR INNER CITIES.

BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT COMPETITIVENESS PROGRAMS OF ALL ARE THOSE DESIGNED TO IMPROVE EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

WHEN SOME OF OUR STUDENTS ACTUALLY HAVE TROUBLE LOCATING AMERICA ON A MAP OF THE WORLD, IT IS TIME FOR US TO MAP A NEW APPROACH TO EDUCATION.

WE MUST REWARD EXCELLENCE, AND CUT THROUGH BUREAUCRACY. WE MUST HELP THOSE SCHOOLS THAT NEED HELP MOST. WE MUST GIVE CHOICE TO PARENTS, STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND PRINCIPALS. AND WE MUST HOLD ALL CONCERNED ACCOUNTABLE. IN EDUCATION, WE CANNOT TOLERATE MEDIOCRITY.

I WANT TO CUT THE DROPOUT RATE, AND MAKE AMERICA A MORE LITERATE NATION. BECAUSE WHAT IT REALLY COMES DOWN TO IS THIS: THE LONGER OUR GRADUATION LINES ARE TODAY, THE SHORTER OUR UNEMPLOYMENT LINES WILL BE TOMORROW.

SO TONIGHT I AM PROPOSING THE FOLLOWING INITIATIVES:

- THE BEGINNING OF A \$500 MILLION PROGRAM TO REWARD AMERICA'S BEST SCHOOLS -- "MERIT SCHOOLS";

- THE CREATION OF SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL AWARDS FOR THE BEST TEACHERS IN EVERY STATE -- BECAUSE EXCELLENCE SHOULD BE REWARDED;

- THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW PROGRAM OF NATIONAL SCIENCE SCHOLARS, ONE EACH YEAR FOR EVERY MEMBER OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE, TO GIVE THIS GENERATION OF STUDENTS THE INCENTIVE TO EXCEL IN SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS;

- THE EXPANDED USE OF MAGNET SCHOOLS WHICH GIVE FAMILIES AND STUDENTS GREATER CHOICE;

- AND A NEW PROGRAM TO ENCOURAGE "ALTERNATIVE CERTIFICATION" -- WHICH WILL LET TALENTED PEOPLE FROM ALL FIELDS TEACH IN THE CLASSROOM.

I HAVE SAID I'D LIKE TO BE "THE EDUCATION PRESIDENT." TONIGHT, I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME BY BECOMING "THE EDUCATION CONGRESS."

JUST LAST WEEK, AS I SETTLED INTO THIS NEW OFFICE, I RECEIVED A LETTER FROM A MOTHER IN PENNSYLVANIA, WHO HAD BEEN STRUCK BY MY MESSAGE ON THIS IN THE INAUGURAL. "NOT 12 HOURS BEFORE," SHE WROTE, "MY HUSBAND AND I RECEIVED WORD THAT [OUR] SON... WAS ADDICTED TO COCAINE. A JUNIOR AT THE UNIVERSITY, DAVID -- ((I HAVE CHANGED HIS NAME)) -- HAD THE WORLD AT HIS FEET. BRIGHT, GIFTED, PERSONABLE, HE COULD HAVE DONE ANYTHING WITH HIS LIFE.... HE HAS CHOSEN COCAINE."

THIS SAD LETTER CONTINUED: "BELIEVE ME, WE RAISED DAVID TO HAVE RESPECT FOR HIS BODY. WE INCULCATED THE IDEALS OF OUR PARENTS... AND YET THIS...."

"PLEASE, FIND A WAY TO CURB THE SUPPLY OF COCAINE. GET TOUGH WITH THE PUSHERS. DAVID NEEDS YOUR HELP."

MY FRIENDS, THAT VOICE CRYING FOR HELP COULD BE THE VOICE OF YOUR OWN NEIGHBOR. YOUR OWN FRIEND. YOUR OWN RELATIVE. OVER 20 MILLION AMERICANS USED ILLEGAL DRUGS LAST YEAR -- AT A STAGGERING COST TO OUR NATION'S WELL-BEING.

LET THIS BE RECORDED AS THE TIME WHEN AMERICA ROSE UP AND SAID "NO" TO DRUGS. THE SCOURGE OF DRUGS MUST STOP.

I AM ASKING TONIGHT FOR AN INCREASE OF ALMOST A BILLION DOLLARS IN BUDGET OUTLAYS TO ESCALATE THE WAR AGAINST DRUGS. THE WAR WILL BE WAGED ON ALL FRONTS.

SOME MONEY WILL BE USED TO EXPAND TREATMENT TO THE POOR, AND TO YOUNG MOTHERS. THIS WILL EXTEND THE HAND OF HELP TO THE MANY INNOCENT VICTIMS OF DRUGS -- LIKE THE THOUSANDS OF BABIES BORN WITH AIDS BECAUSE OF THE ADDICTION OF THE MOTHER.

SOME WILL BE USED TO CUT THE WAITING TIME FOR TREATMENT.

SOME MONEY WILL BE ESPECIALLY DEVOTED TO THOSE URBAN SCHOOLS WHERE THE EMERGENCY IS NOW THE WORST. AND MUCH OF IT WILL BE USED TO PROTECT OUR BORDERS, WITH HELP FROM THE COAST GUARD, THE CUSTOMS SERVICE, THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE AND JUSTICE, AND YES, THE U.S. MILITARY.

I MEAN TO GET TOUGH ON THE DRUG CRIMINALS.

MY BUDGET ASKS FOR BEEFED UP PROSECUTION, FOR A NEW ATTACK ON ORGANIZED CRIME, AND FOR ENFORCEMENT OF TOUGH SENTENCES -- AND FOR THE WORST KINGPINS, THAT MEANS THE DEATH PENALTY.

I ALSO WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT WHEN A DRUG DEALER IS CONVICTED, THERE IS A CELL WAITING FOR HIM. HE SHOULD NOT GO FREE BECAUSE PRISONS ARE TOO FULL.

LET THE WORD GO OUT: IF YOU ARE CAUGHT AND CONVICTED, YOU MUST DO TIME.

BUT FOR ALL WE DO IN LAW ENFORCEMENT, IN INTERDICTION AND TREATMENT, WE WILL NEVER WIN THIS WAR ON DRUGS UNLESS WE STOP DEMAND FOR DRUGS.

SO SOME OF THIS INCREASE WILL BE USED TO EDUCATE THE YOUNG ABOUT THE DANGERS OF DRUGS. WE MUST INVOLVE PARENTS. WE MUST INVOLVE TEACHERS. WE MUST INVOLVE COMMUNITIES. AND MY FRIENDS, WE MUST INVOLVE OURSELVES.

ONE PROBLEM RELATED TO DRUG USE DEMANDS OUR URGENT ATTENTION AND OUR CONTINUING COMPASSION. THAT IS THE TERRIBLE TRAGEDY OF AIDS.

I AM ASKING FOR A \$1.6 BILLION FOR EDUCATION TO PREVENT THE DISEASE -- AND FOR RESEARCH TO FIND A CURE.

IF WE'RE TO PROTECT OUR FUTURE, WE NEED A NEW ATTITUDE ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT.

WE MUST PROTECT THE AIR WE BREATHE.

I WILL SEND TO YOU SHORTLY LEGISLATION FOR A NEW, MORE EFFECTIVE CLEAN AIR ACT. IT WILL INCLUDE A PLAN TO REDUCE, BY DATE CERTAIN, THE EMISSIONS WHICH CAUSE ACID RAIN -- BECAUSE THE TIME FOR STUDY ALONE HAS PASSED, AND THE TIME FOR ACTION IS NOW.

WE MUST MAKE USE OF CLEAN COAL. MY BUDGET CONTAINS FULL FUNDING, ON SCHEDULE, FOR THE CLEAN COAL TECHNOLOGY AGREEMENT WE HAVE WITH CANADA. WE INTEND TO HONOR THAT AGREEMENT.

I BELIEVE WE SHOULD EXPAND OUR PARKS. SO I AM ASKING TO FUND NEW ACQUISITIONS UNDER THE LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION FUND.

WE MUST PROTECT OUR OCEANS. I SUPPORT NEW PENALTIES AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD DUMP MEDICAL WASTE AND OTHER TRASH IN THE OCEANS. THE AGE OF THE NEEDLE ON THE BEACH MUST END.

IN SOME CASES, THE GULFS AND OCEANS OFF OUR SHORES HOLD THE PROMISE OF RESERVES OF OIL AND GAS WHICH CAN MAKE OUR NATION MORE SECURE AND LESS DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN OIL. WHEN THOSE WITH THE MOST PROMISE CAN BE TAPPED SAFELY, AS WITH THE ALASKA NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE, WE SHOULD PROCEED. BUT WE MUST USE CAUTION AND WE MUST RESPECT THE ENVIRONMENT.

SO TONIGHT I AM CALLING FOR THE INDEFINITE POSTPONEMENT OF TWO LEASE SALES WHICH HAVE RAISED TROUBLING QUESTIONS -- ONE OFF THE COAST OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA AND ONE WHICH COULD THREATEN THE EVERGLADES IN FLORIDA. AND I AM ASKING FOR DELAY IN A THIRD, OFF THE COAST OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

ACTION ON THESE THREE LEASE SALES WILL AWAIT THE CONCLUSIONS OF A SPECIAL TASK FORCE SET UP TO MEASURE THE POTENTIAL FOR ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE. OUR OCEANS AND COASTLINES ARE TOO VALUABLE TO BE PUT AT RISK.

I AM DIRECTING THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY TO USE EVERY TOOL AT THEIR DISPOSAL TO SPEED AND TOUGHEN THE ENFORCEMENT OF OUR LAWS AGAINST TOXIC WASTE DUMPERS. I WANT FASTER CLEANUPS AND TOUGHER ENFORCEMENT OF PENALTIES AGAINST THOSE WHO MAKE THEM NECESSARY. LET'S CLEAN UP THE DUMPS AND THROW THE BOOK AT THE POLLUTERS.

IN ADDITION TO CARING FOR OUR FUTURE, WE MUST CARE FOR THOSE AROUND US. A KINDER AND GENTLER NATION IS ONE THAT SHOWS COMPASSION FOR THE YOUNG, THE ELDERLY, THE VULNERABLE, AND THE POOR.

OUR FIRST OBLIGATION IS TO THE MOST VULNERABLE -- INFANTS, PREGNANT WOMEN, CHILDREN LIVING IN POVERTY -- AND MY PROPOSED BUDGET RECOGNIZES THIS. I ASK FOR FULL FUNDING OF MEDICAID -- AN INCREASE OF OVER \$3 BILLION.

I BELIEVE WE SHOULD HELP WORKING FAMILIES COPE WITH THE BURDEN OF CHILD CARE.

OUR HELP SHOULD BE AIMED AT THOSE WHO NEED IT MOST -- LOW INCOME FAMILIES WITH YOUNG CHILDREN. I SUPPORT A NEW CHILD CARE TAX CREDIT THAT WILL AIM OUR EFFORTS AT EXACTLY THOSE FAMILIES -- WITHOUT DISCRIMINATING AGAINST MOTHERS WHO CHOOSE TO STAY AT HOME.

NOW, I KNOW THERE ARE COMPETING PROPOSALS. BUT REMEMBER THIS: 90% OF ALL CHILD CARE IS PROVIDED BY NEIGHBORS AND RELATIVES, CHURCHES AND COMMUNITY GROUPS. FAMILIES WHO CHOOSE THESE OPTIONS SHOULD REMAIN ELIGIBLE FOR HELP. PARENTS SHOULD HAVE CHOICE.

AND THOSE CHILDREN WHO HAVE NO PARENTS WITH WHOM TO LIVE, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE ADOPTION -- AND I PROPOSE TO RESTORE THE \$1,500 TAX DEDUCTION FOR ADOPTION EXPENSES, AND TO DOUBLE IT.

WE HAVE A MORAL CONTRACT WITH OUR SENIOR CITIZENS. IN THIS BUDGET, SOCIAL SECURITY IS FULLY FUNDED, INCLUDING A FULL COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT. WE MUST HONOR OUR CONTRACT.

OF ALL THOSE IN THE SHADOWS OF LIFE, THE PLIGHT OF THE HOMELESS IS THE MOST VISIBLE, AND THE MOST TRAGIC. THE CAUSES OF HOMELESSNESS ARE MANY, THE HISTORY IS LONG, BUT THE MORAL IMPERATIVE TO ACT IS CLEAR.

THANKS TO THE DEEP WELL OF GENEROSITY IN THIS GREAT LAND, MANY ORGANIZATIONS ALREADY CONTRIBUTE. BUT WE IN GOVERNMENT CANNOT STAND ON THE SIDELINES. IN MY BUDGET, I ASK FOR GREATER SUPPORT FOR EMERGENCY FOOD AND SHELTER, FOR HEALTH SERVICES AND MEASURES TO PREVENT SUBSTANCE ABUSE, AND FOR CLINICS FOR THE MENTALLY ILL -- AND I PROPOSE A NEW INITIATIVE INVOLVING THE FULL RANGE OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. WE MUST CONFRONT THIS NATIONAL SHAME.

CERTAIN PROBLEMS, THE RESULT OF DECADES OF UNWISE PRACTICES, THREATEN THE HEALTH AND SECURITY OF OUR PEOPLE. LEFT UNATTENDED, THEY WILL ONLY FESTER AND GROW -- BUT WE CAN ACT NOW TO PUT THEM BEHIND US.

EARLIER THIS WEEK, I ANNOUNCED MY SUPPORT FOR A PLAN TO RESTORE THE FINANCIAL AND MORAL INTEGRITY OF OUR SAVINGS SYSTEM. I ASK CONGRESS TO ENACT OUR REFORM PROPOSALS PROMPTLY.

CERTAINLY, THE SAVINGS OF AMERICANS MUST REMAIN SECURE -- INSURED DEPOSITORS WILL BE PROTECTED. BUT ANY PLAN TO REFINANCE THE SYSTEM MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY MAJOR REFORM. THE MAJORITY OF THRIFTS HAVE BEEN HONEST; THEY HAVE PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THE AMERICAN DREAM OF HOME OWNERSHIP. BUT MAKE NO MISTAKE: THOSE WHO ARE CORRUPT, THOSE WHO BREAK THE LAW, MUST BE KICKED OUT OF THE BUSINESS; AND IF FOUND GUILTY, THEY SHOULD GO TO JAIL.

THE MOST EFFECTIVE -- AND ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY -- ANSWER TO THE S&L CRISIS CAN BE SUMMED UP IN ONE SENTENCE: IT MUST NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN.

WE FACE A MASSIVE TASK IN CLEANING UP THE WASTE LEFT FROM DECADES OF ENVIRONMENTAL NEGLECT AT AMERICA'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS PLANTS.

CLEARLY, WE MUST MODERNIZE THESE PLANTS AND OPERATE THEM SAFELY. THAT IS NOT AT ISSUE -- OUR NATIONAL SECURITY DEPENDS ON IT.

BUT BEYOND THAT, WE MUST CLEAN UP THE OLD MESS THAT'S BEEN LEFT BEHIND -- AND I PROPOSE IN THIS BUDGET TO MORE THAN DOUBLE OUR CURRENT EFFORT TO DO SO. THIS WILL ALLOW US TO IDENTIFY THE EXACT NATURE OF THE VARIOUS PROBLEMS SO WE CAN CLEAN THEM UP -- AND CLEAN THEM UP WE WILL.

WE HAVE BEEN FORTUNATE DURING THESE PAST EIGHT YEARS. AMERICA IS A STRONGER NATION TODAY THAN IT WAS IN 1980.

MORALE IN OUR ARMED FORCES IS RESTORED. OUR RESOLVE HAS BEEN SHOWN. OUR READINESS HAS BEEN IMPROVED. AND WE ARE AT PEACE.

THERE CAN NO LONGER BE ANY DOUBT THAT PEACE HAS BEEN MADE MORE SECURE THROUGH STRENGTH. WHEN AMERICA IS STRONGER, THE WORLD IS SAFER.

IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, AFTER THIS SUCCESSFUL RESTORATION OF OUR STRENGTH, THE PENTAGON BUDGET HAS ABSORBED REDUCTIONS IN REAL TERMS.

BUT, EVEN SO, IN LIGHT OF THE COMPELLING NEED TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT, I PROPOSE IN MY BUDGET A ONE-YEAR FREEZE IN THE MILITARY BUDGET -- SOMETHING I PROPOSED LAST FALL IN MY FLEXIBLE FREEZE PLAN.

I SHOULD BE CLEAR ON THE CONDITIONS ATTACHED TO THIS RECOMMENDATION:

- THE SAVINGS MUST BE ALLOCATED TO THOSE PRIORITIES I HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT TONIGHT, SUCH AS INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STOPPING THE SCOURGE OF DRUGS;

- THIS DEFENSE FREEZE MUST BE PART OF A COMPREHENSIVE BUDGET AGREEMENT WHICH MEETS THE TARGETS SPELLED OUT IN THE GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS LAW WITHOUT RAISING TAXES, AND INCORPORATES REFORMS IN THE BUDGET PROCESS.

TO PRODUCE THE SAVINGS NEEDED TO ACHIEVE THIS FREEZE, I HAVE DIRECTED THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL TO REVIEW OUR NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES AND DEFENSE STRATEGIES AND REPORT BACK TO ME WITHIN 90 DAYS TO ENSURE THAT OUR CAPABILITIES AND RESOURCES MEET OUR COMMITMENTS AND STRATEGIES.

I AM ALSO CHARGING THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WITH THE TASK OF DEVELOPING A PLAN TO IMPROVE THE DEFENSE PROCUREMENT PROCESS AND MANAGEMENT OF THE PENTAGON -- ONE WHICH WILL IMPLEMENT THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE PACKARD COMMISSION REPORT. MANY OF THE CHANGES CAN ONLY BE MADE WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE CONGRESS -- AND I ASK FOR YOUR HELP IN THIS.

WE NEED FEWER REGULATIONS. WE NEED LESS BUREAUCRACY. WE NEED MULTI-YEAR PROCUREMENT AND TWO-YEAR BUDGETING. AND FRANKLY, WE NEED LESS CONGRESSIONAL MICROMANAGEMENT OF OUR NATION'S MILITARY POLICY.

THE TRUTH IS, THAT FOR ALL THE HOPE WE'VE BEEN ABLE TO HELP CREATE IN RECENT YEARS, THE WORLD REMAINS A DANGEROUS PLACE. IT IS A WORLD OF UNPRECEDENTED CHANGE, OF INCREASED INTERDEPENDENCE, OF DEVELOPMENTS BOTH PROMISING AND PROBLEMATIC.

SO THE FINAL AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY I'D LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THIS EVENING IS HOW TO SECURE A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD AMIDST THIS CHANGE -- FOR IT IS ONLY AMERICAN LEADERSHIP THAT CAN DO SO.

IT IS A REMARKABLE NEW BREEZE THAT IS BLOWING AROUND THE WORLD ON THIS FEBRUARY NIGHT. IN JUST 6 DAYS, IF THE SCHEDULE IS MET, THE SOVIETS WILL HAVE COMPLETED THEIR WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN -- THE LATEST IN A SERIES OF HOPEFUL CHANGES TAKING PLACE ALL AROUND US. WE MUST WELCOME THESE CHANGES, AND UNDERSTAND THEM.

BUT WE MUST ALSO BE REALISTIC. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACT REMAINS THAT OUR ADVERSARIES RETAIN A VERY POWERFUL MILITARY MACHINE, IN THE SERVICE OF OBJECTIVES WHICH ARE OFTEN IN CONFLICT WITH OURS. SO LET US TAKE THIS NEW OPENNESS SERIOUSLY. LET US WORK FOR REDUCTIONS IN STRATEGIC ARMS. BUT LET US ALSO BE READY.

I BELIEVE WE SHOULD WORK TO ENHANCE DETERRENCE BY GIVING A GREATER ROLE TO DEFENSIVE SYSTEMS IN OUR STRATEGIC POSTURE. I FAVOR DEPLOYMENT OF A STRATEGIC DEFENSE SYSTEM AGAINST BALLISTIC MISSILES AS SOON AS INFORMED TECHNICAL OPINION SAYS THAT DEPLOYMENT IS POSSIBLE.

THE SPREAD AND EVEN USE OF OTHER KINDS OF ARMS THREATENS GLOBAL STABILITY AS NEVER BEFORE.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS MUST BE BANNED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH, NEVER TO BE USED AGAIN. THIS WON'T BE EASY. VERIFICATION WILL BE DIFFICULT. BUT CIVILIZATION AND HUMAN DECENCY DEMAND THAT WE TRY.

AND THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS MUST BE STOPPED. I PLEDGE TO STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY IN CURBING THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. OUR DIPLOMACY MUST WORK EVERY DAY AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROLIFERATION.

DESPITE THESE PROBLEMS, THERE IS NO MISTAKING, AS WE MEET TONIGHT, FREEDOM IS ON THE MARCH. NEVER BEFORE IN THIS CENTURY HAS THE SEARCH FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS BEEN SUCH A POWERFUL POLITICAL FORCE; NEVER BEFORE HAS THERE BEEN SUCH AN EXPLICIT RECOGNITION IN SO MANY SOCIETIES THAT GREATER ECONOMIC FREEDOM IS THE PATH BOTH TO GROWTH AND TO SOCIAL JUSTICE.

HERE IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE, THE ENCOURAGING TREND TOWARD DEMOCRACY IS THREATENED BY SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, BY DEBT AND TRADE IMBALANCES, AND BY THE OLD NEMESIS OF DESPOTISM. WE MUST STAND FIRM FOR SELF-DETERMINATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

FOR WHEN PEOPLE ARE GIVEN THEIR OWN CHOICE, THEY INEVITABLY WILL CHOOSE DEMOCRACY. THAT MEANS A FREE PRESS. FREEDOM OF WORSHIP. AND CERTIFIABLY FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS.

ALTHOUGH IT'S NOT RELATED, I FAVOR A REFERENDUM FOR THE PEOPLE IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO. PERSONALLY, I FAVOR STATEHOOD. BUT LET'S LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE.

I AM COMMITTED TO STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES, WHETHER IN EUROPE OR ASIA. THE ALLIANCE OF DEMOCRACIES MUST REDEDICATE ITSELF TO ITS SHARED IDEALS -- AND NOT BE DRAGGED DOWN THE DANGEROUS ROAD TO PROTECTIONISM.

I HAVE ASKED THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO VISIT EUROPE NEXT WEEK -- TO FORGE A NEW COMPACT WITH OUR ALLIES -- AND CONSULT WITH THEM ON DEVELOPING A COMMON POLICY TOWARD ARMS MODERNIZATION AND ARMS CONTROL; AND A COMMON POLICY TOWARD EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

THE NOTION OF A NEW COMPACT MUST EXTEND TO A CRITICAL RELATIONSHIP HERE AT HOME -- THAT BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS. THE PRESIDENT, IN FULFILLMENT OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL DUTY, MUST SOMETIMES ACT ALONE AND WITH DISPATCH. BUT THE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES WORKS BEST WHEN THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS WORK TOGETHER.

MY PLEDGE TO YOU IS TO CONSULT AND WORK WITH YOU IN FORMATION OF FOREIGN POLICY. WHAT I ASK IN RETURN IS YOUR COMMITMENT TO REFRAIN FROM ACTIONS THAT INHIBIT THE ABILITY OF THIS, OR FUTURE PRESIDENTS, TO CONDUCT EFFECTIVELY THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

LET OUR NEW COMPACT TELL THE WORLD THAT AMERICA IS UNITED.

MY FRIENDS, WE ARE NOT ONLY THE ENGINE THAT HAS PULLED THE TRAIN OF WORLD ECONOMIC GROWTH, WE ARE THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL FORCE THAT IS CHANGING THE FACE OF HISTORY.

AMERICA IS STILL THE COUNTRY TO WHICH THE WORLD LOOKS FOR LEADERSHIP. WHILE AMERICA HAS ITS EYES ON THE FUTURE, THE WORLD HAS ITS EYES ON AMERICA.

LET THE ACTIONS OF OUR GOVERNMENT, IN THIS HALL AND IN THE OVAL OFFICE, SHOW THAT AMERICA WILL NOT SHRINK FROM ITS THIS GREAT RESPONSIBILITY.

LET US TOGETHER MAKE INVESTMENTS NOW THAT WILL CARRY OUR CHILDREN AND THEIRS TO FURTHER GREATNESS.

AND LET THEM SAY THAT WE HAD THE FORESIGHT TO UNDERSTAND THAT A TIME OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY IS NOT A TIME TO REST, BUT A TIME TO PUSH FORWARD, ALWAYS FORWARD, TO A MORE PRODUCTIVE SOCIETY AND A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD. TO A NEW OPTIMISM, A NEW AMERICAN DREAM THAT SAYS THAT WHATEVER THE CHALLENGE, WE CAN MEET IT.

BECAUSE ABOVE ALL ELSE, I BELIEVE THAT NO PROBLEM OF HUMAN MAKING IS TOO GREAT TO BE OVERCOME BY HUMAN INGENUITY, HUMAN ENERGY, AND THE UNTIRING HOPE OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT. I WOULD NOT HAVE ASKED TO BE YOUR LEADER IF I THOUGHT OTHERWISE.

IN JUST THREE DAYS, WE MARK THE BIRTHDAY OF ONE OF AMERICA'S FINEST LEADERS. THE MAN WHO SAVED OUR UNION, FOUNDED THE PARTY TO WHICH I BELONG, AND GAVE NEW MEANING TO THE WORD OPPORTUNITY. ABRAHAM LINCOLN ONCE SAID:

"I HOLD THAT WHILE MAN EXISTS, IT IS HIS DUTY TO IMPROVE NOT ONLY HIS OWN CONDITION, BUT TO ASSIST IN AMELIORATING [THAT OF] MANKIND."

IT IS THAT BROADER MISSION TO WHICH I CALL ALL AMERICANS.

TO THE YOUNG AND THE OLD, WHO SOMETIMES FEEL LEFT OUT -- REMEMBER THAT SOCIETY NEEDS YOUR TALENTS, YOUR ENERGY AND WISDOM. I ASK YOU TONIGHT TO JOIN US IN SERVICE THROUGH A NEW PROGRAM CALLED YES, FOR YOUTH ENTERING SERVICE TO AMERICA.

TO THOSE MEN AND WOMEN IN BUSINESS -- REMEMBER THE ULTIMATE END OF YOUR WORK -- TO MAKE A BETTER PRODUCT, TO CREATE BETTER LIVES, TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD. I ASK YOU TO PLAN FOR THE LONGER TERM AND AVOID THE TEMPTATION OF QUICK AND EASY PAPER PROFITS.

TO THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN WHO WEAR THE UNIFORM OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA -- THANK YOU. YOUR CALLING IS A HIGH ONE -- TO BE THE DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM AND THE GUARANTORS OF LIBERTY AROUND THE WORLD. AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT A NATION IS GRATEFUL FOR YOUR SERVICE.

TO THE PARENTS OF AMERICA, I ASK YOU TO GET INVOLVED IN YOUR CHILD'S SCHOOLING. CHECK ON THEIR HOMEWORK. GO TO THE SCHOOL, MEET THE TEACHERS, CARE ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING THERE. IT IS NOT ONLY YOUR CHILD'S FUTURE ON THE LINE, IT IS AMERICA'S .

TO KIDS IN OUR CITIES -- DON'T GIVE UP HOPE. SAY NO TO DRUGS. STAY IN SCHOOL. AND YES, "KEEP HOPE ALIVE."

TO THOSE 37 MILLION AMERICANS WITH SOME FORM OF DISABILITY -- YOU BELONG IN THE ECONOMIC MAINSTREAM. WE NEED YOUR TALENTS IN AMERICA'S WORKFORCE. DISABLED AMERICANS MUST BECOME FULL PARTNERS IN AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY SOCIETY.

TO THE FAMILIES OF AMERICA, WATCHING TONIGHT IN YOUR LIVING ROOMS: HOLD FAST TO YOUR DREAMS, BECAUSE ULTIMATELY AMERICA'S FUTURE RESTS IN YOUR HANDS.

AND TO MY FRIENDS IN THIS CHAMBER, I ASK FOR YOUR COOPERATION IN KEEPING AMERICA GROWING WHILE CUTTING THE DEFICIT. THAT WILL INCREASE INVESTMENT. INCREASE SAVINGS. IMPROVE AMERICAN PRODUCTIVITY, AND GIVE A FAIR CHANCE TO THOSE WHO NOW HAVE NO VOTE -- THE GENERATIONS TO COME.

TOMORROW, THE DEBATE ON THE PLAN I HAVE PUT FORWARD BEGINS. I ASK YOU TO COME FORWARD WITH YOUR PROPOSALS, IF THEY ARE DIFFERENT. BUT LET US NOT QUESTION EACH OTHER'S MOTIVES. LET US DEBATE. LET US NEGOTIATE. BUT LET US PRODUCE.

PERHAPS I UNDERTAKE SOME RISK IN RECALLING ANNIVERSARIES.... BUT TONIGHT IS ONE OF SOME NOTE. ON FEBRUARY 9, 1941, JUST 48 YEARS AGO TONIGHT, SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL TOOK TO THE AIRWAVES DURING BRITAIN'S HOUR OF PERIL.

HE HAD RECEIVED FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT A HAND CARRIED LETTER QUOTING LONGFELLOW'S FAMOUS POEM: "SAIL ON, OH SHIP OF STATE. SAIL ON, OH UNION STRONG AND GREAT! HUMANITY WITH ALL ITS FEARS, WITH ALL THE HOPES OF FUTURE YEARS, IS HANGING BREATHLESS ON THY FATE!"

CHURCHILL RESPONDED ON THIS NIGHT BY RADIO BROADCAST TO A NATION AT WAR, BUT HE DIRECTED HIS WORDS TO ROOSEVELT. "WE SHALL NOT FAIL OR FALTER," HE SAID. "WE SHALL NOT WEAKEN OR TIRE. NEITHER THE SUDDEN SHOCK OF BATTLE NOR THE LONG-DRAWN TRIALS OF VIGILANCE AND EXERTION WILL WEAR US DOWN. GIVE US THE TOOLS, AND WE WILL FINISH THE JOB."

TONIGHT, ALMOST A HALF CENTURY LATER, OUR PERIL MAY BE LESS IMMEDIATE, BUT THE NEED FOR PERSEVERANCE AND CLEAR-SIGHTED FORTITUDE IS JUST AS GREAT.

NOW, AS THEN, THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY IT CAN'T BE DONE. THERE ARE VOICES WHO SAY THAT AMERICA'S BEST DAYS HAVE PAST. THAT WE ARE BOUND BY CONSTRAINTS, THREATENED BY PROBLEMS, SURROUNDED BY TROUBLES WHICH LIMIT OUR ABILITY TO HOPE.

WELL, TONIGHT I REMAIN FULL OF HOPE. WE AMERICANS HAVE ONLY BEGUN ON OUR MISSION OF GOODNESS AND GREATNESS. AND TO THOSE TIMID SOULS, I REPEAT THE PLEA -- GIVE US THE TOOLS; AND WE WILL DO THE JOB.

THANK YOU, AND GOD BLESS YOU.

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Speech
inserts

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TO: BOB GRADY

FROM: CURT SMITH



RE. FEBRUARY 9 SPEECH

DATE: JANUARY 31, 1989

Not knowing what the President intends to say February 9, I've taken the liberty of enclosing remarks re. that occasion for your light reading pleasure.

They include: An opening, which refers to George Bush's respect for/affinity with Congress; a passage about the economy and our preference for voluntarism v. Big Spending; paragraphs on items I suspect you'll be hitting--e.g., child care, the environment, civil rights, and education; and a peroration which includes references to the President's trip to China and Japan.

Hope these prove of interest. All best, as always.

cc: David Demarest ✓

TO: BOB GRADY
FROM: CURT SMITH
RE: FEB. 9 SPEECH
DATE: JAN. 31, 1989

OPENING

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, My Colleagues in the Congress, Our Distinguished Guests, My Fellow Americans.

Let me express my gratitude, Jim, for that gracious introduction.

In fact, I have to admit that listening to those words of welcome, I'm reminded of something one of our former Presidents said when he heard an introduction that even he considered generous.

"I only wish my parents could have been alive to hear that introduction," this President--and, yes, it was Lyndon Johnson--told his audience. "My father would have enjoyed it--and my mother would have believed it!"

Just as my mother, of course, believes it today.

My friends, it is a pleasure to be here this evening. And I would add one personal note: You do me honor by inviting me.

But I'm sure you will understand why tonight is more than a pleasure or honor--more, in fact, than both combined. For this evening also marks a journey--a journey back to some of my warmest years: The years I spent in the House of Representatives.

Like you, I, too, was privileged to be a part of mankind's temple of democracy--the Congress of the United States. Like you, here I learned how public service could ennoble America's quality of life.

It was as a Congressman--and except for Lloyd Benson, it would have been as a U.S. Senator!--that I came to realize how America permits no barriers, accepts no limits, knows neither race, nor creed, nor religion. And it was here--like you, on both sides of the aisle--that I came to grasp what Winston Churchill meant when he said: "Personally, I am always ready to learn, though I do not always enjoy being taught."

Tonight, I am back among you, fellow Republicans and Democrats--knowing that before government there was man; and that government arose to meet man's needs.

We meet having begun well over these past eight years--but we have only begun. We meet having done much--but, yes, so much more remains to do. We meet not merely to act but to listen--for our teacher is the greatest teacher in this Nation's 200 years as a democracy.

The American people.

The People, Yes.

Tonight, it is they--you, the American people--who are telling us to put our financial house in order, so that we can enrich America. Tonight, they are telling us to get on with the job, so that America can enrich the world.

It's no secret, really, what these Americans want. They said it loud and clear twelve short weeks ago. They spoke for themselves, for their children, and for the children of this planet.

They said:

--"We want to curb government's maze of Federal regulations, even as we provide for the most vulnerable among us;

--"We want to reduce the growth of Federal spending, even as we smash inflation in the teeth;

--"At home, we want a government which knows in its head what it feels in its heart;

--"Abroad, we want an America which acknowledges the limits of its power, even as our adversaries respect the power of our will."

My friends, that's a tall order--what Doubting Thomases might call Mission Impossible. But, then, let me remind you: America is the greatest, fairest, and tallest of Nations--the acknowledged Master of Missions Fulfilled.

THE ECONOMY

We believe that in the America of the 1990s, our challenges must be met by government and people together--or they will not be met at all. But we also believe, as Bernard Baruch reminded us, that "Government is not a substitute for people--but simply the instrument through which they act."

Yes, we believe that we must reach beyond government, aiding our localities and assisting our neighbors. But we also believe that government can be a catalyst--that it, alone, at times, can ensure that the powerless and the powerful have the equal right to be heard and understood.

We recognize, too--and as President, I will follow--a simple equation most opinion-makers scorn. That equation reads: America's greatest treasure is America's ability to care. America is a great Nation because she has always been able to care. But America will be able to care only if she can afford to care:

--That is why we intend to foster partnerships between all levels of government, private enterprise, and voluntary organizations;

--For our goal is both simple and profound: To make government at once responsive and responsible; to feed America's body so that America can throw wide her heart.

SMITH--3

My friends, how could we care--really care--when between 1950 and 1980 overall Federal spending surged a full eight times greater than the rate of inflation?

How could we care--really care--when between 1970 and 1981 the level of spending soared by three and a half times?

How could we care--really care--when by 1981 Americans were paying almost 50 per cent more for everything you bought than you paid in early 1978? You were paying more than twice as much for gasoline. Your taxes were 45 per cent higher, even though your family's real income had fallen. And nearly two and a half million more of you were out of work.

The answer was, we couldn't--unless and, of course, we changed our ways. So we did--we began our new beginning. Now, let us build upon those beginnings--not for any one group, any single block of Americans, but for every group, for all Americans.

Only then can we create a more inclusive Nation--a Nation in which no one is left out.

Only then can we chart a new Sunburst of the American Spirit--a Golden Age unparalled in our history.

CHILD CARE

Our children matter more than any politician's promise. They, above all, deserve a greater land than we, ourselves, inherited. They, alone, can make the American Dream brighter, the American Pie larger, America's Future more secure.

CIVIL RIGHTS

We are not Black or white--we are all children of the same humane and loving God. Black and white, together--we know that all Americans are equal and should be treated equally. Our goal is an America where justice and opportunity co-exist, and where freedom can prevail.

EDUCATION

Education can enhance the spirit of America's character--and it can enhance the character of America's steel: The steel which says that no task lies beyond our talents--the spirit which proclaims that decent education is a first civil right of every American.

ENVIRONMENT

Only by marshaling our natural resources can we marshall the future. Only by protecting our environment can we preserve the future.

PERORATION

As you know, in two weeks Barbara and I begin a journey--a journey that will carry us to the far reaches of the Pacific Basin. There, we will attend the funeral of Emperor Hirohito. There, too, I will consult with many of America's most steadfast allies; and visit a Nation I served as our Ambassador: a land of myth, romance, and lyric poetry--the People's Republic of China.

Several days ago, preparing for that trip, I came across a novel by the noted Chinese writer, Lin Yutang (You-TANG). He was speaking of his country, several decades ago. But his words also speak to each one of us, in America, today.

"Today," he said, "we are afraid of the simple words like goodness and mercy and kindness. We don't believe in the good old words because we don't believe in the good old values anymore. And that's why the world is sick."

Now, I don't believe that the world is sick today...but if it were, it would be our right and covenant, as Americans and as human beings...to do what we could...to do all we could...to help make it well.

How?

By reaffirming the old values that writer spoke so movingly about. And by reaffirming that America can mold things, shape things, and change this planet's destiny.

America can be as universal as self-respect and human dignity.

America can be as timeless as our Nation's history--and, yes, as contemporary as today.

But most of all, America can be at once great and good: At home, to aid the elderly, disabled, and the indigent; abroad, to summon God's help--and yours--not merely for our peace in our time, but peace for all time.

My friends, we are Americans--immigrants from every corner of the globe. We are common men of every race, creed, sex, and color--capable, through history, of the most soaring and uncommon deeds.

So let us understand that we are but custodians of America's future--and that you--the people--you are her trustees.

Let us understand that divided, we cannot succeed--united, we cannot fail.

And let us proclaim that what matters, in the end, is not what we have but what we are. We are all mortal. We are all vulnerable. We all seek an American Tomorrow even brighter than Today.

SMITH--5

That is our challenge, and our mission as a Nation. Tonight, let us make this heart-felt pledge: As Americans, we will not let each other down.

Thank you for your many kindnesses, and for the warmth of this reception. Godspeed to each of you, may God bless you all, and God bless the United States of America.

Dave Demarest

Copied & sent to writers

Memo To: ~~whom it may concern~~
From: Fleming Saunders

Subject: A speech on "How to Succeed in Government Without Really Taxing."

Conventional wisdom in Washington predicts that President Bush will be forced into a tax hike that destroys the credibility of the read-my-lips candidate.

Wrong! No tax hike is needed. Let's take advantage of the low expectations and attack with the following message.

Government servants can do wonders with resources already at hand -- if they know where their leaders are going. Like any organization, they need a mission, and George Bush is a man of missions (see acceptance speech). Peter Drucker writes in INNOVATION AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP (1984) that the key to success in business is NOT high tech, financing, talent, hard work or even luck -- but "purposeful innovation." This approach simply means being constantly on the look-out for niches in the market -- and then having the FLEXIBILITY to adapt to these niches. You can be lucky once or twice, and as diligent as a toll booth collector -- but without being willing to change, most people aren't successful entrepreneurs.

Let's make "purposeful innovation" a Bush mission. Obviously, government lacks the enormous financial incentives of the private sector. But it does offer public servants the chance to do important and creative things. Good, feasible ideas about "low-budget" government are abundant -- ideas that reflect our free market philosophy. In other words, there are many niches in the public policy market. We must lead the charge into these policy gaps. We would aim for at least incremental progress -- and be ready to look for more niches. Through "purposeful innovation" we can build a successful Presidency and a kinder, gentler nation. We can apply this technique toward one or more of the following goals:

First: Economic growth. It not only generates jobs, technology and federal revenues, but public opinion of federal workers increases in times of prosperity. It costs nothing to let the economy flourish, but new taxes, spending, inflation, or regulation could kill growth.

Second: Free trade agreements (e.g., Canada) boost our economy and reduce costs for consumers and industry. Careful use of "Section 301" to open foreign markets costs little and returns a lot.

Third: Military reform. Strengthen defenses by spending wisely; adopt two-year budget cycle instead of one, for example.

Fourth: Social policy reform. Workfare gets people off welfare into jobs. Vouchers lead to cheaper and better housing. Use abandoned military bases for prisons. Tougher education standards cost little but return much.

Fifth: 1,000 points of light. Voluntarism costs government nothing and its potential is unlimited.

Memorandum for: Bob Grady
From: Fleming Saunders
Subject: 1989 State of the Union address

+ Dave Demarest

o INTRODUCTION -- ONE-LINERS

o People talk about how the loyal opposition controls both Houses of Congress. Well, that's true, but if you throw in Members from all my "home" states, then I might have a majority!

(or)

o I am particularly delighted to see the 400 Members from my home states.

o I remember well 22 years ago I sat among you and heard President Johnson's State of the Union address. I sat with a lonely group of Republicans on the House side -- well, I guess some things never change.

o I usually sit up there (behind the podium, where VP sits). But I just wanted to stretch my legs a bit.

o Well, thank you very much. I've found my thrill on Capitol Hill.

o A man always appreciates a little applause on his honeymoon night.

o I trust the acoustics are good in here -- so you won't have to read my lips.

o Thank you very, very much. That's enough. Please, read my lips -- no new applause.

o I see we already have a kind and gentle Congress.

o Thank you, very, very much. You had me so moved I almost thought it was Pearl Harbor Day. But that's July 4.

o A week ago, as is traditional on February 2, the Groundhog emerged from his hole to comment on the state of the weather. Today, the President emerges from his habitat to comment on the State of the Union. Incidentally, the groundhog tried to come out on the White House lawn but was knocked unconscious by a horseshoe.

(or)

o (re. bipartisan spirit) In fact, I heard a story about Groundhog Day. Apparently, when the groundhog came out of his

hole last week, he saw Washington politicians acting kind and gentle to each other. The sight so shocked him he rushed back in his hole and was not seen again.

GENERAL SUGGESTIONS

o (re. Bush's service in the House of Representatives) John Quincy Adams wrote that "My election as President of the United States was not half as gratifying to my innermost soul" (as was his election to the Congress.) "No election or appointment ever gave me so much pleasure." I too have fond memories of my service with you....

o I have stark memories of sitting with some of you 22 years ago and listening to President Johnson's State of the Union address. At the time, the state of the union was disunion: our nation was at war and our streets ablaze with protest. (contrast to today)

o I will take to heart the words of advice Andrew Jackson had for Martin Van Buren (whom I've mentioned a few times)... "If he (the President) speaks to Congress, it must be in the language of the truth."

o (I am a realist about bipartisanship) As President Eisenhower observed, "when it comes down to the relations of any President with a Congress controlled by the opposite party, I just say this: it is no bed of roses."

o Last summer I spoke of my mission to serve as your President. I spoke much about myself because you needed to know me and my philosophy of leadership. I am grateful to those who supported my personal mission and respect the views of those who did not.

Now is time to talk in detail about America's mission. Our mission. Our quest for the best. Our two hundred year struggle to build a noble and just society.

o I am here to talk about the thousand points of light, not to make a thousand points. My vision is single, simple and direct....

o Last month a study by the National Research Council put a finger on problems in education. The report noted that it is considered socially acceptable to do badly in mathematics. You know the complaints -- "Oh, I hate math -- you have to be a genius to understand it!" That attitude is incorrect -- and unacceptable. It is not tolerated in Japan and must not persist here either. We need a nation that respects all kinds of

learning. We need to find -- and encourage -- teachers who make math an exciting adventure.

o As I said the other day, our will is greater than our wallet. Spending is high and income is low. But government can be a force for good -- if it has good leadership.

o Peter Drucker -- a world-famous scholar on business management -- knows how things get done. In his classic work called *Innovation and Entrepreneurialism* (1984), Drucker points out the secret of success in business. The key is not talent, not financing, not hard work, not even luck. All are helpful but not as important as a sense of purpose. An organization must know exactly where it's going -- or it goes nowhere. Government needs not a tax increase but a mission.

I offer my sequel to Drucker's work -- and call it "How To Succeed in Government Without Really Taxing." (Examples of how to govern without spending more -- encourage economic growth (will bring more revenues), free trade agreements, military reform (two year budget), welfare reform, tougher educational standards, convert military bases into prisons, etc.)

o Moreover, the thousand points of light -- as I call America's voluntary organizations -- can do wonders for our world. Woodrow Wilson said the "best form of efficiency is the spontaneous cooperation of a free people." I call you the millions of points of light.

o To those who are alienated and isolated from the political community, we extend a helping hand and an welcoming smile. And if those who are sad, lonely and hurting won't come to us, we must go to them.

This "politics of inclusion" does not mean the "politics of intrusion." It does not mean Big Brother going out and saying "hey, we're going to help you whether you like it or not." That is not the American way -- nor will it ever be. Our nation does not require a citizen to vote, as many do. It does not pressure a citizen to join a political party or neighborhood cell, as some do.

Instead, a free democratic government best reaches out by doing good. We must address issues that concern all Americans, whether they participate in the system or not. If we launch a serious effort to get drugs and crime off the street, put standards back in the classroom, create lasting jobs, then we earn the respect of the cynical and separated. And then, we hope, they join our efforts and the system itself.

o My predecessor, Martin Van Buren, whom I've mentioned a few times, had this to say about another President in his era (John Quincy Adams): "He loved his country, desired to serve in it, and was properly conscious of the honor of so doing." I hope these words will be said of George Bush.

(re. civil rights) In his Inaugural address one hundred years ago, Benjamin Harrison said "the community...that denies a portion of its members their plain rights under the law has severed the only safe bond of social order and prosperity."

Final changes

((Grady; 2/9/89, 6am))
MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
TO A
JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
FEBRUARY 9, 1989

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Distinguished Members of the House and Senate, honored guests, fellow citizens:

Less than three weeks ago, I joined you on the West Front of this very building and -- looking over the monuments to our proud past -- offered you my hand in filling the next page of American history with a story of extended prosperity and continued peace. Tonight, I am back, to offer you my plans as well. The hand remains extended, the sleeves are rolled up, America is waiting, and now we must produce. X

Together, we can build a better America. X

It is comforting to return to this historic chamber. Here, twenty-two years ago, I first raised my hand to be sworn into public life. So tonight, I feel as if I am returning home to friends. And I intend, in the months and years to come, to give you ^{what} ~~that~~ friends ~~are~~ ^{deserve!} entitled: frankness, respect, and my best judgment about ways to improve America's future.

In return, I ask for an honest commitment to our common mission of progress. If we seize the opportunities on the road before us, there will be praise enough for all.

The people didn't send us here to bicker. ~~It's time to produce.~~ It's time to govern.

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O

Many Presidents have come to this Chamber in times of great crisis. War. Depression. Loss of national spirit.

Eight years ago, I sat in that chair as President Reagan spoke of punishing inflation and devastatingly high interest rates, people out of work, American confidence on the wane.

Our challenge is different.

We are fortunate -- a much changed landscape lies before us tonight.

So I don't propose to reverse direction. We are headed the right way.

But we cannot rest. We are a people whose energy and drive ~~has~~ fueled our rise to greatness. We are a forward-looking nation -- generous, yes, but ambitious as well -- not for ourselves, but for the world.

Complacency is not in our character -- not before, not now, not ever. X

So tonight, we must take a strong America -- and make it even better.

We must address some very real problems. We must establish some very clear priorities. And we must make a very substantial cut in the Federal budget deficit. X

Some people find that agenda impossible.

But I am presenting to you tonight a realistic plan for tackling it. My plan has four broad features: attention to urgent priorities, investment in the future, an attack on the deficit, and no new taxes. X

I have made my position clear to the American people -- we don't need to raise taxes, and the people don't want us to.

This budget represents my best judgement of how we can address our priorities, consistent with the people's view. There are many areas in which we would all like to spend more than I propose, but we cannot until we get our fiscal house in order.

Next year alone, thanks to economic growth, without any change in the law the Federal government will take in over \$80 billion dollars more than it does this year. That's right -- over \$80 billion in new revenues, with no increase in taxes. Our job is to allocate those new resources wisely.

We can afford to increase spending -- by a modest amount, but enough to invest in key priorities ~~without raising taxes~~ and still cut the deficit by almost 40 percent in one year.

That will allow us to meet the targets set forth in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law.

But to do that, we must recognize that growth above inflation in Federal programs is not preordained, that not all spending initiatives were designed to be immortal.

I make this pledge tonight: ~~I am prepared to participate in a special process with the Congressional leadership~~ and my team and I are ready to work with the Congress to negotiate in good faith, to work day and night

to have a special leadership

-- if that's what it takes -- to meet the budget targets,
and to produce a budget on time. X

We cannot settle for business as usual.

Government by continuing resolution -- or government by
crisis -- ~~won't do.~~ ^{will not do.} X

I ask the Congress tonight to approve several measures
which will make budgeting more sensible. We could save time
and improve efficiency by enacting two-year budgets.

43 Governors have the line item veto. Presidents
should have it, too. X

At the very least, when a President proposes to rescind
Federal spending, the Congress should be required to vote on
~~the~~ ^{that} proposal -- instead of killing it by inaction.

And I ask for Congress to honor the public's wishes by
passing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced
budget. X Such an amendment, once phased in, will discipline
both Congress and the Executive branch.

Several principles describe the kind of America I hope
to build with your help in the years ahead.

We will not have the luxury of taking the easy,
spendthrift approach to solving problems -- because higher
spending and higher taxes put economic growth at risk.

Economic growth provides jobs and hope. Economic
growth enables us to pay for social programs. Economic
growth enhances the security of the nation. And low tax
rates create economic growth. X

I believe in giving Americans greater freedom and greater choice -- and I will work for choice for American families, whether in the housing in which they live, the schools to which they send their children, or the child care they select for their young. X

I believe that we have an obligation to those in need, but that government should not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can produce better.

I believe in a society that is free from discrimination and bigotry of any kind. I will work to knock down the barriers left by past discrimination, ^{and} to build a more tolerant society that will stop such barriers from ever being built again. X

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talk about themselves. They talked about posterity. They talked about the future.

We, too, must think in terms bigger than ourselves.

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Here are some of my recommendations:

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- I propose to make permanent the tax credit for research and development;

- I have asked Vice President Quayle to chair a new Task Force on Competitiveness;

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But the most important competitiveness program of all is one which improves education in America.

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- the beginning of a \$500 million program to reward America's best schools -- "merit schools";
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Some money will be devoted to those urban schools where the emergency is now the worst. And much of it will be used to protect our borders, with help from the Coast Guard, the Customs Service, the Departments of State and Justice, and yes, the U.S. military. X

I mean to get tough on the drug criminals. Let me be clear: this President will back up those who put their lives on the line every day -- our local police officers. X

My budget asks for beefed up prosecution, for a new attack on organized crime, and for enforcement of tough sentences -- and for the worst kingpins, that means the death penalty. X

I also want to make sure that when a drug dealer is convicted, there is a cell waiting for him. He should not go free because prisons are too full.

Let the word go out: if you are caught and convicted, you ~~will~~ ^{will} do-time.

But for all we do in law enforcement, in interdiction and treatment, we will never win this war on drugs unless we stop demand for drugs.

So some of this increase will be used to educate the young about the dangers of drugs. We must involve parents. We must involve teachers. We must involve communities. And my friends, we must involve ourselves. X

One problem related to drug use demands our urgent attention and our continuing compassion. That is the terrible tragedy of AIDS.

I am asking for \$1.6 billion for education to prevent the disease -- and for research to find a cure. (pause)

If we're to protect our future, we need a new attitude about the environment.

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I will send to you shortly legislation for a new, more effective Clean Air Act. X It will include a plan to reduce, by date certain, the emissions which cause acid rain -- because the time for study alone has passed, and the time for action is now. X

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Action on these three lease sales will await the conclusions of a special task force set up to measure the potential for environmental damage.

I am directing the Attorney General and the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to use every tool at their disposal to speed and toughen the enforcement of our laws against toxic waste dumpers. I want faster cleanups and tougher enforcement of penalties against polluters. X (PAUSE)

In addition to caring for our future, we must care for those around us. A decent society shows compassion for the young, the elderly, the vulnerable, and the poor.

Our first obligation is to the most vulnerable -- infants, poor mothers, children living in poverty -- and my proposed budget recognizes this. I ask for full funding of Medicaid -- an increase of over \$3 billion -- and an expansion of the program to include coverage of pregnant women who are near the poverty line.

ask

I believe we should help working families cope with the burden of child care.

Our help should be aimed at those who need it most -- low income families with young children. I support a new child care tax credit that will aim our efforts at exactly those families -- without discriminating against mothers who choose to stay at home.

Now, I know there are competing proposals. But remember this: the overwhelming majority of all Pre-school child care is now provided by relatives and neighbors, churches and community groups. Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice.

✓

And for those children who ^{are unwanted or abused, or whose parents are} cannot live with their ^{deceased} parents, I believe we should encourage adoption. I propose to re-enact the tax deduction for adoption expenses, and to double it to \$3,000. ^{Let's} ~~Let's find a way to get that money for~~ ^{these kids who have parents who love them.}

○

We have a moral contract with our senior citizens. In this budget, Social Security is fully funded. Including a full cost-of-living adjustment. We must honor our contract.

We must care about those in "the shadows of life," and I, like many Americans, am deeply troubled by the plight of

the homeless. The causes of homelessness are many, the history is long, but the moral imperative to act is clear. X

Thanks to the deep well of generosity in this great land, many organizations already contribute. But we in government cannot stand on the sidelines. In my budget, I ask for greater support for emergency food and shelter, for health services and measures to prevent substance abuse, and for clinics for the mentally ill -- and I propose a new initiative involving the full range of government agencies.

We must confront this national shame. X

Tragedy has been brought to this very chamber by the long-debated issue of the future of Puerto Rico. I wanted to mention tonight that I favor a referendum for the people of this commonwealth. Personally, I favor statehood. But let's let the people decide.

Certain problems, the result of decades of unwise practices, threaten the health and security of our people. Left unattended, they will only get worse -- but we can act now to put them behind us.

Earlier this week, I announced my support for a plan to restore the financial and moral integrity of our savings system. I ask Congress to enact our reform proposals within 45 days. We must not let this situation fester. X

Certainly, the savings of Americans must remain secure -- insured depositors will continue to be fully protected. But any plan to refinance the system must be accompanied by major reform. Our proposals will prevent such a crisis from

There is another issue I decided to mention here tonight. I have long believed that the people of Puerto Rico should have the right to determine their own political future. Personally, I favor statehood. But I ask the Congress to take the necessary steps to let the people decide in a referendum.

re~~curr~~curring. ~~Because~~ ^T the best answer is to make sure that a mess like this will never happen again. X

The majority of thrifts in communities across this nation have been honest; they have played a major role in helping families achieve the American dream of home ownership. But make no mistake: those who are corrupt, those who break the law, must be kicked out of the business; and they should go to jail. X

We face a massive task in cleaning up the waste left from decades of environmental neglect at America's nuclear weapons plants.

Clearly, we must modernize these plants and operate them safely. That is not at issue -- our national security depends on it.

But beyond that, we must clean up the old mess that's been left behind -- and I propose in this budget to more than double our current effort to do so. This will allow us to identify the exact nature of the various problems so we can clean them up -- and clean them up we will. X

We have been fortunate during these past eight years. America is a stronger nation today than it was in 1980.

Morale in our armed forces is restored. Our resolve has been shown. Our readiness has been improved. And we are at peace.

Handwritten signature [There can no longer be any doubt that peace has been made more secure through strength. When America is stronger, the world is safer.

Most people don't realize, that, after the successful restoration of our strength, the Pentagon budget has actually been reduced in real terms for each of the last four years. *We cannot tolerate further reductions —*

In light of the compelling need to reduce the deficit, *however,* I ^{support} propose a one-year freeze in the military budget -- something I proposed last fall in my flexible freeze plan.

This freeze will apply for only one year -- after that increases above inflation will be required. I will not sacrifice American preparedness; and I will not compromise American strength. X

I should be clear on the conditions attached to my recommendation for the coming year:

- the savings must be allocated to those priorities for investing in our future that I have spoken about tonight;
- this defense freeze must be part of a comprehensive budget agreement which meets the targets spelled out in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law without raising taxes, and which incorporates reforms in the budget process.

I have directed the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies and report back to me within 90 days to ensure that our capabilities and resources meet our commitments and strategies.

I am also charging the Department of Defense with the task of developing a plan to improve the defense procurement process and management of the Pentagon -- one which will fully implement the Packard Commission report. Many of the

changes can only be made with the participation of the Congress -- so I ask for your help.

We need fewer regulations. We need less bureaucracy. We need multi-year procurement and two-year budgeting. And frankly, we need less Congressional micromanagement of our nation's military policy. X

Securing a more peaceful world is perhaps the most important priority I'd like to address tonight.

We meet ~~tonight~~^y at a time of extraordinary hope. Never before in this century have our values of freedom, democracy, and economic opportunity been such a powerful political and intellectual force around the globe.

Never before has our leadership been so crucial, because while America has its eyes on the future, the world has its eyes on America.

It is a time of great change in the world -- and especially in the Soviet Union. Prudence and common sense dictate that we try to understand the full meaning of the going on there change, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. But I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that at the conclusion of such a review, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace. X

The fundamental fact remains that the Soviets retain a very powerful military machine, in the service of objectives which are still too often in conflict with ours. So let us

Let us ¹⁷ step forward to negotiate

also

take the new openness seriously. But let us be realistic.

And let us ~~negotiate from strength~~. ~~And let us always be strong.~~

There are some pressing issues we must address:

I will vigorously pursue the Strategic Defense Initiative. X

The spread and even use of sophisticated weaponry threatens global stability as never before.

Chemical weapons must be banned from the face of the earth, never to be used again. X This won't be easy.

Verification will be difficult. But civilization and human decency demand that we try. X

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. I will work to strengthen the hand of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Our diplomacy must work every day against the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

And, around the globe, we must continue to be freedom's best friend. X

We must stand firm for self-determination and democracy in Central America -- including in Nicaragua. X

For when people are given their ~~own choice~~ ^{chance}, they inevitably will choose a free press; freedom of worship; and certifiably free and fair elections.

We must strengthen the alliance of industrial democracies -- as solid a force for peace as the world has ever known. This is an alliance forged by the power of our ideals, not the pettiness of our differences. So let us

to rise above fighty about building

lift our sights -- ~~from~~ beef hormones to a better future,
to move from protectionism to progress.

I have asked the Secretary of State to visit Europe next week ~~to forge a new compact with our allies~~ and to consult with them on the wide range of challenges and opportunities we face together -- including East-West relations. And I look forward to meeting myself with our NATO partners in the near future.

I, too, shall begin a trip shortly -- to the far reaches of the Pacific Basin, where the winds of democracy are creating new hope, and the power of free markets is unleashing a new force.

When I served as our representative in China just 11 years ago, few would have predicted the scope of the changes we've witnessed since then.

But in preparing for this trip, I was struck by something I came across from a Chinese writer, ~~Zin Yan~~ ~~((you TANG))~~. He was speaking of his country, decades ago -- but his words speak to each of us, in America, tonight.

"Today," he said, "we are afraid of the simple words like goodness and mercy and kindness."

My friends, if we're to succeed as a nation, we must rediscover those words.

In just three days, we mark the birthday of Abraham Lincoln -- the man who saved our union, and gave new meaning to the word opportunity. Lincoln once said:

[scribble]

4

*Bush
"I'm
not in
surre
I can
pull
this
shit
off!"*

"I hold that while man exists, it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating ((that of)) mankind."

It is ~~that~~ ^{this} broader mission to which I call all Americans. Because the definition of a successful life ~~should~~ ^{must} include serving others.

To the young ~~and the old~~, ^{people of America,} who sometimes feel left out -- I ask you tonight to give us the benefit ^{of} your talent and energy through a new program called YES, for Youth Entering Service to America.

To those men and women in business -- remember the ultimate end of your work -- to make a better product, to create better lives. I ask you to plan for the longer term and avoid the temptation of quick and easy paper profits.

To the brave men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America -- thank you. Your calling is a high one -- to be the defenders of freedom and the ^{this} guarantors of liberty. And I want you to know that a nation is grateful for your service.

To the parents of America, I ask you to get involved in your child's schooling. Check on their homework. Go to the school, meet the teachers, care about what is happening there. It is not only your child's future on the line, it is America's. X

To kids in our cities -- don't give up hope. Say no to drugs. Stay in school. And yes, "keep hope alive."

To the farmers of America we appreciate the bounty you provide. We will work with you to open foreign markets to American agricultural products.



To those 37 million Americans with some form of disability -- you belong in the economic mainstream. We need your talents in America's workforce. Disabled Americans must become full partners in America's opportunity society.

To the families of America, watching tonight in your living rooms: Hold fast to your dreams, because ultimately America's future rests in your hands.

And to my friends in this chamber, I ask for your cooperation in keeping America growing while cutting the deficit. That is only fair to those who now have no vote --- the generations to come.

Let them look back and say that we had the foresight to understand that a time of peace and prosperity is not a time to rest, but a time to push forward. A time to invest in the future.

And let all Americans remember that no problem of human making is too great to be overcome by human ingenuity, human energy, and the untiring hope of the human spirit. I believe this. I would not have asked to be your ~~leader~~ ^{President} if I didn't.

Tomorrow, the debate on the plan I have put forward begins. I ask ~~you~~ ^{the Congress} to come forward with your proposals, ~~if they are different~~. But let us not question each other's motives. Let us debate. Let us negotiate. ~~And in the end, let us produce.~~

But let us solve the problem.

Peace & smile

Recalling anniversaries may not be my specialty in speeches... but tonight is one of some note. On February 9, 1941, just 48 years ago tonight, Sir Winston Churchill took to the airwaves during Britain's hour of peril.

He had received from President Roosevelt a hand carried letter quoting Longfellow's famous poem: "Sail on, oh ship of state. Sail on, oh union, strong and great! Humanity with all its fears, with all the hopes of future years; Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

Churchill responded on this night by radio broadcast to a nation at war, but he directed his words to Roosevelt. "We shall not fail or falter," he said. "We shall not weaken or tire. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

Tonight, almost a half century later, our peril may be less immediate, but the need for perseverance and clear-sighted fortitude is just as great.

Now, as then, there are those who say it can't be done. There are voices who say that America's best days have past. That we are bound by constraints, threatened by problems, surrounded by troubles which limit our ability to hope.

Well, tonight I remain full of hope. We Americans have only begun on our mission of goodness and greatness. And to those timid souls, I repeat the plea -- give us the tools; and we will do the job.

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

((Grady; 2/9/89, 6am))

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
TO A
JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
FEBRUARY 9, 1989

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Distinguished Members of the House and Senate, honored guests, fellow citizens:

Less than three weeks ago, I joined you on the West Front of this very building and -- looking over the monuments to our proud past -- offered you my hand in filling the next page of American history with a story of extended prosperity and continued peace. Tonight, I am back, to offer you my plans as well. The hand remains extended, the sleeves are rolled up, America is waiting, and now we must produce.

Together, we can build a better America.

It is comforting to return to this historic chamber. Here, twenty-two years ago, I first raised my hand to be sworn into public life. So tonight, I feel as if I am returning home to friends. And I intend, in the months and years to come, to give you ^{what} ~~that~~ ~~to~~ ~~which~~ friends ~~are~~ deserve! ~~entitled~~ frankness, respect, and my best judgment about ways to improve America's future.

In return, I ask for an honest commitment to our common mission of progress. If we seize the opportunities on the road before us, there will be praise enough for all.

The people didn't send us here to bicker. It's time to produce. It's time to govern.

Many Presidents have come to this Chamber in times of great crisis. War. Depression. Loss of national spirit.

Eight years ago, I sat in that chair as President Reagan spoke of punishing inflation and devastatingly high interest rates, people out of work, American confidence on the wane.

Our challenge is different.

We are fortunate -- a much changed landscape lies before us tonight.

So I don't propose to reverse direction. We are headed the right way.

But we cannot rest. We are a people whose energy and drive ^{has} fueled our rise to greatness. We are a forward-looking nation -- generous, yes, but ambitious as well -- not for ourselves, but for the world.

Complacency is not in our character -- not before, not now, not ever.

So tonight, we must take a strong America -- and make it even better.

We must address some very real problems. We must establish some very clear priorities. And we must make a very substantial cut in the Federal budget deficit.

Some people find that agenda impossible.

But I am presenting to you tonight a realistic plan for tackling it. My plan has four broad features: attention to urgent priorities, investment in the future, an attack on the deficit, and no new taxes.

I have made my position clear to the American people -- we don't need to raise taxes, and the people don't want us to.

This budget represents my best judgement of how we can address our priorities, consistent with the people's view. There are many areas in which we would all like to spend more than I propose, but we cannot until we get our fiscal house in order.

Next year alone, thanks to economic growth, without any change in the law the Federal government will take in over \$80 billion dollars more than it does this year. That's right -- over \$80 billion in new revenues, with no increase in taxes. Our job is to allocate those new resources wisely.

We can afford to increase spending -- by a modest amount, but enough to invest in key priorities ~~without raising taxes~~ and still cut the deficit by almost 40 percent in one year.

That will allow us to meet the targets set forth in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law.

But to do that, we must recognize that growth above inflation in Federal programs is not preordained, that not all spending initiatives were designed to be immortal.

I make this pledge tonight: ~~I am prepared to~~ ^{let my former} ~~participate in a special process with the Congressional leadership~~ and my team and I are ready to work with the Congress to negotiate in good faith, to work day and night

to form a special leadership

-- if that's what it takes -- to meet the budget targets, and to produce a budget on time.

We cannot settle for business as usual.

Government by continuing resolution -- or government by crisis -- ~~won't do.~~ ^{will not do.}

I ask the Congress tonight to approve several measures which will make budgeting more sensible. We could save time and improve efficiency by enacting two-year budgets.

43 Governors have the line item veto. Presidents should have it, too.

At the very least, when a President proposes to rescind Federal spending, the Congress should be required to vote on ^{that} ~~the~~ proposal -- instead of killing it by inaction.

And I ask for Congress to honor the public's wishes by passing a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. Such an amendment, once phased in, will discipline both Congress and the Executive branch.

Several principles describe the kind of America I hope to build with your help in the years ahead.

We will not have the luxury of taking the easy, spendthrift approach to solving problems -- because higher spending and higher taxes put economic growth at risk.

Economic growth provides jobs and hope. Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs. Economic growth enhances the security of the nation. And low tax rates create economic growth.

I believe in giving Americans greater freedom and greater choice -- and I will work for choice for American families, whether in the housing in which they live, the schools to which they send their children, or the child care they select for their young.

I believe that we have an obligation to those in need, but that government should not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can produce better.

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- the beginning of a \$500 million program to reward America's best schools -- "merit schools";
- the creation of special Presidential awards for the best teachers in every state -- because excellence should be rewarded;
- the establishment of a new program of National Science Scholars, one each year for every member of the House and Senate, to give this generation of students a special incentive to excel in science and mathematics;

- the expanded use of magnet schools which give families and students greater choice;
- and a new program to encourage "alternative certification" -- which will let talented people from all fields teach in the classroom.

I have said I'd like to be "the Education President." Tonight, I ask you to join me by becoming "the Education Congress."

Just last week, as I settled into this new office, I received a letter from a mother in Pennsylvania, who had been struck by my message in the Inaugural address. "Not 12 hours before," she wrote, "my husband and I received word that our son was addicted to cocaine. He had the world at his feet. Bright, gifted, personable, he could have done anything with his life. Now he has chosen cocaine."

"Please," she wrote, "find a way to curb the supply of cocaine. Get tough with the pushers. Our son needs your help."

My friends, that voice crying ^{out} for help could be the voice of your own neighbor. Your own friend. Your own relative. Over 23 million Americans used illegal drugs last year -- at a staggering cost to our nation's well-being.

Let this be recorded as the time when America rose up and said "no" to drugs. The scourge of drugs must ~~stop~~ be stopped.

I am asking tonight for an increase of almost a billion dollars in budget outlays to escalate the war against drugs. The war will be waged on all fronts.

Some money will be used to expand treatment to the poor, and to young mothers. This will offer the helping hand

to the many innocent victims of drugs -- like the thousands of babies born addicted, or with AIDS, because of the mother's addiction.

Some will be used to cut the waiting time for treatment.

Some money will be devoted to those urban schools where the emergency is now the worst. And much of it will be used to protect our borders, with help from the Coast Guard, the Customs Service, the Departments of State and Justice, and yes, the U.S. military.

I mean to get tough on the drug criminals. Let me be clear: this President will back up those who put their lives on the line every day -- our local police officers.

My budget asks for beefed up prosecution, for a new attack on organized crime, and for enforcement of tough sentences -- and for the worst kingpins, that means the death penalty.

I also want to make sure that when a drug dealer is convicted, there is a cell waiting for him. He should not go free because prisons are too full.

Let the word go out: if you are caught and convicted, you must do time.

But for all we do in law enforcement, in interdiction and treatment, we will never win this war on drugs unless we stop demand for drugs.

So some of this increase will be used to educate the young about the dangers of drugs. We must involve parents. We must involve teachers. We must involve communities. And my friends, we must involve ourselves.

One problem related to drug use demands our urgent attention and our continuing compassion. That is the terrible tragedy of AIDS.

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Our first obligation is to the most vulnerable -- infants, poor mothers, children living in poverty -- and my proposed budget recognizes this. I ask for full funding of Medicaid -- an increase of over \$3 billion -- and an expansion of the program to include coverage of pregnant women who are near the poverty line.

I believe we should help working families cope with the burden of child care.

Our help should be aimed at those who need it most -- low income families with young children. I support a new child care tax credit that will aim our efforts at exactly those families -- without discriminating against mothers who choose to stay at home.

Now, I know there are competing proposals. But remember this: the overwhelming majority of all ^{Pre-school} child care is now provided by relatives and neighbors, churches and community groups. Families who choose these options should remain eligible for help. Parents should have choice.

And for those children who cannot live with their parents, I believe we should encourage adoption. I propose to re-enact the tax deduction for adoption expenses, and to double it to \$3,000.

We have a moral contract with our senior citizens. In this budget, Social Security is fully funded. including a full cost-of-living adjustment. We must honor our contract.

We must care about those in "the shadows of life," and I, like many Americans, am deeply troubled by the plight of

the homeless. The causes of homelessness are many, the history is long, but the moral imperative to act is clear.

Thanks to the deep well of generosity in this great land, many organizations already contribute. But we in government cannot stand on the sidelines. In my budget, I ask for greater support for emergency food and shelter, for health services and measures to prevent substance abuse, and for clinics for the mentally ill -- and I propose a new initiative involving the full range of government agencies.

We must confront this national shame.

Tragedy has been brought to this very chamber by the long-debated issue of the future of Puerto Rico. I wanted to mention tonight that I favor a referendum for the people of this commonwealth. Personally, I favor statehood. But let's let the people decide.

Certain problems, the result of decades of unwise practices, threaten the health and security of our people. Left unattended, they will only get worse -- but we can act now to put them behind us.

Earlier this week, I announced my support for a plan to restore the financial and moral integrity of our savings system. I ask Congress to enact our reform proposals within 45 days. We must not let this situation fester.

Certainly, the savings of Americans must remain secure -- insured depositors will continue to be fully protected. But any plan to refinance the system must be accompanied by major reform. Our proposals will prevent such a crisis from

There is another issue I decided to mention here tonight. I have long believed that the people of Puerto Rico should have the right to determine their own political future.

Personally, I favor statehood. But I ask the Congress to take the necessary steps to let the people decide in a referendum.

decide in a referendum.

re~~cur~~curring. ~~Because~~ ^T the best answer is to make sure that a mess like this will never happen again.

The majority of thrifts in communities across this nation have been honest; they have played a major role in helping families achieve the American dream of home ownership. But make no mistake: those who are corrupt, those who break the law, must be kicked out of the business; and they should go to jail.

We face a massive task in cleaning up the waste left from decades of environmental neglect at America's nuclear weapons plants.

Clearly, we must modernize these plants and operate them safely. That is not at issue -- our national security depends on it.

But beyond that, we must clean up the old mess that's been left behind -- and I propose in this budget to more than double our current effort to do so. This will allow us to identify the exact nature of the various problems so we can clean them up -- and clean them up we will.

We have been fortunate during these past eight years. America is a stronger nation today than it was in 1980.

Morale in our armed forces is restored. Our resolve has been shown. Our readiness has been improved. And we are at peace.

There can no longer be any doubt that peace has been made more secure through strength. When America is stronger, the world is safer.

Most people don't realize, that, after the successful restoration of our strength, the Pentagon budget has actually been reduced in real terms for each of the last four years.

In light of the compelling need to reduce the deficit, I propose a one-year freeze in the military budget -- something I proposed last fall in my flexible freeze plan.

This freeze will apply for only one year -- after that increases above inflation will be required. I will not sacrifice American preparedness; and I will not compromise American strength.

I should be clear on the conditions attached to my recommendation for the coming year:

- the savings must be allocated to those priorities for investing in our future that I have spoken about tonight;
- this defense freeze must be part of a comprehensive budget agreement which meets the targets spelled out in the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law without raising taxes, and which incorporates reforms in the budget process.

I have directed the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies and report back to me within 90 days to ensure that our capabilities and resources meet our commitments and strategies.

I am also charging the Department of Defense with the task of developing a plan to improve the defense procurement process and management of the Pentagon -- one which will fully implement the Packard Commission report. Many of the

changes can only be made with the participation of the Congress -- so I ask for your help.

We need fewer regulations. We need less bureaucracy. We need multi-year procurement and two-year budgeting. And frankly, we need less Congressional micromanagement of our nation's military policy.

Securing a more peaceful world is perhaps the most important priority I'd like to address tonight.

We meet ~~tonight~~ ^y at a time of extraordinary hope. Never before in this century have our values of freedom, democracy, and economic opportunity been such a powerful political and intellectual force around the globe.

Never before has our leadership been so crucial, because while America has its eyes on the future, the world has its eyes on America.

It is a time of great change in the world -- and especially in the Soviet Union. Prudence and common sense dictate that we try to understand the full meaning of the going on there change, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. But I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that at the conclusion of such a review, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace.

The fundamental fact remains that the Soviets retain a very powerful military machine, in the service of objectives which are still too often in conflict with ours. So let us

take the new openness seriously. But let us ^{also} be realistic. And let us negotiate from strength.

There are some pressing issues we must address:

I will vigorously pursue the Strategic Defense Initiative.

The spread and even use of sophisticated weaponry threatens global stability as never before.

Chemical weapons must be banned from the face of the earth, never to be used again. This won't be easy. Verification will be difficult. But civilization and human decency demand that we try.

And the spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped. I will work to strengthen the hand of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Our diplomacy must work every day against the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

And, around the globe, we must continue to be freedom's best friend.

We must stand firm for self-determination and democracy in Central America -- including in Nicaragua.

For when people are given their ^{chance} own choice, they inevitably will choose a free press; freedom of worship; and certifiably free and fair elections.

We must strengthen the alliance of industrial democracies -- as solid a force for peace as the world has ever known. This is an alliance forged by the power of our ideals, not the pettiness of our differences. So let us

to rise above fighty about

building

lift our sights -- from ^{beef hormones} to a better future,
to move from protectionism to progress.

I have asked the Secretary of State to visit Europe next week ~~to forge a new Compact with our allies~~ and to consult with them on the wide range of challenges and opportunities we face together -- including East-West relations. And I look forward to meeting ~~myself~~ with our NATO partners in the near future.

I, too, shall begin a trip shortly -- to the far reaches of the Pacific Basin, where the winds of democracy are creating new hope, and the power of free markets is unleashing a new force.

When I served as our representative in China just 14 years ago, few would have predicted the scope of the changes we've witnessed since then.

But in preparing for this trip, I was struck by something I came across from a Chinese writer, Lin Yutang ((you-TANG)). He was speaking of his country, decades ago -- but his words speak to each of us, in America, tonight.

"Today," he said, "we are afraid of the simple words like goodness and mercy and kindness."

My friends, if we're to succeed as a nation, we must rediscover those words.

In just three days, we mark the birthday of Abraham Lincoln -- the man who saved our union, and gave new meaning to the word opportunity. Lincoln once said:

"I hold that while man exists, it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating ((that of)) mankind."

It is ~~that~~ ^{this} broader mission to which I call all Americans. Because the definition of a successful life ~~should~~ ^{must} include serving others.

To the young ~~and the old~~ ^{people of America,} who sometimes feel left out -- I ask you tonight to give us the benefit ^o of your talent and energy through a new program called YES, for Youth Entering Service to America.

To those men and women in business -- remember the ultimate end of your work -- to make a better product, to create better lives. I ask you to plan for the longer term and avoid the temptation of quick and easy paper profits.

To the brave men and women who wear the uniform of the United States of America -- thank you. Your calling is a high one -- to be the defenders of freedom and the guarantors of liberty. And I want you to know that a nation is grateful for your service.

To the parents of America, I ask you to get involved in your child's schooling. Check on their homework. Go to the school, meet the teachers, care about what is happening there. It is not only your child's future on the line, it is America's.

To kids in our cities -- don't give up hope. Say no to drugs. Stay in school. And yes, "keep hope alive."

To those 37 million Americans with some form of disability -- you belong in the economic mainstream. We need your talents in America's workforce. Disabled Americans must become full partners in America's opportunity society.

To the families of America, watching tonight in your living rooms. Hold fast to your dreams, because ultimately America's future rests in your hands.

And to my friends in this chamber, I ask for your cooperation in keeping America growing while cutting the deficit. That is only fair to those who now have no vote --- the generations to come.

Let them look back and say that we had the foresight to understand that a time of peace and prosperity is not a time to rest, but a time to push forward. A time to invest in the future.

And let all Americans remember that no problem of human making is too great to be overcome by human ingenuity, human energy, and the untiring hope of the human spirit. I believe this. I would not have asked to be your ~~leader~~ if I didn't. ~~President~~

Tomorrow, the debate on the plan I have put forward begins. I ask ~~you~~ ~~to~~ ~~come~~ ~~forward~~ with your proposals, if they are different. But let us not question each other's motives. Let us debate. Let us negotiate. And in the end, let us produce.

Recalling anniversaries may not be my specialty in speeches... but tonight is one of some note. On February 9, 1941, just 48 years ago tonight, Sir Winston Churchill took to the airwaves during Britain's hour of peril.

He had received from President Roosevelt a hand carried letter quoting Longfellow's famous poem: "Sail on, oh ship of state. Sail on, oh union, strong and great! Humanity with all its fears, with all the hopes of future years; Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

Churchill responded on this night by radio broadcast to a nation at war, but he directed his words to Roosevelt. "We shall not fail or falter," he said. "We shall not weaken or tire. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job."

Tonight, almost a half century later, our peril may be less immediate, but the need for perseverance and clear-sighted fortitude is just as great.

Now, as then, there are those who say it can't be done. There are voices who say that America's best days have past. That we are bound by constraints, threatened by problems, surrounded by troubles which limit our ability to hope.

Well, tonight I remain full of hope. We Americans have only begun on our mission of goodness and greatness. And to those timid souls, I repeat the plea -- give us the tools; and we will do the job.

Thank you, and God bless you.

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